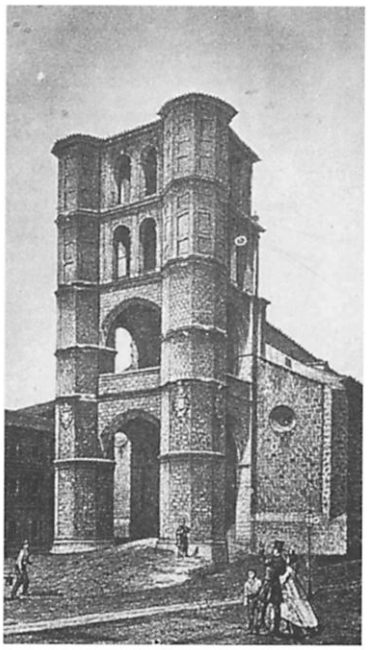
John Griffiths

Esteban Daza: a gentleman musician in Renaissance Spain



1 Façade of the church of San Benito el Real, *c.*1850 (P. Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España* (Madrid, 1845–50))

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In a recent article in this journal on the underlying humanistic attitudes found in printed vihuela books, Jack Sage apologized for producing yet another study of an area that seemed virtually exhausted.[1] In addition to his enlightened revision of the thought-world of the vihuelists, and almost as if to contradict his opening apology, two other articles in the same issue also presented new information to help fill in the gaps of what has been regarded as the vihuela's prehistory.[2] In fact much still remains to be said about nearly all aspects of research into the vihuela.

In several recent articles I have sought to revise the commonly held notion that the vihuela was primarily a courtly instrument; by exploring the areas of society in which it flourished I have attempted to refine the exaggerated distinction of an instrument played either by the 'affluent courtier' or the rather more nebulous stratum of 'ordinary folk' to whom Sage and others have alluded.[3] The courtly image of the vihuela has largely been upheld by the authors of four of the seven printed books that survive—the colourful courtier Luis Milán, and the three court musicians Narváez, Valderrábano and Fuenllana.[4] From the broadening panorama that is now emerging, it appears that, while the vihuela certainly did fulfil an important function in courtly music-making, its sphere was considerably wider. Recently discovered printing contracts point to the volume of production and dissemination of vihuela music, and the increasing amount of detail coming to light concerning other players of the instrument is helping significantly to populate a stage that has been dominated by few more than the key players whose music reached print.[5]

At the perimeter of this limelight we find Esteban Daza. Although widely circulated in its day, his collection *El Parnasso* (Valladolid, 1576) was the last vihuela book to be published. Daza has consequently remained rather neglected by modern scholarship.[6]

In this article I shall present a portrait of this least studied vihuelist based on recent archival research. This sketch of an amateur musician will serve to elucidate the place of the vihuela in Spanish middle-class life in the 16th century. Owing to the paucity of direct musical documentation, it may appear more like social history than historical musicology, but, like much social history, the portrayal of context often has a value equal to specific factual content.

The role of the middle classes in the dissemination and development

2 Valladolid Cathedral *c.*1850 (P. Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España* (Madrid, 1845–50))

of music in Renaissance Spain, or Renaissance Europe for that matter, is much greater and far more consequential than has been generally acknowledged. Printing substantially widened the audience for art music, and brought a marked change in the qualitative threshold for musical experience among the middle classes of the 16th century. Esteban Daza and his large family provide a model of a well-to-do family in an important Spanish urban centre. The family happened to produce one fine musician, who also happened to publish a book of solo instrumental music. What we learn of him probably applies to scores of others who today remain in obscurity, but were part of a self-sustaining network that made up the fabric of a musical culture.

In the 16th century Valladolid was a flourishing city of some 6,000–8,000 inhabitants, graced with many buildings that remain as monuments of the finest Renaissance style. Besides its flourishing university it was the home of a number of important noble families and, for a substantial part of the century, the residence of the Spanish court. The presence of the court and of the Real Chancillería, the royal exchequer, maintained a significant class of bureaucrats, notaries, lawyers and the like. A centre of trade and commerce, Valladolid supported an important population of artisans—silversmiths in particular; moreover, the neighbouring city of Medina del Campo was the centre of the Spanish book trade.[7]

The only biographical information we have had concerning Esteban Daza until the present time was the statement on the title-page of *El Parnasso* that describes him as a citizen of Valladolid (illus.3). The new information presented here is based on documentation found in a number of different archives. Chief among these is the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid, whose notarial records provide a rich source of material concerning every aspect of the city's life during the 16th century. Supplementary information has been drawn from the Archivo General Diocesano de Valladolid, which houses the registers of births, marriages and deaths of the city's 16 parishes, the Archivo Universitario de Valladolid, which records enrolments and graduations of the University of Valladolid, the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, and the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Zamora. The documentation has revealed more than 100 individuals with the surname Daza (not all of whom are related), as well as many other members of Esteban's family who, following the frustrating Spanish custom, chose to be known by different surnames. This has permitted the reconstruction of a family tree with some 65

