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The Process of Vihuela Intabulation of Sacred Music in 16th-Century Spain

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Master thesis

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Introduction

As Juan Bermudo described in 1555 in the preface of his *Declaración de los instrumentos musicales*, some musicians have performed for thirty years without any interest in understanding of what they were doing. My biggest motivation for this research is to broaden and apply my contextual knowledge of sixteenth century polyphonic music, and provide a toolbox for future musicians to approach the style in a historically informed manner. In my opinion, to be a historically informed musician nowadays does not simply mean performing a composition with perfect technique on a historically accurate instrument. I have always believed there must be something more, which will, step by step, open this amazing world of hidden knowledge.

In his text, Juan Bermudo was confirming almost everything I was doubting during my previous studies regarding my performance practice on historical plucked instruments. He was one of the first ones who paid attention to instrumentalists, not just to singers. To be an instrumentalist does not mean that you should be an expert only on the technical fluency of your instrument and its literature. In my personal experience, collaboration with singers has allowed me to deepen my knowledge of vocal polyphony in order to better understand and perform renaissance repertoire on plucked instruments. After working with singers, everything started to make sense and the pleasure from playing this music on the vihuela was incomparable with how I played previously. In earlier centuries, the line between the instrumental and vocal fields was extremely thin, therefore how can we approach historical performance practice in keeping with this close relationship? It was indeed satisfying to find in *Declaración* sentences such as: “*Players are often guilty of wanting to play fantasies when they are just starting to play. Even though they may know counterpoint, unless [this counterpoint] is as good as that of the above-mentioned musicians, they should not play fantasies too soon, so as not to form bad habits.*”¹ I am guilty too; I also started with fantasías instead of Bermudo’s methodological approach of building this skill starting with two-voice polyphony. I thought I could be a great solo lute player by immediately playing the most difficult pieces. Through reading Bermudo’s text, I realized my former approach had major limitations and with this thesis, I would like to try to change at least my point of view on how to become a vihuela player, not just a former guitar player playing vihuela.

1 translation by: Astrid Dawn Espinoza. *Juan Bermudo: “On Playing the Vihuela”*. *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, inc., volumes XXVIII-XXIX, 1995-1996, p. 66: “*Mucho yerran los tañedores, que comenzando a tañer: quieren salir con sus fantasia. Aunque supiesse contrapunto (sino fuese tan bueno como el de los sobredichos musicos) no avian de tañer tan presto fantasia: por no tomar mal ayre.*”

Three renowned experts will help me through this journey: Juan Bermudo, Cristóbal de Morales, and Miguel de Fuenllana. By using intabulated examples of Morales's music contained in Fuenllana's *Libro de música para vihuela, intitulado Orphénica Lyra*, and following instructions by Juan Bermudo, I hope to find a method of intabulating vocal music for vihuela in order to better understand this important process. Before I start with process of intabulating, I will introduce a few chapters of general overview necessary for a contextual overview of the topic, because I believe that a more complete picture of the historical/socio-political climate will provide an important basis for further understanding. Therefore, I will focus mostly on two Spanish rulers: Charles V. and his son Philip II. The time of the vihuela was very limited and its most important moments correspond with the rule of these two aforementioned kings. By focusing on their lives, I will describe the political situation of the Spanish Kingdom during the 16th century, which hopefully could lead to some answers about this plentiful occurrence of intabulations of sacred music in collections of surviving vihuela music. Following the chapter describing the historical climate in 16th-century Spain, I will focus on the instrument itself, as I do realize that vihuela could be less familiar to some readers. I will briefly describe the background of its origin and history before it became one of the most prominent Spanish instruments of the 16th century. The names of the most famous vihuela players are generally known: Luis de Milán, Alonso Mudarra, Luis de Narváez, Miguel de Fuenllana, Enriquez de Valderrábano, Diego Pisador, and Esteban Daza. In this chapter, I will also introduce some other less known vihuela players and vihuela builders, which were also important in the development of this instrument. The next chapter of this work will introduce the most important *maestros*, including all the renowned vihuela players mentioned above with emphasis on Miguel Fuenllana, together with Juan Bermudo and Cristóbal Morales. Following Bermudo's advice, after knowing the general background, I will start to focus on the intabulating process itself. I will explain the step-by-step process according to *Declaración de los instrumentos*, focusing mostly on chapters related exclusively to intabulations. I will use a transcription of the tabatures of Morales's pieces intabulated by Miguel de Fuenllana, comparing them with the vocal facsimile contained mostly in Morales's book of masses. One can wonder: why music by Cristóbal de Morales? Bermudo offer us this answer: "*In the masses of Cristobal de Morales, you will find much music to intabulate, with so many and such good qualities that I lack the words to describe them. The person who applies himself to this music will not only become wiser, but devout as well.*"² In contrast to the Italian intabulating practice, the Spanish vihuela intabulations tend to be very literal.

² translation by: Astrid Dawn Espinoza. Juan Bermudo: "On Playing the Vihuela". *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, inc., volumes XXVIII-XXIX, 1995-1996, p. 65: "*En las missas del egregio musico Christoval de Morales hallareys mucha Musica que poner: con tantas y tan buenas qualidades que yo no sy sufficiente a explicarlas. El que a esta Musica se diere, no tan solamente quedara sabio: pero devoto contemplativo.*"

Although there are several moments of interest in the Spanish way of intabulating, which are important to understand. After this chapter, I hope to have the knowledge to be able to make my own vihuela intabulation of pieces by Cristóbal de Morales according to the Spanish intabulation process. As this is still a learning process, I will describe steps of my intabulating as well.

The development of Historically Informed Performance Practice is truly impressive, but historically informed teaching and the right direction of understanding are still in their infancy. I believe that we cannot understand early music, especially the renaissance part, properly by looking at it just from a modern educational perspective, even with historical instruments.

1. Historical/Socio-Political Climate

The vihuela flourished in Spain most importantly during the rule of Charles V. and Philip II. In order to gain understanding and historical context of the vihuela, it is important to familiarize oneself with the social and political context. Vihuela appeared already earlier during the times of Isabel I. of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon, however, I decided not to focus so much on this, as the majority of printed sources and also my interest in the musical use of vihuela belongs to the 16th century.

Spain was at that time one of the most eminent countries in Europe, from a political perspective, but also culturally. We are speaking about a time of overseas discoveries, conquering distant territories of the New World, and also about renaissance and humanism, important movements. However, it is important to mention that this is a time of significant paradoxes. On one side we have amazing cultural development also known as *Siglo de oro* (The Golden Age) marked by big names such as writers Miguel de Cervantes, Lope de Vega, painters El Greco and Francisco Pacheco, and composers Cristóbal de Morales and Francisco Guerrero. On the other hand, Spain was suffering from financial decline ending with a declaration of bankruptcy. Despite all the problems, the 16th century was one of the most important historical eras determining the identity of Spain and how we know it today.

Charles V. (1500 - 1558) together with his son Philip II. are known as so-called *Austrias Mayores* (The Great Habsburgs), for several reasons. Firstly, two important ruling lines were connected: the members of the Habsburg family in Central Europe and *Trastámaras* in Spain, who ruled in Spain for two centuries. Also, the Iberian peninsula became one of the most wealthy and important powers of the western world. As Charles V. was the son of Philip I. of Castile (son of the Emperor Maximilian I.) and Joanna, Queen of Castile and Aragon (Also known as *Juana la loca*, daughter of Isabel I. of Castile and Ferdinand II. of Aragon), he inherited extensive possessions in Italy, in addition to the American continent (during Charles's time, the conquerors took control of approximately two million square meters of the territory).³ Later these possessions were extended by the Low Countries and in combination with the extensive territory gained from the imperial crown resulted in the famous saying about Spanish countries of 16th century: "The Empire where the sun never sets."⁴ This impressive extension of territory corresponds with the rich variety of cultures.

³ Chalupa, Jiří. *Stručná historie států: Španělsko 2. aktualizované vydání*. Praha: Ibri, 2010, p. 65.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

Charles was born in Gent and raised in Mechelen by his aunt Margaret of Austria, and up to the death of his grandfather Ferdinand II of Aragon, he lived outside the Spain. He appeared for the first time on the Iberian peninsula in 1517 escorted by the Flemish court and friends, who considered this journey mostly for great entertainment and the opportunity to gain lucrative posts in the Spanish court.⁵ Towards the Spanish nobility, this behavior was indeed provocative. Charles did not know the language and would not be ashamed to spend the treasuries' state money.⁶ After he became a Holy Roman Emperor, his intention was to defend Catholic Europe against the Protestant Movement, which was very strong during those years. Madrid and Vienna became Roman Catholic centers. Also within Spain, the movement of protecting the Catholic church and uniting the religion continued, as it had already started a few generations previously with the help of the ingloriously known Saint Inquisition. Charles V wanted to unify the Christian world against Muslims too, however several countries influenced by reform refused. For instance, King Francis I of France collaborated more with the Turkish sultan than with Charles. Despite this, an epoch commenced of long wars trying to retain this idea. One of the hardest battles was with King Francis I, who refused to consider Spanish dominance over Christian Europe. This ended in 1555 with the Peace of Augsburg, which resulted in the end of the religious struggle between the Holy Roman Empire and the Lutherans. The long wars affected the financial situation of Spain and during Charles's absence, some of the Spanish cities, led by Toledo, declared allegiance to the king. This notion was supported by several nobles and clerics, who were against the occupation of the post of archbishop of Toledo (the primas of the Spanish Church) by Flemish William de Croÿ. Charles was able to suppress the rebellion and absolutism started to be introduced.⁷

In the year 1556 Charles V abdicated. His son **Philip II (1527 - 1598)** inherited an indebted and unstable country due to the very expensive political decisions of his father. Due to this, Philip had to declare state bankruptcy three times during his reign. In many aspects, Philip was very different from his father. He was born in Valladolid and all his life he was surrounded by Spanish mentors and educators (for instance, cardinal Silecio, Juan de Zuñiga, and others).⁸ His model of the Spanish court was very strict, fanatic, and almost isolated from the rest of Europe. His motto of

⁵ For more biographical information about Charles V see: Álvarez, Manuel Fernández. *Carlos I de España y V de Alemania* [online]. [cit. 2022-11-03]. Available from: <http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/10728/carlos-i-de-espana-y-v-de-alemania>

⁶ Chalupa, Jiří. *Stručná historie států: Španělsko 2. aktualizované vydání*. Praha: Ibri, 2010, p. 68.

⁷ Ibid., p. 69.

⁸ Álvarez, Manuel Fernández. *Felipe II* [online]. [cit. 2022-11-03]. Available from: <http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/10065/felipe-ii>

“*religion in the first place*” and his political strategies were an example of uncompromising defense of the Catholic religion. Not only the court was isolated, Philip himself almost did not travel and he spent the majority of his life in his palace *El Escorial*. Spain started to close its borders against foreign influences. In 1599 the prohibition of studying in foreign universities was declared. Saint Inquisition controlled the cultural life completely and with a little bit of exaggeration, also the Inquisition experienced “*The Golden Age*”. Philip met with the opposition in the most wealthy part of the empire, the Low Countries, where a revolt started in 1566. Their primary refusals were high taxes and imposing Catholicism. Philip admitted his defeat and the recognition of the independence of the Low Countries became the end of Spanish hegemony in Europe.⁹ Philip II is known as a controversial and defaming ruler. One of the reasons for this is the so-called “*Leyenda Negra*”. This legend had an unfavorable impact on the Spanish monarchy in general. Two main sources were *La brevíssima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* by Bartolomeo Casas and *Apology* by William the Silent, the main leader of the Dutch Revolt against the Spanish Habsburgs. This legend is related to the genocide during the conquest of America by Spanish conquistadors. They were fanatically spreading the Catholic religion and exterminating several Indigenous tribes.¹⁰ Despite all the enmity with the Low Countries, the Flemish influence is very notable, not only in music, as we can see in the vihuela books, where there is often an appearance of works by composers such as Josquin Despréz.

⁹ Chalupa, Jiří. *Stručná historie států: Španělsko 2. aktualizované vydání*. Praha: Ibri, 2010, p. 78-79.

¹⁰ Villaverde, María José. *Leyenda negra: Una historia interminable* [online]. [cit. 2022-11-03]. Available from: https://elpais.com/elpais/2016/05/02/opinion/1462213464_344053.html

2. What is the Vihuela?

The vihuela was a prominent musical instrument of 16th century Spain and other countries on the European continent. Its equivalent is possible to find, for instance, in French *vielle*, in Italian *viola*, or even in German *fiedel*.¹¹ *Vihuela de mano* is still in the shadow of other early plucked instruments, however its importance in the development of western music is undeniable.

