Jane Hardie often speaks with pride of her activity as a practical musician, not only the virtuosity of her recorder playing in her youth, but also her continuous involvement with practical music making throughout the length and breadth of her musicological career. Beyond our mutual involvement with early Spanish music, I am sure that one of the reasons why we have always seen eye to eye is because we both take a very practical approach to life and, in our scholarly endeavours, because we are both given to finding practical resolutions to the most theoretical of questions. Never losing sight of the nexus between musical scholarship and musical practice is closely related to those things that are at the heart of our professional commitment. My homage to Jane in this volume, therefore, concerns music of Renaissance Spain and the direct application of research to musical practice. On this occasion it is centred not in the long distant past as is our usual wont, but concerns one aspect of the performance history of Spanish Renaissance music in our own time, particularly during the period that spans Jane's musical and musicological career.

In reality, the modern performance history of the vihuela begins in the mid 1930s—well before Jane was born—and stems from the pioneering work of Emilio Pujol and his discovery in Paris of an original vihuela, at a time when no original instruments were known. The revival of vihuela music, however, began in the middle years of the nineteenth century and so I begin with an extended prelude that recounts some of the earlier developments so that the performance history can be seen in perspective. It was pioneer Spanish musicologist Felipe Pedrell who initially encouraged and inspired Pujol to investigate the origins of the guitar and its music in Spain’s past and extend the work done by earlier scholars such as Guillermo Morphy. Pujol accepted the challenge and in the first two-thirds of the twentieth century was to play a pivotal role in both vihuela scholarship and performance.

I divide the modern performance history of the vihuela into three phases defined, above all else, by the nature of modern instruments. This can be justified simply because the sound of vihuela music is inseparable from the way the instrument is made, and any attempt to reclaim the sound and spirit of the music’s past is mediated by the instrument itself. The quality of sound (timbre, acoustics, duration), playing technique, and other practical considerations such as stringing are all determined by the instrument itself. Inevitably, it becomes the overriding factor that governs the musical end product, both
technically and aesthetically. Accordingly, the modern history of the vihuela begins with an initial period to about 1975 in which the construction and performance of the vihuela derived from the modern classical guitar. The early guitar-vihuelas were awkward to play, overly robust in their construction, and did not resolve the fundamental problems inherent in adapting the construction principles of the modern single-strung concert guitar to the requirements of the vihuela’s double courses. The second phase is indebted to the advances in historical lute building that blossomed in the 1970s especially as makers started to measure and produce replicas of original instruments preserved in museums and that appears to have started to have an impact on vihuela making and playing from around 1975. This resulted in vihuelas that were infinitely more agile and playable. The new lute-styled vihuelas were lighter; they used lighter strings and had soundboards thicknessed and braced in the manner of the lute. These are the instruments that are heard in the majority of recordings and concert performances from the early 1980s until the present time. A new, third phase of vihuela making is in its infancy and might nominally be said as beginning around the year 2000, or shortly thereafter, and corresponds to makers and players looking more to the vihuela’s own history rather than drawing from either the guitar or lute. The touchstone for this third phase of vihuela making was the unveiling in Paris in 1998 of another previously unknown vihuela at the Musée de la Musique, and the sense that there is now sufficient historical information available to serve in its own right as the basis for historical reconstruction.

**Early vihuela scholarship**

The revival of interest in the vihuela began in the nineteenth century. Some of the sources of vihuela music were listed by Nicolás Antonio in 1672 and Charles Burney in 1789, but it was not until the publication of Fétis’ *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens* (1837–1844) that more complete bibliographic references were given to the books of Fuenlana, Milán, Narváez, Pisador and Valderrábano. Erudite mid nineteenth-century Spanish readers similarly became aware of the existence of vihuela music through the writings of the Mariano Soriano Fuertes (1817–1880), Baltasar Saldoni (1807–1889), and Bartolomé José Gallardo (1776–1852).

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descriptions of some of the sixteenth-century printed books of vihuela music. The earliest tentative exploration of the music itself appears to have been made by François-Auguste Gevaert (1828–1908), the Belgian composer and director of the Paris opera, whose initial and almost accidental foray into Luis Milán’s El maestro occurred in Paris in 1868, only months before meeting Spanish exile Guillermo Morphy (1836–1899).³ The Spaniard’s imagination was evidently fired by Gevaert’s transcriptions, and marked the beginning of an abiding commitment that culminated in his monumental anthology Les luthistes espagnols du XVIe siècle published in Leipzig in 1902, shortly after his death. Guillermo Morphy, secretary to Alfonso XII and earlier his chamberlain while Prince of Asturias, was a cultured young Spaniard who had previously studied composition with Fétis in Belgium, and who fled to Paris with Isabel II and her entourage after being deposed in the revolution of 1868.⁴ Only a few months after meeting Gevaert, Morphy had arranged a concert that would allow a Parisian audience was to hear vihuela music for the first time. This event—possibly the only public performance of vihuela music during the nineteenth century—took place on the afternoon of 29 June 1869 in the Salle Herz in Paris, and probably in the presence of the exiled Isabel II and her retinue. Within a programme of music by more recent composers, Morphy programmed a group of works from Luis Milán’s El maestro (1536) and Orphenica lyra (1554) by Miguel de Fuenllana, played by young pianist Albert Lavignac on a 1636 Andreas Ruckers harpsichord, in order “to preserve as much as possible their character and, in the absence of a vihuela or a sufficiently able tañedor.”⁵ Thus begins the modern performance history of the vihuela: outside Spain, on a harpsichord, but in what appears to have been a quasi-courtly context.

In Spain, as elsewhere in Europe, the doors to national musical heritage initially opened by bibliographers were supported by national libraries and newly-founded state


⁴ Concerning Morphy’s distinguished life in royal service, including a decade as secretary to king Alfonso XII, and his prominent role in Madrid cultural life see, Ramón Sobrino, “El Conde de Morphy (1836–1898), protagonista musical de una época. Epistolarios a Albéniz y Pedrell,” Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana, 7 (1999): 61–102.

conservatories. Along with the traditional musical materials, Spain’s musical heritage also came to play an important role in building cultural identity at a time when the country was still trying to recover from the Napoleonic legacy and the consequent upheaval of political order. It is in this context that the earliest Spanish transcription of vihuela music can be placed, the first apparently being an edition of a romance from Fuenllana’s Orphenica lyra transcribed by zarzuela composer José Inzenga (1828–1891) published at the end of 1872 in the Calendario histórico musical para el año de 1873. A second publication that dates from some time between 1872 and 1902 is an excellent edition of the six pavanas of Luis Milán by Lorenzo González Agejas printed in Madrid by José Campo y Castro at some point between these two dates. These were isolated publications and it was otherwise not until the early twentieth century that any vihuela music became readily available. For reasons that are difficult to pinpoint apart from a general lack of public interest or its seeming foreignness, Morphy’s Les luthistes espagnols appears to have had little impact in Spain, even though for a long time it remained the only edition available of many vihuela compositions. On the other hand, the restitution of the nation’s past was obviously in the air, and so it is not entirely coincidental to find these other publications appearing during the gestation period of Morphy’s anthology. This edition appears not to have circulated widely and it was not until the publication of Felipe Pedrell’s Cancionero Popular Musical Español in 1918 that vihuela music started to become known in Spain. One third of Pedrell’s third volume (28 works) is drawn from vihuela sources, and this appears to be the beginning of a broader knowledge in Spain of vihuela music. Five years after the publication of the first volume of the Pedrell Cancionero, another important Spanish publication was to appear,  


7 Gerardo Arriaga, “Las pavanas de Luis Milán y su primera transcripción moderna,” Roseta 0 (2007): 147–164. The pieces are transcribed for a vihuela in A, on two staves and unlike Morphy’s diplomatic transcriptions, the voice-leading is fully reconstructed. A copy is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, and a full facsimile accompanies Arriaga’s study. Arriaga suggests that the edition was published before 1902 but the Biblioteca Nacional catalogue entry gives the publication date as 1872.

