

PRINTING THE ART OF ORPHEUS: VIHUELA TABLATURES IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

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Tablature notation was a wonderful invention: it combined simplicity and compactness, and provided a much-needed format for writing music in score. Developing simultaneously with music printing, the combination of printing and tablature made for a potent brew. Printed tablature provided access to high quality music for those with limited musical experience, and facilitated its widespread dissemination to a broad sector of courtly and urban society in an easily intelligible format. In Spain, as elsewhere in Europe, instrumental tablatures were produced in large editions aimed at a broad domestic market composed, moreover, by musicians from various walks of life—professionals, courtiers, clerics and amateurs. The social diversity of these authors is perhaps itself representative of the manner in which the printing press helped blur at least some of the social boundaries of a strongly hierarchical society. Of the seven books of vihuela music published during the period 1536–1576, three were published in Valladolid by the Fernández de Córdoba press (Narváez, Valderrábano, Daza), two in Seville (Mudarra, Fuenllana), and one each in Valencia (Milán) and Salamanca (Pisador).¹ As they are few in number, and given that the principal Spanish keyboard sources were also ostensibly published in a format that admitted their use by vihuelists, I have also drawn on material relating to them to broaden the picture presented by the vihuela books taken in isolation, and used them to amplify this study of the cycle of their conception, compilation, and production.²

1 These sources are cited throughout this study as Milán, *El maestro* (1536); Narváez, *Delphin* (1538); Alonso Mudarra, *Tres libros* (1546); Enriquez de Valderrábano, *Silva de sirenas* (1547); Diego Pisador, *Libro de música* (1552); Miguel de Fuenllana, *Orphénica lyra* (1554) and Esteban Daza, *El Parnasso* (1576). Complete bibliographical details and inventories of these and other instrumental sources cited below are given in Brown 1965.

2 These sources are: Luis Venegas de Henestrosa, *Libro de cifra nueva* (1557); Hernando de Cabezón, *Obras de música* (1578); Tomás de Santa María, *Arte de tañer fantasia* (1565).

CONCEPTION

Any attempt to establish motives for the conception of the vihuela books must be largely speculative. Some titles are imbued with a strongly humanistic orientation: Narváez's *Delphin* invokes the legend of Arion; Fuenllana's title affirms the lyre of Orpheus; Valderrábano's alludes to the irresistible Homeric sirens; and Daza's locates his music on the mountain home of the Greek gods. The prefaces of the books reinforce many of the conventions of the age, the widely accepted Platonic views of the ethical value of music that were common humanistic currency, and the moral value of books as *útil y provechoso* [useful and beneficial] to the self-improvement of those who used them. The personal motivations of the authors, however, are not explicitly declared, and may even be concealed behind the overt declarations of didactic intent. Perhaps more a matter of convention than the real motivating force, a didactic intent is universally expressed or implied. Financial pretensions are never mentioned but should not be excluded given the potential monetary benefits from publishing such collections. Other motivating factors, some secondary, can also be inferred from the prefatory remarks of the authors. In line with the double meaning of his title, Milán ordered *El maestro* in accordance with the way a *teacher* would guide a student, but he also stresses that his collection gathers together in written form the compositions of a *master* composer-improviser.³ Narváez, on the other hand, wished to disseminate a new style of music hitherto unknown in Spain, especially Italianate fantasias in the style of Francesco da Milano, and in this way he parallels the achievements of the poets Garcilaso and Boscán.⁴ In a somewhat similar

3 Milán's title page expresses his didactic purpose: *Libro de música de vihuela de mano. Intitulado El maestro. El cual trae el mismo estilo y orden que un maestro traería con un discípulo principiante: mostrándose ordenadamente desde los principios toda cosa que podría ignorar para entender la presente obra.* [Book of music for the *vihuela de mano*. Entitled the teacher. That brings the same manner and order that a teacher would bring to a beginner: showing him progressively from the beginning everything he might need to know in order to understand the present work.] Milán's desire to create a collection is implied in his Dedication to João III of Portugal: "Y siguiendo mi inclinación he me hallado un libro hecho de muchas obras: que de la vihuela tenía sacadas y escritas" [and following my inclination I created a book of many works that I had worked out on the vihuela and written down] (fol. Aiii).

4 The printing licence for Narváez's book states that he had prepared "muchos motetes y villancicos de cifras para poner en la vihuela por arte muy gençioso y claro y tan nuevo que fasta ahora no se ha visto en España y que también tenéis otras muchas obras de canto de órgano para cantar de muchos autores que no se han imprimido en estos reinos y otras de Francisco Milanés y de Luis de Guzmán para tañer vihuela, las cuales vos habéis colegido e copilado porque no estaban ciertas..." [many motets and villancicos in tablature to play on the vihuela in manner so elegant, clear and new as never to have been seen in Spain before, and in addition there are many other polyphonic works to sing by many composers that have never been published in these kingdoms and others for vihuela by Francesco da Milano and Luis de Guzmán which you have gathered together and anthologized because they

fashion, Pisador championed the music of Josquin whom he believed to be inexplicably absent from other tablature collections and included intabulations of eight of the master's masses.⁵ Venegas de Henestrosa's chief aim was to promote the new keyboard tablature he had invented, and to employ it in an anthology that showed its universal effectiveness for all musical genres and polyphonic instruments, even if primarily designed for keyboard. At the same time, he anticipated criticism from jealous professional organists whose authority and prestige were threatened by the very existence of such a simple and accessible notation.⁶ Thirty years later when such notation was no longer contentious, Hernando de Cabezón sought little more than to perpetuate the art of his late father Antonio.

The contents of the vihuela books reflect a concern with rational organisation and with satisfying the needs of readers. All but Milán's *El maestro* comprise a mix of original compositions and arrangements that cater for varied tastes and occasions. The music is preceded by the customary preliminaries plus instructions in the fundamentals of tablature notation. Dedications placed a distinguished seal of approval upon the books as a guarantee of their quality, but there is no evidence that the patrons offered financial support of the publications. Correspondence between Diego Pisador and his father infers that the vihuelist himself met the costs of his *Libro de música* rather than his dedicatee, Philip II.⁷ Similarly, the costs of printing *Orphénica lyra* were met by Fuenllana's physician father-in-law, Juan de Salazar, and not his dedicatee, also Philip II. In

were not transmitted accurately...] Archivo General de Simancas, Cámara de Castilla, Libro de Cédulas, no. 99, fols. 74-75. The complete document is published in Ruiz Jiménez 1993.

- 5 Pisador, *Libro de música*, prologue, fol. Aii: "Puse también dos libros, en los cuales se contiene ocho misas de Josquin porque los que hasta aquí han escrito no pusieron deste autor, sino muy pocas cosas escogiendo ellos lo que les parecía. Yo quise poner ocho misas para el que quisiese escogiese conforme a su voluntad porque el músico fue tan bueno que no tiene cosa que desechar." [I also inserted two books that contain eight masses by Josquin because those who have written until now have not included this composer, apart from very few works, picking out what they wished. I wanted to include eight masses so that he who so wishes may choose according to his desires because this musician was so good that there is nothing of his that can be discarded.]
- 6 Venegas, *Libro de cifra nueva*, fol. 2v, cited in Anglés 1944, vol. 1: 150: "No deajo de temer que la gran facilidad que tiene será causa para que los mejores músicos la calumnien y tengan en poco, porque como ellos gastaron tanto tiempo en, y pasaron tanto trabajo en alcanzar lo que saben, y vean que por esta vía, se ataja mucho camino: se le ha desabrído la manera de este guisado especialmente los que son faltos de caridad..." [I do not cease to fear that its great simplicity will be the reason for the best musicians to slander and belittle it, for as they spent so much time and devoted so much work to achieve what they know, and see that by this means the road is much shortened, they will seek to take away the flavour of this stew, especially those of them who are not given to charity...].
- 7 See Cortés 1921: 331-335; summarised in Griffiths, John, «Diego Pisador», *DMEH*, vol. 8: 827-829.

this instance, it is plausible that Fuenllana's dedication to the heir apparent was motivated by ambition; his admission to the household of Philip's third wife Isabelle of Valois in 1560, shortly after the departure for Naples of his former employer, the Marchioness of Tarifa, may have been the eventual result of such a manoeuvre.⁸

The elementary tablature explanations, infrequent in Italian publications, confirm that the authors believed that their readers would include novices with no prior experience of tablature notation. They explain the fundamentals of the notation, and some authors add further information covering a variety of technical and theoretical matters including tempo indications, left- and right-hand fingering, stringing, tuning, modal principles and other subtleties of performance.⁹ All cover these basics in a very similar fashion and Daza's explanation of the tablature is little more than a paraphrase of Narváez's. Some authors, Milán in particular, ordered their music by difficulty, while others merely acknowledge that their books were arranged "in such a way that, simply by understanding the nature of the tablature and without a teacher, one can begin to play and become an accomplished musician".¹⁰

COMPILATION

Several of the vihuelists attest to the years spent compiling their books. *Silva de sirenas* was the fruit of twelve years of Valderrábano's labour, while the fifteen-year period c.1535-1550 in which Pisador compiled his *Libro de música* corresponds to the years during which he was a *mayordomo* of the city of Salamanca.¹¹ Narváez's *Delphín*, in contrast, may have been composed much more quickly. Following Ruiz Jiménez's argument, Narváez might only have learnt the new imitative fantasia style, previously unknown in Spain, on his purported travels to Italy in 1529-1533, or during a Roman sojourn in 1536 when he possibly became personally acquainted with Francesco da Milano. According to Narváez's prologue, the *Delphín* was also intended to gauge the market and the possibility of further publications of "larger works and of greater substance".¹²

8 Juan Bermudo (*Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (Osuna, 1555), fol. 29v), states that Fuenllana was "a musician of the Marchioness de Tarifa", but this has not been otherwise corroborated.