According to the *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, the term *vihuela* appears as early as the 14th century, yet its origin is still uncertain. The most probable etymological explanation of the origin of this word would be a derivation from the noun *viula* or the verb *viular* (to play vihuela).¹² Vihuela is a stringed instrument, flexible especially in the ways of playing. We can specify the type of vihuela based on the diverse ways of playing: *vihuela de arco* (the instrument was placed between the knees or on a shoulder of a player and it was played with a bow), *vihuela de péndola* (the use of a plectrum or a quill) or *vihuela de mano* (played with the fingers, similar technique as on a renaissance lute). Initially, the shape of body of all aforementioned instruments was very similar.¹³ The majority of information about construction is accessible from surviving iconography and references from period literature. According to the musicologist Ian Woodfield¹⁴, experimentation with the construction of vihuelas started in the 15th century.¹⁵ Woodfield was also the first one who during his research formulated the opinion that *vihuela de mano* and *vihuela de arco* were originally the same instruments. In his essay, which is also based mostly on iconography, he compared approximately one hundred and twenty sources (thirty *vihuelas de mano*, eighty *vihuelas de arco*, and ten vihuelas without a predetermined way of playing). It is important to mention that those records are mostly from the time of the reign of Isabella I of Castile. Ian Woodfield was focusing mostly on the area of the Kingdom of Aragon and its Italian provinces. Due to this very narrow geographical placement, his opinion may have been limited. He pointed out a connection between the playing technique of the *vihuela de arco* and the

¹¹ Griffiths, John. Las vihuelas en la época de Isabel de Católica. Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana 20 [online]. 2010, p. 9, [cit. 2022-22-10]. Available from: <https://www.lavihuela.com/my-publications>

¹² Corominas, Joan. *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*. Vol. 5. Madrid: Gredos, 1983, p. 812.

¹³ Griffiths, John. *At Court and at Home with the vihuela de mano: Current perspectives of the Instrument, its Music and its World* [online]. 1989, s. 2, [cit. 2022-22-10]. Available from: <https://www.lavihuela.com/my-publications>

¹⁴ author of a study *The early history of the viol*

¹⁵ For more information about a literature sources see:
Corona Alcalde, Antonio Benigno Felipe: *The players and performance practice of the vihuela and its related instruments, the lute and the guitar, from c. 1450 to c. 1650, as revealed by a study of musical, theoretical and archival sources*. Ph.D. Dissertation, King's College, University of London, 1999.

Arabian instrument *rábel árabe* and the consequent origin of *vihuela valenciana* simultaneously with its migration to Italy.¹⁶ The iconography¹⁷ from this period is not showing us just the differentiation of construction proportions of the instrument but also changes in the playing technique itself. These developments persisted mostly during the times of Isabella I of Castile. After the year 1500, vihuela models were established and with slight changes remained in existence until the end of the 16th century. *Vihuela de arco* also continued in its development outside Spain until it diversified into a form of *viola da gamba*. Later changes are focused on the shape of the body of the instrument, number and appearance of frets, and the number of strings. From the second half of the 15th century, vihuelas had five strings, marking the beginning of the appearance of courses (double strings in unison or octave). With time, the number of strings increased. The common vihuela, how it is described by Juan Bermudo in his *Declaración de los instrumentos musicales* (1555) had six courses, although we can find also seven-course vihuelas or some fascinating examples when the instrument had only three strings.¹⁸ Vihuela tuning is the same as the tuning of the renaissance lute. There is still a discussion about the use of octave strings within courses.¹⁹ Some of the vihuela players were trying to avoid this use of octaves, for better understanding and projecting of polyphony onto the vihuela. The literature for vihuela de mano and renaissance lute is easily interchangeable in meaning, and it is possible to play it on both instruments without any kind of problems. The Italian version *viola da mano* was a widely distributed instrument in the 16th century and was used by composers such as Francesco da Milano, who is mostly known as a lute player. On the other hand, the renaissance lute was not an unknown instrument either, as we can imply due to the absence of lute literature sources in Spain.²⁰ The diversity of vihuela repertoire is exemplified in vihuela books, which contain a wide variety of settings including solo pieces, secular and sacred intabulations for various musical formations.

The records about vihuela players show the widely distributed popularity of this instrument throughout all social classes. There are several references to names of vihuela players, especially in the area of Zaragoza, such as Rodrigo Osorio de Moscoso (a soldier, ca. 1466 - 1510), Hernando de

¹⁶ Griffiths, John. *Las vihuelas en la época de Isabel de Católica*. Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana 20 [online]. 2010, p. 12, [cit. 2022-22-10]. Available from: <https://www.lavihuela.com/my-publications>

¹⁷ Examples of the iconography in this thesis are sourced from: <https://vihuelagriffiths.com/vihuela/instruments/>

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 12-14.

¹⁹ *Course* indicates double strings on the instrument

²⁰ Griffiths, John. *At Court and at Home with the vihuela de mano: Current perspectives of the Instrument, its Music and its World* [online]. 1989, s. 2, [cit. 2022-22-10]. Available from: <https://www.lavihuela.com/my-publications>

Castillo (a poet, unknown exact dates of birth and death), other court musicians, and Arabic or Jewish musicians. It is interesting that in the list we can find also female names such as María Villabuena (a record from 1480). Other important groups from this area are so-called *oracioneros*, blind musicians, who were singing or reciting prayers with vihuela as their accompaniment. Those musicians had permission to perform in public places, but also in private houses on the occasion of weddings, funerals, or baptisms.²¹ This can serve as a good example of the use of vihuela outside the court sector. Although, those records are sometimes not as precise as evidence about vihuela players we have from the Royal Court. During the reign of Queen Isabella I of Castile, players including Rodrigo Donaire (1489 - 1500), Vincente Ferrer (1498 - 1505), Diego de Medina (1439 - 1495), or Alonso de Beana (1493 - 1495) make an appearance. Rodrigo Donaire was most likely a teacher of royal children. It is important to mention that the majority of the names above were players on *vihuela de arco*. The fact that *vihuela de arco* was the dominant variation on the royal court proves the record of inventory of Isabella I from Alcázar in Segovia from 1503. This list does not include any *vihuela de mano*, just *vihuelas de arco*, a harp, an organ, and several other musical instruments.²² As Zaragoza was considered to be the city of vihuela and culture during the reign of Isabela I, Sevilla has the same role during the reign of Philip II. The importance of Sevilla is proved also by the fact that there were printed books for vihuela as *Tres libros de Música de cifras* by Alonso Mudarra and *Libro de música para Vihuela, intitulado Orphénica Lyra* by Miguel de Fuenllana. From this era we also have some evidence of vihuela players, especially due to the records contained in *Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos de ilustres y memorables varones* (1599) written by Francisco de Pacheco. From this book we can learn about the most significant people associated with vihuela such as Cristóbal de Sayas (the soldier and vihuela player), Pedro Bravo, Pedro de Mesa, or the famous composer Francisco Guerrero and poet Garcilaso de la Vega.²³

²¹ Griffiths, John. *Las vihuelas en la época de Isabel de Católica*. Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana 20 [online]. 2010, p. 26-27, [cit. 2022-10-10]. Available from: <https://www.lavihuela.com/my-publications>

²² Ibid., p. 25.

²³ See scanned copy of *Libro de verdaderos retratos de ilustres y memorables varones* on http://www.bibliotecavirtualdeandalucia.es/catalogo/es/catalogo_imagenes/grupo.do?path=1013528



Fig.1: Anonymous - detail of angel playing vihuela, Cathedral of Jaca, 1485-1495.



Fig. 2: Rebalto de Tuili - Angel playing vihuela, 1489-1500.



Fig. 3: Juan de Flandes - Angel playing a vihuela de arco, Monastery of Guadalupe, c. 1595.



Fig. 4: Lodovico Mazzolino or Michele Coltellini - Italian angel vihuelist, Ferrara, 1502 - 1505.



Fig. 5: Paolo de Sancto Locadio - Detail of angel playing vihuela, Cathedral de Valencia, 1474.



Fig. 6: Anonymus - Angel playing vihuela, Cathedral of Barcelona, first half of 16th century.

From the time of Isabella I, we know about only a few vihuela makers who were active primarily in cities such as Sevilla, Toledo, Málaga, or aforementioned Zaragoza. They were called by several names including: *hacedores de laúdes*, *hacedores de vihuela* or as *violeros*. In their workshops they built not only vihuelas but other instruments such as lutes, harps, and monochords. The proof of the common origin and similar constructional elements of those instruments is based mostly on iconographical sources.²⁴ From this era several builders can be mentioned:

- Pedro García is the oldest of the builders known by name of the stringed instruments (also known as *Citolero sevillano*). He was active in Sevilla around 1444.
- Juan de Albariel (active between 1463 and 1469), also known as *maestro de hacer laúd, monocordis e instrumentos* or as *maestro de hacer vihuela* was a founder of an important workshop active in Zaragoza until the end of the 16th century.
- Lope de Albariel was other important builder documented in Zaragoza.
- Mahoma Monferris was an Arabian builder and allegedly a builder of the first *claviorganum* for prince Juan, the son of Isabela I of Castilla.
- Juan Pérez was one of the very few Christian builders in Zaragoza who appears there around the year 1499.²⁵

In Toledo existed a street specialized in lute construction called *Calle de los Laudores*, where several workshops appeared. Although, according to the census in the year 1561, there were only four active vihuela builders in Toledo. The most important was Juan de Guadalupe, who was likely the builder of one of the few surviving instruments we have nowadays. We only have four surviving examples of vihuelas: vihuela *Guadalupe*²⁶ which is situated in *Musée Jacquemart André* in Paris, vihuela *Chambure*, situated also in Paris in *Cité de la Musique*, vihuela *de Quito*, currently based in the church *La Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús* in Quito, Mexico and the last of known survived instruments is vihuela by *Belchior Día* built in 1581 in Lisbon and currently placed in the collection of *Royal College of Music* in London.²⁷

At the end of the 16th century, the “old-fashioned” vihuela almost disappeared for several reasons, including the increasing difficulty of polyphonic repertoire. This instrument was starting to be replaced by the baroque guitar, an instrument with was very distant from the renaissance and

²⁴ Griffiths, John. *Las vihuelas en la época de Isabel de Católica*. Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana 20 [online]. 2010, p. 22-23, [cit. 2022-10-10]. Available from: <https://www.lavihuela.com/my-publications>

²⁵ Ibid., p. 22-23.

²⁶ See: <http://www.betsillworkshop.com/vihuela.htm>

²⁷ Bláha, Vladislav. *Dějiny kytary s přihlédnutím k literatuře nástroje*. Brno: Janáčkova akademie múzických umění, 2013, p. 43.

polyphony world of the vihuela. For several years, vihuela and baroque guitar overlapped (mainly between the years 1580 - 1590 as we can see in examples of *vihuela de Quito* and the instrument built by *Belchior Díaz*). From the time of publication of *El Parnaso* by Esteban Daza (1576) we can identify approximately forty-five players on vihuela.²⁸

Nowadays we have several survived publications for vihuela printed between the years of 1536 and 1571 with over 690 compositions. Chronologically:

- *El Maestro* by Luis Milán (Valencia, 1538)
- *Los seis libros del Delphín* by Luis de Naváez (Valladolid, 1538)
- *Tres libros de música* by Alonso de Mudarra (Sevilla, 1546)
- *Silva de sirenas* by Enríquez de Valderrábano (Valladolid 1547)
- *Libro de música de Vihuela* by Diego Pisador (Salamanca, 1552)
- *Libro de música para vihuela, intitulado Orphénica Lyra* by Miguel de Fuenllana (Sevilla, 1554)
- *El Parnaso* by Esteban Daza (Valladolid, 1576)

In addition to these main sources, we can add several manuscripts containing other music for vihuela. Those are mostly of smaller extent and placed in libraries in Spain, Austria, and Poland. In *Biblioteca Nacional* in Madrid there is a copy of Mudarra's *Tres libros de música de cifras*, in which an unknown author added a few of his compositions. Similarly, the copy of Valderrábano's *Silva de sirenas* in Vienna included a small number of compositions. A more extended collection of music for lute and vihuela (approximately 350 pieces) is placed in *Biblioteka Jagiellonska* in Cracow. This collection was most likely written by a Spanish composer in Naples.²⁹ Another interesting source of vihuela compositions is an anthology entitled *Ramillete de Flores* (MS 6001)³⁰ currently placed in *Biblioteca Nacional* in Madrid, wherein the middle of the book can be found a few pages with tablature for vihuela.

²⁸ Griffiths, John. *Extremos: desarrollo y declive de la vihuela*. *Hispanica Lyra* [online]. 2014, p. 18-22, (vol. 18) [cit. 2022-23-10]. Available from: <https://www.lavihuela.com/my-publications>

²⁹ See: Griffiths, John and Dinko Fabris. *Neapolitan Lute Music: Fabrizio Dentice, Giulio Severino, Giovanni Antonio Severino, Francesco Cardone*. Recent Researches in Music of the Renaissance 140. A-R Editions, Madison, Wisconsin, USA, 2004. ISBN 978-1-9872-0262-5.

³⁰ See: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000145094&page=1>

3. What is Tablature?

Tablature is a system of musical notation designed mainly for plucked and keyboard instruments (although we can also find examples of tablatures for instruments such as viola da gamba or recorder)³¹. Tablature, unlike other musical notation, indicates the position of fingers on the instrument rather than actual musical pitch. Focusing mainly on plucked instruments, I will briefly introduce five systems of tablature:

- **Italian tablature:** a numerical system of tablature (open string is represented by O, first fret represented by 1, etc), the six lines represent the six courses of the instrument, where the first line corresponds to the lowest course. Rhythmic indications can be found above the lines. In most cases, the rhythmic indication is not repeated with every beat, but lasts until the next note length changes. This system will be used as the main system throughout this thesis, as it is the most common system within the majority of vihuela repertoire.