8 The edition was attacked in no uncertain terms by Pedrell in a review headed “La vihuela y los vihuelistas” in La Vanguardia on 30 Sept 1902. Labeling it a “disaster,” he does little to hide his resentment that its prologues in French and German confuse the vihuela with the lute and guitar, and fail to incorporate the expertise of leading contemporary Spanish scholars. Pedrell’s outrage is reflected in the fact that he republished this same review on other occasions, in 1906 and 1920. For further details, see Pepe Rey, “Guillermo Morphy,” part I, 27.

Martínez Torner’s edition of the music of Narváez.\textsuperscript{10}

**Emilio Pujol**

The previous paragraphs provide some background into the specific circumstances of the vihuela without placing it in the broader context of the early music revival at the turn of the twentieth century that spawned influential figures such as Wanda Landowska, Arnold Dolmetsch and others. Given the nationalistic sentiments of the time, and despite the publication of Morphy’s *Les Luthistes espagnols* outside Spain, it is not surprising that the impetus for the revival of the vihuela should come from within Spain. Spanish musicians, after all, were actively involved in proudly proclaiming their national heritage.

The first champion of the vihuela in early twentieth-century Spain was Emilio Pujol (1886–1980). A guitarist formed in Barcelona under the guidance of Francisco Tárrega (1852–1909), Pujol’s interest in the history of his interest was awakened by one of the most ardent Spanish musical nationalists, Felipe Pedrell (1841–1922) with whom he became acquainted in 1916 and who inspired him to begin his research activities.\textsuperscript{11} By 1922, Pujol had established himself in Paris, and by 1926 he had begun researching the early history of the guitar, including music for vihuela which he performed in public for the first time in Paris on 6 December 1927, transcribed for guitar.\textsuperscript{12} From 1928 he became involved in presenting lecture-recitals on the guitar and its history, presenting them not only in Madrid and Barcelona but also in foreign capitals including London, Paris, and Buenos Aires.

Pujol believed that it was divine providence that led him in early 1936 to an instrument that turned out to be the first vihuela to be identified in modern times.\textsuperscript{13} In an autobiographical anecdote he explains how he received information about an unusual guitar at the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris.\textsuperscript{14} On 6 January 1936, Pujol inspected this


\textsuperscript{12} Juan Riera, *Emilio Pujol* (Lérida: Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses, 1974), 136.

\textsuperscript{13} Pujol, “El Maestro Pedrell,” 57: “en el año 1936 quiso Dios premiar mis esfuerzos con el hallazgo que hice en el Musée Jacquemart André, de París, del único ejemplar auténtico de vihuela hasta hoy conocido.”

\textsuperscript{14} Edgar Ceballos and Juan Helguera, “Autobiografía, Emilio Pujol,” in *Guitarra de México* 2, no. 3 (1986): 42–44, cited in Fabián Edmundo Hernández Ramírez, “La Obra Compositiva de Emilio Pujol (1886–1980): Estudio Comparativo, Catálogo y Edición Crítica” (Diss. Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 2010), 96, “Un aficionado a las cosas de otros tiempos, me dijo un día en París: ‘En el museo Jacquemart-André he visto una vieja guitarra española que no es como las corrientes. ¿Por qué no va usted a verla?’ Al día siguiente, no sin cierta inquietud escéptica, fui al museo, donde con emocionada sorpresa me encontré, al fin, con un ejemplar auténtico de vihuela del año 1500, único hasta ahora, cuya existencia sea conocida. De este ejemplar obtuve medidas y
instrument and identified it as a vihuela. Immediately following, he had the instrument traced and measured and commissioned a copy from guitar maker Miguel Simplicio in Barcelona. The renowned maker evidently wasted no time. The instrument was ready within three months and he gave it to Pujol in Barcelona on 7 April 1936, a gift on the occasion of the Catalan musician’s fiftieth birthday. Two weeks later, on 23 April 1936, Pujol played his first concert on this vihuela in Barcelona at the Casal de Metge for delegates attending the Third Congress of the International Musicological Society. It was an auspicious occasion, and the first vihuela performance in modern times.

On his return to France, Pujol had several opportunities for public presentations with his vihuela. On 2 May 1936, he gave a recital with soprano Conchita Badía (1897–1975) in the Salle Erard in Paris that included works from all the seven known vihuela books. Four days later the same pair played live music examples at a lecture on the music of the vihuela given by Joaquín Rodrigo (1901–1999) at the Instituto de Estudios Hispánicos at the University of Paris and once again in the same venue on 14 June at a lecture and poetry reading by Paul Valéry that was part of the commemorations of the third centenary of the death of Lope de Vega.

Vihuelas and Guitars

The vihuela built for Pujol by Miguel Simplicio now resides in the Museu de la Música in Barcelona. While the instrument was intended to be a replica of the vihuela in the Musée Jacquemart-André, it is notably different. The instrument is fitted with a modern

datos para reproducir su construcción y hoy, son ya varias las vihuelas de diversos tipos que existen, construidas por Simplicio, Yacopi y Fleta derivadas de aquel modelo.”


16 Documentation of this and all other mentioned performances is given in Riera, Emilio Pujol, 140ff.

17 Museu de la Música, catalogue no. MDMB 392. There is no direct link to the details of the instrument, but the details of the instrument can be found by going to http://colleccio.museusinc.cat/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&lang=ca and searching for “viola de ma.”
guitar bridge placed high on the soundboard, a long way from where the bridge of the original was seated. It also has metal guitar frets on the fingerboard and it is likely that its inner construction and bracing also derive from the modern classical guitar. Very little is known about the provenance of the exquisite original, but the name “Guadalupe” branded on the side of its pegbox has lead to speculation that it could possibly be the work of Juan de Guadalupe, a violero active in Toledo in 1525.\(^\text{18}\) It is a very large vihuela, clearly conceived as a bass instrument. Although the original instrument is conserved without a bridge, two bridge positions are clearly visible on its soundboard. The mark closest to the bottom of the instrument appears to be the original bridge position and indicates a string length of 798 mm, although this would have been somewhat longer because, as Dugot showed in his 1997 article, the neck has been shortened slightly at some later point in time.\(^\text{19}\) In making a copy of this instrument for Pujol, however, Simplicio needed to make an instrument that could accommodate the surviving solo repertory, something clearly impossible on an instrument with a string length of nearly 800 mm. The solution he adopted was to glue the modern bridge, complete with bone saddle, approximately two-fifths of the distance from the bottom to the neck, resulting in a string length of 652 mm, 150 mm shorter than the original, but the same string length that is used on modern concert guitars. While this bridge position would make the instrument usable for solo repertoire, it would also ensure that its sound would be quite unlike the original. Moreover, Simplicio was flying blind: he had no knowledge of the internal construction of the instrument, and it is almost certain that he fashioned in a similar way to his renowned concert guitars.\(^\text{20}\)

The other factors of immediate consequence for the sound of the instrument are playing technique and strings, both their material and their tension. As a faithful disciple of Tárrega, Pujol was one of the few guitarists in the twentieth century to play the guitar without using fingernails: this would have made it easier to negotiate the double courses of the vihuela, and would have been more in line with what we believe to be the vihuela sound that was most revered to sixteenth-century players.\(^\text{21}\) Like these vihuelists of yore,

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\(^{19}\) The later bridge, possible changed at the same time the neck was shortened appears to have been added so that the instrument could be used as a five-course guitar. The string length with this bridge fitted is still a rather large 757 mm. See Weisman, “The Paris Vihuela,” 69.

\(^{20}\) The internal structure of this vihuela remained unknown until Prynne examined the instrument in 1962. He was able to make accurate observations through a few cracks in the body that were all confirmed accurate when Abondance removed the back during his restoration of it in 1978. See Prynne, “One Surviving Vihuela” and Abondance, “La vihuela,” cited in note 15.

\(^{21}\) Fuenllana is the only vihuelist to state specifically that the instrument sounds better without
Pujol would have played with gut treble strings as synthetic strings were still a decade away, but presumably his vihuela was strung with bass strings of the type that were then the norm for the guitar, a core of silk fibre overspun with silver or copper, but we have no information that would indicate their tension. Given the probable construction of his instrument, the tension of the strings was probably considerably higher than what has become customary in more recent times.

