

Juan Bermudo, Self-instruction, and the Amateur Instrumentalist

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The pedagogy of learning to play musical instruments embodies techniques, intellectual systems, and values that reveal a great deal about the cultural context in which instruction takes place. The advent of printing in the sixteenth century provided the opportunity for a new kind of music book and a new system of learning instrumental performance. Early in the history of music printing, the pedagogical possibilities of the new medium were recognized by the Valencian courtier Luis Milán and applied by him to *El maestro* (The teacher), his 1536 anthology of music for *vihuela*, the Spanish guitar-shaped lute.¹ In advertising that his book would follow "the same manner and order that a teacher would bring to a beginning student: showing him progressively from the beginning everything of which he might need to know," Milán established the role that tablature books came to play in musical self-instruction—not in the intellectual comprehension and appreciation of music, but in the mechanical dimension of music performance. From a contemporary point of view, manuals of this kind thus tell us a great deal about the otherwise undocumented practices of music teaching and music teachers in the Early Modern period.

Twenty years after *El maestro*, the Franciscan friar Juan Bermudo published a much more extensive treatise on musical instruments and instru-

mental music, his *Declaracion de instrumentos musicales* (1555).² This was the first sixteenth-century Spanish book concerning instrumental music whose primary objective was not to transmit a performance repertoire but to educate instrumentalists in matters beyond musical practice. It was not an anthology of tablature, but a treatise on many aspects of the history, science, and art of music, formulated with a clear educative aim for instrumentalist readers of diverse backgrounds, both amateurs and professionals.³ In contrast to *El maestro*, self-instruction using Bermudo's text leads principally to instrumentalists' deepening of their musical understanding. At the same time, Bermudo gives very practical advice on many matters that help us connect his theoretical concerns to the commonplace reality from which we construct music's social history. My interest in this study is to focus on Bermudo's contribution to our understanding of learning to play musical instruments as one of the day-to-day musical experiences of Renaissance urban life. Intertwined with this practicality, of course, is Bermudo's unequivocal intention of offering the instrumentalist a pedagogical pathway toward achieving the status of the Boethian *musicus*.⁴

The essence of Bermudo's advice for instrumentalists is that they should learn by assimilating techniques derived from vocal music. This reinforces the undeniable centrality of vocal polyphony in sixteenth-century musical thinking and the close interconnection between vocal and instrumental music. Bermudo views the appropriation of vocal polyphony by vihuelists and keyboard players as a natural and normal part of an integrated musical world. I wish to emphasize this point in an attempt to neutralize the propensity to see instrumental and vocal music as distinct branches—as part of the ongoing process of restoring the balance that existed between instrumental and vocal music in Renaissance musical experience. Regarding instrumental music as either peripheral or subsidiary is a legacy of modern historiography and does not accord, at least in quantitative terms, with what I understand to have been the soundscape of Renaissance cities and towns.

It also helps us to understand what Bermudo is talking about if we do not consider instrumentalists to be a completely distinct category of musician. No doubt some of Bermudo's readers would have included clerics who frequently heard or participated in the singing of vocal polyphony, but whose domestic recreation included playing the clavichord or *vihuela*. William Byrd likewise epitomizes the professional Renaissance musician who traversed both areas. We thus need to keep in mind that many master polyphonists were also lutenists or keyboard players, that many musicians primarily known to us as

lutenists were composers of fine vocal polyphony, and that in urban societies, many people's experience of vocal polyphony was principally through the solo instrumental medium.⁵

With nearly every new document that surfaces in my archival investigations in Spain and Italy, the place of instrumental music moves closer into vocal territory, and the old line separating the center from the periphery becomes increasingly blurred. The ever-sharpening picture reinforces the centrality of instrumental music and practice in sixteenth-century musical culture, and the breadth of its social penetration: whether used at court or domestically, for recreation or entertainment, or as a pedagogical or compositional tool, the lute and other plucked instruments were a central part of the sixteenth-century soundscape. This radiated outward from the very center of mainstream musical activity, assisted by the lute's multiple roles as a transmitter of vocal polyphony, a vehicle for spiritual and moral education and so for self-improvement, and as a personal symbol of cultural achievement. Not only did many nobles throughout Europe aspire to the model of Castiglione's lute-playing courtier, but the combination of class interaction and the printing press empowered the literate urban professional classes to emulate these same models from a few rungs further down the social ladder.