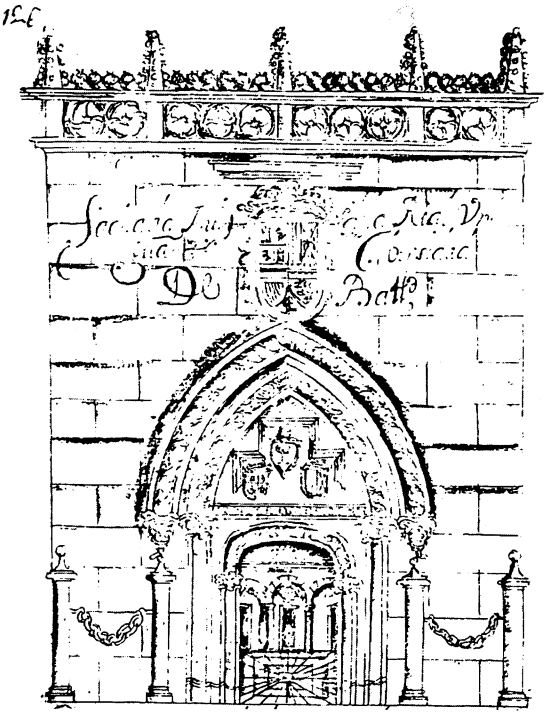

LIBRO DE MVSICA
en cifras para Vihuela, intitulado el
Parnaſſo, en el qual ſe hallara toda diuerſidad de Muſica, aſsi Mo
tetes, Sonetos, Villanesсas, en lengua Caſtellana, y otras coſas,
como Fantaſias del Autor, hecho por Eſteuan Daça, ve-
zino de la muy inſigne villa de Valladolid, diri-
gido al muy Illuſtre ſeñor Licenciado
Hernando de Habalos de Soto
mayor del Conſejo ſu
premo de ſu Ma
geſtad, &c.
¶ Impreſſo por Diego Fernandez de Cordoua, Impreſſor
de ſu Mageſtad. Año de M. D. Lxxvj.
Eſta taſſado en 1 3 6 Maraudis.

3 Esteban Daza, *El Parnasso* (Valladolid, 1576), title-page

family members. Among the more distinguished Dazas from Valladolid, apparently unrelated contemporaries of the vihuelist, were the surgeon Dionisio Daza Chacón—physician to Philip II and a founding father of Spanish medicine—and Don Luis Daza—a lawyer at the royal exchequer and founder of the Colegio de los Daza, a residential college for noble maids-in-waiting.

What this documentation reveals is not a professional musician, but an enthusiast from a large and once prestigious family, possibly a recluse who retreated into a hermetic existence where the vihuela and the abstraction of its sound world were his only solace. Esteban, the first of the 14 children of Tomás and Juana Daza, was born in Valladolid, probably towards the end of 1537. His family enjoyed a certain social prestige in the city, and, although not nobility, his parents had sufficient means to ensure that the children did not have to work for a living. At about the age of 20 Esteban would have completed his studies at the University of Valladolid, most probably in law. His interest in worldly affairs appears to have been minimal, and there is no suggestion that he ever practised a profession. Instead he appears to have withdrawn into a world of musical dreams, avoiding involvement in the routines of everyday life in the working world. He never married, and at 50 he was still residing with four of his younger siblings. He was probably buried in the family chapel at the monastic church of San Benito el Real in the early 1590s (illus.1).

In the spring of 1535 Tomás Daza was contracted in marriage to Juana Rodríguez Daza of the neighbouring city of Salamanca.[8] Born and bred in Valladolid, Tomás was the son of the *licenciado* Esteban Daza and Inés de los Rios. (The title *licenciado* indicates a person holding a *licenciatura*, equivalent to a master's degree.) Only one parent of each of the young couple was still living. Tomás's mother, Inés de los Rios, was a pious and grand matriarch in the twilight of her life. Several of his brothers and sisters probably attended the wedding—his closest brother Gaspar, with his wife María de León Montefer; another brother, Alonso Daza; and two of his sisters, María and Mencia, both nuns. Tomás's other brothers and sisters had already died. Juana, Tomás's



4 Façade of the old university, Valladolid (J. Antolinez de Burgos, *Historia de la Muy Noble y Siempre Leal Ciudad de Valladolid* (MS *c.*1620))

bride, was also a Daza, but probably only very distantly related, if at all. Her father, Francisco Daza, was a widower who had become *racionero* of the cathedral in Salamanca. He had provided a handsome dowry of 500,000 *maravedíes*, 400,000 which he paid to Tomás in cash, together with two houses close to the cathedral in Salamanca to make up the balance. Tomás and his new bride set up their first home in the parish of San Miguel in Valladolid.[9] Unfortunately, none of the surviving documents reveals Tomás's profession.

Two years after their marriage, late in 1537 or in the early months of 1538, a son was born to Tomás and Juana.[10] The proud parents baptized him Esteban in the unspoken hope that he would grow to possess the virtues of his late grandfather. At the same time Inés de los Rios was negotiating the foundation of a chapel in honour of her late husband in San Benito el Real, one of the most prestigious churches of Valladolid and the centre of the Benedictine order in Spain. Situated near Tomás's home,

5 Entrance to the Capilla de los Daza, S. Benito el Real. Note the coats of arms of Esteban Daza (senior) *(left)* and Inés de los Rois *(right)* (L. Rodríguez Martínez, *Historia del monasterio de San Benito el Real de Valladolid* (Valladolid, 1981))

it had recently become the splendour of the city owing to the installation of an exquisite choir by Andrés de Nájera and an immense polychrome altarpiece by the renowned Spanish master Alonso Berruguete.[11] With the help of the Butrón, one of the most powerful families in Valladolid and linked to the Dazas through marriage, Inés de los Rios obtained the monastery's consent to build a chapel in San Benito adjacent to that of the Butrón. The Capilla de los Daza (illus.5), the second chapel on the left as one enters the church, still bears the coats of arms of the *licenciado* Esteban Daza and Inés de los Rios.[12] The chapel was officially founded on 10 December 1537, just six months after the birth of our subject. As part of the act of foundation, the remains of Esteban Daza senior were interred there.[13]

The following autumn, on 28 September 1538, Tomás and Juana's second child was baptized in the parish church of San Miguel with the name of Inés.[14] This girl later adopted her grandmother's surname as well. Sixteen months later, on 28 January 1540, a third child was born, and baptized Francisco Daza after his maternal grandfather.[15] The fourth child, Gaspar, was conceived shortly afterwards, and his baptism on 17 March 1541 was to perpetuate the name of Tomás's favourite brother.[16]