By the time that Simplicio finished Pujol’s instrument in early 1936, the vihuelist had already made his contribution to the ambitious historical anthology of recorded music project, *l’Anthologie Sonore*, begun in Paris in 1933 by distinguished German musicologist Curt Sachs (1881–1959).22 As far as can be discerned aurally, the recordings of vihuela music that Pujol made for that enterprise are more likely to have been performed with modern guitar than vihuela. Pujol recorded seven pieces for the collection: three pavanas by Luis Milán, and four songs in which he accompanied soprano María Cid. The latter were issued as Disc 17 in the series of 78 rpm records under the title *Romances et villancicos Espagnols du 16e siècle (chant et vihuela)* and included Milán’s romance *Durandarte* on one side with the romances *Paseábase el rey moro* (Fuenllana) and *A las armas moriscote* (Pisador) on the second side together with Fuenllana’s transcription of Vásquez’s villancico *Vos me matasteis*. In line with the direct-to-disc recording system used in those days, the two sides of this latter record bear the session numbers AS45 and AS44, and are documented as having been recorded in Paris in 1935. Although the Milán pavanas were not issued until 1936 on Disc 40 of *l’Anthologie Sonore* together with a recercada by Ortiz played by Carel van Leeuwen Boomkamp (viola da gamba) and Erwin Bodky (harpsichord), the session number for the three pavanas is AS46 and therefore is likely to have been recorded at the same session as the songs. If this is correct, then the recording would have taken place before Pujol had discovered the instrument in the Musée Jacquemart-André, and thus before Simplicio had the chance to make him a vihuela. On the basis of the recording of the Milán pavanas it is clear that they are performed on a modern guitar with single-string courses, albeit without nails and with gut strings. Further evidence offered by Hernández Ramírez to support this conclusion is an August 1935 review by José Subirá of a lecture given by Curt Sachs at

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22 More than 150 78rpm discs were issued in this series between 1933 and the mid 1950s. A brief history of the project and catalogue of the recordings can be found at [http://www.medieval.org/emfaq/cds/ans99999.htm](http://www.medieval.org/emfaq/cds/ans99999.htm), accessed 13 Feb 2013.
the Residencia de Estudiantes in Madrid in which he played gramophone recordings of Emilio Pujol with María Cid.\(^{23}\)

Very shortly after Pujol’s debut performances on vihuela and probably not altogether by coincidence, the early music pioneer Arnold Dolmetsch turned his hand to making vihuelas. This could have been at the instigation of wealthy Mexican-born painter and music enthusiast Marius de Zayas (1880–1961).\(^{24}\) Zayas spent thirty years in Paris following the First World War, and must have met Pujol there, no doubt moving in the same artistic circle of Spanish-speaking artists and musicians. Dolmetsch appears to have made three vihuelas. It is likely that the first of these was commissioned by Zayas. Dolmetsch reportedly gave his “Vihuela No 2” to pioneer lutenist Diana Poulton (1903–1995) after she had played it in Dolmetsch’s annual Haslemere Festival in 1938. This instrument was sold by Sotheby’s in 1995 and is now in the private collection in Nagoya, Japan.\(^{26}\) The third of Dolmetsch’s vihuelas is in the Horniman Museum in London.\(^{26}\)

They are elegant looking instruments but no information is available concerning their internal construction or their sound. Nonetheless, it was one of these vihuelas that was used by Pujol when he gave a lecture-recital on the vihuela in London on 15 June 1938 with the collaboration of the renowned singer Encarnación López “La Argentinita,” and Bertram Harrison playing clavichord.\(^{27}\) Pujol evidently acquired one of the Dolmetsch vihuelas and Hernández Ramírez reports that a vihuela menor made by Dolmetsch in 1937 was in the Sala Emili Pujol at the Institut d’Estudis Ilerdencs until 2003, but was apparently removed to another museum in Lérida together with another of his vihuelas made in Barcelona in 1947 by José Yacopi (1916–2006).\(^{28}\) Pujol evidently abandoned his first Simplicio vihuela in favour of instruments that were more manageable or acoustically of higher quality.

Even though he continued to give recitals and lecture recitals on vihuela, often in prestigious venues such as the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in Madrid on 28 January 1941, and the Palau de la Música Catalana in Barcelona on 10 January


24 On de Zayas’ life, see Henry Adams, “De Zayas, Marius,” Grove Art Online, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/. The vihuela ordered by Zayas is probably one of those pictured in the Guitar Review, no 38 (Spring, 1973), 16–17, guest edited by Rodrigo de Zayas, and are listed there as “bass, tenor and soprano vihuelas.”


26 This instrument can be seen at http://www.horniman.ac.uk/object/M36-1983.


28 Hernández Ramírez, “La obra compositiva de Emilio Pujol,” 100, note 249.
1942, he made no commercial recordings. After the recordings for _l’Anthologie Sonore_, the only recording of Pujol is from a live concert performance in 1954 in the company of soprano María Rosa Barbany.²⁹ On this recording, it is probable that Pujol plays a vihuela by Ignacio Fleta, another of the leading Barcelona guitar makers, the same instrument with which he was photographed with Rosa Barbany in 1947.³⁰

From this recording we can hear the difficulties that these early vihuelas presented. Even if Pujol was nearly seventy at the time, his playing has nothing of the agility that characterises his 1935 guitar recording of Milán _pavanas_. It is easy to detect that he was playing a heavy instrument, with high tension double courses that were both difficult to strike simultaneously with the right hand, and that required considerable left-hand pressure to hold the strings down. The construction of such instruments was almost certainly that of the modern classical guitar with very few changes, including little allowance for the double courses. The result is a sound with explosive attack, and short duration. It gives the impression of an instrument that showed no mercy and that made it difficult for even a fine musician like Pujol to do justice to the music. Playing such instruments permitted few expressive liberties. Listening to vihuela music on these instruments was analogous to view historical relics through the glass of museum cabinets. It would be decades before there were instruments that could give performers a medium through which they could interpret with the finesse and subtlety that complex polyphony demands, or with a depth and virtuosity that equates with the surviving testimonies of sixteenth-century listeners.

Despite any frustrations that Pujol might have felt due to the limitations of the instruments available to him, he remained firm in his beliefs about the inherent value of the vihuela repertory and continued his activities as scholar, teacher and performer with evangelical affection. In 1949, his edition of Mudarra’s _Tres libros de música en cifra_ was published by the Instituto Español de Musicología and began giving courses on vihuela and baroque guitar interpretation at the annual summer school of the Accademia Chigiana in Siena in 1955 at the instance of Andrés Segovia. The first student recital incorporating solo works and songs with vihuela took place during the 1958 Siena course.³¹ Shortly after the Accademia Chigiana suspended the course in vihuela and

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²⁹ The recording was of a live performance on 16 July 1954 at a course for foreign students at the Residencia de Relaciones Culturales in Madrid. The recording appears not to have been made for commercial purposes and was not released until 2002: _Spanish Songs, Rosa Barbany, soprano, Emilio Pujol, vihuela_, (Madrid: EMEC, 2002), E-050


³¹ Hernández Ramírez, “La obra compositiva de Emilio Pujol,” 147
baroque guitar in 1963, Pujol began his own course in guitar, lute and vihuela in Lérida in 1965 and continued it annually for many years.\textsuperscript{32}

The other prominent musicians who contributed to the vihuela in the 1960s were Barcelona guitarist Graciano Tarragó (1892–1973) and his daughter, Renata (1927–2005). Graciano was a prominent teacher, and also played vihuela and lute in the Barcelona early music group Ars Musicae that existed from 1935 to 1979, and in this capacity made several recordings with the group featuring the soprano Victoria de los Angeles (1923–2005). Less active as a soloist than his daughter, Graciano Tarragó nonetheless produced complete editions of the vihuela music of Luis de Narváez and Alonso Mudarra that were published by Unión Musical Española in the early 1970s.\textsuperscript{33}

Renata Tarragó, on the other hand, had a distinguished career as a solo guitarist and recording artist, and also as an accompanist. In addition to her many performances and recordings with Victoria de los Angeles, she also collaborated with Rosa Barbany in the 1960s performing and recording vihuela music. They made one LP recording together of songs and vihuela solos in 1965 and performed this repertory in various parts of Spain.\textsuperscript{34}

Leading music critic of the time, Federico Sopeña, praised both performers highly, describing Tarragó as “singular, [and] exquisite” but stating his preference to hear vihuela music played on the guitar even if “that tinted, almost rough, timbre of the old instrument does not cease to be moving.”\textsuperscript{35} No doubt Sopeña’s preference for the modern guitar comes from the difficulties of achieving an equivalent level of musical fluency on these early reproduction instruments, and the roughness he speaks of in his 1962 review is immediately evident in their 1965 recording. Once again, it is part of the difficulty of playing the large, highly tensioned guitar-styled vihuelas that inhibit the player from producing the sustained melodic lines that are fundamental to the style of vihuela music.