9 See Griffiths 1997.

10 Pisador, *Libro de música*, fol. Aii "...de manera que uno con solo entender el arte de la cifra sin otro maestro alguno puede comenzar a tañer y ser músico acabado...".

11 Both dates are given in the printing licence, *Libro de música*, fol. [1v].

12 Narváez, *Delphín*, fol. [2], reprinted in Pujol 1971: 18: "Si yo viere que sacan fruto dél (plaziendo a Dios), sacaré en público otras mayores obras y de más fundamento..." [If I see that, if it please God, it is successful, I will publish larger works and of greater substance...].

The compilation of instrumental tablature books supposes other background factors, particularly the authors' own musical accomplishment and their access to sources of vocal polyphony. For musicians who moved in courtly or aristocratic circles, access to polyphonic works was no doubt easier. The vocal polyphony in the collections of Narváez, Mudarra and Fuenllana probably represents music that they knew through aristocratic employment respectively in the service of Charles V's secretary Francisco de los Cobos,¹³ the Dukes of the Infantado, and the Marchioness of Tarifa, wife of the Duke of Alcalá. It is much more difficult to ascertain the way in which vihuelists with no established court or noble connections, notably Pisador and Daza, gained access to vocal music. Pisador evidently became familiar enough with polyphony in Salamanca to acquire a profound appreciation of the music of Josquin and the other composers whose works he intabulated.¹⁴ In Valladolid, Daza must have had similar contact with vocal polyphony; either through performances he heard or from books and manuscripts that he acquired. While the sources from which he intabulated many of his motets can be established, one of the most significant unanswered questions concerns the secular songs that he intabulated, none of which survives in any known printed collection.¹⁵ Similarly, little is known of how vihuelists developed their skills as composers. Milán's music no doubt derives from an improvised tradition, while Narváez acknowledges that he was acquainted with masters such as Luis de Guzmán and Francesco de Milano, at least through their music.¹⁶ Another mode of learning is apparent from Daza's music, an "art of playing fantasia" that apparently stems directly from Santa María's treatise.¹⁷

The internal contents of the vihuela books reflect a concern for logical and rational organisation. Milán organised *El maestro* in accordance with his didactic programme, using a more sophisticated format than the other vihuela publications. Simultaneous with the progressive increase in the difficulty of the works, the two *libros* of *El Maestro* form a symmetrical pair, each commencing with a modal cycle of fantasias and *tentos*, followed by songs in the same sequence and quantity: villancicos in Spanish and Portuguese, romances, and sonnets in Italian. This symmetry is offset only by

13 The basis for this association is investigated in detail in Ruiz Jiménez 1993.

14 The *Libro de música* includes works by Arcadelt, Basurto, Festa, Flecha, Fontana, Gombert, Morales, Mouton, Vásquez and Willaert.

15 See Griffiths 2002.

16 None of Guzmán's music is extant and only one volume by da Milano had been printed by this time, his *Intavolatura de Viola o vero Lauto* (Naples, 1536).

17 See Ward 1953. Ward's analysis of Daza's fantasias is made through direct correlation with Santa María's treatise.

the six pavaues inserted between the fantasias and songs in the first book.¹⁸ All subsequent vihuela books are subdivided by genre, principally fantasias, variations and intabulations, although the first *libro* of most of them offers a miscellany of easy works for beginners (see Table 1). Mudarra's first *libro*, for example, includes intabulations of three-voiced polyphony, dances, variations and fantasias for vihuela and four-course guitar. Valderrábano parcels his music for two vihuelas into a single book even though they include several genres, similar to Fuenllana's fourth and sixth *libros*. Mudarra's second and third *libros* are also less conventional: each modal group in *libro 2* commences with a *tiento* followed by fantasias and *glosas*, while the third is music for accompanied voice. Fuenllana concludes his entire collection appropriately enough with an original setting of *Benedicamus patrem*.

Table 1: Internal divisions in the vihuela books

| <i>Libro</i> | Narváez <i>Delphin</i> | Mudarra <i>Tres libros de música</i> | Valderrábano <i>Siva de sirenas</i> | Pisador <i>Libro de música</i> | Fuenllana <i>Orphénica lyra</i> | Daza <i>El Parnasso</i> |
|--------------|---|---|---|--|--|---|
| 1 | Fantasias (modal cycle) | Easy music (miscellany) | Easy music (miscellany) | Easy music (miscellany) | Easy music (miscellany) | Fantasias |
| 2 | Fantasias (easier) | Tientos, fantasias and glosas (modal groups) | Intabulations (motets, secular Spanish works) | Easy music (hymns, psalms, glosses on villancicos) | Intabulations (motets) paired with Fantasias | Intabulations (motets) |
| 3 | Intabulations (Mass movements, French chansons) | Songs | Intabulations (motets, madrigals, Spanish secular works) | Fantasias | Intabulations (motets <i>a 5</i> and <i>a 6</i>) | Intabulations (secular works) |
| 4 | Variations (on hymns <i>O gloriosa Domina</i> and <i>De sacris solemnis</i>) | | Duets (intabulations and original works) | Intabulations (Josquin Masses) | Miscellany (glossed plainsongs, intabulations, fantasias, <i>fabordones</i>) | |
| 5 | Secular songs (villancicos, romances) | | Fantasias | Intabulations (Josquin Masses) | Intabulations (Italian, French, Spanish secular works) | |
| 6 | Variations (“Guárdame las vacas”, “Conde claros”, etc) | | Intabulations (Mass mvts, chansons, Spanish secular works, <i>sonetos</i>) | Intabulations (motets) | Intabulations (ensaladas, original motet), Fantasias (vihuela and guitar), Tientos | |
| 7 | | | Variations | Intabulations (Italian, French, Spanish secular works) | | |

18 This format is shown diagrammatically in Griffiths, John, “Luis Milán”, *DMEH*, vol. 7: 564-566.

The notation of the Spanish books is remarkably uniform in style. Milán's *El maestro* presents the only variations from the norm, using an inverted staff—the highest line of the tablature represents the first course along Neapolitan lines—and rhythmic symbols placed above every note or chord. The appearance and content of the tablature of other vihuela books differs only in minor detail. All but Mudarra use a Z-shaped number 2 that immediately distinguishes the Spanish books from Italian lute tablatures. Some use red ciphers to indicate the voices to be sung, while others mark the relevant numbers with *puntillos* (apostrophes). Mudarra, Narváez and Valderrábano also adapt mensural clefs and other congruence signs as tempo indicators, and Mudarra places a circumflex sign over ciphers that are to be sustained for a longer time.

The notation invented or codified by Venegas de Henestrosa is a numbered grid along the lines of German keyboard tablature but with a visual appearance very similar to vihuela tablature. As advertised in the title of his *Libro de cifra nueva* and expounded in its preface, Venegas hoped that his efficient notational format would also serve harpists and vihuelists. Although his tablature has the advantage of maintaining the independence of each voice, it is more awkward for vihuelists than regular vihuela tablature as it does not resolve the practical problems of fingering that are otherwise self-explanatory. A further factor that surely limited the acceptance of Venegas's tablature by vihuelists was the proliferation of printed lute music throughout Europe; he was well aware of this and also of the scarcity of printed keyboard music. His explanation of lute tablature and its conversion into his "new tablature" is clearly directed at keyboard players as a way of giving them access to the repertory for plucked instruments.¹⁹ To prove his point, Venegas included keyboard adaptations of fantasias by Francesco da Milano, Narváez, Mudarra and Valderrábano.²⁰ Hernando de Cabezón was quick to adopt Venegas's inclusive terms, although the music in his anthology was decidedly for keyboard.

19 Venegas, *Libro de cifra nueva*, fol. 9v, cited in Anglés 1944, I: 161: "Atento a los muchos y eminentes músicos que ay de vihuela, así extranjeros como Españoles de diferentes aires y maneras de tañer, me pareció que sería bien abrir a los músicos de tecla y arpa la puerta de toda la música de vihuela que hay impresa de cifra en esta declaración." [Bearing in mind the many and distinguished vihuelists, both foreign and Spanish, with different styles and methods of playing, I thought it would be a good idea to make accessible to keyboard-players and harpists all the vihuela music printed in tablature in this way.]

20 See Ward 1952.

PRINTING

In Spain, unlike elsewhere in Europe, publishing privileges were bestowed upon authors rather than publishers, effectively allowing composers to retain ownership of their published intellectual property. Authors granted the privilege to print a book thus became self-publishers who retained control over the quality and accuracy of the work done for them by subcontracted printers. To publish a book, an author needed to obtain a printing licence, contract a printer, supervise the printing and, finally, arrange distribution.