At that time the extraordinarily gifted vihuelist Luys de Narváez was living in Valladolid. Luys Zapata (1532–*c.*1599) recalls him in his manuscript compilation *Miscelánea* (*c.*1592) as one of the strongest impressions of the youth he spent in the city, extolling Narváez's great improvisatory skills and explaining how 'over four voices of mensural music in a book he added at whim another four, something that to those who knew nothing of music was miraculous, and to those who knew music even more miraculous'.[17] In 1538 Diego Fernández de Córdoba published Narváez's vihuela book *Los seys libros del delphín* in Valladolid. Ignorant of the publication of Luis Milán's *El maestro* in Valencia two years earlier, Narváez declared it to be the first such book published in Spain. With greater modesty than Milán, who claimed himself to be a second Orpheus, Narváez intimated that the book showed by no means his most advanced compositions, stating that if his first offering was well received, he would 'publish other larger works of stronger foundation' at a later date.[18] Regrettably, these never materialized. It was, however, the music of Narváez and others like him that would have been familiar to Esteban Daza in his infancy. We do not know exactly when Narváez left Valladolid to take up his position as a musician at the court of Emperor Charles V, but it is unlikely that Esteban Daza heard him as a child. However, it is certain that in later life Daza was intimately acquainted with Narváez's book. I have demonstrated elsewhere the manner in which Daza adapted the preface of Narváez's *Delphín* for his own publication, but it remains a matter of speculation whether his knowledge of Narváez resulted simply from acquiring the book, or from a more direct transmission through generations of teachers and students.[19]

At the end of 1541, when Esteban was four years

old, Juana Daza found herself pregnant for the fifth time. Her second daughter, Mariana, was born in 1542, followed in prodigious succession by Luis (1544) and Antonio (June 1545).[20] Tomás and Doña Juana were obviously having problems in accommodating their rapidly expanding family: when Esteban was eight years old, they moved to a new house in the Calle de la Cárcaba (now Calle Núñez de Arce), near to both the cathedral and university.

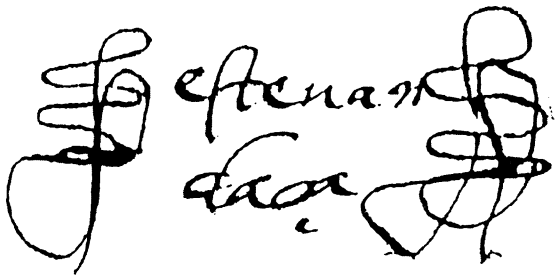
At about the time of this shift, Enriquez de Valderrábano would have been preparing his *Silva de sirenas* for publication. Presumably the distinguished musician spent a period in Valladolid in the weeks or months immediately preceding its publication in 1547, consulting with the printer Francisco Fernández de Córdoba and correcting the proofs before the final printing.[21] This would have taken some time, as *Silva de sirenas* is a large volume and Fernández de Córdoba would have had to print the gatherings one by one, break up the type and set the following folios. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Enriquez's presence in the city might have influenced the musical development of our protagonist, even though he had just turned ten.

During the next ten years the size of Tomás and Juana Daza's family doubled, with the birth into the new home of another seven children—Tomás junior (*c.*1547), Baltasar (*c.*1549), Melchor (*c.*1550), Juana junior (*c.*1552), Pedro (*c.*1554), María (*c.*1555) and Jerónima (*c.*1557).[22] Esteban was thus about 20 when his youngest sister was born. At about this time he and his brother Gaspar had enrolled at the University of Valladolid. Both graduated *c.*1560, probably in law.[23] While academic study and the richly humanistic environment were shaping their characters, the remainder of the five firstborn turned to religion. Inés de los Rios, Esteban's eldest sister, entered the convent of Santa Clara outside the city walls where her aunts Mencia and María Daza were nuns. Francisco Daza became a novice at the monastery of San Agustín, and Mariana likewise at the convent of Santa Clara de Sena.

In May 1563 Tomás Daza 'being ill in bed due to bodily pain and of sound reason and mind' dictated his will.[24] In this document he expressed his desire that his sons Esteban and Gaspar should continue their studies and complete their *licenciaturas* in Law or Canons either at Salamanca or Valladolid. To this end he bequeathed them the third of his estate set aside under Roman law for the purpose of a beneficiary's self-improvement.[25] This was to be paid to them on completion of study. In the same year Tomás Daza de los Rios, aged 16 and the eighth child, entered the monastery of San Pablo, renouncing his worldly possessions to his younger brother Melchor and his sister María.

1565 saw the publication in Valladolid of *Arte de tañer fantasía* by Tomás de Santa María, a Dominican friar from Guadalajara. This book proved to be a major influence upon Esteban Daza's musical development. While the part of the treatise devoted to instruction in keyboard technique was of little direct value, there is clear evidence in the music that he was to publish 11 years later that Daza absorbed Santa María's advice concerning the manner of composing *fantasía*.[26] Daza's fantasias employ the intervallic and rhythmic construction of themes recommended by the theorist for imitative point writing; indeed, they have been criticized—perhaps too harshly—for their close conformity to the laws codified by Santa María.[27] Nevertheless, they are works of considerable deftness and individuality—miniatures of restricted expressive means, demonstrating economy of style as well as rigorous balance and symmetry in their construction. Their relation to Santa María's treatise is more an indication of Daza's apprenticeship than a symptom of any artistic incapacity.

Tomás Daza apparently recovered from his illness, and through the 1560s saw his remaining children grow to maturity. There were other changes in the family, however. Following the death of his first wife, María de León, Tomás's closest brother, Gaspar, was remarried to Jerónima de Aranda; his other brother, Alonso, had become father of four children. Tomás had bid farewell to two of his own sons from the city: in 1567 Gaspar Daza Maldonado, as he had chosen to be known, left for the Americas in search of fortune and adventure; in the same year Antonio Daza left for Naples to pursue a military career, becoming a captain in the imperial infantry.[28] Also in 1567 Melchor began his studies of liberal arts at the University of Valladolid, where he was enrolled in Grammar; the following year we find Baltasar enrolled in the same course, a student of Logic.[29]



6 Signature of Esteban Daza (AHPV, leg. 156, f.1014*v*)

The year 1569 brought upheaval to the family. Having never completely recovered from his earlier illness, Tomás died in April, leaving Juana with eight children between the age of 12 and 32.[30] A few months later Gaspar's second wife died.[31] Baltasar, now 20, a good and responsible young man, appears to have suspended his studies. From this point he seems to have been the one who stood out as the natural leader of the clan. To alleviate the family's precarious situation, Juana and María joined their sister Inés and aunts María and Mencia at the convent of Santa Clara.[32]