My exploration and Bermudo's text, then, revolve around the pedagogy that assisted the expansion of courtly musical practices into the urban sphere. In the geographical areas that interest me most, the penetration of courtly art music into urban society appears to have been quite significant. I estimate, for example, that Spanish *violeros* may have built over a quarter of a million instruments during the course of the sixteenth century,⁶ and we learn from surviving printing contracts that instrumental music was printed in extraordinarily large editions of 1,200 to 1,500 copies—print runs that surpass any other known kind of Spanish book production.⁷ Both pieces of evidence point to widespread instrumental practice in urban society, demonstrated through a correspondingly high level of consumption of musical materials. My contribution to the discussion of Renaissance musical pedagogy is thus primarily concerned not with the training of a professional elite, but pedagogy directed at amateurs. And because this phenomenon coincides with the advent of printing, it also concerns self-instruction.

As implied above, Renaissance self-instruction literature is likely to mirror the real practice of master-to-student teaching, but there are many available models and we cannot be sure. The absence of adequate documentation of unwritten pedagogical practice is thus a severe limitation toward achieving

anything like a holistic view of past instrumental pedagogy. We can but acknowledge the role of unwritten pedagogical practice, even though we cannot resuscitate the voices of the many teachers who gave one-to-one instruction or who worked in the numerous privately operated music schools in cities and large towns. We know very little about what they did, and the methods they used. At the same time, there is probably a certain degree of congruence between oral and print pedagogies, and we can only be reassured by the indications given by writers such as Luis Milán who confirm their desire to replicate real-life practice in their published manuals.

Learning an instrument requires the acquisition of physical, mechanical skills, as well as the assimilation of the key stylistic elements of the music that is being learned, unless this can be taken for granted as *a priori* knowledge. Sixteenth-century students of solo instruments who had not had the experience of singing vocal polyphony are likely to have needed some guidance with musical style. In contrast to the dominant instrumental pedagogy of the last 250 years, Renaissance instrumental pedagogy in Spain and Italy focuses substantially on musical style and assumes that good technique will follow automatically. The printed *vihuela* books, although aimed at the beginner as well as the accomplished player, pay little more than lip service to mechanical matters.⁸ None of them include specifically technical exercises, although brief technical exercises are interpolated in numerous Italian lute manuscripts, generally working manuscripts that belonged to individual owners.⁹

The development of tablature notation is intimately connected to the proliferation of lute music and also, to a lesser degree, to the proliferation of keyboard instruments. In effect, playing by numbers brought the performance of sophisticated polyphonic music within reach of the musically illiterate, and the pedagogical challenges that concern us were defined as much by the notation as the music itself. Tablature is not difficult to learn and in addition to its simplicity, it is graphically compact and an ideal way of writing music in score. It is probably no accident that the invention of tablature coincided with the emergence of music printing, and authors and publishers were quick to exploit the enormous social potential: some three hundred tablature books were issued during the sixteenth century. For the first time, high quality music was within reach of the bourgeoisie: a broad sector of society with limited musical experience gained easy access to art music in an easily intelligible format. No doubt, some of the great charmers of the era would have known the odd piece of Josquin, Arcadelt, or Francesco, and with only the flimsiest musical knowledge acquired through tablature editions, would

have been able to feign an inflated level of cultural refinement in order to approximate Castiglione's model courtier.

Returning now to Juan Bermudo, I wish to consider one short passage from the *Declaración de instrumentos* that is well known to instrumental scholars, a pithy 400-word coda to his discussion of intabulation technique on fol. 99v, at the end of chapter 71: "Some concluding advice on intabulations."¹⁰ It is worth revisiting in the present context because of its pedagogical import. In one of his rare moments of succinctness, following chapters of laborious and detailed explanation of intabulations, Bermudo cuts to the chase as if to say: "now if you really want to be a good vihuelist, here's what you have to do." It is a simple and rational recipe, based on instrumental emulation of vocal polyphony. Mechanical skills are completely ignored. Instead, Bermudo advises his reader to learn through intabulating (moving progressively from the simple to the complex), to absorb the compositional technique of vocal composers, and to use this knowledge for creating one's own works (fantasia extemporization), the pinnacle of sixteenth-century instrumental achievement.