As printed music books in sixteenth-century Spain were few, the vihuela books were all produced by general printers for whom music was only marginal to their business: Francisco Díaz Romano in Valencia; Juan de León and Martín de Montedoca in Seville; Guillermo Millis in Salamanca; and the Fernández de Córdoba workshops in Valladolid.²¹ No printer produced two tablature books and, in all cases, these books appear to have been their first (if not also their last) musical publications.²² It is difficult to conjecture the models that were used in the design of the vihuela books, especially the earliest of them; either they may have been derived from Italian examples or conceived by the printer purely on the basis of the handwritten copy provided by the author. There is no extant source that might have served directly as a model for Milán's unique tablature; by contrast, Narváez's is closely related to some contemporary Italian works, notably Giovanni Antonio Casteliono's *Intabolatura de leuto de diversi autori* (Milan, 1536) that could well have served as a model. In the later vihuela books it is easier to see the way that earlier publications served printers in designing new page layouts and typefaces, and one, if not two, of the later books (Pisador and Daza) were printed from the same type used for Valderrábano's *Silva de sirenas*. Furthermore and as already noted, Daza consciously modelled his book on Narváez's *Delphin*, adopting not only the same octavo format, but also appropriating its prefatory material. The only explicit acknowledgment of the use of a model is contained in the contract between Francisco Sánchez and Hernando de Cabezón for the printing of his *Obras* and confirms his reliance on Venegas's *Libro de cifra nueva* as the starting point for his own book.²³ Cabezón evidently took a copy of Venegas's book to Sánchez to use as a model; in the contract he states:

21 See Delgado Casado 1996; Ruiz Fidalgo 1994; and Wagner 1982.

22 For example, Juan de León printed Vásquez's *Villancicos i canciones* (1551) and Bermudo's *Declaración* (1555); Montedoca printed Guerrero's *Sacrae cantiones* (1555); and Francisco Fernández de Córdoba printed Santa María's treatise years after undertaking Valderrábano's book.

23 All quotations from this contract are drawn from the transcription in Pérez Pastor 1897.

That the numbers and letters of the said books have to be of the size, kind and form of those which are printed in a book by Henestrosa for keyboard and vihuela printed in Alcalá, which remains in the possession of Hernando de Cabezón signed by the said Francisco Sánchez.²⁴

Licences

Licences, issued by royal decree, authorized printing and normally specified the territories in which it applied, its duration, and the penalties for infringement. Although privileges in Spain were granted for the printing of books from the late fifteenth century, prior to 1558 authors were not obliged to reproduce the licence in their books.²⁵ The three earliest vihuela books do not include a licence but, even prior to becoming a legal obligation, they are printed in all the subsequent books beginning with Valderábano's *Silva de sirenas* of 1547. The only known privilege from before this time applies to Narváez's *Delphin*, issued by Charles V on 18 May 1537.²⁶ The conditions applying to Narváez's book are typical: privilege is granted for ten years throughout Spain, and the penalty for producing an illegal edition is confiscation of the copies of the book and the printing apparatus, plus a substantial fine.

...Therefore, I hereby grant you licence and faculty and order that for the time and space of ten years from the date of this decree onwards, you and those empowered by you and no other person, may print in our kingdoms under the Crown of Castile the said works in polyphony and vihuela [tablature] composed by you, as well as those by other authors that you have corrected and compiled, under penalty that any person or persons who, without your authority within the time and space of the said ten years, should print, or cause to be printed, and sold in these realms, or take them abroad to be sold, will have the edition they have made confiscated together with the moulds and other equipment they have used; and the books from which they were taken having been printed and made during the said period; and each person will incur a fine of ten thousand *maravedís* for each occasion on which they have done the contrary; and I order the fine to be distributed in the following manner: one third shall go to the judge who passes sentence, another third to our Chamber, and the other third goes to the person who accuses him...²⁷

24 "Que los números y letra de los dichos libros han de ser del tamaño, suerte y forma de la en que está impreso un libro de Hinestrossa de tecla y vihuela impreso en Alcalá, que queda en poder del dicho Hernando de Cabezón firmado del dicho Francisco Sánchez."

25 From this date, authors were obliged to include the printing licence, the terms of the privilege, and the official valuation of the book; see Moll 1979.

26 See note 4, above.

27 "... Por ende por la presente vos doy licencia y facultad y mando que por tiempo y espacio de diez años que se cuenten desde el día de la fecha desta nuestra Cédula en adelante vos y las personas que tuvieren vuestro poder y no otras algunas podáis y puedan imprimi-

Nearly forty years later, when Daza published *El Parnasso*, the conditions were virtually the same: privilege applied for ten years throughout the Spanish kingdoms, but the fine had increased fivefold to 50,000 *maravedís*, no doubt partly due to inflation.²⁸ A fine of this size would have reflected something in the order of two year's salary for a singer in most Spanish cathedrals of the time. More significantly, half of the fine was now to be paid to the author as compensation.

To solicit a printing licence, the author was first required to submit a copy of the manuscript for approval by the Royal Council. Again with reference to Daza's book, the licence indicates that the book had been seen and inspected, that it conformed to the appropriate laws and was accordingly approved.²⁹ Licences also normally explained the terms for future reprints. In line with normal practice, the licence for *El Parnasso* specified that the original authorised manuscript "rubricated on each page and signed at the end by Alonso de Vallejo, our court scribe", had to be resubmitted together with a copy of the new edition.³⁰

The need for protection was apparently not merely a legal formality: Fuenllana's *Orphénica lyra* was the object of perhaps the earliest instance of music piracy in Spain. On 14 January 1555, Fuenllana authorised his servant Juan Ruiz before the notary Mateo de Almonacid "to sell his book of vihuela music and collect copies of a fraudulent edition in accordance

mir e impriman en estos nuestros reinos de la Corona de Castilla las dichas obras de canto de órgano y vihuela así las que vos habéis compuesto como las que habéis corregido y copiado de los dichos otros autores so pena que cualquier persona o personas que sin tener para ello vuestro poder durante el tiempo de los dichos diez años lo imprimieren o hicieren imprimir y vender en estos nuestros reinos o traer a vender de fuera dellos pierdan la impresión que hicieren y los moldes y aparejos con que la hicieren e los libros que de las dichas obras imprimieren siendo impresos y hechos durante el dicho tiempo y incurran cada uno dellos en pena de diez mil maravedíes cada ves que lo contrario hicieren la cual dicha pena mando que sea repartida en esta manera: la tercia parte para el Juez que lo sentenciare y la otra tercia parte para nuestra Cámara y la otra tercia parte para la persona que lo acusare..."

28 The value of the Spanish currency almost doubled during this period: see Bennisar 1967: 279-80.

29 Daza, *El Parnasso*, fol. [IV]: "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 fecha 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 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..." [Having been seen by our Council, inasmuch as in the said book the diligence required by the laws we recently issued was taken, it was agreed that we should order that our decree be issued accordingly; and I agreed, and therefore grant you licence so that you or whomsoever might have your authority, and no other person, may print and sell the said book.]

30 "rubricada cada plana, y firmado al fin del de Alonso de Vallejo nuestro Escribano de Cámara".

with the conditions of the privilege he possesses”, inspecting any copies “to see if they were from the authentic or fraudulent edition.”³¹ Wagner’s detailed analysis of the surviving copies shows that they fall into two groups on the basis of printing variants, and suggests that one of the versions may be the fraudulent edition. These variants are found exclusively on the title page and in the prefatory material: the musical material corresponds exactly, including pasted corrections, and uncorrected errors. He argues that the pirate edition was probably an inside job by Montesdoca himself.³²

Contracts

Printing contracts survive for the vihuela books of Fuenllana and Daza, for Cabezón’s keyboard volume and for Santa María’s *Arte de tañer fantasía*. The features common to these four contracts point to the close involvement of authors in the printing process, as well as establishing that instrumental volumes were produced in large editions compared with most other contemporary Spanish books. The contracts oblige close vigilance by authors to ensure the accuracy and quality of their books and also provide insight into the economics of printing.

The print runs of Spanish instrumental books range from 1000 copies in the case of *Orphénica Lyra*, to 1225 copies of Cabezón’s *Obras*, including twenty-five luxury copies on special high-quality paper, and 1500 copies of both Daza’s *Parnasso* and Santa María’s *Arte de tañer fantasía*. With few exceptions, notably liturgical books, these print runs are twice or three times the norm in Spanish publishing.³³ Among the few Spanish publications of vocal polyphony with known publication details, Guerrero’s *Sacrae cantiones* of 1555 was printed in an edition of 750 copies.³⁴ Print runs of Italian editions of Spanish polyphony, predominantly produced for the Spanish market were also usually smaller: in Rome, Dorico printed only 525 copies of Morales’ *Missarum liber primus* in 1544 and of these, 250 were bought by the *editori* Antonio de Salamanca and Giovanni della Gatta and presumably sold in Spain while Morales himself undertook the sale of the

31 Wagner 1982: 112: “para que venda su Libro de música para vihuela y recoja los ejemplares de una edición fraudulenta haciendo cumplir lo establecido en el privilegio de impresión que posee”; and “si son por mi mandado impresos o de estampa por ellos hecha.”

32 Wagner 1982: 64.

33 Wagner (1982: 18) states that Spanish editions “only on few occasions exceeded one thousand copies, runs of 300, 500, or 750 copies being the custom”, although he points out that an edition of 1000 copies of Juan de Mena’s *Las Trescientas* was printed in Seville in 1554 by Pedro de Luján.

34 Gosálvez Lara 1995: 25.

remainder.³⁵ On the other hand, Victoria's *Missae, Magnificat, psalmi, motecti* printed in Madrid in 1600 was a smaller edition of 200 copies.³⁶ The size of instrumental editions implies that their authors expected a wide circulation, and, in terms of the population of sixteenth-century Spain, they were indeed large. The two cities where most of the instrumental repertory was published, Seville and Valladolid, had populations estimated at around 20,000 and 8,000 *vecinos* respectively.³⁷ In this context, it is difficult to envisage that these books were produced solely for local consumption, and the scattered fragments of available evidence suggest rather that they were printed with national or international markets in mind.