From the inventory of Tomás's estate we can see that the expense of raising and maintaining such a large family had depleted the family's wealth. When he died he had 4,200 *reales* in cash, 2,600 *reales* of annual income from rents, and owed 1,925 *reales*—a net balance of 5,075 *reales* in assets, in addition to his house in Valladolid, the two in Salamanca that he had obtained as dowry, and his personal belongings. His clothing indicates his social prestige—capes and other garments decorated with velvet, fur or other expensive cloth. Furnishings in the house reflect the size of the family—12 beds, 11 chairs, numerous benches, 6 tables, 16 mattresses, 32 pillows, 20 sheets and 70 towels. Some of the furniture is described as ornamented, but the general impression is of a sober and austere home. Among decorative objects we find no works of art, only a few tapestries. Nor does there appear to have been an abundance of food: only two hams are listed, while in the garden there was a rooster and a dozen hens. Most surprising of all in the inventory is the absence of books. The Dazas were an educated family: Tomás was a member of a social élite, and had four boys with a university education. This detail contrasts strikingly with the libraries of the majority of Valladolid's bourgeoisie, where, in addition to the professional texts that were the essential reference material of doctors, lawyers and the like, one usually finds classical literature in Latin, contemporary literature in Spanish and Italian, and the occasional book in Greek. Valladolid was a town of considerable humanistic culture, and it is remarkable that Tomás Daza's house does not appear to have been a place where the liberal arts flourished. Nonetheless, it was the environment in which Esteban Daza was raised, and where he began to compose and compile *El Parnasso*. Given this context, it might well be that Esteban's musical inclinations made him the black sheep of the family. In other documents there is tacit resentment towards him.

Doña Juana became the capable head of a large family, starting from shortly after Tomás's death, when she legally accepted the responsibility for the guardianship and tutelage of those of her children who were still minors. Being the only adult child in Valladolid at the time, Esteban was witness to this document, and signed with the timid and nervous signature of a dreamer forcibly extracted from the tranquillity of his own seclusion (illus.6). Uncle Gaspar, alone again after the death of Jerónima de Aranda and without children of his own, dedicated much of his time to Doña Juana and her children. A particularly close relationship seems to have developed between Gaspar and his nephew Baltasar, who resumed his studies of canon law during the academic years 1570–74. Melchor also matriculated in 1571 and completed his studies of liberal arts and canons in 1577.[33]

During this period Esteban Daza had worked seriously on the preparation of his vihuela book. In this endeavour he would have been supported by a circle of friends who offered the encouragement that his family appears to have denied him. This group must have included Hernando de Habalos de Soto, a lawyer at the Chancillería, a member of Philip II's supreme council, the husband of a Butrón, a family friend, and the man to whom *El Parnasso* is dedicated. Unlike other vihuelists such as Luis Milán, who chose John III of Portugal as dedicatee, it is indicative of his character that Daza chose

someone from within his own circle. There is no hard evidence to support my deduction that he did not receive family approbation in his musical enterprise, except for the behaviour of his Uncle Gaspar. When the latter wrote a new will in 1574 he named Doña Juana, Baltasar, Melchor and the young Jerónima as his beneficiaries, singling out Baltasar as 'a good and obedient son' and excluding Esteban totally, probably in direct response to the outrage he felt.[34] Uncle Gaspar's wilful character is also reflected in a quarrel that erupted the same year with the monastery of San Benito, and lasted for five years, during which time he threatened the priests several times, declaring that he would transfer the remains of his interred family to a new chapel that he would establish at Santa Clara.[35] In 1579 the dispute seems to have been resolved, and the family maintained the chapel until the end of the 17th century at least. Ten perpetual Masses were, in fact, still being said each week for the vihuelist's grandparents, the *licenciado* Esteban Daza and Inés de los Rios, until the early 19th century.[36]

In the spring of 1575 Daza, aged 38, completed the manuscript of his book. Wanting it to be identified as part of the tradition of the vihuela books he knew, he chose Parnassus, the mountain home of the Greek muses, as an apt title. *El Parnasso* was not the work of a young musician, but that of a mature man, containing original music of strong architectonic form, of intricate and clever counterpoint, and with the sense of balance and equilibrium that characterizes the best music of the late Renaissance. Daza despatched a copy of the manuscript to El Escorial, where the court was then residing, petitioning the king to license its printing. In June he was granted the licence with copyright and full legal protection for ten years. He subsequently entered into negotiations with Diego Fernández de Córdoba, one of the most experienced printers of instrumental tablatures on the Iberian peninsula.

The printing trade was not sufficiently developed for Spanish printers at the time to devote themselves to particular fields, and Daza was fortunate to have Fernández de Córdoba in Valladolid. As an apprentice, the latter may have helped his family elders with Narváez's book, and possibly assisting Francisco Fernández de Córdoba in producing both Valderrábano's *Silva de sirenas* and Santa María's *Arte de tañer fantasía*.[37] It is probable that, after the printing of Valderrábano's book in 1547, the type owned by the family was sold or leased to Diego Pisador in Salamanca for the *Libro de música* for vihuela that the latter published in 1552.[38] By late 1575 Diego Fernández de Córdoba was ready to enter into contract with Daza and was anxious to get on with the job early in the new year.