In preceding chapters on intabulations, Bermudo teaches how to copy polyphony into score, how to place the music to achieve the best match between music and instrument, and how to translate the mensural notation into tablature. He does not advocate simply playing by numbers, but stresses implicitly that the process of self-instruction involves becoming intimately familiar with the music through copying and analysis. In this respect, he reveals an affinity to Vincenzo Galilei in his concern for the integrity of the vocal model and the use of intabulated polyphony for study possibly more than for performance.¹¹ Bermudo's insistence on first making a score, in order to be able to predict problems likely to arise in intabulating, differs from contemporaries such as Bartolomeo Lieto, who recommends intabulating each contrapuntal voice directly from the bass upward without the intermediary stage of making a score.¹² Other musicians, such as Cosimo Bottegari, who were first and foremost interested in producing intabulations to use as solo songs—by singing one of the original voices and converting the remaining voices into a simple accompaniment—do not operate with a pedagogical imperative and are more pragmatic than fastidious.¹³ The alternative that became both easy and common due to the explosive upsurge in tablature printing in the 1540s was, of course, to buy a book of tablature *prêt à porter*.

Bermudo first instructs players to seek out and intabulate music composed in two parts:

The music with which you should begin to intabulate will be *villancicos* (first duos, then in three parts) of homophonic music in which all the voices usually sound at once. Intabulating these requires little effort because, as the notes in each voice have the same value, the ciphers in each bar will be equal in number. For those who might wish to take my advice: these intabulations are not for performing because they are not artful music, so do use them to train your ear. Homophonic *villancicos* do not have strong enough musical foundations to develop and cultivate good taste in invention. Use them, therefore for practice and for learning how to intabulate; they are not worth more.¹⁴

Even if Bermudo is dismissive of these simple pieces, the student stands to learn not only the mechanics of intabulation, but also the fundamentals of counterpoint. Although never mentioned explicitly, Bermudo takes for granted the pedagogical benefit accruing from copying the music into score and intabulating it: this part of the process is possibly the most important of all in terms of the assimilation of compositional style and technique. Whatever the musical quality of these two-voice works, they are also good technical exercises as they demand accurate finger placement, controlled plucking, and linear fluidity.

Very few two-part *villancicos* of the kind that Bermudo recommends survive in polyphonic sources, and not a single example was included in any of the *vihuela* books published during the sixteenth century.¹⁵ The closest piece is a setting in Fuenllana's *Orphénica lyra* of *Si amores me han de matar*, which is attributed to Mateo Flecha; but this duo turns out to be identical to the tenor and bass voices of an anonymous five-part setting in the so-called *Cancionero de Uppsala*.¹⁶ It is impossible to determine which of the versions might have given rise to the other: the five-part version could have been created by adding voices to the duo, or Fuenllana could simply have extracted the lowest two voices from the five-voice work, although this scenario seems less likely to me. Not homophonic (as Bermudo recommended), *Si amores me han de matar* is of the same imitative style as most of the other two-part music conserved in the printed *vihuela* tablatures, settings of the *Benedictus*, *Pleni*, and *Et resurrexit* from masses by Josquin and Mouton, along with other liturgical fragments by Morales and Guerrero.