The contracts between printers and Spanish musician-publishers assign the responsibility for the quality control of the final product to the author, although this offered them mutual legal protection. The requirement for the authors to present accurate copy to the printers, to be present for printing, to sign correct proof sheets, or meet similar obligations, effectively give the printed editions the equivalent of *Urtext* authority and offer a guarantee that these books were not subject to extraneous editorial intervention. These conditions differentiate the processes of Spanish publishing from practices elsewhere in Europe, especially where it was the printers themselves who obtained royal privileges, assumed editorial control and took charge of the entire operation.³⁸

Prior to signing the contract for Fuenllana's *Orphénica lyra*, Martín de Montesdoca had evidently supplied Juan de Salazar with a sample that did not meet his client's expectations.³⁹ The contract allowed the blind Fuenllana to appoint a nominee to approve the quality of the work before going to print, and possibly also to check for typographical errors:

And that the said printing of the aforementioned book and volumes be in accordance with the text and tablature of a sample that I have given you and, fixing the barlines so that they be more even, and the staff lines be straight, and with all the further adjustments that in the interests of the said edition might need to be done, to the approval of the said Miguel de Fuen-

35 Cusick 1981: 297-301.

36 The contract for this edition is reprinted in Tomás Luis de Victoria, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 8: lxxxv. See also Bernstein 1991: note 67.

37 Bennassar 1967: 166, uses a coefficient of four to estimate the actual population. Bennassar also gives the student population of the University of Valladolid as 2,400 for the academic year 1584-85 (1967: 358) and indicates that a total of 352 books were published in Valladolid in the period 1481-1600 (1967: 516).

38 Some of the key studies not otherwise cited here concerning prominent European music publishers include: on the Gardano in Venice: Lewis 1988-1997 and Agee 1998; on Scotto: Bernstein 1998; on Attaignant: Hertz 1969; on Moderne: Pogue 1969; on Petrucci: Schmid 1845/ repr.1968; and see also Fenlon 1995 and Bernstein 2001.

39 The full contract is reproduced in Wagner 1982: 110-11.

llana or his nominee; and if the tablature, text, staves or anything else related to the said book not be to his satisfaction that I, the said Martín de Montedoca, should be obliged to do them again at my expense, and until it is ready to be seen and approved by someone who understands these things, nominated by you Miguel de Fuenllana or you the said *licenciado* Juan de Salazar.⁴⁰

Similarly, the contract for Cabezón's *Obras* deals only indirectly with production quality. Hernando de Cabezón was not specifically obliged to check the proofs; however, it was agreed that the printer "has to take particular care that, as stated, the printing conforms to the said original," and that "all the books have to be printed, page and line, in accordance with the original, without shifting anything from one page to another."⁴¹ Here, the author shows concern for the book's layout and possibly also with practicalities such as page turns.

Fernández de Córdoba's contracts deal with the quality of production through clauses that apportion responsibility with more legalistic precision. The following extract from the contract with Daza stipulates the author's responsibility to provide the printer with an accurate manuscript and to check and sign each page proof prior to its printing.⁴² Diego Fernández de Córdoba is also exempted from costs involved in rectifying errors not of his doing:

...the said Esteban Daza is to provide an accurate original of the said tablature, and the proofs, which he should return signed in his name, he is obliged to give back having been corrected. And the said Diego Fernández de Córdoba is obliged to print them in accordance with the sample that Esteban Daza will give him signed in his name, by which it is understood that Diego Fernández will not be liable for any error or missing note or letter that might occur in the said [original] and printed books, and the cost is to be borne by Esteban Daza...⁴³

40 "Y que la dicha impresión deste dicho libro y volúmenes susodichos sea conforme a la letra y cifra de una proba, que os tengo dada y, reparando el compás, que vaya más parejo y las pautas que vayan derechas e con todos los demás reparos que en bondad de la dicha impresión se pudieren hacer, a vista y contento del dicho Miguel de Fuenllana o de quien pusiere de su parte; y que si la cifra, y letra y pautas o otra cualquier cosa tocante al dicho libro no fuere tal que le contente, que sea obligado yo, el dicho Martín de Montedoca, a tornar a hacer a mi costa, y hasta tanto que esté de dar y recibir a vista de quien lo entienda, puesto por el dicho Miguel de Fuenllana o por vos el dicho licenciado Juan de Salazar."

41 Pérez Pastor 1897: 365: "ha de tener muy particular cuenta y cuidado de que, como dicho es, la impresión se haga conforme al dicho original," and "todos los dichos libros han de ir impresos a plana y renglón con el dicho original sin remitir ni pasar cosa alguna de una plana a la otra".

42 The full contract is reproduced in Griffiths 1993.

43 "...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 Este-

In the event of negligence in the printing or assembly of the book, or if its quality were poor, the printer accepted the responsibility to reprint or cover the costs of a reprinting undertaken by someone else:

...and if, after printing, the books are not well printed and finished as specified herein, all that is badly done will be redone at his expense, and not being fulfilled, he agrees and wishes that it be done at his expense, and all that it might cost he shall pay...⁴⁴

To ensure the author's vigilance and specifically because he did not normally reside in Valladolid, Tomás de Santa María "resident in the monastery of Santo Domingo in the city of Guadalajara" was required to be present in Valladolid for the printing:

Firstly, the said Fray Tomás de Santa María is obliged to deliver to the said Francisco Fernández de Córdoba the manuscript of the said book for the time required to print it in good and correct order, without lacking anything; and he has to be present at the printing, and has to correct it, so that the said Francisco Fernández de Córdoba not be required to do it; and if for reason of inaccurate correction any sheet of paper or form be lost, the said Fray Tomás de Santa María shall be responsible to pay for it, on production of the proof sheet signed by his hand.⁴⁵

PRODUCTION

Once their manuscripts had been delivered to the printer and the contracts were signed, authors were not involved with production until the proofs were ready for correction. The exception is Diego Pisador, whose *Libro de música*, according to its colophon, was printed in his own home, presumably by Guillermo Millis whose emblem is found beneath the colophon. According to Ruiz Fidalgo, the typesetting was possibly done in Pisador's house, but he suggests it more likely that Millis reopened the former workshop of the Salamanca printer Pedro de Castro and carried

ban Daza le diere firmado de su nombre que se entienda que ninguna enmienda 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..”.

44 “...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...”

45 “Primeramente el dicho fray Tomás de Santa María se obligó de entregar al dicho Francisco Fernández de Córdoba el registro del dicho libro para el tiempo que se hubiere de imprimir bueno e corregido sin faltar cosa alguna y a de asistir a la impresión y lo a de corregir sin que el dicho Francisco Fernández de Córdoba sea obligado a corregirlo y que si por culpa de no estar bien corregido se perdiere algún pliego o forma sea cuenta de lo pagar de el dicho padre fray Tomás de Santa María mostrando la prueba señalada de su mano.” The contract is reproduced and analysed in Griffiths & Hultberg 1992.

out the actual printing on Castro's presses.⁴⁶ Millis had enjoyed a close professional relationship with Castro prior to the latter's death in 1550.

After the author had handed over his manuscript to the printer, it was the printer who had to acquire or manufacture materials, obtain paper, buy or cast new type, and produce or subcontract the woodblocks required for producing illustrations. By comparing the dates of printing licences, contracts and colophons, a clearer picture emerges of the time taken to produce a book. The vihuela book that was produced more quickly than any other was the *Silva de sirenas*; a mere 83 days elapsed between Valderrábano being granted a licence on 6 May 1547 and the completion of printing on 28 July. Valderrábano's is one of the largest books comprising 103 folios of tablature plus the prefatory pages. At the other extreme, Pisador's book of similar size and content was completed sometime in 1552, more than nineteen months after the printing licence was granted on 28 May 1550. Narvaéz's book took a similar time: eighteen months elapsed between the granting of the licence on 18 May 1537 and the completion of printing on 30 October 1538. Fuenllana's *Orphénica lyra* took seventeen months (2 August 1553 - 2 October 1554) to produce, and just under a year elapsed in the case of Daza's *El Parnasso* (29 June 1575 - 12 April 1576). Even though there is no surviving privilege for Milán's *El Maestro*, the discrepancy between the date on the title page (1535) and the colophon (4 December 1536) also suggests that considerable time elapsed. These calculations, however, should be understood more as the time taken to prepare for printing rather than the printing time itself, as there were various other factors involved including the technical prerequisites listed above, and possibly the question that most concerned authors: arranging finance.

The surviving printing contracts allow more accurate calculation of the actual printing time. *El Parnasso* was printed within three months of Daza signing the contract on 13 January 1576, a period similar to that taken for *Silva de sirenas*, the much larger volume. In Daza's case, the contract specified that the printing was to take place without interruption. To complete the job close to the estimated date, 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.⁴⁷

46 Ruiz Fidalgo 1994, I: 73-75.

47 "...obligó su persona y bienes muebles y raíces derechos y 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 ha de echar muy buen papel grueso numerado bueno y no

Similarly, Martín de Montedoca agreed to

begin to make them today, the date of this letter, and not to stop work nor admit nor engage in any other work that might impede it, until the printing of the agreed one thousand volumes of the said music book is finished, and to give them to you printed by the end of the month of July in this same year as this letter is dated, and before if am able to do so.⁴⁸

The printer was not able to deliver on schedule and *Orphénica lyra* was completed two months later than estimated, six months after the contract was signed on 29 March 1554, double the time taken for Daza's book. The speed of working was probably similar, as *El Parnasso* was almost half the size.⁴⁹ For larger books, or those that presented printers with new problems, printing appears to have taken even longer. The Cabezón contract was signed on 29 May 1576, but the printing took over two years and was not completed until 2 August 1578, the date of its valuation (*tasación*). The *Arte de tañer fantasía* was a more extensive task, requiring additional woodcuts for illustrations, and a large number of music examples in addition to the copious text. According to the contract signed on 5 July 1563, printing of the book was due to start in January 1564 and was completed on 20 May 1565, sixteen to seventeen months later. Previous delays resulted from the scarcity of materials. Santa María had initially applied for a licence to print the *Arte de tañer fantasía* almost ten years prior to the eventual printing (it was granted on 28 November 1557), but given the brief period of privilege that remained, he applied for a renewal. The new licence of 11 April 1563 confirms that one of the principal reasons for the delay was "an acute lack of paper."⁵⁰

Some aspects of the mechanics of the printing process can be observed from the books themselves. All the books were printed from movable type, mostly composed of type pieces that included both the stave lines and the ciphers. Most of the books were produced using multiple impressions, usually to indicate vocal lines or *cantus firmi* in the tablature by using red ciphers, but sometimes also for purely decorative purposes such as on title-pages. Perhaps the most elegant of the books is Narváez's, produced using the traditional method of preparing music manuscripts, but transposed to

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".