\textsuperscript{32} Hernández Ramírez, “La obra compositiva de Emilio Pujol,” 148. The list of Pujol students (pp. 201–213) includes many who subsequently contributed to the further advancement of the vihuela, lute, and early guitar, among them: Federico Cook, Manuel Cubedo, Gusta Goldschmidt, Javier Hinojosa, Manuel Morais, Neil Pennington, Ronald Purcell, John Roberts, Craig Russell, and Hopkinson Smith.


\textsuperscript{34} Renata Tarragó and Rosa Barbany, \textit{Música del renacimiento español}, Spanish Vergara 790-STL, released 1965.

Of the instruments of this kind, one of the most satisfying is the one that Tarragó used in her 1967 recording for the prestigious Archiv series produced by the Deutsche Grammophon Gesellschaft. Her vihuela performances that constitute the first side of the Hispánica Musica: Vihuela y Guitarra LP, while very much from the same mould, achieve greater fluency than in any earlier recording. By an unidentified maker, Tarragó plays the instrument with her nails, producing a bass sound that is still very guitar-like, but the treble strings, perhaps strung with slightly less tension or a lower playing action, allow her more coherent melodic articulation.

The public image of the modern vihuela changed in the late 1960s and early 1970s with the first widely distributed recordings, especially those issued in Spain on the Hispavox label in a series entitled Colección de Música Antigua Española. The vihuela recordings for this series were shared between two vihuelists, Jorge Fresno and Rodrigo de Zayas, two of the first to devote their energies entirely to the performance of historical instruments instead of trying to maintain parallel careers as guitarists. Fresno recorded a total of six long playing discs in the series: works by Milán and Valderrábano (vol. 5, 1969), Mudarra and Fuenllana (vol. 10, 1971), Narváez and Pisador (vol. 23, 1974), and the complete works of Mudarra together with soprano Rose-Marie Meister (3 LPs, vols 32–34, 1981). To complement these recordings, Rodrigo de Zayas recorded one volume for the series (vol. 15, 1971) with soprano Anne Perret. For all except the 1981 Mudarra recording, both vihuelists played guitar-style vihuelas made by Madrid makers Cesar and Fernando Vera. They were notably more balanced instruments than the earlier ones I have seen and heard, but still technically and aesthetically allied to the modern concert guitar. Fresno used an instrument in G throughout, while Zayas commissioned the Vera brothers to make him a seven vihuelas following to the seven tunings given by theorist Juan Bermudo. While vihuelas were historically not made in any standard size and early documents describe some instruments as being notably bigger or smaller than others,

36 Rodrigo de Zayas is the son of Marius de Zayas, mentioned above in connection with Emilio Pujol and Arnold Dolmetsch.
37 These collections, except the 1981 Mudarra recording and the earlier discs by Renata Tarragó are all reviewed together in a review that is now equally interesting in its own right as an indication of perceptions closer to the period when the recordings were made: Monica Hall, “Performing early music on record 6: The vihuela repertoire,” Early Music 5 (1977): 59–65.
there is no historical precedent for vihuelas being manufactured in sets in this way. Notwithstanding, these instruments provided for the first time variety in high and low tunings and therefore a sense of the variety that prevailed in the sixteenth century. The vihuelas by the Vera brothers were still extremely robust instruments, with high tension strings, and a short decay time that made even the easiest of pieces into hard work, as well as making it very difficult for listeners to enjoy the sinuous polyphonic melodies of the music. As with all of these first-generation instruments, they required a right-hand plucking technique that incorporated fingernails in order to be able to get sufficient resistance from the string to pluck each note.

Vihuelas and Lutes

The Hispavox recordings issued up until 1974 represent the culmination of the first period of the modern history of vihuela performance and vihuela making, when instruments and performance style were fashioned upon the modern classical guitar. The next phase in the development of the modern vihuela flowed from the dynamic revival of historical instruments and historical performance that was exploding around the world. The desire for authentic sound led instrument makers back to the originals, back to instruments built hundreds of years ago built by some of the finest craftsmen of all time. In a society for which progress is an underlying assumption, and at a time of rapid technological development, this return to the past was seen as radical, and even generated a certain amount of resistance. This is patently obvious in the remarks made by Rodrigo de Zayas who believed that modern vihuelas needed to incorporate modern technological advances if they were to serve modern needs and modern concert halls. He criticised those traditionalists who insist that early instruments, when they are made in modern times, must be mere copies—any initiative coming from the builder being considered a sin against sacred tradition. In my own opinion, nothing really authentic has ever been produced by fanatical traditionalists, but rather thanks to the creative capacities of artists who themselves are authentic. In all my experience as a musician, I have never met a good instrument builder or a good musician among those who renounce their own creative ability in favour of “tradition at all costs”. Invariably, these persons renounce that which is most valuable in the human being: his intelligence. It must be so when they insist, as they always do, that in order to deserve the purifying label “authentic”, the vihuela must whisper.39

Lute-making was one of the great beneficiaries of the move back to historical models and the success of historically-based lutes started to play an important part in what would be the subsequent development of the vihuela. Historically-based lutes were no longer the

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simple appropriation of the external shape and form of past instruments, but replicas that mirrored every detail of the originals, their materials and construction, down as far as the thickness of their woods. These were the instruments that in the early 1970s were being played by pioneer historical lutenists such as Michael Schäffer and Eugen Müller Dombois who, in turn, explored early musical sources and treatises in order also to learn the playing technique of the masters whose music they were playing. These players and these lutes produced a music that was strikingly different from the most internationally famous lutenist of the period, Julian Bream. Never abandoning his career as a guitarist, Bream had also become the international voice of the lute, albeit using an instrument not unlike the early guitar-vihuelas, effectively a hybrid that looked like a lute and played like a guitar. Bream played with such impeccable musicianship and panache, however, that he remained relatively immune to the changes that were occurring around him, and was seldom criticised.

At the same time, Bream was a crucial if indirect catalyst in the development of the vihuela. In the early 1970s, he became the champion of guitar maker David Rubio, encouraging him to return to England from New York, and setting him up in a workshop on his own country estate. Rubio made guitars and lutes for Bream, as well as harpsichords and other early stringed instruments. Even though Rubio had made some vihuelas, it was a Rubio lute that Bream used his 1979 LP of vihuela music, and with an interpretative style still reminiscent of the preceding decades. Rubio’s vihuelas, on the other hand, were among the first to experiment with a lighter style of construction than the earlier Spanish instruments, no doubt informed by his study of historical lutes and his experience in making them. Of those who worked with Rubio in those years, Paul Fischer was the one whose vihuelas were highly sought after in the mid 1970s. Several years later, Bream did play a vihuela made for him by José Luis Romanillos on the television series Guitarra: The Guitar in Spain produced in 1985.