The three-part homophonic *villancicos* to which Bermudo refers are likely to be works such as those in the old style by Juan del Encina and other composers who figure alongside him in sources such as the *Cancionero de Palacio*, as well as later pieces in the same style. Playing intabulated three-

part homophonic works taught players to understand triadic harmony and chordal progressions and cadential formulas long before the development of a vocabulary to explain them. Triads were possibly understood as physical hand-positions as much as theoretic constructs of superimposed intervals, although it is likely that by Bermudo's time players of plucked instruments practiced a form of *basso continuo*, either reading from the bass part or entirely by ear.¹⁷

The second step in Bermudo's method refers to the new style of imitative three-part *villancicos* that emerged in Spain during the second quarter of the century:

Having derived some kind of benefit from the above *villancicos*, the player should seek out the *villancicos* of Juan Vásquez which are of high quality, and works by an interesting author named Baltasar Téllez. The works of this studious and wise composer possess four qualities that warrant reporting here: firstly because they are attractive and each voice can be sung in its own right . . . as if it might have been written to be sung alone. From this I infer the second quality: that their attractiveness makes them easy to sing and play. Thirdly, they should have many well-placed suspensions as these sound good on the *vihuela*. The last condition is that the music should have a narrow range and the voices should not be far from one another when each homophony is sounded.¹⁸

The printed *vihuela* books include large number of this kind of *villancico*, including many that embody exactly the qualities for which Bermudo praised the works of Baltasar Téllez. The greatest number of surviving works of this kind are the three-voiced *villancicos* by Vásquez, included in his *Villancicos i Canciones* of 1551.¹⁹

From three-part music, Bermudo moves to works of greater sophistication in four voices, music of greater length and complexity. He speaks of this music with great reverence—of its inexplicable beauty, a source of wisdom and spiritual edification. In this light, as well as for their range of solutions, he also extols Morales, Josquin, and Gombert for the variety displayed in text setting. The prominence he affords these three accords with the prevalence of their works in the surviving instrumental sources, not only the Mass sections that he recommends, but also large numbers of motets, chansons, madrigals, and Spanish secular works that make up such a high proportion of the repertoire. His closing remark about the music of Gombert no doubt arises from the composer's thicker textures and more pervasive imitation:

Among the Masses of the eminent musician Cristóbal de Morales you will find much music to intabulate, music of so many good qualities that I am incapable of describing it. He who lends himself to this music will not only gain wisdom, but also contemplative devotion. Only few composers possess these qualities, and attain variety in text setting. And among these few, the above-named author is one. Among the foreign music you might find, do not forget that of the great Josquin, who founded music. The most recent that you should intabulate is the music of the excellent Gombert. Due to the difficulty of intabulating it satisfactorily on the *vihuela*, for being so overflowing, I put it in last place.²⁰

Having laid out this ground plan, Bermudo gives little further guidance. Making intabulations according to the methods he elucidates in the preceding chapters produces arrangements that sit well under the fingers because they make good use of open strings and the standard vocabulary of chord configurations. His further advice deals only with a few secondary small-scale matters, such as how to deal with unisons between polyphonic voices. Vincenzo Galilei gives much more painstaking detail in *Il Fronimo* about maintaining polyphonic integrity in intabulations. Otherwise, there is a high level of agreement between these two authors whose pedagogical principles are closely aligned. They share the view, for example, that it is advantageous that lutenists be able to read and comprehend mensural music. In content, however, Galilei addresses his treatise to more accomplished players, perhaps a reflection of a more sophisticated Florentine readership, unless this is an impression that stems from his use of classical master-pupil dialogue format.

The conclusion of Bermudo's chapter establishes the tight nexus between intabulation and instrumental composition, and the need to have fully assimilated all of the preceding steps before attempting to create one's own music. This is one of the most frequently quoted sentences from the entire treatise:

Beginners err greatly in trying to impress with their own fantasies. Even if they were to know counterpoint (at least as well as the aforementioned composers) they should not be in such a hurry, so as not to do it with bad taste.²¹

The point is clear, vocal music is the instrumentalist's model; however, we might be equally critical of Bermudo for not going far enough. It seems as though his pedagogy is one of imitation by absorption. He gives no direct, concrete guidance on how to proceed from intabulation to fantasia: whether it is by direct imitation, by analogy, by osmosis, or simply by drinking from

the fountain of knowledge. As Philippe Canguilhem has observed, Galilei has a similar difficulty explaining satisfactorily in *Fronimo* how amateur players built the bridge between intabulation and fantasia.²² The most detailed attempt to teach fantasia improvisation is, of course, Santa María's *Arte de tañer fantasia* of 1565.²³ Using highly systematic pedagogy, Santa María's offers the most comprehensive and effective method for learning how to extemporize imitative counterpoint. Despite its great excellence, the one vital element that Santa María eschews along with every other sixteenth-century writer I have consulted, is that of musical structure. While Santa María reveals very clearly how to make all variety of imitative entries, he did not go so far as to offer a strategy for composing a fantasia. Perhaps there did exist an unarticulated belief that the only way for the instrumentalist to assimilate the rhetorical, poetic, and narrative dimensions of contemporary musical discourse was, in fact, through intabulations.