48 "...los comenzar a hacer desde hoy día de la fecha desta carta y de no alzar la mano dello ni entremeter ni entender en otra ninguna obra que lo impida, hasta ser acabados de imprimir los dichos mil volúmenes del dicho libro de música, y de vos los dar todos impresos en fin del mes de julio deste año de la fecha desta carta y antes, si antes los pudiere acabar."

49 See Table 2 below.

50 Santa María, *Arte de tañer fantasía*, fol. iv: "por haber habido gran falta de papel, & por otras muchas y evidentes causas...".

the new technology. It involved two impressions of most of the pages and a third impression for others. The tablature lines were printed presumably as the first impression, in the same way that manuscript copyists began by ruling the staves. The ciphers and rhythmic figures were printed onto the staves in the second impression, and whatever was required in red was added in the third impression. Diego Fernández de Córdoba succeeded in aligning the impressions with astonishing accuracy.

The other vihuela books were printed with the simpler process of composite stave lines and ciphers that eliminated the finicky alignment of multiple impressions, except for the parts of the books that required red ciphers to distinguish one voice. Only the books of Daza and Mudarra avoided the need for overprinting by signalling the same ciphers with *puntillos*. The simplicity of the single impression method of printing was offset by the need to cast additional font for each cipher with *puntillos* as single pieces of type, but this was evidently considered worthwhile. Additionally, mensural notation was used in the books of Mudarra, Valderrábano, Pisador and Fuenllana for the sung voices of some pieces. Organisation of the books by genre helped restrict the amount of each book that required special formatting or two impressions. Only the motets of *libro 2* of Valderrábano's *Silva de sirenas* required a second impression with red ciphers, and only *libro 3* employed mensural notation. The novel format used for the duets of *libro 4*, printed with the two vihuela parts on facing pages but in opposite directions to allow both parts to be read simultaneously by two players on opposite sides of a table, only required the corresponding forms to be inverted.

The technique of printing tablature from movable type was derived from the system used for mensural notation, but involved more complex typography. Unlike mensural notation, an entire stave could not be composed from individual pieces that included all the stave lines and the notes. Instead, each tablature stave required seven rows of type, one for each of the six tablature lines and the seventh for the rhythmic signs placed above the stave. The amount of type needed to set an individual page was therefore significantly greater than for printing mensural music, and more akin to standard text setting. While tablature was theoretically seven times more laborious to set than mensural music, it is evident from the tablatures that typographers used their ingenuity to devise numerous shortcuts to simplify typesetting through combined characters. These include barlines that traverse the entire stave, clefs and signatures, fillers of blank tablature of various lengths and widths, and perhaps even combined characters of vertical configurations corresponding to common chord shapes. The total font may have included in the vicinity of 75 characters, approximately the same number required for a text font or for printing mensural notation, although some of the printers may have used a larger number of compos-

ite characters, increasing manufacturing costs in exchange for more efficient typesetting.⁵¹ Although the majority of the characters used for six-course vihuela typography would also have served for the printing of the music for four- and five-course instruments in the books of Mudarra and Fuenllana, additional shortcut characters, such as shorter barlines, were evidently also cast.

The possibility of producing more than one volume from the same type offered advantages in terms of time and money, but there is only one certain example of the reutilization of existing type. Guillermo Millis printed Pisador's *Libro de música* using the same type that Francisco Fernández de Córdoba had used five years earlier for Valderrábano's *Silva de sirenas*. Apart from Millis's personal emblem printed at the end of the book, all the other details of the type are identical, including some of the decorative blocks that were used to fill blank spaces. According to Ruiz Fidalgo, Francisco Fernández de Córdoba operated a workshop in Medina del Campo in the years 1550-1552 and this would have enabled Millis, who also had a press in the town in the period 1551-1555, to lease the type used earlier for printing *Silva de sirenas*.⁵² It is also possible that Diego Fernández de Córdoba (the younger), Francisco's son and successor, used the same type again, at least in part, for Daza's *El Parnasso* in 1576. Although the mensural rhythmic symbols are of a different design, the ciphers on many pages are identical, although many others appear slightly thicker. It is difficult to determine whether this is due to wear, to a different pressure of impression or absorbency of paper, or whether new pieces were added to the original casting.⁵³

The question of old type is raised by Hernando de Cabezón in his contract with Francisco Sánchez. Cabezón specified categorically that his edition should be set in new type, stating:

That for the printing of the said book, the said Francisco Sánchez has to make new punches for the numbers, lines, spaces, dots and barlines of the music, and, for that purpose, cast the matrices and letters without using in

51 Works such as Narváez's *Delphin*, produced by multiple impression, could be composed from a minimal character set of little more than two dozen characters to give all the required numbers, rhythmic signs and special symbols.

52 Ruiz Fidalgo 1994, I: 73-75.

53 The history of the Fernández de Córdoba workshops that operated in Valladolid for close to a century has yet to be completely unravelled. The press was evidently founded by Diego Fernández de Córdoba (the first, active 1535-1589?), printer of Narváez's *Delphin*. His professional and familial relationship to Francisco Fernández de Córdoba (the first, active 1541-1570) has not yet been established. Francisco was, in turn, succeeded by a second Diego Fernández de Córdoba (active 1578-1603), and the press was continued by his heirs (1603-1609), and then by his son, a second Francisco Fernández de Córdoba (active 1600-1621) and finally by his widow (1621-1629). See Delgado Casado 1996, I: 219-32.

the said printing those that were used in the book of the said Henestrosa nor any others even if they be good.⁵⁴

Insisting again that Sánchez cast new type, and as an improvement on the earlier book, Cabezón also specified that the new ciphers be “more substantial than those in the said book by Henestrosa... thicker and bolder... so they can be read and understood with greater clarity”.⁵⁵ Cabezón also wished to include woodcut illustrations—“one of a vihuela and another of a harp”—again probably in imitation of Venegas, and required them to be acquired or newly made by the printer.⁵⁶ Sánchez evidently did not comply with this clause of the contract and the specified woodcuts are not found in any surviving copy of the book.

Tablature books were printed in the customary manner, on large sheets of paper that were folded into *cuadernillos* to give four standard quarto bifolios [*pliegos*] or eight in octavo. Printers added marks (Ai, Aii... Bi, Bii...) at the bottom right-hand edge of pages to ensure that the pages were later folded and bound correctly. A number of constrictions—the total amount of type required, the available number of printing formes, or even the amount of available space in the workshop—governed the number of formes that were able to be assembled at any one time. After the printing of each sheet was completed, they were stored until folding and binding began. At the conclusion of printing each sheet, the formes could be broken up to provide the type needed for subsequent pages. After the last sheet was printed, folding, gathering and binding could begin. This process would have necessitated authors to come to the workshop periodically to correct proof sheets, as errors could obviously not be rectified after the type had been dismantled.

In general, the standard of editing of the vihuela books was high, and few errors are found. Most of the errors found in *El maestro* are inconsequential and are easily rectified in sightreading, while the multiple errors in Pisador's tablature were possibly the result of the vihuelist's musical limitations combined with inattentive proofreading. Even in the most accurate of the books, human error is evident in minor ways, and some errors were detected only

54 “Que para la impresión del dicho libro el dicho Francisco Sánchez ha de hacer de nuevo los punzones de los números, reglas, espacios, puntos y compases de la música y fundir por ellos las matrices y letras sin ocupar en la dicha impresión las con que se imprimió el dicho libro de Hinestrossa ni otra alguna aunque sea buena.”

55 “Que los números que ha de llevar la dicha impresión en las reglas los ha de hacer fundir el dicho Francisco Sánchez más corpulentos que los que están en el dicho libro de Hinestrossa, de manera que queden más gruesos y cubiertos de tinta que los del dicho libro, y se pueden leer y entender con más claridad”.

56 “Que dentro del dicho libro en la parte y lugar que el dicho Hernando de Cabezón le señalare ha de poner dos estampas, una de vihuela y otra de arpa, las cuales ha de buscar o hacer cortar el dicho Francisco Sánchez...”

after the completion of printing. Minor errors were remedied in the first instance by the inclusion of a list of errata in the book itself. This implies, naturally, that the prefatory folios of the books which included such lists were the last to be printed; this also permitted an accurately paginated table of contents to be compiled. In some of the books, the erratum list follows directly at the end of the prefatory material while in others the printers went to the trouble of cutting the erratum list from the *cuadernillo* on which it was printed in order to insert the offcut as a single *pliego* at the end of the book. Other errors, perhaps detected after the erratum list was printed, were corrected by hand. These were generally done with ink of exactly the same colour as used for the printed material which suggests that they were probably carried out in the workshop, whether by the authors themselves or by a corrector. In some books, notably *Orphénica lyra*, errors were corrected by pasting new tablature over the defective bars or notes.