The critical factor of these new instruments was their lightness. They weighed considerably less than guitars because they were made from wood that was considerably thinner than what was the custom in guitar making. Soundboards were particularly thin, frequently little more than 1.5mm, sometimes less, but braced with up to eight cross bars to give them the necessary reinforcement and support in the style of the lute. In terms of its sound, this was a completely different vihuela to those that had been based on the guitar. More than anything the sound was infinitely more beautiful as a result of the less

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40 One of these instruments is photographed in Zayas, “The Modern Concert Vihuela,” 15.
41 A 1975 Paul Fischer vihuela can be seen and heard in a recording by Nelson Amos available on YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pAOnkNYt-mc, accessed 26 Feb 2013. It is a large instrument that appears to be based on an instrument illustrated in the preliminary pages of Luis Milán, El Maestro.
explosive attack and longer duration of individual notes, as well as the musical fluency they permitted. It was easier to approximate the style of vocal polyphony and to create sustained lines that could be heard to interweave around each other. The difference was due to a number of factors. Firstly, the string tensions required for these instruments was much lighter, in the vicinity of 3kg per string, compared to about 7kg per string on a modern concert guitar. String lengths were shorter, and the string diameters were also considerably reduced. Less tension was required to start the thinner soundboard vibrating with each pluck, and the paired courses continued to vibrate longer. In addition, players were able to use the flesh of the right hand fingers instead of the nails, producing a tone that favoured the fundamental and lower harmonics of each note, in general accord with the guides on playing that are found in the prefaces of some of the original vihuela books. These instruments also responded best with a right hand technique that lutenists call the thumb-under technique in which the thumb falls behind the index and middle fingers and into the palm of the hand, the main sixteenth-century technique used on the lute that had been resuscitated by Michael Schäffer and others in the early 1970s. It allowed for fast playing of diminutions and ornaments, even if it was the way of plucking the vihuela that sixteenth-century Spaniards such as Venegas de Henestrosa referred to as figueta extranjera, the “foreign” way of playing. Venegas is absolutely clear that vihuela should be played in the manner he called figueta castellana where the right-hand thumb is kept outside the palm and to the left of the index finger. While the iconography of the vihuela shows a certain variety of right hand position and plucking technique, for Venegas and Fuenllana, the figueta castellana was the native Spanish way of playing. Even though it is very similar to the way the guitar continues to be played today, players of the modern lute-vihuela almost without exception adopted the “foreign” way of playing. To some degree this relates directly to sound quality, but also to the fact that most contemporary vihuelists are also lutenists, and also to a desire of lutenists in the 1970s to distance themselves from the guitar and to differentiate themselves from guitarists, that is, in most cases, from their own origins.

Perhaps the most vivid illustration of how vihuela sound changed and how the new lighter instruments dramatically expanded musical horizons can be achieved by comparing Jorge Fresno’s early Hispavox recordings with his last contribution to the Colección de Música Antigua Española series recorded in 1981. This last recording includes new versions of the eleven Mudarra works recorded ten years earlier and therefore permits some very specific comparisons. Instead of the somewhat stodgy performances on the Vera guitar-vihuelas of the older recordings, the 1981 Mudarra discs reveal a fresh, reinvigorated Fresno playing three vihuelas in G, A and E made by Ricardo Brané, a fellow Argentinian who had settled in Italy, establishing himself as a fine a guitar maker until his premature death at 44, not long after these recordings were
issued.\footnote{Not much documentation survives concerning this maker. Most of it comes from websites concerning his former apprentice Andrea Tacchi, now a master guitar maker himself, for example, http://www.kentguitarclassics.com/andrea-tacchi-classical-guitars, accessed 20 Feb 2013.} The difference is extraordinary. Even as recorded sound, the acoustic responsiveness of the instruments is immediately noticeable, Fresno plays with extroverted virtuosity of a kind that was largely stifled on the older instruments, and there is a real sense on this recording that the vihuela had rejoined the real world as a viable expressive vehicle in its own right rather than remaining the pallid shadow of a splendour long gone.

In 1984, only three years after the last Fresno recording was released, Hopkinson Smith’s first two CD vihuela recordings, the two volumes of Milán’s El Maestro, appeared on the Astrée label, one of them in the company of soprano Montserrat Figueras. These were the recordings that marked the old from the new. On them Smith plays a 1970s vihuela by North American maker Joel van Lennep, his career-long preferred luthier. With these recordings and Smith’s further CDs of Narváez (1988) and Mudarra (1992, 1994), the vihuela and its music had achieved even higher levels of interpretative virtuosity and a musical sophistication that would have been inconceivable on the instruments of the 60s and early 70s.

While it had been principally Spanish makers who had taken the first steps in the revival of the vihuela, it was makers mainly in England and the USA who reconfigured the modern vihuela, now as a lute-based instrument rather than a guitar. Their instruments opened new musical horizons and it was not long until a new generation of Spanish makers made further developments that took these instruments to a higher plane from the early 1980s. The two makers who set the new benchmark were Lourdes Uncilla and Francisco Hervás. Hervás started making instruments in Granada in 1981 while Uncilla was based in Madrid and working in close collaboration with her then husband, lutenist and vihuelist José Miguel Moreno. These makers started making vihuelas with lute-styled construction, but lighter, brighter and more agile than any of the earlier instruments. They were extraordinarily responsive and gave players equally extraordinary interpretative scope. These instruments are very light, sometimes as little as 450g, but have strong volume and projection suitable for larger concert venues. Through the concerts and recordings of artists such as José Miguel Moreno, Juan Carlos Rivera and numerous others, these instruments achieved widespread acclaim and inspired many makers in many parts of the world.

Most of the vihuela recordings that have been commercially available since the mid 1980s employ these lute-styled vihuelas with their characteristically thin soundboards braced with multiple transverse bars. They are sometimes strung with gut trebles, but
most frequently with synthetic strings of nylon, carbon fibre or nylgut, a synthetic gut developed a decade ago by Italian string maker Mimmo Peruffo of Aquila Corde. The lower courses are also usually strung with modern strings, manufactured like classical guitar strings with a core of synthetic filament of nylon or carbon fibre and overspun with copper or silver wire. Whereas in the 1980s it was customary to use these strings on the lower three courses, many vihuelists in the last decade have started to use plain strings on the fourth and sometimes also the fifth courses. This is in response to the research that has been conducted on early stringing, and improvements in modern string manufacture.

The changes to the construction principles of the modern vihuela in the 1970s were part of the broader interest in historical replicas but were limited by the absence of historical models. The adaptation of lute-making principles was due not only to the success of reproduction lutes, but also an attempt to get closer to sixteenth-century construction techniques. At that time, the only known original vihuela was the instrument that Pujol had uncovered in the 1930s in the Musée Jacquemart-André. It was not generally considered as the kind of instrument that could be used as a historical model on account of both its size and its elaborate construction from very many tiny pieces. It was considered idiosyncratic rather than typical. It is therefore not surprising that the detailed knowledge of its construction that was gained from the initial study by Prynne and more fully as a result of its restoration in the late 1970s had very little impact on instrument makers. The restoration was carried out by Pierre Abondance, then curator of the musical instrument museum at Paris Conservatoire in 1978 and involved opening the instrument, and allowed detailed measurements to be taken. Details of the reconstruction and photographs were subsequently published in 1980 and shortly after an article by Maish Weisman described in detail the process of building an exact replica to complement Abondance’s account of its restoration. Unlike the new tendency to very thin lute-style soundboards, the study of the Paris vihuela showed a thicker soundboard (2.5–3.0mm) and only two bars glued to the soundboard immediately above and below the central sound hole, and a much thicker back (5–14mm).

Recordings and performances increased interest in the vihuela. The decision to undertake a major restoration of the Jacquemart-André instrument in the late 1970s is unlikely to have been serendipitous, nor was the publication of a very forward-looking article by Donald Gill in 1981. Gill’s article was a call to rethink modern vihuela building, thinking about the instrument in terms of its own evolution, rather than working backwards from the modern guitar. To Gill, “it became clear some years ago that vihuela design would have to be approached from the opposite direction,” by taking into account

its evolution from the medieval fiddle. These bowed instruments, and probably the early plucked ones, were originally carved from a single block of wood, and only later changing to a construction based on separate back and sides.\footnote{Gill, “Vihuelas, violas,” 456.} Gill was critical of modern vihuelas that only superficially looked like vihuelas: “Guitar makers are making ‘vihuelas’ based on the oldest guitar that they know of; or, even worse, they are producing what are in effect modern guitars with the rough shape and some of the decorative features of either the Paris vihuela or perhaps the well-known instrument from the frontispiece of El maestro, complete with metal frets that continue on to the soundboard, as well as a massive modern bridge.”\footnote{Gill, “Vihuelas, violas,” 456.} Using the information that Prynne had published in his initial study of the Paris instrument, Gill came to an idea of vihuela making that was quite different to the lute-based experiments that were going on around him and that would be overlooked for almost a generation.