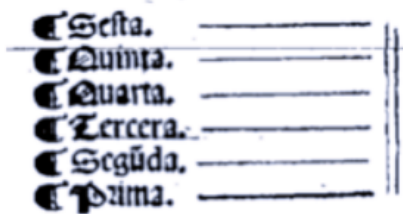


Fig.7: Description of lines of Italian tablature according Luis de Narváez included in *Los seys libros del Delphín de música de cifra para tañer vihuela*



Fig. 8: Example of the Italian tablature from *Libro de la música de vihuela* by Enriquez de Valderrábano

³¹ Sebastian Vidrung describing recorder tablature or Martin Agricola describing viola da gamba tablature. This information can be found in: Udea, Asako. *Intabulation as process and practice*. Den Haag, 2021.

- **Tablature system used mostly by Luis de Milán:** the same numeric system of notation as *Italian tablature* sometimes called *Spanish tablature*: six lines are representing six courses of the plucked instrument; however the courses are arranged in reverse order to *Italian tablature* (ie. the first line indicates the first string of the instrument). This inverted system is mainly associated with the Spanish vihuela player Luis de Milán. In the case of tablatures within Milán's *El Maestro* the rhythm is also indicated above the tablature. Unlike the above example of *Italian tablature*, we can observe that Milán repeats the rhythmic markings with each following note.

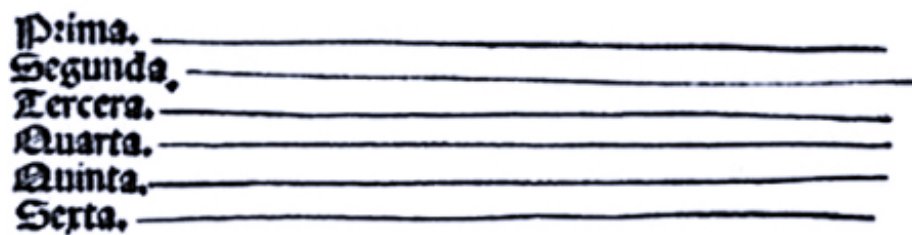


Fig. 9: Description of lines of the Spanish tablature according Luis de Milán included in *El Maestro*



Fig. 10: Example of the Spanish tablature from *El Maestro* by Luis de Milán

- **Neapolitan tablature:** the most similar system to the *Spanish tablature*, except the different indication for the open string. In *Neapolitan tablature*, the open string is indicated by the number 1, first fret is represented with number 2, etc., This tablature is believed to be one of the oldest systems.³²
- **French tablature:** the system of the lines is similar to *Spanish tablature* (the first line indicates the first string of the lute), only the fingering position is marked by letters starting with letter A for the open string, letter B indicates first fret, etc.



Fig. 11: Example of the French tablature from *Novum pratum musicum* by Emanuel Adraienssen

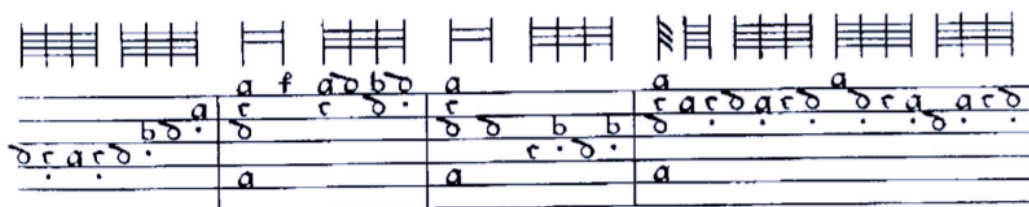


Fig. 12: Example of different type of rhythmic indication of the French tablature from *MS. Schele* by Joachim van den Hove

³² See: <https://www.earlymusicresources.com/youtube/intabulations>

- **German tablature:** Unlike all previous aforementioned systems, the *German tablature* does not use six lines for the orientation on the courses, but every single position on the lute has its own symbol, as we can see in the diagram below by Sebastian Virdung. If more than one symbol appears underneath, the following group of notes are played together. This system was considered standard especially in German-speaking countries during the 16th century.³³

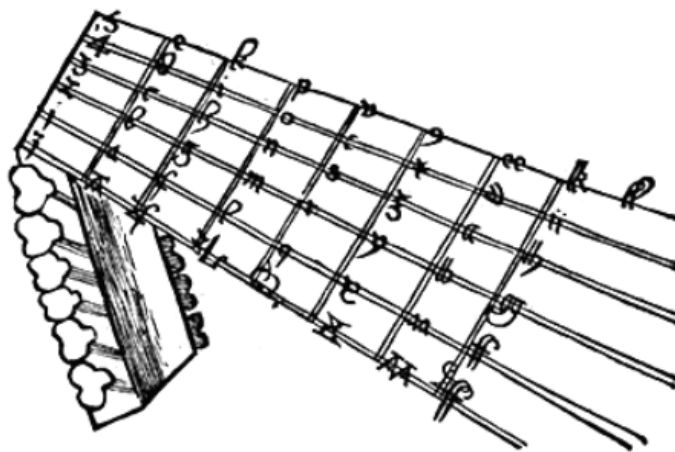


Fig. 13: Diagram of symbols of the *German tablature* from *Musica getutscht* by Sebastian Virdung

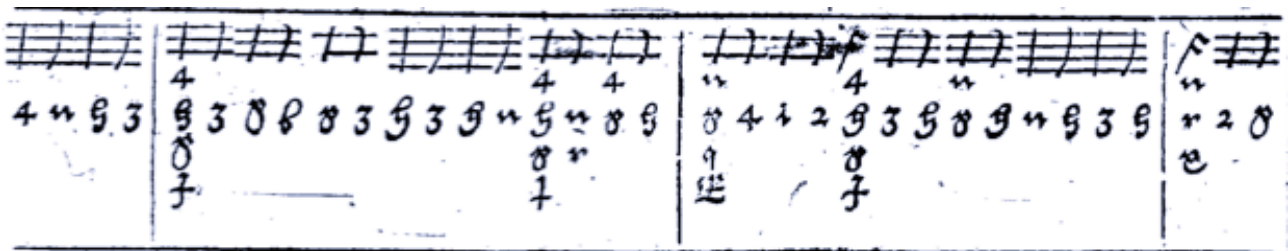


Fig. 14: Example of the *German tablature* from *Teütsch Lautenbuch* by Melchior Neusidler

³³ See: <https://www.earlymusicsources.com/youtube/intabulations>

Intabulation is a process of transcribing music from original notation to the tablature system. Intabulations have become an important source in performance practice, as Elam Rotem mentioned in one episode of the series *Early Music Sources*, dedicated especially to intabulation. Elements such as the use of *musica ficta*, diminutions, and cadences do not normally appear in original notation, but were used during actual performance.³⁴

4. Juan Bermudo

Friar Juan Bermudo (ca. 1510 - ca. 1560) was a renowned and versatile theorist and composer. Despite his importance, limited information regarding his life is available. The little knowledge we have nowadays mostly comes from pages of his own publications.

Bermudo was born to a wealthy family in Éjica, a city of the Andalusian province in Spain. Although he had studied music in his youth, Bermudo was mostly self-taught. At the age of 15 he entered the Order of Franciscan Friars (*Menores de la Observancia*). This did not encourage the study of music, because of the required vow to a life of poverty, preaching and penance.³⁵ Later he continued his mathematic studies at the University of Alcalá de Henares. During the *quadragesimal* (forty days of the fast of Lent) in 1549, Bermudo preached in the convent of Santa Clara in Montilla. This was also the time when he was introduced to Cristóbal de Morales.³⁶ Bermudo left a variety of records describing interesting relations with illustrious personages of this time in dedicatory epistles in his books. The importance and recognition of Bermudo is illustrated, for instance, with the laudatory letter by Cristóbal de Morales in book V of the *Declaración de los instrumentos musicales* (1555). According to musicologist Robert Stevenson, this is the only remaining letter recommending a musical treatise written by this eminent composer.³⁷

Bermudo's musical interest was not eminent until his serious illness which made him abandon the position of preacher and his religious duties. In the first chapter of his *Declaration*, he writes: "*Seeing that I could not serve in [the religious office] because I lacked a strength and so as not to be idle, I set out to read books of music. On the one hand [my] conscience and on the other hand the words of God's servants persuaded me write. My guilt would be great if, knowing the*

³⁴ see: <https://www.earlymusicsources.com/youtube/intabulations>

³⁵ Espinoza, Dawn Astrid. *Juan Bermudo: "On Playing the Vihuela"*. Journal of the Lute Society of America, inc., volumes XXVIII-XXIX, 1995-1996, p.2.

³⁶ See: <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/27711/juan-bermudo>

³⁷ Pope, Isabel. *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 16, no. 1 (1963): 86–88. <https://doi.org/10.2307/829925>, p. 87. and Stevenson, Robert. *Juan Bermudo*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960.

deficiencies that some ecclesiastic have, I did not set forth [the laws of] music written by the serious doctors in a language that could be understood by all.”³⁸ Bermudo tutored musicians in a very understandable manner and intended his books for the readers in Spain whose knowledge of Latin might have been limited. Therefor, *Declaración de los instrumentos musicales* serves as a textbook offering theoretical guidelines for both beginners and experienced musicians based on theoretical writings of Saint Augustine, Saint Gregorio, Boecio, Guido, Tinctoris, Gafurio, Ciruelo (Bermudo heard him in Alcalá), Gulliermo de Podio, but also he quoted important philosophers and writers such as Aristotle, Pythagoras, Erasmo, Horacio, Virgilio, Nebrija and others. His book *Declaración de los instrumentos musicales* is considered as one of the most important Spanish theoretical treatises. It was the first 16th century Spanish book concerning instrumental music whose primary objective was not only to provide performance repertoire but to educate instrumentalists in matters beyond musical practice.³⁹



Fig. 15: Front page of *Declaración de los instrumentos musicales*, Osuna 1555.

39 Griffiths, John. *Juan Bermudo, Self Instruction and the Amateur Instrumentalist*. Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Ed. Russell Murray Jr, Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010. p. 127.

5. Cristóbal de Morales

Cristóbal de Morales (1500 - 1553) was honored in Spain during his lifetime as one of the leading national composers along with Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548 - 1611) and Francisco Guerro (1528 - 1599). His importance is exemplified in books such as *Orphénica Lyra* (1554) by Miguel de Fuenllana or *Silva de sirenas* (1547) by Enríquez de Vallderábano. Fuenllana incorporated twenty-four intabulated pieces written by Morales into his book, *Orphénica Lyra*. Also, Juan Bermudo mentioned Morales in his *Declaración de los instrumentos* with huge respect. He called him “the light of Spain in music”⁴¹. Although in a preface Bermudo was speaking of “*the foreign music that today comes from the excellent Cristóbal de Morales, the profound Gombert, and other foreigners.... I count our Morales as a foreign composer because if his music has the charm and sonorousness of Spanish music it at the same time lacks nothing of the profundity, the technical polish, and the artifice of foreign music*”⁴² Not only Spanish composers and musicians admired his work. Lodovico Zaconi also quoted Morales in his *Prattica di musica* (1592), and in 1594 Ippolito Baccusi cited Morales and Willaert in his third book of *Vesper Psalms* as the two principal masters of four-part writing during the century and professed them as models because of their purity in composing vocal polyphony.⁴³ Widely admired during his life, Cristóbal de Morales was also deeply respected after his death within and outside of Europe. His music was already copied and performed in Mexico during the second half of the 16th century. In 1559, several of Morales’s compositions were chosen for a performance in Mexico City at an important commemorative ceremony honoring the deceased Charles V.. In general, the wide distribution of Morales’s music in Spain, Italy and Mexico is a testimony to his legacy.⁴⁴

Cristóbal de Morales was born most likely in Sevilla, as we can clearly determine from the first pages of the *Missarum*, where he proclaimed himself as *Sevillano*. He was a pupil of Fernandez de Castilleja, *Maestro de Capilla* in Sevilla from 1514 until 1574.⁴⁵ Morales was choirmaster at

41 Bermudo, Juan: *Comiença el libro llamado declaraciõ e instruments*. Osuna: Juan de León, 1555, fol 84: “*Cristobal de Morales, que es luz de España en la Musica*”

42 Bermudo, Juan: *Comiença el libro llamado declaraciõ e instruments*. Osuna: Juan de León, 1555, fol x (prologue), translation from Stevenson, Robert. *Cristóbal de Morales (ca. 1500-53): A Fourth-Centenary Biography*. Journal of the American Musicological Society 6, no. 1, 1953. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.2307/829997>.

43 Stevenson, Robert. *Cristóbal de Morales (ca. 1500-53): A Fourth-Centenary Biography*. Journal of the American Musicological Society 6, no. 1, 1953. p. 3. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.2307/829997>.

44 Stevenson, Robert. *Cristóbal de Morales (ca. 1500-53): A Fourth-Centenary Biography*. Journal of the American Musicological Society 6, no. 1, 1953. p. 4. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.2307/829997>.