Minor differences in surviving copies of Santa María's book indicate that errors were detected during the process of printing, and that the presses was stopped on at least four occasions in order to make corrections. As the sheets were evidently intermingled at the moment of folding and gathering, no two surviving copies are identical and it is impossible to estimate the number of defective and corrected copies that were produced. These amendments amount to numerous typographical changes in the opening dedication, changes to the woodcut of the *monacordio* (lib. I, fol. 56), substitution of a new woodcut of the vihuela using standard tablature format instead of the inverted form used by Milán (lib. I, fol. 56v), rectification of incorrect chapter numberings (lib. II, fol. 82v), and correction of one music example (lib. II, fol. 122v).⁵⁷ Santa María notes at the end of the book "that several of these errors are not in all the books because they were corrected in time", and, as no variants have been detected in any source other than the *Orphénica lyra*, this might well be an exceptional rather than commonplace situation.⁵⁸

COSTS AND PROFITS

The extant printing contracts spell out the formulas used by printers for calculating the cost of production based on the quantity of paper required. Read in conjunction with the number of copies constituting each edition, the number of pages, and the retail prices, a detailed picture of the economics of printing can be drawn. The retail prices of the books were

⁵⁷ These corrections are explained in greater detail in Griffiths & Hultberg 1992.

⁵⁸ Santa María, *Arte de tañer fantasía*, Libro II, fol. 123: "Adviértase que algunos hierros destos no están en todos los libros, porque se corrigieron a su tiempo."

within reach of their intended market, yet the sale of roughly a quarter of the edition at the official price would recover the sum invested in printing. Sale of an entire edition, therefore, would render substantial profit. From the time that the Royal Council began to regulate book prices, profit, too, became a matter of governmental policy. Printing licences spell out that "...a price is to be fixed" by the Royal Council "at which each volume ought to be sold, under pain of incurring the penalties set forth in the said ordinance and laws of our Realms..."⁵⁹ Accordingly, on the completion of printing, a copy of the new book was submitted to the Council for pricing. Cabezón reproduces the certification of *tasación* following the list of errata at the end of the prefatory pages of his *Obras*:

I, Alonso de Vallejo, secretary of His Majesty's Council, certify that a book by Hernando de Cabezón entitled *de Música*, having been seen by the gentlemen of the Council and printed with the licence of His Majesty, the price was agreed for which each paper volume is to be sold at a ducat and a half. And they ordered that this price be placed at the beginning of each book and that it is not to be sold without it, so that the price at which it is to be sold be known...⁶⁰

The book was thus submitted with only a provisional copy of the prefatory folios for this *tasación* to have been added afterwards. Other books, such as *Orphénica lyra* for example, have the price printed on the title-page, also added after the book had been valued. Other printers completed printing before soliciting the *tasación*, and added the price later by hand in the workshop. Accordingly, Pisador's *Libro de música* records a price of 629 *maravedíes* by hand on the title-page and in Daza's *El Parnasso*, the price of 136 *maravedíes* was also written into a space provided by the printer on the title-page. For each of the books with surviving contracts, the official retail price is close to four times the production cost. The most probable formula used by the Royal Council to determine retail prices seems to have been to multiply the production cost of each book by four and round this figure to the nearest equivalent whole unit of coinage, sil-

59 Daza, *El Parnasso*, fol. [IV]: "...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..."

60 Cabezón, *Obras*, fol. 13v: "Yo Alonso de Vallejo, secretario del Consejo de su Majestad, doy fe que, habiéndose visto por los señores del Consejo un libro intitulado de Música, fecho por Hernando de Cabezón, que con licencia de su Majestad se imprimió, se tasó el precio en que cada volumen se ha de vender en papel a ducado y medio. Y mandaron que esta tasa se ponga en principio de cada libro y no se venda sin ella, para que se sepa el precio en que se ha de vender... Y para que dello conste, de mandamiento de los dichos señores del Consejo y pedimento del dicho Hernando Cabezón, di esta fe. Que es fecha en Madrid, a dos días del mes de agosto de mil y quinientos y setenta y ocho años. Alonso de Vallejo."

ver *reales* or gold *ducados*. In the case of *El Parnasso*, four times the unit cost came to 142.8 *mrs*, and this appears to have been rounded down by 5% to 136 *maravedíes*, exactly 4 *reales* in silver currency.⁶¹

Costing of the entire edition is somewhat open ended in some of the contracts, while some are based on a flat fee, and others on an estimate of the amount of paper to be used. Francisco Sánchez charged a flat fee of 5110 *reales* (173,740 *mrs*), probably because he was able to estimate exactly the amount of paper to be used given the precise manner in which Hernando de Cabezón had prepared the copy. Martín de Montesdoca costed Fuenllana's *Orphénica lyra* at two *maravedíes* per *pliego*, equivalent to one *maravedí* per folio, 185 *mrs* per book and 185,000 *mrs* for the entire impression. While he makes no attempt to calculate a total, Montesdoca does indicate that he had spent 68,068 *maravedíes* on twenty-two bales of paper for the job. Montesdoca's price estimate, therefore, was almost exactly double the wholesale paper cost. As an initial outlay Juan de Salazar paid a first instalment towards the printing costs of 104 *ducados* (39,000 *mrs*) on signing the contract, and also agreed to be guarantor for the paper purchase which Montesdoca was paying off in instalments. Wagner proposes that an additional 22 *ducados* that Salazar agreed to pay "towards costs over and above the two *maravedíes* per *pliego*" was possibly an incentive to ensure that Montesdoca produced the edition with the high quality that Salazar and Fuenllana required.⁶² The Fernández de Córdoba contracts use a different formula to calculate costs, and the agreed total is built into the contract. The passage from the contract for *El Parnasso* corresponding to the costing of the edition indicates that

each of which said books has to have one quire which is twenty-five sheets [*pliegos*] 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...⁶³

61 In Valladolid in 1576, one *real* could have bought about an ounce of silver, ten litres of wine, or four or five chickens. Detailed commodity prices throughout the period, with large fluctuations due to inflation, are given in Hamilton 1965.

62 Wagner 1982: 36. The passage from the contract reads as follows: "Y demás de lo susodicho otorgo que he recibido y recibí de vos el dicho licenciado Juan de Salazar doce ducados de oro que son para en cuenta de veinte y dos ducados que nos concertamos que diédeses para ayuda de costas demás de los dichos dos maravedíes de cada pliego..." [And in addition to the above, I declare that I have received from you, the said *licenciado* Juan de Salazar, 12 gold ducats towards the 22 ducats that we agreed you would give to help with costs over and above the said two *maravedíes* per *pliego*...].

63 "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

This estimate appears to be made using a rule of thumb as it falls short by almost 20% of the total amount of paper used, assuming a book of 100 octavo folios (25 quarto *pliegos*) rather than the actual 119 folios of the completed volume. Diego Fernández de Córdoba based this figure on an initial estimate of one *real* per book, but in translating it to reams of paper the cost was multiplied to 1575 rather than 1500 *reales*. With hindsight we can see that the real amount of paper used was closer to 90 reams, rather than Fernández de Córdoba's estimate of 75 reams. At the same price of 21 *reales* per ream, the cost of the edition would have been 1890 *reales*, although the total of the estimate is not simply the wholesale paper cost, but a figure that allowed for materials, equipment, salaries and profit.

All the printing contracts stipulate payment in various instalments. Fernández de Córdoba required Daza to pay 300 *reales* on signing the contract. A second instalment was to be paid as the printing proceeded, a third on completion of the job. In total 1000 *reales* were to be paid in advance and the remaining 575 *reales* from sales, equivalent to the first 144 copies. The contract stipulates

... another 300 *reales* are to be paid to him halfway through the time of the said printing and 400 *reales* of the balance after the printing is completed and the 575 *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 575 *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...⁶⁴

Sale of the entire print run at the official price would have yielded 6000 *reales*, a profit margin of 381% over the cost price. This is in line with the other Spanish tablature books: the contract for Santa María's *Arte de tañer fantasía* stipulates a similar costing mechanism, calculated at 23 *reales* per ream of paper, and a similar regime of payments: an initial 20 *ducados* (220 *reales*) on signing the contract, 100 *ducados* (1100 *reales*) on completion of printing, and the balance (6247 *reales*) from the sale of the books. Using the Fernández de Córdoba formula, the 5000 *reales* plus a further 110 *reales* for purchase of the type and formes that Sánchez charged Cabezón is equivalent to 19.4 *reales* per ream, negligibly less than the books already

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..."

64 "... 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..."

discussed. On the other hand, the printing costs of Fuenllana's *Orphénica Lyra* were significantly higher. Martín de Montedoca formulated the costs at the rate of two *mrs* per *pliego*, equivalent to 32.25 *reales* per ream, and significantly more than the other printers. A detailed comparison of the four books is shown in Table 3, giving details of the production costs, revenue and profit of each volume. Apart from the higher costs and greater profit margins associated with Fuenllana's book, the figures for the other books are remarkably close.