The congruence between Bermudo's writings and those of other authors who ventured to discuss early instrumental music suggests him to be an accurate reporter of established pedagogical practice. If we put him into a broader context, he aims at the *curioso tañedor* or "inquisitive player," and offers a more intellectualized approach to playing than would have been the experience of those who taught themselves by way of published tablature anthologies. At the same time, Bermudo offers these players the opportunity to learn skills that will help them move outside the confines of what was available in print.

Beyond Bermudo, however, and beyond the theoretical literature, there is other evidence about the way that lutenists and keyboard players acquired musical knowledge. Musical sources still contain a great deal of additional information that can be interpreted within our discussion of pedagogical practice. On the one hand, instrumental parodies of vocal works such as Vincenzo Galilei's *Fantasia sopra Anchor che col partire*—as one emblematic example—offer a window onto the nexus between intabulation and fantasy; and at the same time, lute manuscripts in particular are full of brief, fragmentary pieces that were probably intended to be memorized and incorporated into improvised works during performance. Named *clausula*, *final*, *tirata*, and so forth, they are highly suggestive of a practice of extemporized composition that relied, at certain strategic points, on the ability to invoke preexisting memorized materials, especially openings, cadential formulas, and codas. Some Italian lute manuscripts from the late sixteenth century contribute significantly to a growing body of evidence that supports the notion of extem-

porized fantasia involving the real-time assembly of works using certain prefabricated components.²⁴ Some of these materials possibly record the activity of their compilers as either teachers or pupils, and are likely to help us further illuminate pedagogical practice, perhaps bringing us closer to understanding unwritten practices relating both to compositional process and the way that urban amateurs became musicians.

NOTES

1. Luis Milán, *Libro de Música de vihuela de mano. Intitulado El maestro. El qual trabe el mesmo estilo y orden que un maestro traheria con vn discipulo principiante: mostrandose ordenadamente desde los principios toda cosa que podria ignorar para entender la presente obra* (Valencia: Francisco Diaz Romano, 1536).

2. Juan Bermudo, *Comiença el libro llamado declaracion de instrumentos musicales* . . . (Ossuna: Juan de Leon, 1555; repr. as *Documenta Musicologica* 11, ed. Macario Santiago Kastner [Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957]).

3. Bermudo has been studied by numerous scholars over the last half century. Particularly significant are the contributions made by John Ward, "Le problème des hauteurs dans la musique pour luth et vihuela au XVI^e siècle," in *Le Luth et sa Musique*, ed. J. Jacquot (Paris: CNRS, 1958), 171–78; Robert Stevenson, *Juan Bermudo* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960); Maria Teresa Annoni, "Tuning, Temperament, and Pedagogy for the Vihuela in Juan Bermudo's *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (1555)" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1989); Wolfgang Freis, "Becoming a theorist: the growth of the Bermudo's *Declaración de instrumentos musicales*," *Revista de Musicología* 18 (1995): 27–112; and Paloma Oraola, *Tradición y modernidad en los escritos musicales de Juan Bermudo: del Libro primero (1549) a la Declaración de instrumentos musicales (1555)* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2000). Recently, Dawn Espinosa has published a parallel Spanish–English version of Bermudo's discussion of the *vihuela* as *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 28–29 (1995–1996), and my own practical manual, *Tañer vihuela según Juan Bermudo* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, Sección de Música Antigua, 2003), is an attempt to produce a manual for modern players based on Bermudo's pedagogy.