**Present and future vihuelas**

Gill showed remarkable clarity of thought that, thirty years later, seems almost prophetic:

> Sixteenth-century plucked vihuelas and violas have characteristics that can be defined reasonably clearly from contemporary evidence and that can also be deduced from reasoning forwards from earlier models, though not by working back from Baroque or later models. These characteristics include narrow, slightly waisted bodies, shallow in depth, with two bars on the soundboard, placed close above and below the sound hole, a neck ten frets in length and, certainly in the vihuela and quite likely in some violas, unison courses paired throughout.\footnote{Gill, “Vihuelas, violas,” 461.}

This description sums up some of the changes in attitude to vihuela construction that have been taking place during the last decade, and some of the vihuelas that have been produced as a result of a revised way of thinking. The changes are far less conspicuous and uniform than the earlier change from the guitar-vihuela to the lute-styled vihuela. To some extent this is because there are many more contemporary vihuela makers and players that there were thirty years ago. It is also because there are many very satisfactory instruments currently in circulation, and because the sound of the vihuela that has become known in recent decades has been widely accepted.

The factors behind the current reappraisal are also numerous. The principal impetus comes from a small number of makers and players who are still searching for instruments that are more historically informed, vihuelas that are hopefully closer in construction and sound to the vihuelas of the sixteenth century. Much more is known about original
instruments now than was the case thirty years ago when the first lute-styled vihuelas were being made, and there is sufficient consensus among the combined documentary evidence and surviving instruments to construct a more accurate general idea of the vihuela than was previously possible. Among the significant new evidence was the discovery of a second original vihuela in Quito, Ecuador, in the mid 1970s in the church of the Compañía de Jesús, a relic of Santa Mariana de Jesús who died in 1645.\footnote{This discovery was made by Chilean guitarist and lutenist Oscar Ohlsen. Ohlsen reported the find to Diana Poulton who immediately published a brief note concerning it: Diana Poulton, “A vihuela in Ecuador,” \textit{The Lute Society Journal} 18 (1976): 45–46. More detail was given in an unpublished typescript that circulated among scholars and players Oscar Ohlsen, “Antecesores de la guitarra en América Latina,” dated Caracas, December 77–January 78.” The first substantial study is Donald Gill, “A vihuela in Ecuador,” \textit{Lute Society Journal} 20 (1978): 53–55.} Even though it was brought to light just at the time that vihuela makers were in a phase of developing the lute-based vihuela, no detailed organological study of the instrument was undertaken until 2010.\footnote{Carlos González carried out extensive measurements and study of this instrument in 2010. The results were first presented publicly at the annual Meeting of the Sociedad de la Vihuela in Gijón, Spain, on 19 July, 2011.} Along the same lines, the discovery of a third vihuela in the Musée de la Musique in Paris has also provided makers with even greater impetus. Presented publicly for the first time at the symposium “Les luths en Occident” held at the Cité de la Musique in Paris in May 1998, this instrument is usually referred to by its catalogue number “E.0748” or as the “Chambure vihuela.”\footnote{Joël Dugot, “Un nouvel exemplaire de vihuela au musée de la musique?” \textit{Luths et luthistes en Occident: Actes du Colloque 13-15 mai 1998} (Paris: Cité de la Musique, 1999): 307–317.} It has been copied by makers in Europe and the Americas, and has influenced numerous makers indirectly on various aspects of vihuela construction. Formerly owned by the Comtesse de Chambure, Genevieve Thibault (1902–1975), the instrument was deposited in the museum in the 1960s but relegated to storage having been dismissed as a poor example of a \textit{chitarra battente} on the basis of its vaulted back. The extraordinary feature of this instrument is that, since its acquisition by the museum, the soundboard has become detached from the body.\footnote{The detachment of the bridge and soundboard is consistent with the instrument having been strung with strings of a tension above what it could withstand. This might have been purely to due with the condition of the original glue used to hold the instrument together.} The museum has not sought to reconstruct the instrument and it is therefore conserved in a way that provides a lasting view of its internal construction. The soundboard, in common with the Jacquemart-André vihuela and consistent with Gill’s conclusions, has only two supporting braces, above and below the sound hole. The soundboard ranges from 2.1mm to 3mm in thickness, and is thickest in the central area around the bridge. Its back is arched and made from seven concave ribs in exactly the...
same style as the instrument by Belchior Dias made in Lisbon in 1581, and in the collection of the Royal College of Music, London. Not surprisingly, this has also led to a reconsideration of the Dias instrument. Until recently considered to be a five-course guitar, it is now thought by some originally to have been a six-course vihuela. Another possible vihuela has been located at the Monasterio de la Encarnación in Ávila, Spain, albeit a very rustic instrument, possibly of sixteenth or seventeenth-century origin.

Reappraisal of the iconography of the vihuela and related documentation has also led to further significant experimentation among instrument makers. In recent years, there has been a proliferation of reproductions of unusually-shaped vihuelas based on instruments depicted in iconographical sources. These include the vihuela depicted on the ceiling in the Cathedral of Valencia, hidden for centuries until a false ceiling was recently removed, and the viola da mano (c.1520) depicted in a painting by Girolamo dai Libri in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Although copied from real instruments rather than paintings, Carlos González has also built an exact reproduction of the Quito vihuela, Daniel Larson has built a consort of Chambure vihuelas, and Alexander Batov is making reproductions of the Dias vihuela.

Reinterpretation of some of the fundamental historical documents pertaining to the vihuela is also producing refreshed interpretation of their meaning. Such is the case with

52 The evidence is presented and documented on Batov’s website http://www.vihuelademano.com, accessed 27 Feb 2013. There is a certain amount of controversy surrounding this additional hole, leading to some polarised opinions about Batov’s conclusions.
the sixteenth-century ordinances of the Spanish guilds of violeros. An interesting change in opinion concerns the instrument described in the ordinances as a *vihuela de piezas*, one of the instruments that an apprentice needed to present for examination to become a member of the guild. During the last twenty years, this term has been interpreted as meaning a vihuela made from many small pieces such as the vihuela in the Musée Jacquemart-André, and some writers have thus concluded that this unusual instrument was made to satisfy the requirements necessary to becoming a guild member. An alternative interpretation was first suggested in 1987 by José Romanillos, namely, that the *vihuela de piezas* is an instrument made with separate back and sides, as distinct from its forerunner that was carved from a single block of wood. This interpretation has stimulated Utrecht-based Sebastián Núñez to build one-piece vihuelas in which the pegbox, neck and body are all carved from a single piece of wood. The fingerboard, soundboard and bridge are then glued to the main block, giving instruments that are effective and cheap to make, and that may well exemplify how vihuelas were made up until the early sixteenth century, at least. Instruments of this kind have been purchased and used very satisfactorily for public performances in recent years.

The vihuelas being made by Núñez, Alexander Batov, and a small number of other makers in the last decade now incorporate many features that are found on one or more of the surviving instruments. This ranges from pegboxes with eleven pegs (5 + 5 + one central peg) through to soundboards with two cross bars and greater thickness. Even though the number of extant instruments is still infinitesimal in comparison to the large number vihuelas that once existed, the evidence strongly suggests that soundboards with only two cross braces were the sixteenth-century norm. Not only is this common to the three surviving vihuelas, it is also one of the constant features of Spanish guitars until the late eighteenth-century and appears to be the continuation of a tradition whose roots were


57 The many-pieced interpretation of the term was first suggested somewhat obliquely by Maish Weisman in his 1982 *Galpin Society Journal* article cited above. This was made more explicit in later writings such as Francisco Hervás, “Vihuela de piezas con taraceas,” *Música oral del Sur* 2 (1996): 250–56. For one of numerous references to the Jacquemart-André vihuela as an examination instrument, see Antonio Corona-Alcalde, “L’organologie de la vihuela,” *Aux origines de la guitare: la vihuela de mano*, ed. Joël Dugot (Paris: Musée de la Musique, 2004), 25.