45 Trend, J. B. *Cristobal Morales*. Music & Letters 6, no. 1 (1925): <http://www.jstor.org/stable/726611>, p. 21.

Ávila and Plasencia, and in 1535 he joined the papal chapel in Rome as a singer (in the same day when Pope Paul III commissioned Michelangelo to paint the wall of the Sistine chapel). There is a lack of evidence describing his life before moving to Rome, and what we do know is mostly based on speculation. Morales's international reputation was established in Rome. His musical development in such a cosmopolitan environment was quite different from other younger Spanish composers such as Francisco Guerrero, Juan Navarro or Alonso Lobo, whose entire careers took place within the *Peninsula Iberica*.⁴⁶ The year 1544 was one of the most important years in his career, as he published sixteen masses distributed over two *Missarum* printed by Valerio and Luigi Dorico in Rome. It is remarkable that none of these masses were based on motets composed by Spanish composers of the time. Nevertheless, three of his masses are based on the following Spanish melodies: *la Caça*, *Dezilde al caballero* and *Tristezas me matan*. However, we can find evidence based on compositions written by several renowned authors including: Philippe Verdelot, Jean Richafort and Jean Mouton. Morales was especially influenced by Josquin Desprez and even his masses based upon plainsongs make frequent and sophisticated references to this great Franco-Flemish composer.⁴⁷

Morales was very influential composer in the international sense and his music was widely used in Rome during his years there which had a strong influence on Palestrina. The composers of the Roman School were strongly supported by the church after the Council of Trent.⁴⁸ Despite his fame and success in Rome, there are several pieces of evidence about Morales's dissatisfaction and financial problems, so he decided to return back to Spain just one year after the publication of his two books. The majority of financial aid during that time was given to Tomás Luis de Victoria instead of Morales, causing disparity between the two composers that is confirmed by the fact that Morales was so poor that he had to go into debt immediately upon his return to Spain.⁴⁹ His decision to leave Rome may have been related, at least in part, to his serious health problems, as we can deduce from his survived letters, which Morales addressed to Cosimo I de Medici. In his third letter, he complains that for fourteen days he was not able to move his joints and attributes this to a type of gout. This letter is very informative in several respects. In contrast to previous letters, this one was not written in Morales's hand and he himself supplies the explanation that "*no se que cosa*

46 See: <https://moralesmassbook.bc.edu/morales-bio/>

47 See: <https://moralesmassbook.bc.edu/morales-bio/>

48 Klaus Pietschmann, Noel O'Regan, and Tess Knighton. *A Renaissance Composer Writes to His Patrons: Newly Discovered Letters from Cristóbal de Morales to Cosimo I de' Medici and Cardinal Alessandro Farnese*. Early Music 28, no. 3, 2000. p. 383. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3519057>

49 Stevenson, Robert. *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961. p. 25-26. Available from: <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/608794.html>

es poder mandar pies ni manos ny rodillas” (“I have not known what it is to control my feet, my hands or my knees”). Morales continues describing his health problems in his fourth letter: “*Treynta y dos Dias a que no me levanto del lecho de podagra con fiebre continua*” (“Thirty two days I spent in bed suffering from gout and a continuous fever”).⁵⁰ The question is, of course, exactly which illness Morales suffered from. Persisting symptoms of his illness could have been responsible for his career moves. He resigned the highly paid position of *maestro de capilla* of the Cathedral of Toledo just 23 months after commencement and went into the service of Duque de Arcos, Don Luis Cristóbal Ponce de León to Marchena, near Sevilla, where the climate was more favorable. The final months of his life from November 1551 to his death in September 1553, Morales occupied the post of *Maestro de Capilla* at the Cathedral of Málaga.⁵¹



Fig. 16: Anonymous - Portrait of Cristóbal de Morales, 1544.

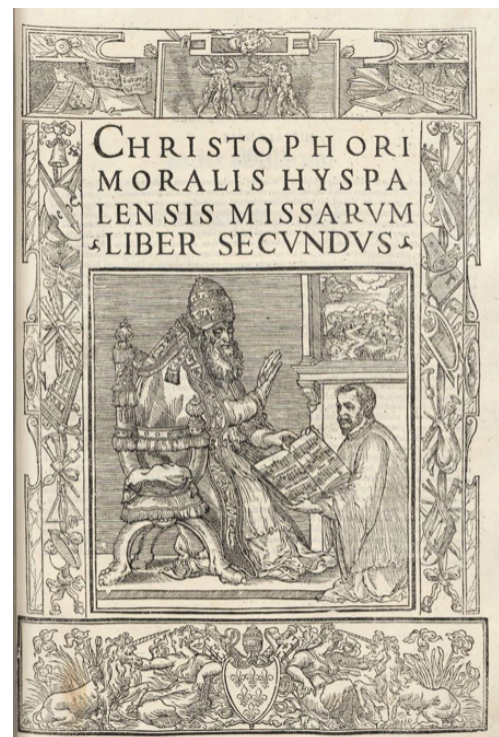


Fig. 17: Morales pictured with Pope Paul III on a page from *Missarum, Liber secundus*, Rome, 1544.

⁵⁰ Klaus Pietschmann, Noel O'Regan, and Tess Knighton. *A Renaissance Composer Writes to His Patrons: Newly Discovered Letters from Cristóbal de Morales to Cosimo I de' Medici and Cardinal Alessandro Farnese*. *Early Music* 28, no. 3, 2000. p. 387. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3519057>

⁵¹ Klaus Pietschmann, Noel O'Regan, and Tess Knighton. *A Renaissance Composer Writes to His Patrons: Newly Discovered Letters from Cristóbal de Morales to Cosimo I de' Medici and Cardinal Alessandro Farnese*. *Early Music* 28, no. 3, 2000. p. 389. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3519057>

6. Miguel de Fuenllana

Miguel Fuenllana (ca. 1525 - 1585/1605) is considered to be one of the most important vihuelists who published books during the 16th century in Spain. The well known author of *Libro de música para vihuela, intitulado Orphénica Lyra* was born in the Spanish city of Navalcarnero around the year 1525. Unfortunately, he was blind since then,⁵² as we can deduce from remarks in the preface of *Orphénica Lyra*, in which he speaks of God having deprived him of “corporeal light” from his infancy and, in the Prologue to the Reader, of work in “corporeal darkness”.⁵³ More recently found documents confirm that he was blind from birth. He was unable to sign his name to documents. Klaus Wagner was the first to publish these documents in his book on Martín de Montesdoca. Fuenllana spent a significant part of his life in the service of the Spanish royal family. This position was definitely important for his musical development and reputation. There is no evidence suggesting Fuenllana was ever employed by King Philip II. Despite the uncertainty of their relationship, Fuenllana dedicated his *Orphénica Lyra* to King Phillip II. It is important to mention that this vihuela book was written before Fuenllana’s service in the royal family. Therefore, *Orphénica Lyra* is more reflective of the musical situation in Sevilla and the house of the Marquesa de Tarifa and her husband, the Duque de Alcalá Pedro Afán de Ribera, where he was employed. Fuenllana's name is mentioned in Bermudo’s *Declaración* (1555), where he is described as being in the service of this important noble family.⁵⁴ One of the most precise documented indications of Miguel Fuenllana's career is from the 11th of August in 1553, when he received permission from Philip II to print his vihuela book.⁵⁵ The print of *Orphénica Lyra* was possible given the substantial financial support of Fuenllana’s father-in-law Juan de Salazar, a famous Sevillian doctor.

After the year 1559, Fuenllana was “chamber musician” to Philip’s third wife, Isabel de Valois, until the time of her death in 1568. Between the years of 1574 and 1578, Fuenllana served in the Portuguese court where, according to surviving sources, he was highly paid. This reflects the prestige and respect of Fuenllana during his lifetime. The final months of his life he spend back in

52 Rubio, Samuel. *Historía de la música española 2: Desde el ars nova hasta 1600*. Madrid: Alianza editorial, 1983, p. 229.

53 Poulton, Diana. *Early Music* 6, no. 4, 1978. p. 623. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3125775>

54 Poulton, Diana. *Early Music* 6, no. 4, 1978. p. 623. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3125775>

55 Griffiths, John. *La vihuela el la época de Felipe II.: Políticas y Prácticas musicales en el mundo de Felipe II: Estudios sobre la música en España, sus instituciones y sus territorios en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI*. Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2004, p. 430. Available from: <https://www.lavihuela.com/my-publications>

Madrid in the Royal Court, where he remained until his death. His exact date of his decease is still under speculation, although it most likely occurred between the years of 1585 and 1605.⁵⁶

With the publication of such an extensive vihuela book, an important question arose: how could a blind vihuelist have intabulated such a substantial quantity of vocal pieces? He likely relied heavily on his memory, alongside the aid of his musically educated servant Juan Ruize.⁵⁷ *Orphénica Lyra* remains an important example of the nuances of music in 16th-century Spain.

7. Other Distinguished Vihuelists

Luis Milán (1490/1510 - after 1561) is the author of the first printed collection for vihuela *El Maestro* (1536). He was a noble man from Valencia, vihuela player and a writer associated with the court of the Duke of Calabria and his wife Germanie de Foix between the years of 1526 and 1538.⁵⁸ His life in the court is described in Milán's *El Cortesano*. Although this book was not originally intended as an autobiography, it contains several episodes describing the life of a vihuela player, including moments when the vihuelist is entertaining listeners by telling stories and accompanying himself on vihuela. It may have been necessary to be endowed with musical skills to keep the audience's attention during longer stories.⁵⁹ Although Milán called himself *The Second Orpheus*, there is little evidence for his fame. In the year 1538, Luis de Narváez believed that his own collection was the very first published composition of vihuela music, and Juan Bermudo did not name Milán as one of the most important vihuela players of the time. Despite this, his name

56 Griffiths, John. *Hidalgo, Mercader, sacerdote, o poeta: vihuelas y vihuelistas en la vida urbana*. Hispanica Lyra: Revista de la Sociedad de Vihuela. 2009. p. 19. Available from: <https://www.lavihuela.com/my-publications>

57 Griffiths, John. *La vihuela en la época de Felipe II.: Políticas y Prácticas musicales en el mundo de Felipe II: Estudios sobre la música en España, sus instituciones y sus territorios en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI*. Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2004, p. 431. Available from: <https://www.lavihuela.com/my-publications>

58 Gásser, Luis. *Luis Milán on sixteenth-century performance practice*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996, p. 4.

59 Griffiths, John. *Semblanzas de compositores españoles: Luis Milán*. Revista de la Fundación Juan March, 2011. p.24. Available from: <https://digital.march.es/fedora/objects/fjm-pub:4442/datastream-ams/OBJ/content>

appears in other publications, such as *Diana Enamorada* written by Gil Pol in 1564.⁶⁰ Milán dedicated his *El Mastro* to The King of Portugal João IV.⁶¹ This collection contains approximately fifty solo pieces for vihuela and twenty two songs with vihuela accompaniment written in tablature. It should be taken into consideration that the compositions by Milán are mostly written as improvised music originating on the vihuela as Milán described.⁶²

This indicates that the compositions were invented on the spot, played and later written down in tablature.⁶³ Luis Milán was proclaiming himself to be “*The Second Orpheus*”, also pictured as the adherent of Orpheus like in the preface of *El Maestro* confirming this statement with the text hemming the engraving.⁶⁴ He was comparing vihuela to the Orpheus’s Lyra. In a comparison with later publications, it is remarkable the absence of the intabulation of sacred pieces in *El Maestro*. Luis Gásser is introducing a theory about Milán’s religious orientation being *converso* (a Jew who converted to Catholicism) supporting his theory with also with the dedication of *El Maestro* to The King of Portugal despite the fact that Milán was sponsored by The Duke of Calabria and Germanie de Foix. The Inquisition was not so active in Portugal, where a lot of converted Jewish people took refuge.⁶⁵

60 Gásser, Luis. *Luis Milán on sixteenth-century performance practice*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996, p. 4.

61 Milán, Luis de. *Libro de música de vihuela de mano intitulado El Maestro*. Valencia, 1536. Fol. ii

62 Milán, Luis de. *Libro de música de vihuela de mano intitulado El Maestro*. Valencia, 1536. Fol. iii: “...un libro hecho de muchas obras: que de la vihuela sacadas y escritas...”

63 Griffiths, John. *Semblanzas de compositores españoles: Luis Milán*. Revista de la Fundación Juan March [online]. 2011, p. 25, [cit. 2022-11-08]. Available from: <https://digital.march.es/fedora/objects/fjm-pub:4442/datastre-ams/OBJ/content>

64 Milán, Luis de. *Libro de música de vihuela de mano intitulado El Maestro*. Valencia, 1536. Fol. vi: “*El grande Orfeo, primero inventor, por quien la Vihuela paresce en el mundo; si él fue primero, no fue sin Segundo, pues Dios es de todo hazedor.*” (“*The Great Orpheus, the first creator of the vihuela thanks to whom vihuela appears on this world: as he was the first one, he would have been without the second one, so God Is the creator of everybody and everything.*”)

65 Gásser, Luis. *Luis Milán on sixteenth-century performance practice*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996, p. 9-13

Luis de Narváez was a renowned composer and vihuela player during his life time as we know from the writing of Luise Zapato:

*“During my youth, in Valladolid, there was a vihuela player Narváez, who was extraordinarily skilled. He was able to add one more voice to the four already written. An unprecedented thing for those who do not understand music and a miracle for those who do.”*⁶⁶

His art was also known also outside of Spain, as his compositions were added to several publications including lute collections of Guillaume Morlay (Paris, 1552), lute collections of Pierre Phàlese (Leuven, 1546, 1522, 1568) or his motet *De profundis clamavi*⁶⁷ was published by J. Modern (Lyon, 1539) in the collection *Quartus liber, Motteti del fiore*.⁶⁸ It is unfortunate that despite his fame, limited information about his life remains. He likely grew up in Granada, but moved to Valladolid at a young age to join the house of Francisco de Cobos, the secretary of King Charles I. In 1536, Narváez traveled with the King to Rome, where Charles was introduced to the pope as the Holy Roman Emperor. This journey was crucial for Luis de Narváez too, as he was introduced to the papal lutenist Francesco da Milano. After the death of Francisco de Cobos, Narváez’s name appears in the list of employees of the royal court.⁶⁹ His book *Los seys libros del Delphín de música de cifra para tañer vihuela* was published in 1538 in Valladolid and contributed significantly to the canon of vihuela music. This collection does not have the methodological structure like *El Maestro* and the vocal polyphonic influence is more noticeable, as is exemplified in the intabulated pieces by Josquin de Préz, Nicolas Gombert and Jean de Richafort.⁷⁰

66 Rubio, Samuel. *Historía de la música española 2: Desde el ars nova hasta 1600*. Madrid: Alianza editorial, 1983, p. 222: „Fue en Valladolid en mi modedad un músico de vihuela llamado Narváez, de tan extraña habilidad en la música, que sobre quatro voces de canto de órgano de un libro echa a de repente otras quatro, o las que no entendían la música, milagrosa y a los que la entendían, milagrosísima.“

67 See: <https://stimmbuecher.digitale-sammlungen.de//view?id=bsb00075671>

68 Rubio, Samuel. *Historía de la música española 2: Desde el ars nova hasta 1600*. Madrid: Alianza editorial, 1983. p. 222-223.