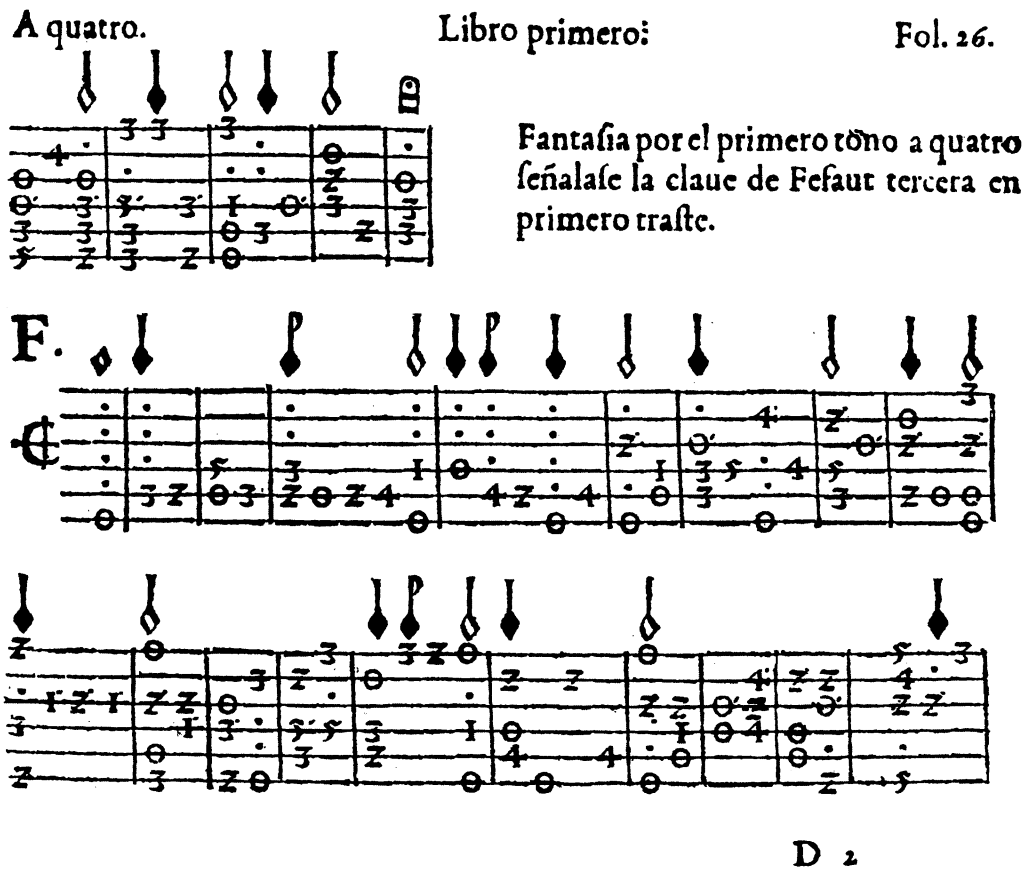
They went together to a notary on 13 January to draw up a contract.[39] For a run of 1,500 copies—a substantial quantity judging by the norms of 16th-century Spanish printing and an indication of significant anticipated circulation—the cost came to a total of 1,575 *reales*, just over 1 *real* per book. It was quite inexpensive: for one *real* in the Valladolid of 1575, one could have bought about 10 litres of wine, four or five chickens, or an ounce of silver.[40] The books were, as usual, only to be bound in paper covers so that purchasers could have them bound according to their taste. Daza had to pay 300 *reales* in advance to allow the printer to buy the paper, another 400 *reales* halfway through the job, 300 on completion of printing, and the remaining 575 from the sales of the first copies. With the retail price of 136 *mrs* (= 4 *reales*) determined by the King's assessors, the sale of the entire run would produce a net profit of 4,625 *reales*, an amount on which Daza could comfortably survive in his family circumstances for six or seven years.

The contract stipulates that the job was to be finished in approximately 60 days. Daza spent the following two months going regularly to Fernández de Córdoba's workshop to read and correct the proofs, signing each satisfactory proof as stipulated in the contract. The production evidently remained on target and was finished on 12 April 1576. The rapidity of the production is noteworthy.

Daza must have been pleased with the edition. The printer had worked diligently and, in terms of print quality and textual accuracy, it was a fine piece of work. The contents were divided into three *libros*. The first comprised Daza's 22 original fantasias. The second was an anthology of motets by leading Spanish and Franco-Flemish composers of the preceding 30 years, including Pedro and Francisco Guerrero, Juan Basurto, Jean Richafort, Jean

Maillard and Thomas Crecquillon. Several of these were in circulation in Valladolid and are preserved in the Diego Sánchez Codex in the archive of Valladolid Cathedral.[41] It is thus likely that they represent a collection with which he was familiar through having heard performed. The remaining six motets are from the first book of *Motetta nunquam hactenus impressa* (Venice, 1544) by Simon Boyleau, a French composer better known in his time than today, and a book that Daza must have studied in some detail.[42] Daza's motet collection thereby appears to fulfil the dual function that we understand of 16th-century intabulations: offering the means of learning the most advanced compositional techniques of the age, as well as providing music for personal enjoyment based on the recreation of aurally familiar vocal music on a solo instrument and in a domestic environment.

The 27 secular vocal compositions that comprise the third book of *El Parnasso* serve a similar function. As with the motets, Daza underlays his tablature with the texts of these works—all but the two well known French chansons *Vostre rigeur* by Crecquillon and *Je prens en gré* by Clemens non Papa—so that they could be performed as accompanied songs. His tablature uses apostrophes to indicate the figures that correspond to the voice to be sung in each work. He employs the same device in the fantasias to clarify the voice-leading of their complex polyphony (illus.7) and also, as he indicates, so that those voices 'may be sung if desired'.[43] It is clear from these indications that he assumed the singer and instrumentalist to be the same person. The 25 Spanish songs are of three genres—one romance, several villancicos in the older courtly-popular style of the earlier part of the century, and a larger number of works entitled



7 Esteban Daza, Fantasia por el tercero tono, from *El Parnasso*, f.26

villanesca and *soneto* with texts by leading Spanish poets such as Garcilaso, and which belong to the more severe form of Spanish madrigal. A number of these works are unica in *El Parnasso*; others are to be found in Spanish cancioneros. Seven appear in the Cancionero de Medinaceli, while the same seven, plus two additional works, are included in an incomplete set of manuscript partbooks in the Museo Lázaro Galdiano in Madrid.[44]

Daza's fantasias incorporate techniques learned over many years—ideas taken from the vihuelists who preceded and surrounded him, the absorbed style of vocal polyphony, and the apparently decisive influence of Santa María. His contrapuntal style demonstrates a polyphony comparable with both Cabezón and Fuenllana, although the works are conceived on a more restricted scale and do not achieve the grandeur of either master. They normally comprise four or five episodes, each with its own theme introduced imitatively and extended freely for a short period before making way for the next. Dense textures, interlaced melodies and strict counterpoint are their predominant traits. The many details of their contrapuntal precision indicate that after their initial conception—possibly with instrument in hand—they were first drafted in score, polished and perfected, and then copied into tablature.[45] This music is far removed from the spontaneous improvised pieces of the early 16th century: they are works directly analogous to the vocal repertory that Daza and others arranged for solo instruments.