Table 2: Production, costs and profit of books of instrumental music printed in Spain

| | Fuenllana, <i>Orphénica Lyra</i> (1554) ⁶⁵ | Santa María, <i>Arte de tañer fantasía</i> (1565) | Daza, <i>El Parnasso</i> (1576) ⁶⁶ | Cabezón, <i>Obras de música</i> (1578) |
|--|--|--|---|---|
| <i>The Book</i> | | | | |
| A No. of copies printed | 1000 | 1500 | 1500 | 1225 |
| B No. of folios in book | 185 | 219 | 119 [in 8°] (= 60 in 4°) | 215 |
| <i>Production costs</i> | | | | |
| Costing mechanism | 2 <i>mrs</i> per <i>pliego</i> + 22 <i>ducados</i> | 23 <i>reales</i> per ream | 21 <i>reales</i> per ream | 5000 + 110 <i>reales</i> flat fee |
| C Cost per ream (<i>reales</i>) | 32.25 | 23 | 21 | 19.4 |
| D Cost per ream (<i>mrs</i>) | 1000 | 782 | 714 | 660 |
| E Reams required for edition [=AxB/1000] (rounded) | 185 | 329 | 75 | 264 |
| F Total cost of impression (<i>mrs</i>) [=DxE] | 193,250 | 257,278 | 53,550 | 174,240 |
| G Net cost per book (<i>mrs</i>) [=F/A] | 193.25 | 171.5 | 35.7 | 142.25 |
| H Average printing cost per folio (<i>mrs</i>) [F/(AxB)] | 1.04 | 0.78 | 0.60 | 0.66 |
| <i>Revenue</i> | | | | |
| Retail price (as per title page) | 28 <i>reales</i> | 20 <i>reales</i> | 136 <i>mrs</i> | 1.5 <i>ducados</i> |
| I Retail price (<i>mrs</i>) | 868 | 680 | 136 | 563 |
| J Revenue from sale of complete edition (<i>mrs</i>) [=AxI] | 868,000 | 1,020,000 | 204,000 | 689,675 |
| <i>Potential profit</i> | | | | |
| K Profit per book (<i>mrs</i>) [I-G] | 675 (19.85 <i>reales</i>) | 509 (15 <i>reales</i>) | 100.3 (2.95 <i>reales</i>) | 421 (12.4 <i>reales</i>) |
| L Profit margin [=J(100)/F] | 449% | 396% | 381% | 396% |

65 Wagner 1982: 35-36, establishes different figures for the Fuenllana edition: a total cost (F) of 254,068 *mrs* or 254 *mrs* per copy (G), and the retail price (I) 578 *mrs*.

66 This price is based on Fernández de Córdoba's estimate in the contract that 75 reams of paper would be required. My own estimate is 90 reams and, in the event, Daza's total costs would have been 64,260 *mrs*, 42.85 *mrs* per book, the cost per octavo folio would have been 0.36 *mrs*, and the profit margin considerably less at 317%.

To some extent the projection of profits is hypothetical because it supposes the sale of the entire edition at the official price; the available scraps of evidence suggest that neither may have occurred. Presumably, the purpose of price fixing was to prevent inflation and commercial dishonesty rather than to prevent discounting. Various later documents suggest, for example, that copies of Fuenllana's *Orphénica lyra* were on sale in Seville from the *librero* Gregorio de la Torre for as little as 578 *maravedies* as early as 1555, while later in the century prices varied between 255 and 544 *mrs.*⁶⁷ Even though the evidence concerning sales is slim, it does not appear to vindicate the authorial optimism that gave rise to such large print runs. There is no sign of any vihuela book reaching a second edition, although the motive for the pirate edition of the *Orphénica lyra* was surely monetary and based on some notion of demand. Whether due to changing fashions or poor marketing, sales of Cabezón's *Obras* were evidently slow, and even the professional book dealer who took the remaining stock on consignment appears not to have fared much better at selling the book than the author himself. In May 1581, only three years after publication, Cabezón, presumably having disposed of up to 425 copies of the *Obras*, consigned the remaining 800 copies to Blas de Robles for 8,000 *reales*, ten *reales* per volume.⁶⁸ Robles agreed to pay Cabezón annual instalments of 1,000 *reales* over eight years, anticipating that he would be able to sell one hundred copies annually. This suggests that Cabezón had initially taken on the task of selling and distributing the book, but that this required more time than he had available, or that he had neither the marketing expertise nor the required network to do so. The arrangement did not imply that Cabezón would make a loss, but certainly his profit margin was substantially reduced, particularly as the sale of 310 copies would have repaid his initial capital outlay. Assuming that Robles was acting honestly, he does not appear to have disposed of the books rapidly, having repaid only 2,000 *reales* by 1586, perhaps having sold no more than 200 copies over five years.

Even though the preceding discussion focuses on the price mechanisms of book production and sale, it is difficult to contextualise these in a meaningful way as many dimensions of the book trade are still unclear, and contradictory evidence abounds. As Clive Griffin points out, prices seem to vary enormously even for the same book, and considerable discrepancies exist between official book prices and the prices for which the books were

67 See Wagner 1982: 18ff. Of other prices, the lower price is quoted by Wagner, while the higher price of 16 *reales* is the estimated value of a copy of the book in the possession of the bookseller Ana Vélez in Valladolid in 1596; she was the wife of Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, the younger.

68 Pérez Pastor 1897: 370.

actually sold, up to sevenfold in the cases he mentions specifically.⁶⁹ At the same time, any attempt to relate book prices to other goods and services is also fraught with difficulties given regional differences in prices, currencies, systems of weights and measures, as well as the high level of inflation in Spain during the sixteenth century. According to Bennassar's study of the economy of Valladolid, basic commodity prices rose three- to fourfold during the period under discussion. The price of lamb, for example, rose from nineteen *mrs* to thirty-eight *mrs* per kilogram between 1536 and 1590, and wine rose from four to fourteen *mrs* per litre in the same period.⁷⁰ Similarly, the average daily salaries of building tradesmen such as carpenters, tilers and plasterers rose from sixty-five *mrs* to 124 *mrs* from the 1530s to the 1570s. While these figures give some point of reference, it should be borne in mind that according to Bennassar's analysis of book ownership based on inventories of deceased estates in Valladolid, the nobility, the clergy and educated *letrados* formed the principal groups of books owners; books were found only among the possessions of a small number of well-to-do artisans and merchants.⁷¹

DISTRIBUTION

The Cabezón case is the most detailed available example of the distribution and circulation of instrumental tablatures printed in Spain. Information illuminating how, and how widely, the books circulated is scarce and much of the evidence is but circumstantial. The list of known players and makers of vihuelas continues to grow and suggests that the market may have been sufficient to justify the production of editions of the size that are discussed here. It is evident from many of the books themselves that many of the vihuelists knew the books that preceded their own; this is true at least of Narváez, Mudarra, Pisador, and Daza. That several of the books travelled beyond national frontiers is confirmed both by the appearance of works by Narváez, Valderrábano and Fuenllana in northern European sources, and by the numerous documents referring to the export of vihuela books to the Americas.⁷² Within Spain, vihuela books listed in

69 Griffin 1988: 137-38.

70 Bennassar 1989: 260-62.

71 Bennassar 1989: 469.

72 Close to thirty works from the vihuela books of Narváez, Valderrábano and Fuenllana were reprinted in various volumes by Phalèse in the years 1546-1571, and in Adrian Denss, *Florelegium* (Cologne, 1594). Exports to the Americas include copies of Fuenllana's *Orphénica lyra* ordered by the Mexican dealer Alonso Losa from Diego Mexía in Seville in 1576, and copies of Narváez and Daza sent to Martín de Ibarra in Mexico in 1600. See Leonard 1992: 205-211, 247-56 and 342-350; Ward 1953: 363; Corona-Alcalde 1993; and Schöner 1999: 47.

inventories of deceased estates provide the greatest insights; however, these are few in number compared even to the inventories that list vihuelas among their owners' possessions. Nevertheless, the book owners form a subset of the same group and show recreational vihuelists to have included noblemen, educated urban professionals, clerics, and women from the same social strata. Many documents list individuals who owned vihuelas and also music books, without specifying whether or not they were tablatures. In Valladolid in 1562, for example, the inventory of the cleric Millán de Ribera included two vihuelas and seven unspecified "librillos de música."⁷³ Other inventories specify tablature books without giving their titles. The *Inventario de los bienes de doña Menira [sic] de Cerbera* made in Toledo in 1556 includes a "cancionero de vigüela" that might well be one of the printed vihuela books.⁷⁴ Copies of Milán's book show up in inventories as late as 1609, and various copies of the books by Narváez, Fuenllana and Valderrábano are found in the possession of booksellers, civic authorities, nobles and academics.⁷⁵ Some inventories of the possessions of noblemen indicate significant holdings of music and instruments: the inventory made in Zaragoza in 1576 of the possessions of Diego de los Cobos, Comendador de León and son of Narváez's erstwhile patron, includes numerous vihuelas, guitars and lutes, and some twenty-one music books.⁷⁶ Book dealers were not only responsible for exporting tablature books, but also for the import of foreign publications. A catalogue published in Madrid by the Venetian merchant Simonis Vasalani in 1597, for example, includes a large number of polyphonic works as well as *intavolature de liuto* and *de citara*.⁷⁷

Despite the size of the print runs of these editions, the fate of the vihuela tablatures is analogous to the few surviving examples of the instrument itself from the period: only a handful of exemplars of each edition has survived the intervening four hundred years, and most of those that have reached us were probably among the copies that were bound in the sixteenth century for sumptuous libraries of wealthy bibliophiles. The large majority of copies were probably never bound and deteriorated in their paper covers, eventually to be discarded along with any other household goods that were no longer of use.

73 Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid [AHPV], protocolos, leg. 58, fol. 722.