69 Griffiths, John. *Hidalgo, Mercader, sacerdote, o poeta: vihuelas y vihuelistas en la vida urbana*. Hispanica Lyra: Revista de la Sociedad de Vihuela, no 9. 2009. p. 18-19. Available from: <https://www.lavihuela.com/my-publications>

70 Narváez, Luis de. *Los seys libros del Delphin*. Valladolid, 1538.

Alonso Mudarra (1505/1510 - 1580) was associated mainly with two cities: Guadalajara and Sevilla, where he spent the majority of his life. The greater part of the information we have nowadays comes from the research of Emilio Pujol and is published in his *Tres libros de música de cifras* in 1984. Pujol assumes Mudarra's year of birth according the publishing date of his collection for vihuela, or according the year of Mudarra's ordination to the priest. He presumably spent his childhood in Guadalajara in *Palacio del Infantado*, where he was in the service of the Dukes of Infantado for several years (Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and Íñiga López de Mendoza). As Guadalajara was an important cultural center, it is almost certain that he studied theology and philosophy and likely also received his musical training there.⁷¹ It can be also assumed that Mudarra took part in the expedition accompanying King Charles I. to Bologna in 1530 with the Duke Íñigo López de Mendoza in 1530. The King was accompanied by many subjects including several prominent musicians.⁷² In 1546, Mudarra was ordained as a priest in Seville Cathedral, where he worked until the end of his days.⁷³ Mudarra's main work is his collection *Tres libros de música de cifras* from 1564 containing compositions for *vihuela de mano*, renaissance four course guitar and voice with accompaniment. Mudarra also introduced a system of tablature for a harp or organ, however, compositions for those instruments do not appear in the collection.⁷⁴

Enríquez de Valderrábano belongs to a group of authors about whose lives we have almost no information. There are several hypotheses about his place of birth. Some sources describe his birthplace as *Peñaranda del Duero*, according the note in Valderrábano's vihuela book. Here it is mentioned just as *vecino* (the modern translation would be *a neighbour* and other possible translation would be *taxpayer*). Another possibility might be the city Valderrábano de Valdavía, however, the only indicator is the frequency of the surname *Valderrábano* in this area.⁷⁵ The only evidence found is the year 1547, when his collection for vihuela *Libro de la música de Vihuela intitulado Silva de Sirenas* was published in Valladolid. This anthology is dedicated to Francisco de

71 Pujol, Emilio. *Tres libros de música en cifra para vihuela*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1984. p. 26 - 27.

72 Pujol, Emilio. *Tres libros de música en cifra para vihuela*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1984. p. 30.

73 Alonso Mudarra, el músico del Infantado. MusicaAntigua. 2021. Available from: <http://www.musicaantigua.com/alonso-mudarra-el-musico-del-infantado/>

74 Mudarra, Alonso. *Tres libros de música en cifra para vihuela*. Sevilla, 1546.

75 Rubio Samuel. *Historía de la música española 2: Desde el ars nova hasta 1600*. Madrid: Alianza editorial, 1983, p. 225.

Zuñiga, the Count of Miranda. It has been recently confirmed that Valderrábano was in his service.⁷⁶ The *Silva de sirenas* is quite extensive. After the prologue containing detailed information especially about playing from tablature, follow six books divided by the context. Besides fantasías composed by Valderrábano himself we can find within the books a significant number of intabulations of vocal pieces by authors such as Josquin Despréz, Nicolas Gombert, Fernando Layola, Cristóbal de Morales, Vincenzo Ruffo, Jean Mouton and others. Valderrábano thus demonstrates his extensive knowledge of the contemporary production of European vocal works.⁷⁷

Diego Pisador⁷⁸ (1509/1510 - after 1557) is a rather controversial figure in the vihuela world. He was born around 1509 to parents Alonso Pisador and Isabel Ortiz. His mother was probably the illegitimate daughter of Alfonso de Fonseca III, who served as Archbishop de Santiago and was a great patron of artistic and musical life in Salamanca.⁷⁹ Pisador likely received his musical education in the Cathedral of Salamanca, where he later became a member of the monastery. It is possible that this is where he met Francisco Daza, whose grandson was the vihuelist Esteban Daza. After his mother's death, Diego Pisador used much of his estate funds to print his vihuela book *Libro de la música de vihuela*.⁸⁰ He got into a dispute with his brother over this. Pisador counted on the support of his father, who tried unsuccessfully to convince him to abolish the publication of his book. His father eventually gave him a considerable sum of money to pay off the debts associated with *Libro de la música de vihuela*, which was eventually published in Salamanca in 1552. Pisador is said to have worked on this collection for fifteen years, which would mean that he began writing it before Milán's *El Maestro* was published.⁸¹ The controversial nature of this author has been pointed out, for example, by musicologists Francisco Roa and Felipe Gertrúdx. In their opinion, he was not a very talented composer, as evidenced by the frequency of

⁷⁶ This information was kindly provided by John Griffiths.

⁷⁷ Rubio, Samuel. *Historía de la música española 2: Desde el ars nova hasta 1600*. Madrid: Alianza editorial, 1983, p. 225.

⁷⁸ For more information see new article: Cruz Rodríguez, Javier. *New Information on the Vihuelist Diego Pisador: His Life, Teaching, and Work*. Journal of the Lute Society of America 54, 2021.

⁷⁹ Griffiths, John. *Hidalgo, Mercader, sacerdote, o poeta: vihuelas y vihuelistas en la vida urbana*. Hispanica Lyra: Revista de la Sociedad de Vihuela. 2009, p. 23. Available from: <https://www.lavihuela.com/my-publications>

⁸⁰ Rubio, Samuel. *Historía de la música española 2: Desde el ars nova hasta 1600*. Madrid: Alianza editorial, 1983, p. 227.

⁸¹ Griffiths, John. *Hidalgo, Mercader, sacerdote, o poeta: vihuelas y vihuelistas en la vida urbana*. Hispanica Lyra: Revista de la Sociedad de Vihuela. 2009, p. 23. Available from <https://www.lavi-huela.com/my-publications>

intabulations of works by Josquin de Préz (eight complete masses). Pisador is criticized for his low level of compositional technique compared to other vihuelists, mainly due to the poor overall quality of his music and the significant number of errors in his publication.⁸² It remains unknown if, judging by the high number of intabulated masses he included in *Libro de la música de vihuela*, he was merely trying to please his patron Philip II.

Esteban Daza (ca. 1537 - fl. 1591) was born in Valladolid to parents Tomás and Juana Daza. He was the first born of fourteen children. He came from a respectable bourgeois family. Their important social status can be inferred by their ownership of a private chapel in the church of San Benito el Real, which was one of the most important churches in Valladolid during that time. Esteban Daza was educated either at the University of Valladolid or at the University of Salamanca, where he likely studied law.⁸³ In 1569, after the death of his father, he became the head of the family and took care of his mother and siblings. During this period he decided to write his vihuela book *El Parnaso*, with the support of his colleagues.⁸⁴ Possibly Daza's most important professional relationship was with Hernando de Hábalos de Soto, a lawyer of the Royal Chancery and a member of the Royal Council, to whom Daza dedicated his collection when it was completed in the spring of 1575.⁸⁵ It remains unknown where Esteban Daza received his musical education. One hypothesis is that he was a pupil of one of the renowned vihuela players who were active in Valladolid at the time. Luis de Narváez probably lived in the same neighborhood for the first twelve years of Daza's life. However, it is certain that Daza was knowledgeable about the collection of the older vihuela masters. He was even inspired in his first fantasia by the compositions of Alonso Mudarra and he also demonstrates a close connection with the compositional styles contained in the treatise *Libro llamado Arte de Tañer Fantasia* by Dominican friar Tomás de Santa María.⁸⁶ Esteban Daza never

82 Rubio, Samuel. *Historia de la música española 2: Desde el ars nova hasta 1600*. Madrid: Alianza editorial, 1983, p. 229.

83 Griffiths, John. *Esteban Daza: el enigma desvelado de un vihuelista español*. Hispanica Lyra: Revista de la Sociedad de Vihuela. 2007, p. 10. Available from <https://www.lavihuela.com/my-publications>

84 Griffiths John. *The vihuela book "El Parnaso" by Esteban Daza*. Studies in Music, 1976, p. 10. Available from <https://www.lavihuela.com/my-publications>

85 Griffiths, John. *Esteban Daza: el enigma desvelado de un vihuelista español*. Hispanica Lyra: Revista de la Sociedad de Vihuela. 2007, p. 10-13. Available from <https://www.lavihuela.com/my-publications>

86 Griffiths, John. *La vihuela en la época de Felipe II: Políticas y Prácticas musicales en el mundo de Felipe II: Estudios sobre la música en España, sus instituciones y sus territorios en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI*. Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2004, p. 433. Available from <https://www.lavihuela.com/my-publications>

married and lived the majority of his life with his younger brothers. One of the last mentions of this vihuelist is from 1589, when he moved to the parish of San Ildefonso.⁸⁷

8. The Process of Intabulation according to Bermudo

This chapter will provide basic instructions on how to intabulate a piece, but most importantly, how to understand the intabulation process. As we are focusing on music of 16th century Spain, one of the best available sources is *Declaración de los instrumentos musicales* (1555) written by Fray Juan Bermudo. *Declaración* is Bermudo's third publication, though material from both previous books (*El libro primero de la declaración de los instrumentos*; 1549 and *Ei arte tripharia*; 1550) is present also in the third one, which was intended as a one-volume collection of his writing. All three treatises were published in Osuna by Juan de León. Bermudo wrote this treatise for both amateurs and experienced musicians as a theoretical guideline. According to Bermudo, the standard of making music in Spain was quite low and he wanted to educate instrumentalists in matters beyond musical practice and to avoid *barbarismos musicales* such as playing incorrect tempos, using wrong accidentals in modes, adding too many and tasteless ornaments in intabulations of vocal pieces, etc. As his book is intended for practical use for instrumentalists as opposed to theorists, he wrote it in Spanish, rather in Latin and every section begins with a brief prologue "to the attentive reader", wherein he explain his intentions.⁸⁸ It is clear that this is not just an anthology of tablatures and music, but a treatise on many aspects of the history, science, and art of music, formulated with a clear educational aim for readers.⁸⁹ The last treatise *Declaración de los instrumentos musicales* is divided into the following five books:

- ◆ Book 1: *Alabanzas de musica* (In praise of music) - 20 chapters (fols. 1-20r)
- ◆ Book 2: Covering the rudiments of music - 36 chapters (fols. 20v-30v)
- ◆ Book 3: Covering plainchant and vocal polyphony - 29 chapters (fols. 21r-60r)
- ◆ Book 4: Without general title, but titled by section - 93 chapters

87 Griffiths, John. *Esteban Daza: el enigma desvelado de un vihuelista español*. Hispanica Lyra: Revista de la Sociedad de Vihuela. 2007, p. 10-13. Available from <https://www.lavihuela.com/my-publications>

88 Astrid Dawn, Espinoza. *Juan Bermudo: "On Playing the Vihuela"*. Journal of the Lute Society of America, inc., volumes XXVIII-XXIX, 1995-1996, p. 3-6.

89 Griffiths, John. *Juan Bermudo, Self Instruction and the Amateur Instrumentalist*. Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Ed. Russell Murray Jr, Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010. p. 127.