Even Uncle Gaspar appears to have been impressed by Esteban's new book and to have been convinced of his merit: when he revised his will in 1579, Esteban was reinstated among Gaspar's beneficiaries.[46] In the same year Baltasar completed his *licenciatura* and received the praise of his uncle and his brothers Antonio and Gaspar. Gaspar the younger had returned from the Americas a couple of years earlier without evidence of having found fortune, but resumed his studies and graduated with a *licenciatura*. Captain Antonio Daza had also come back from Naples. In his new will Gaspar set aside enough money so that Esteban, Gaspar, Antonio and his other unmarried nephews and nieces could continue living together 'as good brothers and sisters, without responsibilities or employment'.[47]

Young Jerónima, now 22, was becoming increasingly inclined towards a religious life, although she did not enter a convent. Pedro Daza went to live with his uncle. As Doña Juana aged, Baltasar began increasingly to take on the responsibilities of the family. Gaspar named him successor to the chapel in San Benito, and Baltasar's signature appears on many of the documents pertaining to the renewal of the family's annual rents.

The 1580s, however, appear to have brought a reversal in fortune. The outlines of the plot are clear enough, although many details are missing. The most noticeable changes relate to Baltasar. Perhaps his investments were unsound or unprofitable, for Esteban and Gaspar agreed to renounce their claim on their father's estate 'in order that the said Baltasar Daza might better support and feed himself'.[48] At the same time the family moved house, leaving the Calle de la Cárcaba and installing themselves in one of Uncle Gaspar's houses in the Calle de la Nueva in the parish of San Andrés.

Doña Juana died in 1585. Others, too, died or departured the city. Uncle Gaspar died in 1586; in a codicil he left 100 *ducados* to Melchor to help him become an ordained cleric, although this appears to have been wishful thinking.[49] Esteban, Gaspar, Antonio, Baltasar and Jerónima, all still single, continued living together in the Calle de la Nueva. The next year, 1587, Esteban turned 50. From this point the family becomes increasingly dispersed and enters a phase of decline.

Antonio returned to Naples, presumably to his military position. Gaspar, aged 41, married Catalina de Bascones in 1586 and went to live the remaining ten years of his life, apparently happy and prosperous, to the north in Aguilar del Campoó in the province of Burgos.[50] If they produced offspring, then they would have been the only children to be born of the 14 Daza siblings.[51] Baltasar, in a precarious financial situation, abandoned Valladolid and went to Guadalajara, where he married María de la Sarte in about 1586. Early in 1599 we find him, the former golden-haired boy of the family, in gaol in Valladolid for reasons unspecified, although probably as a debtor, for he is described as very poor.[52]

Despite financial support from his less well-to-do brothers, he seems to have made a mess of things. On 12 April, overcome by age, remorse and the dank cells of the exchequer, he hastily drew up a will in which he begs his wife's forgiveness for not having been able to provide for her more adequately.[53]

Baltasar was not the only one whose life ended in tragedy. Misfortune of another kind overtook Antonio. In 1596 he decided to return again to Spain after his second sojourn in Naples. Embarking in the company of the Conde de Miranda, he was washed from the deck of the ship in which he sailed and perished by drowning.[54] By this time Esteban and several of his siblings had also died: Luys, Pedro and Tomás had all disappeared by the late 1570s; Inés died in 1592; Melchor died some time between 1593 and 1596.

It is in about 1592 that Esteban slips from our fingers, although his death by 1596 is certain. In 1589 he left the house where he had lived with his brothers and youngest sister. He moved beyond the city walls, outside the Puerta del Campo, where the Calle Santiago reaches the Campo Grande, into the new parish of San Idelfonso, and into the outhouses—probably servants' quarters—of a house owned by Baltasar. This house appears to have been situated near the Convento del Sacramento in the present-day Calle Paulina Harriet. Baltasar had let the main house and property to Diego de Torres except for the 'tres aposentos bajos donde vive mi hermano Esteban Daza' ('three low outbuildings where my brother Esteban lives').[55] Evidently Esteban was also paying rent to Baltasar when this last mention of him occurs on 17 December 1590.

And so, as an ageing Esteban fades from view, voluntarily removed from his former family home, the pieces of his life, his circumstances and environment can be drawn together. Whether he died at the age of 53 or lived for another five years is immaterial, even though it would have given a researcher great satisfaction to trace him to his end. It seems out of keeping with his character for him to have left Valladolid at this late stage of life, unless he went to live with his brother Gaspar, but no relevant documents survive from Aguilar del Campoó from this time. Similarly, death registers from the parish of San Idelfonso in Valladolid are only maintained from 1603. The records of San Benito contain nothing concerning burials in the church's chapels, and the notarial records in Valladolid bear no further reference to him.

Of the remaining siblings, Mariana de los Rios, a nun at Santa Catalina de Sena, died in August 1598, as did Francisco Daza after a long life as a friar at San Agustín.[56] The younger sisters lived on into the early years of the 17th century: the two nuns, Juana and María, remained at Santa Clara until their deaths in 1617 and 1603 respectively;[57] when Jerónima died in 1607 the parish records of San Andrés testify that she still lived in the Calle de la Nueva.[58]

There are several unusual features concerning the lives of Esteban Daza and his family. It is curious that, among 14 children, we are unaware of any progeny. That there were no children seems all the more likely as the chapel in San Benito was passed to Alvaro Daza de los Rios, Esteban's cousin, the eldest son of his uncle Alonso. There existed in the Daza home something of a strange air. Clearly, all the children were guided by their parents towards a virtuous and exemplary life. They grew up in comfortable circumstances, without luxury, but without needing to work. After the death of the *licenciado* Esteban Daza and Inés de los Rios, when the family appears to have passed its zenith, inertia seems to have beset them, a slow decay that eroded their wealth and prevented the next generation from exercising leadership or initiative in worldly affairs, and causing them to seek shelter either in the asceticism of monastic life or in the security of the family womb.