4. The first book of Bermudo's treatise is entitled "Alabanzas de Música" (In praise of Music) and is written in the tradition of a classic *laus musicae*, heavily dependent upon Boethius. Chapters 2 and 3, for example, are devoted to the Boethian divisions of music, while chapter 5 explains the differences between the Boethian tri-fold categorization of musicians, lamenting the paucity in contemporary Spain of musicians worthy of the title of *musicus*: "En nuestra España ay infinitad de cantantes, muchos Buenos cantores, y pocos músicos" (In Spain today, there are infinite singers, many good composers, and very few musicians) (*Declaración*, fol. 5v).

5. On this topic see particularly Howard M. Brown, "The Importance of Sixteenth Century Intabulations," in *Proceedings of the International Lute Symposium Utrecht 1986*, ed. Louis Peter Grijp and Willem Mook (Utrecht: STIMU Foundation for Historical Performance Practice, 1988), 1–29; Hélène Charnassé, "La réception de la musique 'savante' dans le monde des amateurs: les recueils de cistre au XVI^e siècle," in *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia: Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, ed. A. Pompilio et al. (Turin: Edizione di Torino, 1990) 3: 59–67; and more recently John Griffiths, "The Lute and the Polyphonist," *Studi Musicali* 31 (2002): 71–90.

6. This figure is estimated by assuming, conservatively, that the 170 violeros known to have been active in Spain during the sixteenth century might represent only one tenth

porized fantasia involving the real-time assembly of works using certain prefabricated components.²⁴ Some of these materials possibly record the activity of their compilers as either teachers or pupils, and are likely to help us further illuminate pedagogical practice, perhaps bringing us closer to understanding unwritten practices relating both to compositional process and the way that urban amateurs became musicians.

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6. This figure is estimated by assuming, conservatively, that the 170 violeros known to have been active in Spain during the sixteenth century might represent only one tenth

of those who really existed, and that each of them worked for an average of twenty years producing ten instruments per year: $170 \times 10 \times 20 \times 10 = 340,000$.

7. See John Griffiths, "Printing the Art of Orpheus: Vihuela Tablatures in Sixteenth-Century Spain," in *Early Music Printing and Publishing in the Iberian World*, ed. Iain Fenlon and Tess Knighton (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2006), 181–214.

8. The prefatory matter of these books is examined in John Ward, "The 'Vihuela de mano' and its Music, 1536–1576" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1953).

9. Many examples are noted in Victor Coelho, *The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth-century Italian Lute Music* (New York: Garland, 1995).

10. "De ciertos avisos para la conclusión del cifrar."

11. Vincenzo Galilei, *Fronimo Dialogo di Vincentio Galilei fiorentino nel quale si contengono le vere et necessarie regole del Intavolare la Musica nel Liuto* (Venice, 1568); repr. as *Fronimo Dialogo di Vincentio Galilei nobile fiorentino sopra l'arte del bene intavolare et rettamente sonare la musica . . .* (Venice: Scotto, 1584), trans. and ed. Carol MacClintock, *Musicological Studies and Documents 39* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology & Hanssler-Verlag, 1985). See also the recent monograph by Philippe Canguilhem, *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei* (Paris: Minerve, 2001).

12. Bartolomeo Lieto Panhormitano, *Dialogo quarto di musica dove si ragiona sotto un piacevole discorso delle cose pertinenti per intavolare le opere di musica . . .* (Naples: Matteo Cancer, 1559).

13. Cosimo Bottegari, *Il libro de canto e liuto / The Song and Lute Book*, ed. Dinko Fabris and John Griffiths (Bologna: Forni, 2006); modern edition: *The Bottegari Lutebook*, ed. Carol MacClintock (Wellesley: Wellesley College, 1965).

14. "La Música que aveys de començar a cifrar: serán unos villancicos (primero dúos, y despues a tres) de Música golpeada, que, commúnmente dan todas las bozes junctas. Para cifrar estos quasi no ay trabajo: porque (como los puntos que dan unos con otros sean de ygual valor) las cifras en los compases vernán yguales en número. Quien quisiere tomar mi consejo: destas cifras no se aproveche para tañer: porque no es Música de cudicia, y no se haga el oydo a ellas. Los villancicos golpeados no tienen tan buen fundamento en música: que sean bastantes para edificar, y grangear buen ayre de fantasía. Pues tómense para ensayarse, o imponerse el tañedor en el arte de cifrar: que no son para más."