(a) *De tañer organo* (On playing the organ) - chapters 1-53 (fols. 60r-91r)

(b) *De tañer vihuela* (On playing the vihuela) - chapters 54-86 (fols. 90v-110r)

(c) *De tañer harpa* (On playing the harp) - chapters 87-93 (fols. 110v-113v)

(d) *De tañer organo* (On playing the organ) with additional section with musical examples in choirbook (fols. 114r-120r)

♦ Book 5: *De composicion* (On composition) - 33 chapters (fols. 120v-142v).⁹⁰

This chapter will be dedicated predominantly to a section *De tañer vihuela* (On playing vihuela) from fourth book, especially on instructions regarding the process of intabulating (mostly chapters 70-74).⁹¹ The previous chapters have dealt mainly with tuning and general descriptions of vihuela and related instruments such as bandurria or guitars. Bermudo gives us very detailed advice guiding us through the entire intabulating process in a very practical manner in order to deepen one's musical understanding. The essential advice for all instrumentalists is that they should learn by assimilating techniques derived from vocal music. The close interconnection between instrumental and vocal music must be evident both in the musical presentation, and the pedagogical approach.⁹² As Bermudo writes himself in chapter 71:

*“Players are often guilty of wanting to play fantasies when they are just starting to play. Even though they may know counterpoint, unless [this counterpoint] is as good as that of the abovementioned musicians, they should not play fantasies too soon, so as not to form bad habits.”*⁹³

This is a very different approach from the previously published pedagogically oriented vihuela book *El Maestro* by Luis Milán published twenty years before Bermudo's book. Milán's approach was entirely opposite to Bermudo's in that it was based mostly on playing fantasías. Tablature books came into play as an instructional methodology for self-taught musicians.

90 Espinoza, Dawn Astrid. *Juan Bermudo: “On Playing the Vihuela”*. Journal of the Lute Society of America, inc., volumes XXVIII-XXIX, 1995-1996, p. 4.

91 For more information about description of common vihuela, other plucked instruments, tuning, etc. see Bermudo, Juan. *Delcaración de los instrumentos musicales*. Osuna: Juan de Leon, 1555, fols. 90v-110r.

92 Griffiths, John. *Juan Bermudo, Self Instruction and the Amateur Instrumentalist*. Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Ed. Russell Murray Jr, Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010. p. 127.

93 *“Mucho yerran los tañedores, que començando a tañer: quieren salir con su fantasia. Aunque supiesse contrapunto (sino fuese tan bueno como el de los sobredichos musicos) no avian de tañer tan presto fantasia: por no tomar mal ayre.”*

Tablatures allowed amateur musicians to focus not on the intellectual comprehension and appreciation of music, but on the technical basics of music performance.⁹⁴ This development should help us in understanding the musical and pedagogical background of musicians in this period. The above examples of self-instructive literature reflect the real practice of master-to-student teaching. Hopefully, this could lead to further development of historically informed pedagogy.

According Bermudo, the best way for aspiring vihuelists to learn the instrument is based on a solid understanding of vocal polyphony, compositional techniques of renowned authors of the time and, of course, good taste. What he also advises before embarking on the intabulating process itself is to properly understand tuning of instruments and their fret placement. For this purpose he uses seven drawn vihuelas in different tunings, which could serve as guidelines for placing the given vocal template onto the vihuela. There are two potential processes we can follow, according to the relationship between the fingerboard of the vihuela and the original pitch of the vocal piece, as Bermudo explains in the beginning of the Libro Quatro of the *Declaración*:

“...Inquisitive players of the vihuela choose one of two practices in this respect: either they change the music to suit the instrument, or they change the instrument to suit the music. Let it be clear: it is a single instrument and its notes are fixed, and should the music be out of the key when responding to a choir, or for some other reasons that a vihuelist might have, they change the music. Thus, there are some vihuela players who always think of the vihuela as being in a fixed tuning, and if the music should not agree with their conception of the instrument, because it goes beyond the range of the frets, they transpose the music so that it can be comfortably played. This way of playing the vihuela used to be more common than it is now and there were players with great facility even if they were not as wise as those who these days use many vihuelas. I deal with this subject following this present overview in chapter eighty-two. Those who did not know how to shift their frets used this way of intabulating on the vihuela and for their needs it was good. These days there are musicians who, not content with changing the music to suit the vihuela prefer to leave it as they find it and change the vihuela by not always imagining the Sixth course to be one pitch, but pretend to raise or lower it according to the music. They imagine, then, the lowest note of the vihuela sometimes to be G, other times A, and thus on all of the seven different notes,

94 Griffiths, John. *Juan Bermudo, Self Instruction and the Amateur Instrumentalist*. Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Ed. Russell Murray Jr, Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010. p. 126-127.

and even sometimes on chromatic semitones. This is what good players do, and you will encounter it in both Spanish and foreign tablatures.”⁹⁵

What is important to realize is that Bermudo is speaking about the process, not about the result. Whether we “*change the instrument for the music*” or “*change the music for the instrument*” the result will sound the same. The process of not transposing the music in advance seems to be more universal in praxis. It is advised to be familiar with both systems in order to have a comprehensive understanding of music. Nevertheless, if we are owners of one or two instruments, we are very limited in the number of possible final pitches, as we want to keep the tuning system. The most suitable system for tuning, according to Bermudo, is the Pythagorean tuning.⁹⁶ In addition to this advice, he also gives us very detailed instructions on how to tune our instrument and a suggestion to keep as many open strings as possible. This is important not only in avoiding technical difficulties for the player, but also to achieve maximal acoustic resonance on the instrument.

⁹⁵ English translation of Spanish original text by John Griffiths, available from <https://www.lavihuela.com/vihuela-playing-1> (online 27. 10. 2022): “*Los curiosos tañedores de vihuela en una de dos maneras se han en esta materia. O mudan la música para el instrumento: o mudan el instrumento para la música. Digo, que cómo es un órgano solo, y los signos tiene fixos, y por ser la Música fuera de tono para responder en el choro, o por otra cosa que parece al tañedor mudan la música: assí ay algunos tañedores de vihuela, que siempre imaginan la vihuela de una manera, y si la música no viene conforme a la ymaginación que tienen de la vihuela, porque sale fuera de los trastes: mudan la Música por signos, que descansadamente se pueda tañer. Este arte de tañer vihuela antiguamente se usava más que ahora, y avía tañedores con mayor facilidad: aunque no era extensamente tan sabios: como los que usan en este tiempo muchas vihuelas. Tracto esta materia debajo la presente imaginación en el capítulo ochenta y dos. Los que no supieron mudar los trastes, usaron esta manera de poner en la vihuela, y para los tales era buena. Ay ahora músicos, que no contentos con mudar la música para la vihuela: sino dexan estar la como la hallan, y mudan las vihuelas, que no siempre imaginan la sexta ser un signo: pero según sube, o abaxa la Música: assí fingen ser la sexta en vazío. Ymagina pues unas veces començar la vihuela en gamaut, otras en Are, y assí proceden por todas las siepte letras diferentes, y aun por divisiones de tono comienzan algunas vezes. Esto usan buenos tañedores, y en las cifras de España, y estranjerias lo hallareys*”

⁹⁶ See: <http://www.medieval.org/emfaq/harmony/pyth2.html>

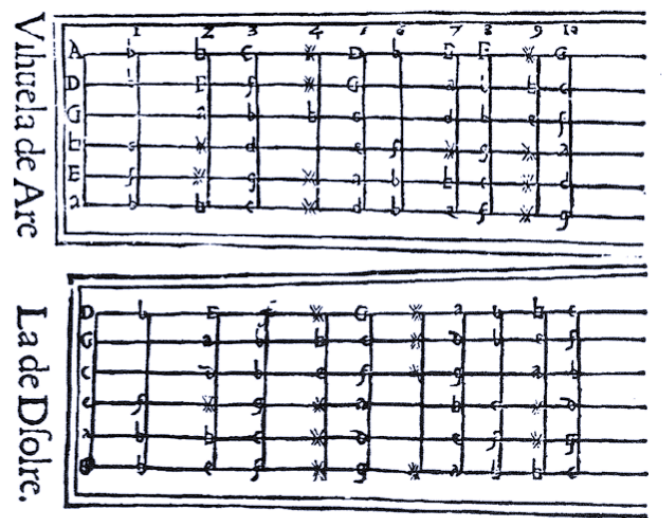


Fig. 19: Drawings by vihuelas according Juan Bermudo

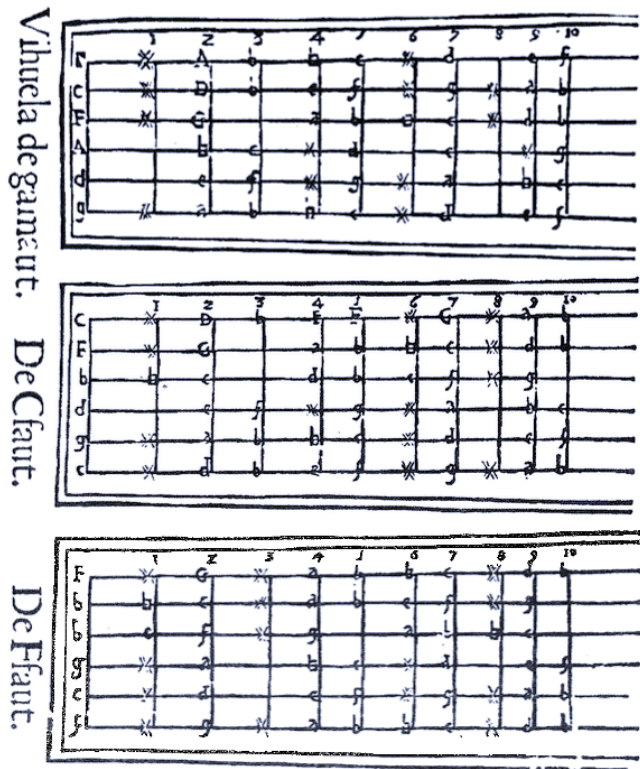


Fig. 18: Drawings by vihuelas according Juan Bermudo

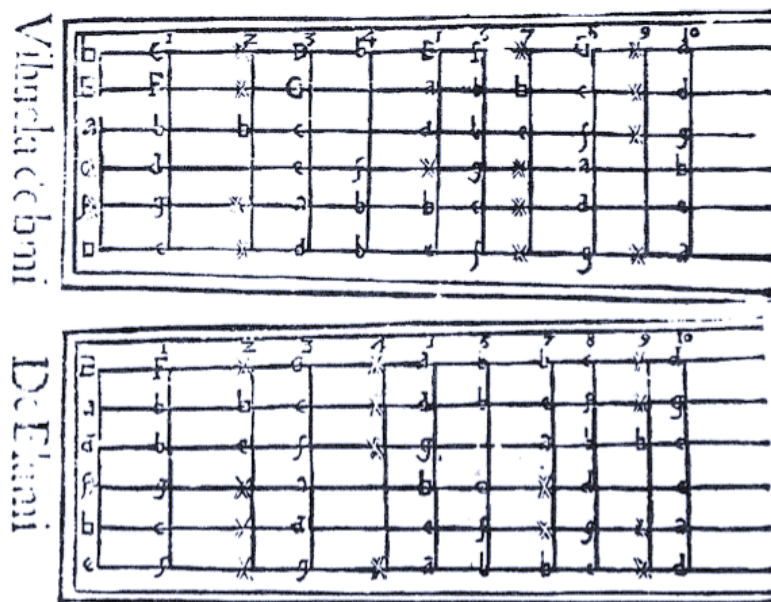


Fig. 20: Drawings by vihuelas according Juan Bermudo

On the drawings of seven vihuelas we can clearly see the division of frets on the instruments according to the tuning system. The *vihuela de gamaut* is considered to be the *vihuela común* (common vihuela). Different tunings of drawn vihuelas served a dual purpose. Firstly, they aided the intabulation of polyphonic pieces by supplying a referential pitch level that allowed a convenient location for applying the source composition onto the vihuela. Also, clef identifications supplied a reference point for the mode of a composition, and in some cases higher and lower pitch levels of imagined tunings were employed in order to distinguish authentic and plagal modes, respectively.⁹⁷ In this time the vihuela is referred to as the “perfect instrument”. As it is indicated in the preface of Fuenllana’s *Orphénica Lyra*, this perfection is directly related to the question of the modal system of the hexachord:

“ I only wish to say that on this instrument there are no accepted or fixed boundaries for any of the eight modes, inasmuch as [the vihuela] is so perfect that one can play each of them perfectly anywhere. All depends on putting a fret to the note they wish... Only this instrument, as it is said, one finds perfection in all places for anything that is played on it.”⁹⁸ (“ Solo quiero dezir, que en este instrumento no ay termino ace pro ni señalado para ninguno de los ocho tonos, pues a causa de ser tan perfecto, por cualquiera parte le puede tañer perfectamente cualquiera de ellos, pues todo va en poner el traste en el punto q quisieren... pues en este instrumento, como dicho es, en todo lugar se halla perfection, para cualquiera cosa que en este tañere”)⁹⁹

It is not always clear for which of the vihuelas the piece should be intabulated. The aim is to place the music in a way that the intabulation will contain as many open strings as possible. Bermudo offers three recommendation to follow:

A. Decision according to the bass note: this first recommendation determines the easiest part of decision making, as Bermudo’s usual method of presentation is from simple to complex. The decision is based on the lowest note in the bass part of the work we want to intabulate. This tone should be placed on the sixth open string of the vihuela. For instance, if the bass goes as far as G we should intabulate for the common *vihuela in gamut*, if the bass goes as far as A, we will take

⁹⁷ Freis, Wolfgang. *Perfecting the perfect intrument: Fray Juan Bermudo on the Tuning and Temperament of the vihuela de mano*. Early music, vol 23, Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 426.

⁹⁸ translation by Freis, Wolfgang. *Perfecting the perfect intrument: Fray Juan Bermudo on the Tuning and Temperament of the vihuela de mano*. Early music, vol 23, Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 427.