59 Photographs are available at http://www.earlymusicalinstruments.info/guitars.html

60 I estimate that as many as 150,000 or 200,000 vihuelas may have been built in Spain during the sixteenth century. See John Griffiths, “Hidalgo, merchant, poet, priest: the vihuela in the urban soundscape,” *Early Music* 37 (2009): 355.
established by sixteenth-century violeros. This kind of soundboard, characterised by a its thickness in the middle region of the soundboard, responds differently to the lute-style soundboards to which players have become accustomed, and throws open many assumptions relating to sound, stringing and instrumental technique. In the first place, it implies that the tension of the strings on the instrument should probably be higher than on lutes or lute-styled vihuelas as the soundboard is more resistant and needs more energy to set it in motion. This translates into a sound with a notably different attack than lute-styled instruments, yet with similar duration due to the resonance of the body and the sympathetic vibration of the double courses. The increased explosiveness of the attack changes the character of the sound but does not reduce the instrument’s capacity to sustain the contrapuntal texture that is an essential element of the style of vihuela music. My own experiments indicate that the string tension can be up to 60 per cent higher than is customary on lutes or lute-styled vihuelas.\(^{61}\) The music that survives for the vihuela also suggests that the string length of the vihuela común may have decreased in the second half of the sixteenth century, although there is no conclusive evidence for this. The music of the later vihuelists, Fuenllana and Daza in particular, can be negotiated with much greater ease on instruments of shorter string length such as the 1581 Dias vihuela whose string length is only 553mm. Whether originally it was originally a four, five, or six-course vihuela (or guitarra), this instrument provides a very good model for historical copies.

The sound of the vihuela is also conditioned by its strings. There is only limited information available at this stage, but sufficient to indicate that Spanish players used locally made strings as well as strings imported from Italy and further north in Europe.\(^{62}\) The techniques of string making were largely passed from master to apprentice, often father to son, and were seldom written down. Notwithstanding, there has been some interesting research conducted in the last decades that has brought significant changes to the way strings are made and used today, and there has also been very significant

\(^{61}\) In practical terms, this works out as approximately 5.5kg for the first course reducing to about 3.5kg on the sixth course. Lutes are more commonly strung with tensions graduated from 3.5–2.5kg.

\(^{62}\) Evidence of local string making abounds in surviving documents. Pedro Calahorra, *La música en Zaragoza en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1977) 332–333, for example, reports on the annual “arrendación de los intestinos” in Zaragoza expressly in order to make strings for vihuelas, guitars, and other instruments in the years 1567–1572. François Reynaud, *La Polyphonie tolédane et son milieu des premiers témoignages aux environs de 1600* (Paris: CNRS, 1996) presents documentary evidence concerning the importation of strings from Germany and Italy (p. 410) and also reports on Toledan violero Juan de Herrera purchasing Roman strings from a Genoese merchant in 1597, while Calahorra (pp. 335–336) reports the importation to Zaragoza in the same year of Florentine and Neapolitan strings.
improvement in the quality of modern gut strings for plucked instruments. together with
the development of new synthetic materials that are very similar to gut. Accordingly,
there has been a gradual move away in recent years from modern nylon treble strings and
overspun basses in favour of high twist gut treble strings, and mid-range strings that are
sufficiently flexible to be used on the lower courses of the vihuela. Makers are also now
starting to make strings from sheep gut, especially to give greater elasticity to the thicker
strings used on lower courses. Italian string maker Mimmo Peruffo has been attempting
to revive the centuries-old technique of making bass strings from gut that has been
impregnated with metal salts to increase its density. This appears to have been one of the
techniques used—in Italy at least—for making bass strings of thinner diameter and higher
elasticity prior to the advent of overspinning the strings with a metal filament in the late
seventeenth century. Such strings may well have been imported to Spain, although there
is no specific evidence. At the other end of the spectrum, Peruffo has also developed a
new synthetic material marketed as “nylgut” that more closely approximate the
characteristics of animal gut than either nylon or carbon fibre, and that is now widely
used by vihuelists as well as lutenists.

These fundamental revisions of the vihuela, its construction, and its stringing also
impact upon playing technique. My own experience, subjective as it may be, is that the
thumb-under plucking technique of the lute, the figueta extranjera, is not successful on
the kind of vihuela I have been describing. The main shortcoming of the technique is that
it is very difficult to attain clear attack on the lower courses of the vihuela, especially if
these are tuned in unison pairs as appears to have been the Spanish norm. Instead, figueta
castellana, with the thumb in front of the index finger is more satisfactory as it is easier to
play closer to the bridge and to achieve clear, incisive articulation of the bass notes. By
comparison, the lute-styled thumb-under technique makes it difficult to play the lower
courses with any strength of attack, unless the bass courses are strung with octave pairs.

Ideas are constantly changing concerning what can and cannot be achieved through
the revival of abandoned old repertories using old instruments and performance practices.
The quest for “authenticity” that drove the pioneers of early music has fallen from fashion
and is seen as passé based on the argument that “authenticity” (in the way it was formerly
used) is unattainable. While recent thinking has re-envisioned “authentic historical
performance” as “historically informed performance,” much of this is only of marginal
relevance to the revival of the vihuela during the last eighty years since Pujol first
commissioned Simplicio to build him a reproduction vihuela. The more pressing task has
been about throwing off the immediate past. The first modern vihuelas were, in effect,
double-course classical guitars dressed in Renaissance clothes. They were inflexible
dinosaurs that impeded players from realising the technical and aesthetic expectations of
the instrument’s repertoire. With few exceptions, their players were principally guitarists
who maintained the modern concert guitar as their mainstream interest. These heavy inexpressive instruments were supplanted in the early 1980s by light lute-styled vihuelas that could be played with agility and art, and that gave free flight to artistic beauty of the vihuela’s music. In contrast to the previous generation, most of the players of these instruments were all ex-guitarists who had become lutenists. The consolidation of the lute-styled vihuela played with thumb-under technique that has prevailed for thirty years came from the need for players to distance themselves from their guitar origins and, with the fervour of their own conversion, to see themselves as the champions of a so-called new authenticity. As we now enter a new phase in the development of the modern vihuela, many things are changing and, for all who are researchers as well as players, there is a need for continuous review, reassessment and expansion of our horizons. With the historical information now available, makers are now able with greater confidence to build vihuelas that are derived from neither the modern guitar nor the historical lute, and players are similarly equipped to recreate the sound of sixteenth-century vihuelas and the spirit of the repertory for which they were created.

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63 For many, this process began by cutting off the fingernails of the right hand, almost analogous to similar sacred rites, and was followed by the slow process of learning to make a good sound on a low tension instrument. For many this involved sacrifice, privation and months of musical fasting as they learned to master the thumb-under technique.
A Musicological Gift:

*Libro Homenaje* for Jane Morlet Hardie

*edited by*

Kathleen Nelson and Maricarmen Gómez

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PREFACE

A Musicological Gift honours the work of distinguished Australian-born scholar Dr Jane Morlet Hardie, FAHA. Jane’s musicological interests, commitments and friendships are wide-ranging. This breadth is reflected in the contributions collected in this book from scholars based on four continents, written in two languages, and covering a variety of fields from medieval chant through to late twentieth-century music, from source studies to instruments. The topics of the essays include a predominance of those in or related to Jane’s primary research areas of music of Renaissance Spain (both chant and polyphony), the Lamentations and source studies.

Jane Morlet Hardie grew up in Melbourne, where she studied the violin and was also active in Australia’s Early Music movement as a recorder player, appearing as a soloist in the first professional performance in Australia of Bach’s Brandenburg Concerto no. 4 on period instruments. She took out the first Master of Music (Music History) awarded at the University of Melbourne with a thesis on French song in the nineteenth century. Then, having completed a Diploma of Librarianship, Jane travelled to the USA where she worked as a research assistant for Donald J. Grout at Cornell University and undertook further studies in library science at Wayne State University, subsequently completing her PhD in Musicology (1983) at the University of Michigan on a topic of Spanish Renaissance music.