15. Three such pieces are copied in F:PeB, *Chansonniier Masson 56*, fols. 72v–75, edited in *Villancetes, cantigas e romances do século XVI*, ed. Manuel Morais, *Portugaliae Musica Serie A*, 47 (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1986), 30–31.

16. Miguel de Fuenllana, *Libro de Musica de Vihuela intitulado Orphenica lyra* (Seville: n.p., 1554), fol. 2. The anonymous five-voice setting is in *Villancicos de diversos autores, a dos, y a tres, y a quatro, y a cinco bozes* (Venice, 1556), edited in Maricarmen Gómez, *El Cancionero de Uppsala* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2003), 340–44.

17. One possible interpretation of Luis Zapata's famous anecdote from the 1530s or 1540s concerning the playing of Luis de Narváez who was "of such great musical ability that over four polyphonic voices in a book was able to improvise another four" ("de tan extraña habilidad en la música que sobre quatro voces de canto de organo de un libro echaba en la vihuela de repente otras quatro") is that the vihuelist was playing what was later called *basso continuo* (*Miscelánea*, chap. 15, in Pascual de Gayangos, *Memorial Histórico Español* 9 [Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1859], 95).

18. "Después que por estos villancicos estuviere el tañedor en alguna manera instruydo: busque los villancicos de Ivan vazquez que son Música acertada, y las obras de un curioso músico que se llama Baltasar Tellez. Las obras de este estudioso y sabio author tienen quatro condiciones, para que en este lugar dellas haga memoria. La primera, son graciosas, que cada una por si se puede cantar, y con tanta sonoridad que parecé averse hecho aposta para cantarse sola. De adonde infiero la segunda condición, que serán fáciles

de cantar, y tañer: pues que son graciosas. La tercera es, que tienen muchas falsas bien dadas: lo qual suena en la vihuela muy bien. La última condición es, que es Música recogida ni anda en muchos puntos, ni se aparta mucho una voz de otra al dar del golpe."

19. Juan Vásquez, *Villancicos i Canciones*, ed. Eleanor Russell, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance* 104 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1995).

20. "En las missas del egregio músico Christoval de Morales hallaréys mucha Música que poner: con tantas, y tan buenas qualidades que yo no soy suficiente a explicarlas. El que a esta Música se diere, no tan solamente quedará sabio: pero devoto contemplativo. Pocos componedores hallareys, que guarden las qualidades, y diferencias de las letras. Y entre los pocos, es uno el sobredicho autor. Entre la música estrangera que hallareys buena para poner: no olvideys la de el gran músico Iusquin que començó la música. Lo último que aveys de poner sea Música del excelente Gomberth. Por la dificultad que tiene para poner en la vihuela, por ser derramada: la pongo en el último lugar."

21. "Mucho yerran los tañedores, que començando a tañer: quieren salir con su fante-sía. Aunque supiesse contrapunto (sino fueße tan bueno como el de los sobredichos músicos) no avían de tañer tan presto fante-sía: por no tomar mal ayre."

22. Canguilhem, *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei*, chap. 3: "De la mise en tablature a la fantaisie: l'exemple d'*Anchor che col partire*," 95-121. Galilei's limitation is the impossibility of moving from a discussion of the process of intabulation to the conceptual appropriation of formal and compositional strategies from one genre into the other.

23. Tomás de Santa María, *Libro llamado arte de tañer fantasia* (Valladolid, 1565); trans. Warren. E. Hultberg and Almonte C. Howell as *The Art of Playing Fantasia* (Pittsburgh: Latin American Literary Review Press, 1991).

24. This is discussed further in the preface of John Griffiths and Dinko Fabris, eds., *Neapolitan Lute Music: Fabrizio Dentice, Giulio Severino, Giovanni Antonio Severino, Francesco Cardone*, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance* 140 (Madison: A-R Editions, 2004).