⁹⁹ Fuenllana, Miguel. *Orphénica Lyra*. De los tonos. Sevilla, 1554. Fol VII.

the *vihuela in Are*, etc. This rule only applies if the work to be intabulated has a range of more than fifteen notes.¹⁰⁰

To demonstrate this process directly, I will use the following example *Crucifixus* from the *Missa Tu es vas electionis* by Cristóbal de Morales intabulated by Miguel de Fuenllana.

In this case the lowest tone in the bass part is F, which does not allow us to use the common vihuela in G.



Fig. 21: *Crucifixus* from the *Missa Tu es vas electionis* - Bassus

If the piece has been already intabulated, we can easily find out which vihuela the intabulation was intended for from the first tone of the piece. From the example of the segment of *cantus*, we can observe that the first note is G. From the intabulation we can see that the first note was placed on the second fret of the first string. Knowing this information, it is then necessary to compare the intabulation with drawn vihuelas, in order to deduce which one has G on the same place as the intabulation. In this case it is vihuela in *Ffaut*.

100 Astrid Dawn, Espinoza. *Juan Bermudo: "On Playing the Vihuela"*. Journal of the Lute Society of America, inc., volumes XXVIII-XXIX, 1995-1996, p. 59.

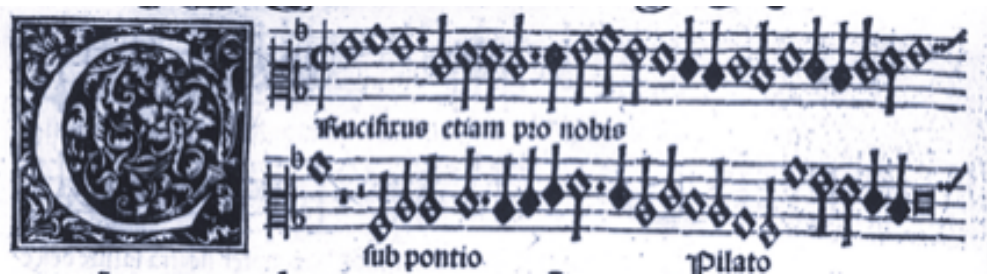


Fig. 22: *Crucifixus* from the *Missa Tu es vas electionis* - Cantus

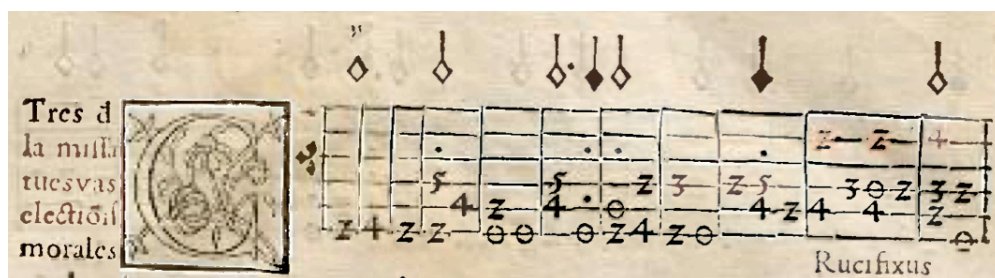


Fig. 23: *Crucifixus* intabulated by Miguel de Fuenllana

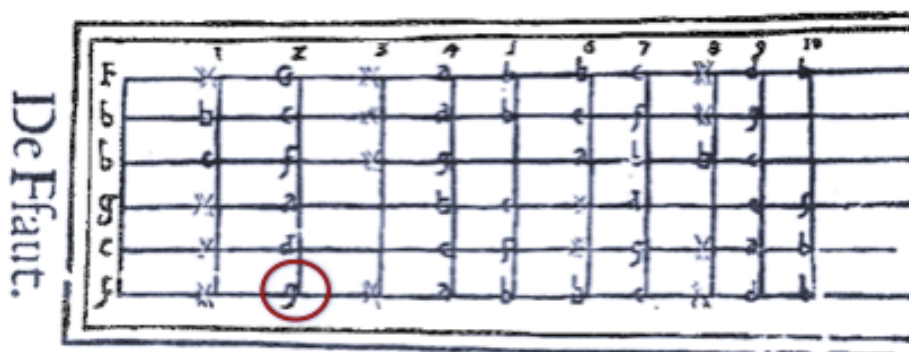


Fig. 24: Drawn vihuela in *Ffaut*

Name of the piece by Cristóbal de Morales	Voices	Page	Vihuela
Et ascendit caelum de la Missa Benedicta es caelorum Regina	3	Fo V	Vihuela de Gamut
Benedictus de la Missa Gaude Barbara	3	Fo VII	Vihuela de Desolre
Et resurrexit de la Missa L'Homme Arme (á4)	3	Fo VIII	Vihuela de Elami
Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis	3	Fo X	Vihuela de Ffaut
Agnus dei de la Missa Ave Maria	3	Fo XI	Vihuela de Desolre
Deposuit potentes	3	Fo XIII	Vihuela de Gamut
Internatos mulierum	4	Fo XXX	Vihuela de Desolre
Benedictus de la Misa L'Homme Arme (á4)	4	Fo XL	Vihuela de Gamut
Sancta es immaculata	4	Fo XLVII	Vihuela de Gamut
Benedictus de la Missa Benedicta es caelorum regina	4	Fo LV	Vihuela de Are
Verbum iniquum	5	Fo LXIII	Vihuela de Elami
Lamentabur Jacob	5	Fo LXVIII	Vihuela de Bmi
Lamentaciones	5	Fo LXXVII	Vihuela de Elami
Iubilate	6	Fo LXXXI	Vihuela de Gamut
Manustue domine	5	Fo LXXXVI	Vihuela de Are
Agnus Dei de la Missa L'Homme Arme (á4)	4	Fo XCI	Vihuela de Gamut
Beneditus de la Missa Mille Regretz	3	Fo CVIII	Vihuela de Are

B. Decision according to the number of notes: this recommendation might seem almost contradictory to the first one, but it is rather a methodical continuation of the experience already gained. According to the total number of notes contained in the composition, we decide the position of the lowest of them on one of the seven vihuelas. Bermudo offers very detailed description:

- *Range of twelve notes:* the lowest note of the bass should be placed on the fifth string, third or fourth fret, and the range will go up to the same fret of the first string
- *Range of thirteen notes:* the lowest note of the bass should be placed on the fifth string on the first or second fret
- *Range of fourteen notes:* the lowest note of the bass should be placed on the open fifth string
- *Range of fifteen notes:* the lowest note of the bass should be placed on the third or fourth fret of the sixth string
- *Range of sixteen notes:* the lowest note of the bass should be placed on the second or third fret of the sixth string
- *Range of seventeen notes:* the lowest note of the bass should be placed on first or second fret of the sixth string
- *Range of eighteen notes:* the lowest note of the bass should be placed on the open sixth string¹⁰¹

C. Decision according to the placement of the highest note: This recommendation is describing the placement of the highest note on the first string. In order to play the music easily, we should put the highest tone up to the fifth fret, or if necessary, to the sixth or seventh fret of the first string. In practice, we encounter some cases where the placement of the highest note on the first string extends beyond the seventh fret. We have to take into consideration that these instructions are really for beginners and Bermudo wants to avoid misplacing the piece onto the vihuela. Another aspect he points out is the difficulty of tuning in the higher position of the fretboard due to possible misplacement of the frets according to the tuning instructions he offers in upcoming chapters.¹⁰² As Bermudo is mentioning, rarely does a composition go beyond the tenth fret, and normally the vihuela does not need more than this number of frets.¹⁰³ Additionally, all his drawn vihuelas end on tenth position.

101 Astrid Dawn, Espinoza. Juan Bermudo: "On Playing the Vihuela". Journal of the Lute Society of America, inc., volumes XXVIII-XXIX, 1995-1996, p. 59.

102 Ibid., p. 60.

103 Ibid., p. 68.

In addition to the three recommendations mentioned above regarding the decision for which vihuela the composition should be intabulated, Bermudo offers one more option to consider in the 71st chapter entitled *De ciertos avisos para la conclusion del cifrar* (Some concluding recommendations on intabulation). After placing the music in the score, we should find out if any notes are in unison in two voice parts. If possible, they should be arranged both on one open string, because if one is placed on an open string, the other will be placed on the lower string at the fret that forms a unison with the upper string (according the tuning system of vihuela it will be fourth or fifth fret of the lower string). If this is not technically feasible, another possibility is to place the second note on the same place as the first one, as an organ player would do. This situation is illustrated in the example below, wherein a fragment of intabulated *Benedictus* from *Missa Mille regretz* by Cristóbal de Morales, we observe the decision of Fuenllana to put the unison on the open second string, allowing the vihuela to resonate both voices simultaneously. By using an open string, the middle voice still sounds even when the cantus changes tone on the other beat. Bermudo is known to favor purity of playing over a technically unmanageable situation so long as the clarity of the polyphonic writing is kept.¹⁰⁴

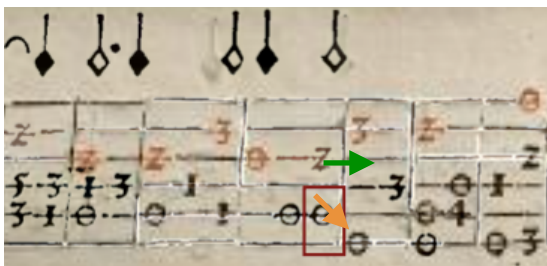


Fig. 25: Fragment of intabulated *Benedictus* from *Missa Mille Regretz*



Fig. 26: Transcription of intabulated *Benedictus* from *Missa Mille Regretz* for vihuela in A

¹⁰⁴ Astrid, Dawn, Espinoza. Juan Bermudo: “On Playing the Vihuela”. *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, inc., volumes XXVIII-XXIX, 1995-1996, p. 62.

D. Place the music in front of you

The common practice in the 16th century was that music appeared either in choir-books with each part carefully notated individually or in part books, where each part had its own book.¹⁰⁵ For a beginner, it would be of course difficult to intabulate music directly from parts. The music which will be intabulated should be placed into a score marked with bar lines, which will divide the measures both in the tablature as well as in the notation to help with the player's orientation.¹⁰⁶ To make the intabulation process clear at the beginning, it is possible to leave the part notated above the intabulation itself. In this case it is not necessary to use signs of rhythmic duration in the tablature. Here we have two options as well. We can leave all the the voice parts, or we can notate the voice which will be sung. In case we do not leave the voice part written above the intabulation, we have several options in notating the vocal line, such as colored numbers or systems of dots or commas. More detailed information about the singing lines as part of the intabulation will be discussed later.



Fig. 27: Example of the intabulation with the vocal part above the tablature - Juan de Bermudo

¹⁰⁵ Smith, Anna. *The Performance of 16th-Century Music*. Oxford University Press, 2011. p. 4.

¹⁰⁶ Astrid Dawn, Espinoza. *Juan Bermudo: "On Playing the Vihuela"*. *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, inc., volumes XXVIII-XXIX, 1995-1996. p. 56.

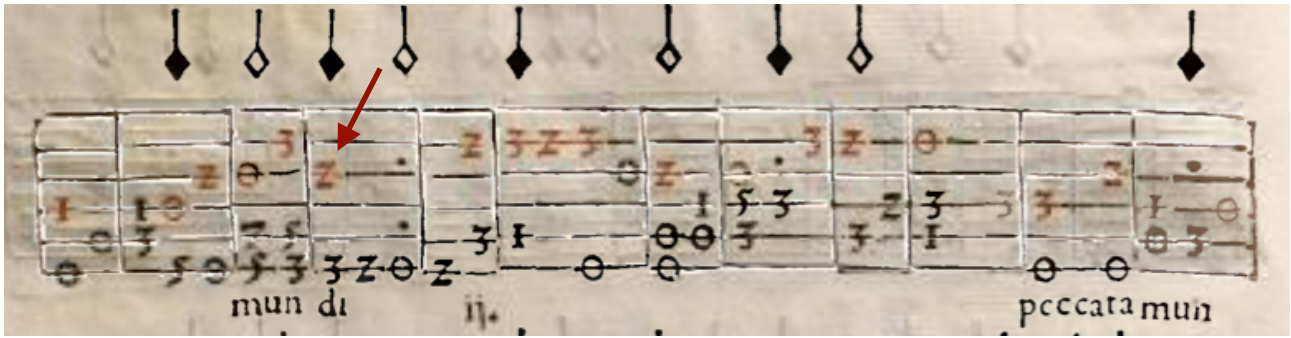


Fig. 28: Example of the intabulation where the singing part is marked with colored numbers - Miguel de Fuenllana (Orphénica Lyra)



Fig. 29: Example of the intabulation where the singing part is marked with small commas next to the number - Alonso de Mudarra (Tres libros de música)

For those who are more experienced with intabulating, Bermudo proposes an option where the intabulation is derived directly from the choir book. This process is designed especially for: “good musicians, willing to make a bit of effort to get good results”.¹⁰⁷ Another step and possibility is to achieve such perfection in the understanding that it will be possible to play the music directly from choir books without prior intabulation. Bermudo himself refers to the topic of playing directly from choir books also in chapters connected with playing music on a keyboard instrument in *Declaración de los instrumentos*, fol lxxxii:

“...having a book of polyphony in front of one. He who wants to be a performer - if he is a good singer who knows about composition - by studying what is in this book and understanding the keyboard can play works on it with only having the book in front of him.