In Sydney from 1981 Jane established the musicology major program for undergraduate students at the NSW State Conservatorium of Music (now Sydney Conservatorium of Music), and during the 1990s was a leader in the development of the music school’s research culture as part of the University of Sydney. Since her move in 1998 to the Medieval and Early Modern Centre (MEMC, formerly the Centre for Medieval Studies) at the University of Sydney, the SCM musicology program continues to benefit from Jane’s sound planning and foundation. During 1999–2000 she was a Fulbright Senior Fellow at Harvard, and in 2009 was elected as a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities. She has served on committees and boards of organizations including RISM, RILM and the Musicological Society of Australia, and is currently an elected Director-at-Large of the International Musicological Society. In recent years, working from MEMC and in close liaison with the Library’s Rare Books and Special Collections, Jane has focussed her research on manuscripts of Spanish origin (cantorales) owned by the University of Sydney Library, work which brings together her skills as a musicologist and as an expert in manuscripts and early prints.

Throughout her career, Jane has maintained a wide network of friends and colleagues in Australia, North America, Europe and the Asia Pacific region. In particular, her many and prolonged stays on the Iberian Peninsula have earned Jane a multitude of
friends among colleagues in Spain and Portugal, who are indebted to her especially for opening up a field of study as unique as the Lamentations; for the recuperation of the work of one of the most notable Spanish composers of the Renaissance, Francisco de Peñalosa (ca.1470–1528), and for having established a special link between Salamanca and Sydney, thanks to the discovery of the likely provenance of several musical manuscripts conserved in the University Library. As an invited guest of honour in 2002, she lectured at the Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona. The six essays written in Spanish in this book are testament to her long commitment to the music of Spain and the Iberian world more broadly, and to musicological research into that music.

At least as important as her formal roles and official positions has been Jane’s influence as a mentor and advisor. Many students and colleagues in different parts of the world can attest to the value of her wise counsel and no-nonsense advice, but also to her compassion and practical concern. Her commitment to musicology is supported, too, by her life-long commitment to practical music making and it is no coincidence that the ranks of Jane’s students, colleagues, friends and co-performers have so often overlapped.

With gratitude and friendship, and on behalf of our fellow contributors, we present this book in celebration of Jane’s birthday in 2013.

Kathleen Nelson, Maricarmen Gómez and Alan Maddox

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The editors are pleased to acknowledge the generous collaboration of Dr Alan Maddox throughout the planning and editing of this volume; and we are grateful for the assistance of Simon Polson (SCM) and Dr Anna Maslowiec (SCM); and also for the invaluable support of Dr Bryan Gillingham, General Editor of the Institute of Mediaeval Music.

Kathleen Nelson and Maricarmen Gómez
PREFACIO

A Musicological Gift es un reconocimiento a la labor de la Dra. Jane Morlet Hardie, FAHA, distinguida intelectual de origen australiano. Los intereses musicológicos de Jane, así como sus inquietudes y amistades son muy amplios, lo que queda reflejado en los artículos escritos en dos lenguas que están recogidos en este libro, al que han contribuido estudiosos de cuatro continentes, y que abarcan campos musicales que van desde el canto llano medieval hasta la música de fines del siglo XX, del estudio de las fuentes al de los instrumentos musicales. Entre los temas de los ensayos predominan aquellos que están relacionados o en relación con las dos principales áreas de investigación de Jane sobre la música del Renacimiento español (sea canto llano o polifonía): las Lamentaciones y el estudio de las fuentes.

Jane Morlet Hardie creció en Melbourne, donde estudió violín al tiempo que se incorporó al movimiento australiano de Música Antigua en calidad de intérprete de flauta, actuando como solista en la primera interpretación profesional que tuvo lugar en Australia del Concierto de Brandenburgo Nr. 4 de Bach con instrumentos de época. Cursó el primer Máster de Música (Historia de la Música) ofrecido por la Universidad de Melbourne, con una Tesis sobre la canción francesa del siglo diecinueve. Luego, tras obtener el título de Bibliotecaria, Jane viajó a los EEUU donde trabajó como ayudante de investigación de Donald J. Grout en la Universidad de Cornell, ampliando estudios sobre la profesión bibliotecaria en la Wayne State University y doctorándose en Musicología (1983) por la Universidad de Michigan sobre un tema de música española del Renacimiento.

A partir de 1981 Jane fundó en Sydney los estudios de musicología para estudiantes pregraduados del Conservatorio Estatal de Música de Nueva Gales del Sur (hoy Conservatorio de Música de Sydney), liderando a lo largo de la década de los 90 el desarrollo escolar de la investigación de la cultura musical en el seno de la Universidad. Tras su ingreso en 1998 en el Medieval and Early Modern Centre (MEMC, antes Centre for Medieval Studies) de la Universidad de Sydney, el programa de estudios de musicología de su Conservatorio de Música le sigue siendo deudor en cuanto a su fundación y acertada planificación. En 1999-2000 Jane fue becaria Fulbright Senior en Harvard, siendo elegida en 2009 miembro de la Academia Australiana de Humanidades. Ha formado parte de comités y órganos de gobierno de varios organismos, entre ellos RISM, RILM y la Sociedad de Musicología de Australia; desde 2012 ocupa el cargo de Director-at-Large de la Sociedad Internacional de Musicología. En los últimos años, y en particular desde su ingreso en el MEMC, la investigación de Jane se ha centrado en los cantorales de origen español que se conservan en la Sección de libros raros y colecciones especiales de la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Sydney, un trabajo que aúna sus conocimientos de musicólogo con los de experta en manuscritos e impresos tempranos.
A lo largo de su carrera, Jane ha trazado lazos de amistad a lo largo y ancho de todo el mundo. Sus múltiples y prolongadas estancias en la Península Ibérica, en particular, le han granjeado multitud de amigos entre sus colegas de España y Portugal, que le deben particularmente el haber abierto un campo de estudio tan singular como es el de las Lamentaciones; la recuperación de la obra de uno de los más insignes compositores españoles del Renacimiento, Francisco de Peñalosa (ca.1470-1528), y el haber establecido un especial vínculo entre Salamanca y Sydney, gracias a su descubrimiento de la probable procedencia de varios manuscritos musicales que se conservan en la Biblioteca de su Universidad. Sobre todo ello disertó en la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, como invitada de honor, en el año 2002. Los seis ensayos escritos en español incluidos en este libro son testimonio de su compromiso con la música de España y en general del mundo Hispano, y de sus investigaciones musicológicas al respecto.

La influencia de Jane como mentor y asesor ha sido tanto o más importante que sus funciones institucionales y cargos oficiales. Son muchos los estudiantes y colegas en varios lugares del mundo que pueden dar fe de sus prudentes consejos y certeras observaciones, así como de su humanidad y sentido práctico. Su compromiso con la musicología se aúna con el de la práctica musical, lo que explica el que ambas especialidades se solapen entre sus alumnos, colegas, amigos y cointérpretes.

Con gratitud y amistad, y en nombre de todos sus colaboradores, presentamos este libro para celebrar el cumpleaños de Jane, en 2013.

Kathleen Nelson, Maricarmen Gómez y Alan Maddox

AGRADECIMIENTOS

Los editores quieren agradecer la generosa colaboración del Dr. Alan Maddox en las tareas de planificación y edición de esta obra; así como la labor de asistencia de Simon Polson (SCM) y de la Dra. Anna Maslowiec (SCM). También el inestimable patrocinio por parte del Dr. Bryan Gillingham, Editor en Jefe del Institute of Mediaeval Music de Canadá.

Kathleen Nelson y Maricarmen Gómez
PUBLICATIONS BY JANE MORLET HARDIE

BOOKS


ARTICLES and BOOK CHAPTERS


OTHER


For the Jane Hardie Festschrift

It is a privilege to be invited to contribute to this volume a personal appreciation of Dr. Jane Hardie, one of the most energetic, dedicated and accomplished scholars, and one of the most warm and engaging colleagues I have known. I do so as an admirer of the scope and depth of her research and of her achievement in establishing Sydney as an international center for research and colloquy about Hispanic liturgical music before the modern period.

My friendship with Dr. Hardie was initiated by her hospitality when I arrived in Australia in 1978 with my family to take up a residency as a fellow of the Humanities Research Centre at the National University in Canberra. On my visits to Sydney during that period and a second residency the following year, and on her several visits to the U.S. since then I have been able to share her wisdom and generosity of spirit.

I wish her continued energy for her work and good health for her enjoyment of life.

Leo Treitler
Distinguished Professor of Music, Emeritus
The Graduate Center, The City University of New York