Esteban Daza's personality and his environment are clearly evident in his music. The most obvious parallels are to be found in his original compositions. His fantasias are of a consummate style; their delicacy and refinement are the achievement of a mature musician. In every dimension they conform to the musical laws of their age. They are the work of a man whose life shows not the slightest trace of extremity or caprice, and who, in over 50 years, never seems to have ventured beyond the family fold. It is music both tranquil and restrained, neither extroverted nor adventurous. Its success does not depend on the forceful imposition of the

performer's personality; instead it challenges the performer to unravel its tightly woven polyphonic threads. By design it offers greater satisfaction to the performer than to the listener.

This exercise in historical reconstruction not only enables us to understand Daza's music within the context of his life, but offers us an insight into the kind of Renaissance individual—idiosyncrasies aside—who involved himself in music-making. He is a model of a middle-class amateur, proficient at what we would today call 'professional' standard. We have an image of the kind of household in which he was raised, the music that shaped his tastes, the processes of book production and music printing, as well as the status of the printed text. More importantly, the assembled fragments of Daza family history provide us with a microcosmic view of Spanish middle-class life that broadens our understanding of the place of music in this sector of Renaissance society.

1 J. Sage, 'A new look at humanism in 16th-century lute and vihuela books', *Early music*, xx (1992), pp.633–41.

2 A. Corona-Alcalde, 'The earliest vihuela tablature: a recent discovery', *Early music*, xx (1992), pp.594–600; M. Gómez, 'Some precursors of the Spanish lute school', *Early music*, xx (1992), pp.583–93.

3 Sage, 'A new look', p.639. See, for example, J. Griffiths, 'La música renacentista para instrumentos solistas y el gusto musical español', *Nassarre*, iv (1988), pp.59–78, and J. Griffiths, 'At court and at home with the vihuela de mano: current perspectives on the instrument, its music and its world', *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, xxii (1989), pp.1–27.

4 Details of several other vihuelists, some of whom served at various courts, may be found in J. Ward, *The 'vihuela de mano' and its music, 1536–1576* (diss., New York U., 1953), and J. J. Rey, *Ramillete de flores: Colección inédita de piezas para vihuela (1593)* (Madrid, 1975).

5 Concerning printing, see J. Griffiths and W. E. Hultberg, 'Santa María and the printing of instrumental music', *Livro de homenagem a Macario Santiago Kastner*, ed. M. F. Cidrais Rodrigues *et al.* (Lisbon, 1992), pp.345–60, and J. Griffiths, 'The printing of instrumental music in 16th-century Spain' (paper read at the 15th Congress of the IMS, Madrid, 1992, to appear in *Revista de musicología*).

6 No complete edition of Daza's music has been published. Esteban Daza, *The fantasias for vihuela*, ed. J. Griffiths, Recent Researches in Music of the Renaissance, liv (Madison, 1983) contains Daza's original music, and 17 intabulations of secular songs are transcribed in C. Jacobs, *A Spanish Renaissance songbook* (University Park, TX, 1988). The principal studies of Daza's music are in Ward, *The 'vihuela de mano'*, and J. Griffiths, *The vihuela fantasia: a comparative study of forms and styles* (diss., Monash U., 1983).

7 The most comprehensive study of 16th-century Valladolid is B. Benassar, *Valladolid au Siècle d'Or: une ville de Castille et sa campagne au XVI siècle* (Paris, 1967).

8 Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid [henceforth AHPV], Protocolos, legajo 379, ff.1483ff. Two documents copied in June 1578 from originals dated 29 May and 23 November 1535 contain the contract made between Francisco Daza, father of Doña Juana, and Tomás Daza regarding the dowry for his marriage and the subsequent payment thereof.

9 This assumption is drawn from the baptismal records of the first few children.

10 Unfortunately, the baptismal register of the parish of San Miguel contains only sporadic entries for the months of May and September 1537 and February and March 1538, and no record of Esteban's birth has been found. I assume that he was the eldest child as he is consistently named first in all documents that list the children born in the marriage. In these documents the order of names corresponds with the chronology of documented births of other siblings. The approximate date of birth is calculated between the date of the parents' marriage and the birth of the next child Inés, allowing for the necessary gestation periods.

11 These pieces are now the principal exhibits in the Museo Nacional de Escultura in Valladolid.

12 Prior to my research, this chapel was thought to have been that of the physician Dionisio Daza Chacón.

13 Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional [henceforth AHN], Cleros, lib. 16675, ff.78*v*–88*v*.

14 Archivo General Diocesano de Valladolid [henceforth AGDV], San Miguel, Bautizos, lib. 1, f.53.

15 AGDV, San Miguel, Bautizos, lib. 1, n.f.

16 AGDV, San Miguel, Bautizos, lib. 1, f.68.

17 'sobre quatro voces de canto de organo de un libro echaba en la vihuela de repente otras cuatro, cosa a los que no entendían la música milagrosa, y a los que la entendían la música milagrosísima.' Reprinted in Pascual de Gayangos, *Memorial histórico español*, ix, (Madrid, 1859), ch.15.

18 '[...] sacaré en público otras mayores obras de más fundamento' Narváez, *Los seys libros del delphín* (Valladolid, 1538), folio a ii.

19 See Daza, *The fantasias for vihuela*, ed. Griffiths, p.vii.

20 AGDV, San Miguel, Bautizos, lib. 1, ff.81, 90.

21 This appears to have been a customary practice in Spanish printing. See Griffiths and Hultberg, 'Santa María and the printing of instrumental music', pp.352–3.