74 Archivo Histórico Provincial de Toledo [AHPT], protocolos, leg. 1842, fol. 53, quoted in Reynaud 1996: 398.

75 Several specific examples are cited in Reynaud 1996: 391-398.

76 Transcribed in Calahorra 1977: 330-331.

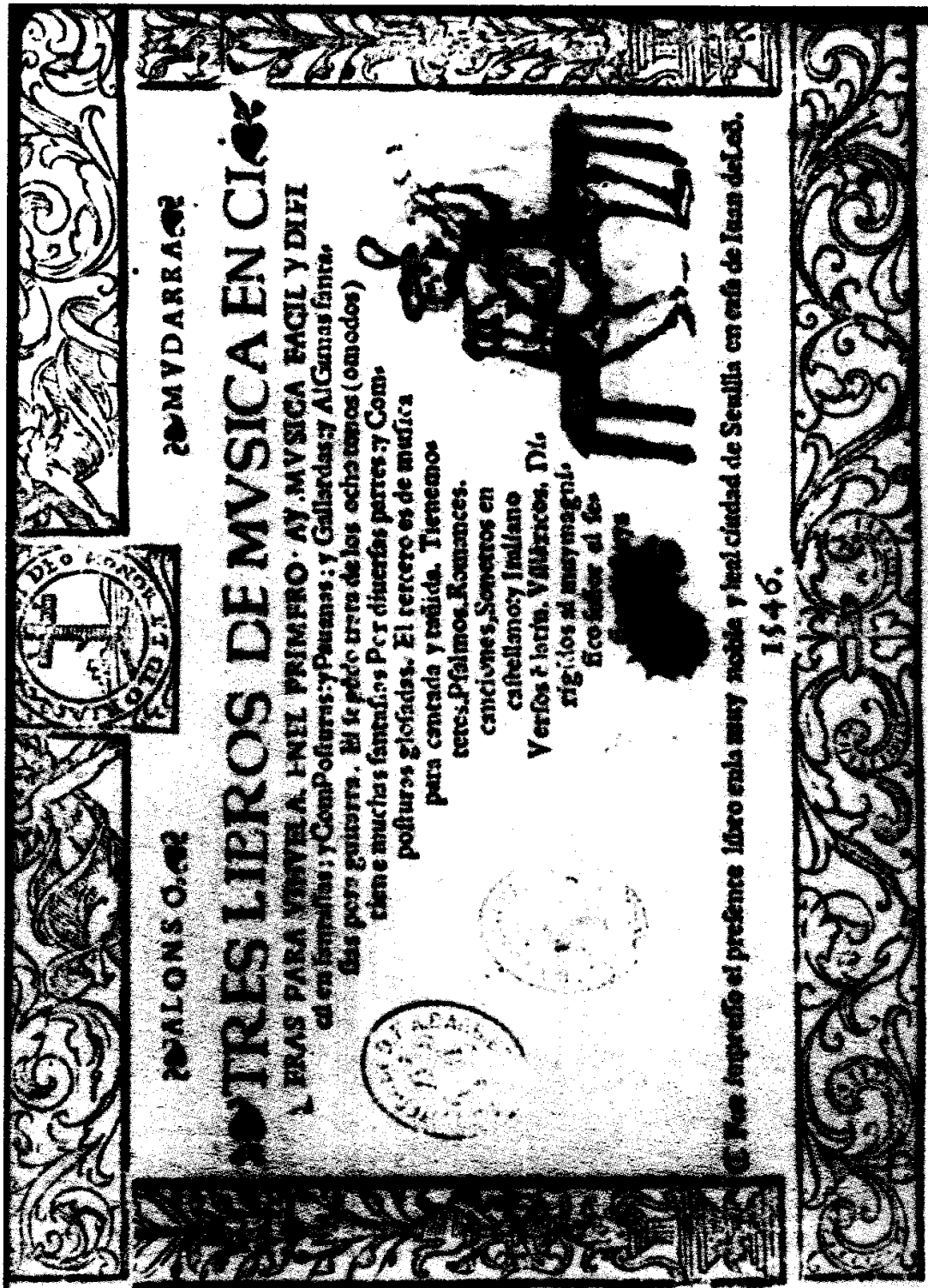
77 Simonis Vasalini, *Index librorum omnium tam ad Theologiam, Philosophiam, & Iuris...* (Madrid: Typographia Regia, 1597): 38.

Author's note

In the period between the completion of this study and its publication, a significant new contribution has been made to our understanding of the mechanics of printing in an article by Antonio Corona-Alcalde (Corona-Alcalde 2005). Dr Corona locates the vihuela books of Narváez, Valderrábano and Daza in their socio-musical context and examines their typography in greater detail than has been possible here. Working from a pre-publication copy, the author has generously shown many of the ways in which it complements and expands my own study.



Illus. 22. Luys Milán: *Libro intitulado El Maestro* (Valencia: F. Díaz Romano, 1536): frontispiece (British Library, K.8.g.8; by permission)



Illus. 23. Alonso Mudarra: *Tres libros de musica en cifra* (Sevilla: J. de León, 1546):
title-page (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, R/ 14630; by permission)



Illus. 24. Alonso Mudarra: *Tres libros de musica en cifra* (Sevilla: J. de León, 1546): colphon (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, R/ 14630; by permission)

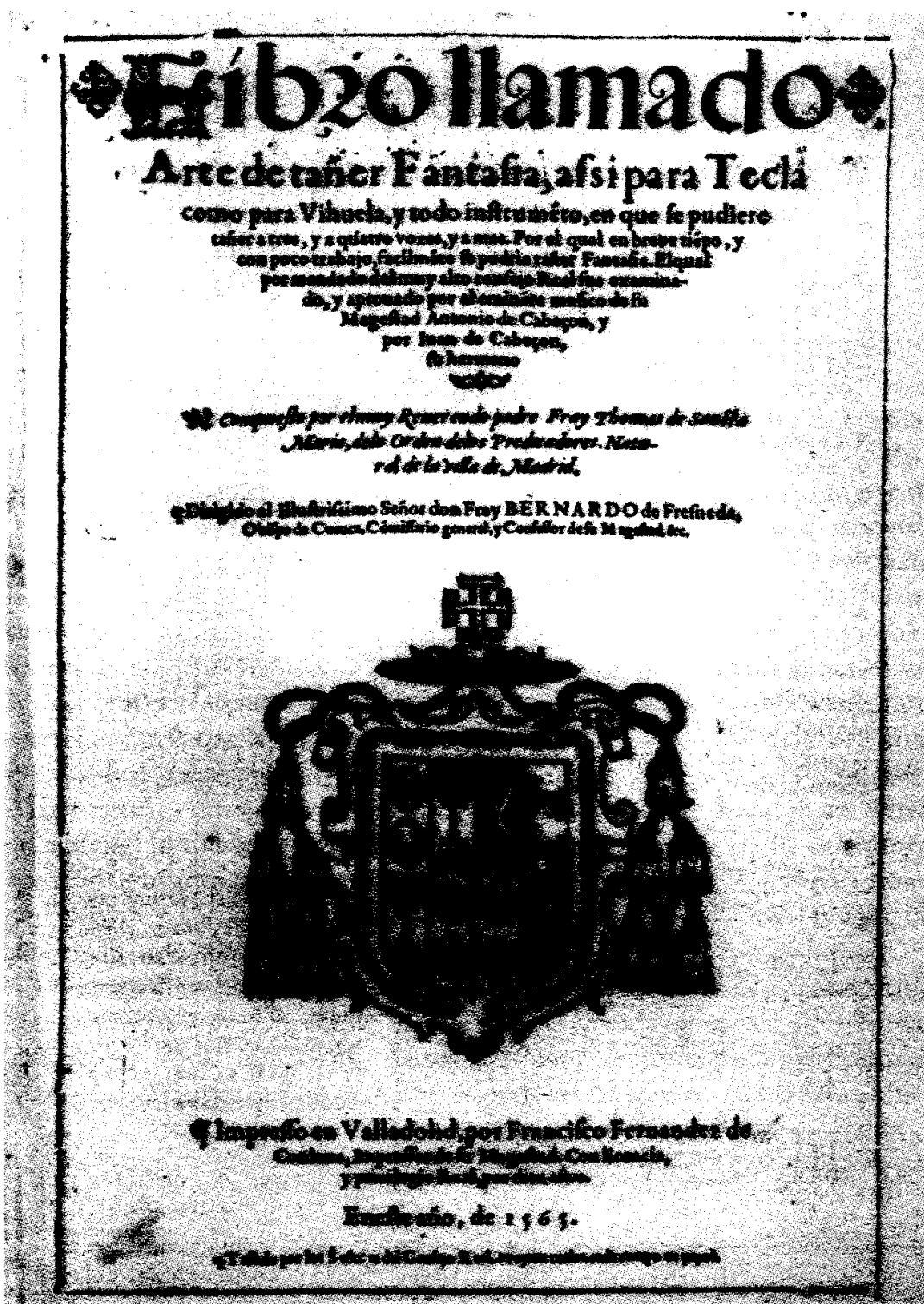
Romance. Libro primero, Pisador Fo. vi.

el rey me ro por la cas a del de Gra na da.

quida la vinda con sus sus que al

ha me en ga na da y así ha me.

Illus. 25. Diego Pisador: *Libro de musica de vihuela* (Salamanca: [G. de Millis], 1552), p. vi (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, R/ 14060; by permission)



illus. 26. Tomás de Santa María: *Libro llamado Arte de tañer Fantasia* (Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, 1565): title-page (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, M/ 15088; by permission)

EXEMPLO. de subir y bajar. 25



¶ La quarta manera se haze subiendo con veintidofena, dos veintiquatrenas, veintifefena, y veintifefena, y barando al reuer, es a saber, con veintifefena, veintifefena, dos veintiquatrenas, y veintidofena. EXEMPLO.

¶ La quinta manera se haze subiendo con veintidofena, dos veintiquatrenas, veintifefena, y veintiquatrenas, y barando al reuer, es a saber, con veintiquatrenas, veintifefena, dos veintidofena, y veintidofena.

EXEMPLO.




¶ Las fabredichas cinco maneras de subir y bajar, como dicho es no se pueden entender mas de lo que estan apartadas. Por razon qual es un acordio comun que agora se via no tiene mas teclas donde se puedan entender.

Illus. 27. Tomás de Santa María: *Libro llamado Arte de tañer Fantasia* (Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, 1565): fol. 25r (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, M/ 15088; by permission)

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