22 These dates have been established in the absence of baptismal records by corroborating evidence.

23 The exact date and nature of their studies is not known. The matriculation and graduation rolls of the University of Valladolid prior to 1565 have not been preserved. The will of Tomás Daza (1563) makes it clear that they had both completed undergraduate studies by that time.

24 AHPV, Protocolos, leg. 227, ff.402–3*v*: '... estando enfermo en la cama de dolencia corporal y en mi juicio y entendimiento natural'.

25 'Digo que por cuanto yo tengo dos hijos bachilleres, el uno es el dicho Esteban Daza y el otro es el dicho Gaspar Daza, es mi voluntad de mejorarlos y por la presente los mejoro en la tercia parte de mis bienes con tal condición que se graduen de licenciados en leyes o en cánones en la Universidad de Valladolid o en la Universidad de Salamanca.' ('I declare that inasmuch as I have two sons who are Bachelors, one of whom is the said Esteban Daza and the other the said Gaspar Daza, it is my wish to better them, and by this document I better them by the third part of my estate on the condition that they graduate as Masters in Law or Canons in the University of Valladolid or the University of Salamanca.') (f.403)

26 The close relationship between Daza's fantasias and Santa María's theoretical prescriptions is elaborated in Ward, *The 'vihuela de mano'*, pp.272–84.

27 The measured assessment presented by Ward in his dissertation is restated as more severe criticism in his article on Daza in *New Grove*.

28 This information is drawn from the document of guardianship and tutelage of the children of Tomás Daza dated 9 April 1569. AHPV, Protocolos, leg. 156, f.1014.

29 Archivo Universitario de Valladolid [henceforth AUV], lib. 32, ff.112, 144*v*.

30 The inventory of Tomás's estate and notice of death is recorded in AHPV, Protocolos, leg. 156, f.1573.

31 AHPV, Protocolos, leg. 157, f.2722, records the death of Doña Jerónima de Aranda and includes the inventory of her estate.

32 AHPV, Protocolos, leg. 157, f.2665.

33 AUV, lib. 32, ff.57*v*, 60, 62, 67*v*, 74*v*, 114*v*.

34 AHPV, Protocolos, leg. 375, ff.596–599a*v*.

35 This dispute can be traced through a number of codicils that Gaspar wrote with respect to his will during this period. These include AHPV, Protocolos, leg, 375, f.599a; leg. 376 f.574; leg. 382, f.730*v*.

36 The last reference to these Masses is dated 17 August 1807 when at San Benito the monks continued 'cantando cuatro misas y rezando seis cada semana para el licenciado Esteban Daza y Inés de los Rios por razón de un censo perpetuo que seguía pagando la ciudad por haber ensanchado el Prado de la Magdalena respecto a la huerta de Adalia' ('singing four Masses and saying six each week for the Licenciado Esteban Daza and Inés de los Rios in respect of a perpetual annuity agreement that the city continued paying for having enlarged the Common of la Magdalena through the addition of the market garden of Adalia'): AHN, Cleros, leg. 7712, folio without number.

37 Very little is known about the Fernández de Córdoba family of printers. It can be assumed that the Diego Hernández (= Fernández) de Córdoba who printed Narváez's book in 1538 was not the same printer who produced *El Parnasso* 40 years later. Similarly, no information has yet been uncovered to elucidate either the family or professional relationship between the younger Diego and Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, printer of the books of Valderrábano and Santa María.

38 The books of Valderrábano, Pisador and Daza are all printed with the same font, and it is probable that the same type was used for the three.

39 AHPV, Protocolos, leg. 562, ff.173–5. This contract is transcribed, translated and discussed in Griffiths, 'The printing of instrumental music in sixteenth-century Spain' (see n.5 above).

40 These prices are based on data presented in E. J. Hamilton, *American treasure and the price revolution in Spain, 1501–1650* (Cambridge, MA, 1934), pp.311–18, 335–57.

41 See H. Anglès, 'El Archivo musical de la catedral de Valladolid', *Anuario musical*, iii (1948), pp.59–108.

42 F. Dobbins, 'Boyleau, Simon', *New Grove*.

43 'para que si quisieren la canten', *El Parnasso*, f.1.

44 *Canciones musicales por Cristóbal Cortés, Rodrigo Ordoñez, el maestro Navarro y otros* (1548), Museo Lázaro Galdiano, ref. 15411, sign. 648.

45 This conclusion has latterly been corroborated by A. Corona-Alcalde, 'On the manipulation of intabulation: a proposed transposition of 3 fantasias by Esteban Daza', *Lute Society of America quarterly*, xxvi/4 (1991), pp.4–11, and 'The earliest vihuela tablature: a recent discovery', *Early music*, xx (1992), pp.594–600.

46 AHPV, Protocolos, leg. 382, fol. 724

47 'como buenos hermanos, sin cargos ni oficios'.

48 '[...] porque el dicho licenciado Baltasar Daça tenga con que mejor se sustentar y alimentar'. AHPV, Protocolos, leg. 406, ff.1379–80*v*. This document is dated 8 December 1586.

49 AHPV, Protocolos, leg. 400, ff.1127–8*v*.

50 AHPV, Protocolos, leg. 403, ff.662–3*v*; leg. 754, ff.413–20*v*.

51 A. and A. García Carraffa, *Diccionario heráldico y genealógico de apellidos españoles y americanos* (Madrid, 1919) traces one Daza line back to Aguilar del Campoó in the 17th century. Notarial records from Aguilar del Campoó held in the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Palencia are preserved from 1598, and the parish registers of baptisms, marriages and deaths from 1606.

52 AGDV, San Pedro, Difuntos, lib. 1, f.150.

53 Archivo Histórico Provincial de Zamora [henceforth AHPZ], Protocolos, leg. 3496, ff.278*r*–*v*.

54 AHPV, Protocolos, leg. 955, f.586.

55 AHPV, Protocolos, leg. 757, ff.1673–4.

56 AHPV, Protocolos, leg. 955, ff.588*r*–*v*.

57 AHN, Cleros, leg 7735, ff.3–4.

58 AGDV, San Andrés, Difuntos, lib. 1, f.19.