¹⁰⁷ Astrid Dawn, Espinoza. *Juan Bermudo: “On Playing the Vihuela”*. Journal of the Lute Society of America, inc., volumes XXVIII-XXIX, 1995-1996, p. 57.

This way of playing is very laborious, for there is a lot of counting, when looking at all the parts, but it is very profitable; one can make a lot of music this way.”¹⁰⁸

From other Spanish sources, it is known that musicians were expected to have astonishing reading skills in certain circumstances. For example, within Bernardo Clavijo del Castillo’s examination for the professorship at the University of Salamanca or for the organist position at Málaga Cathedral, where the sight-reading abilities were tested extensively as Anne Smith is describing in her book *The Performance of 16th-Century Music*.¹⁰⁹

After the first preparation phase, where it is decided for which vihuela the piece will be intabulated and the parts were put into the score, we can start with the intabulating process itself. First of all, Bermudo suggests to place the name of the author above to give to the intabulated piece “*great value and quality*”. The next step is to specify the mode of the composition and decide a clef. Especially in the case of transposition, we should specify the clef.¹¹⁰ The placement of the clef is also used to determine for which of the seven vihuelas the piece was intabulated. However, Bermudo alerts us to common clef placement errors when copying frequently. If the mode of the piece is not obvious from tablature, we need to look at where the semitone is formed on any of the strings. Bermudo explains this process below:

“I mean that if there were a zero on the third string and then one [immediately] or later after it on the same string, you will know that the two ciphers form a semitone; then, the third string open is mi. That [piece] was intabulated for the vihuela in Are, on which the third string open is the mi or b fa mi. If on the first string there is a semitone, begin counting the

108 Bermudo, Juan. *Declaración de instrumentos musicales*, fol. lxxxii quoted in Anne Smith. *The Performance of 16th-Century Music*. Oxford University Press, 2011. p. 5. “...*teniendo el libro de canto de organo delante. El que tañedor quisiere ser, si es buen cantor, que sabe de composicion: con estudiar lo y dicho en este libro, y entender el monachordio: puede poner en las obras, con solamente tener delante el libro. Esta manera de poner es muy trabajosa, porque llevan mucha cuenta mirando todas las bozes: pero es gananciosa. Hazen con ella gran caudal de Musica*”

109 Smith, Anna. *The Performance of 16th-Century Music*. Oxford University Press, 2011. p. 5.

110 Astrid Dawn, Espinoza. Juan Bermudo: “On Playing the Vihuela”. *Journal of the Lute Society of America, inc.*, volumes XXVIII-XXIX, 1995-1996, p. 58.

frets downward until you find which note that string is tuned to, and this way you will be able to tell for which drawn vihuela the music was intabulated.”¹¹¹

Juan Bermudo is using the Italian system of tablature, (i.e. open upper line indicates the lowest string, use of numerical system, where open string is indicated by zero, continuing with Arabic numbers). However, in the following chapter, Bermudo also lists other types of tablatures that a player may encounter outside of the the present book¹¹². If the player is not satisfied with any of the above mentioned systems, he may invent another, or better yet, improve the old system.¹¹³ Bermudo continues with a detailed description of the numeric system of tablatures and rhythmic signs emphasizing that a particular sign does not show the value in all the parts, but of the part that has the most ciphers.

Once the player understands all the above rules and recommendations, he should be able to transcribe the intabulation back into notation as faithfully as it was written before the intabulation itself.

9. Other Points of Interest in the Intabulating Process:

As already mentioned above, the intabulation is often a source of important information, which may not appear in the original facsimile, but is relevant for performance or intabulating practice. In this chapter we will compare three pieces written by Cristóbal de Morales intabulated by Miguel de Fuenllana: *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz*, *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis*, and *Benedictus de la Missa L’Homme Armé* with the original vocal notation.

The difference between the Italian and the Spanish schools of intabulations in particular needs to be emphasized. While the Italian school works with a rich diminutive technique, the Spanish vihuela school of intabulating sacred works is more literal, as we can prove, for example, in the works intabulated by Miguel de Fuenllana, but also by other vihuelists. Some aspects of intabulation have

111 Translated by Astrid Dawn, Espinoza. *Juan Bermudo: “On Playing the Vihuela”*. Journal of the Lute Society of America, inc., volumes XXVIII-XXIX, 1995-1996, p. 71. “*Digo, que si en la tercera viniere un zero, y luego una unidad, o despues en la dicha cuerda: entendereys que las dos cifras forman semitono: luego la tercer en vazio esta en mi: Cifrose la tal Musica por la vihuela de Are: en la qual viene la tercera en vazio en el mi de bfami. Si en la prima ay un semitono: venid contando por los trastes abaxo hasta que halleyes en que boz començo en vazio: y assi juzgareys porque vihuela pintada se cifro la tal Musica.*”

112 See a chapter *What is tablature?*

113 Astrid Dawn, Espinoza. *Juan Bermudo: “On Playing the Vihuela”*. Journal of the Lute Society of America, inc., volumes XXVIII-XXIX, 1995-1996, p. 66.

already have been mentioned in the previous chapter. The focus will be in particular on the following:

- Re-striking of dotted notes of notes of longer values
 - The vocal line
 - Embellishment
 - Musica ficta
-
- **Re-striking of dotted notes of notes of longer values**

One aspect that often appears in intabulation, and which requires careful attention, is the frequent re-striking in the case of dotted note or notes of longer values. In most cases the note is re-struck if the length of the note exceeds the bar line. It should be noted that the use of this phenomenon is not always consistent within the intabulated piece. Juan Bermudo in *Declaración de los intrumentos musicales* describes the intabulation process in the case of augmentation dots and syncopated notes. Since this explanation of the phenomenon of the re-striking is insufficient, as another source for the explanation *Fronimo* (1584) written by Vincenzo Galilei will be employed.

The augmentation dot:

In chapter 71, Juan Bermudo describes very basic rules of placement and use of the augmentation dots. It should be noted that this treatise was intended primarily for beginners. In the case of the augmentation dots, Bermudo offers the following instruction:

“If that dot goes over into another measure, place the dot after the bar line, in the following measure, and do not cipher it, nor hide it. It is done this way so that it is not pronounced and is played on the stroke of the note to which it is affixed.”¹¹⁴

Bermudo recommends not repeating a note even if it is within the same measure. This information is partly contradictory compared to the practice as we can see in several examples of the intabulations by Miguel de Fuenllana (and also by other vihuelists, who are not included in this

¹¹⁴ Translation by Astrid Dawn, Espinoza. *Juan Bermudo: “On Playing the Vihuela”*. Journal of the Lute Society of America, inc., volumes XXVIII-XXIX, 1995-1996, p. 63. “Si el tal puntillo entra en otro compas: pongase el puntllo despues de la virgula, en el compas que se sigue, y no se cifre, ni quede abscondido. Porque no se pronuncie, y quede concluydo en el golpe del punto en que esta puesto: se ponga de la manera dicha.”

thesis as the mains source). In the following example from *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz*, it is possible to demonstrate the case of the dotted not crossing the bar line:

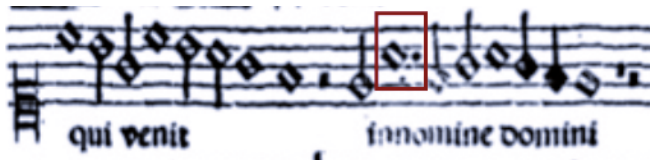


Fig. 30: Fragment of *Cantus* from *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz* - example of note with the augmentation dot (re-striking)



Fig. 31: Transcription of the Fragment of *Cantus* from *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz* - example of note with the augmentation dot (re-striking)

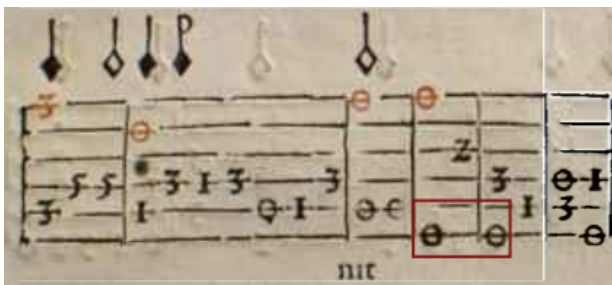


Fig. 32: Fragment of the intabulated version from *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz* - example of note with the augmentation dot (re-striking)



Fig. 33: Transcription of the fragment of the intabulated version from *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz* - example of note with the augmentation dot (re-striking)

The following example from the same piece demonstrates the use of the augmentation dotted note within one bar without the re-strike. Comparing this situation with the vocal original, there would be no syllables to sing, so the second of the tied notes would not be pronounced. Of course, on the instrument it is not always the case.



Fig. 34: Fragment of *Altus* from *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz* - example of note with the augmentation dot (without re-striking)



Fig. 35: Transcription of the Fragment of *Altus* from *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz* - example of note with the augmentation dot (without re-striking)

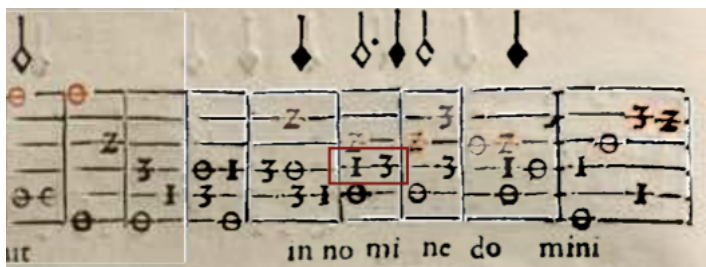


Fig. 36: Fragment of the intabulated version from *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz* - example of note with the augmentation dot (without re-striking)



Fig. 37: Transcription of the fragment of the intabulated version from *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz* - example of note with the augmentation dot (without re-striking)

In the case of syncopations, Bermudo suggests a similar strategy. Syncopated notes, when they cross the bar line, they should be notated and ciphered in both measures and above those two notes a fermata is placed and the following two ciphers should be plucked just once. As Bermudo advises to also place the notation above the intabulation and he is replacing the rhythmic marking, the fermata is mostly an indication of the singing line. Unfortunately, no further explanation of re-striking is included in the *Declaración de los instrumentos*. Bermudo's advice is followed only by warnings concerning the position and clarity of the intabulation.¹¹⁵ Regarding the intabulations by Miguel de Fuenllana, we see that the use of the fermata is partially different. Firstly, their use is not so frequent as it would be if Fuenllana strictly followed Bermudo's instructions. Also, the fermata does not explicitly connect two notes of the same pitch, it only extends the length of the previous note, as we can see in the example below. Other examples are possible to find in the attachment.

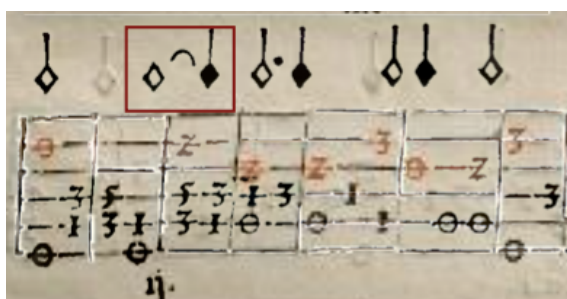


Fig. 38: Fragment from the intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz*- example of the use of fermata.

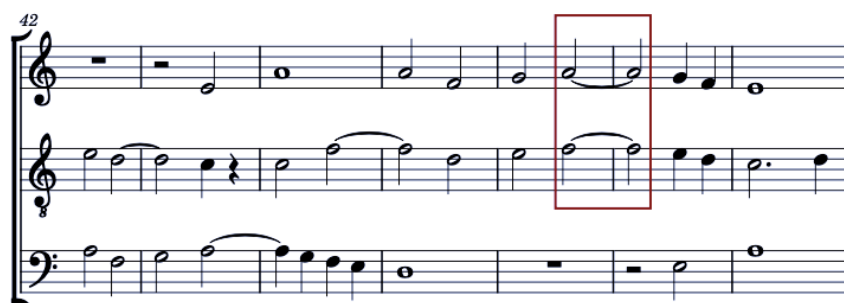


Fig. 39: Transcription of the fragment from the intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz*- example of the use of fermata.

115 Astrid Dawn, Espinoza. Juan Bermudo: "On Playing the Vihuela". Journal of the Lute Society of America, inc., volumes XXVIII-XXIX, 1995-1996, p. 63.

Vincenzo Galilei in his treatise *Fronimo* (1584) provides additional information concerning re-struck notes. On the example of *brevis* he suggests a general rule, implicating that we should strike the *brevis* again at the beginning of the measure¹¹⁶, especially in addition to keeping the “*harmonious consonances*” because it would not be possible to make it sound fully without the repercussion.¹¹⁷ Galilei points to certain risks:

“*But I say, indeed, that to repeat the note without reason and when it is not necessary would cause the refined ear no little annoyance; besides, it would conceal the imitations in the places where they exist and deprive many passages of lightness; ...*”¹¹⁸

An essential component of re-striking the notes is to preserve the sonority of the instrument. In the case of long note values, the sonority on a plucked instrument is very limited. Galilei points out this problem in the case of the repercussion of a note with an augmentation dot,¹¹⁹ although this reason for repetition of the cipher can be used more generally. Evidence of conscious sound prolongation can be demonstrated by the example of Fuenllana's intabulation *Benedictus de la Missa L'Homme armé* by Cristóbal de Morales. In the *altus* of this four-part piece appears repeated *cantus firmus*:

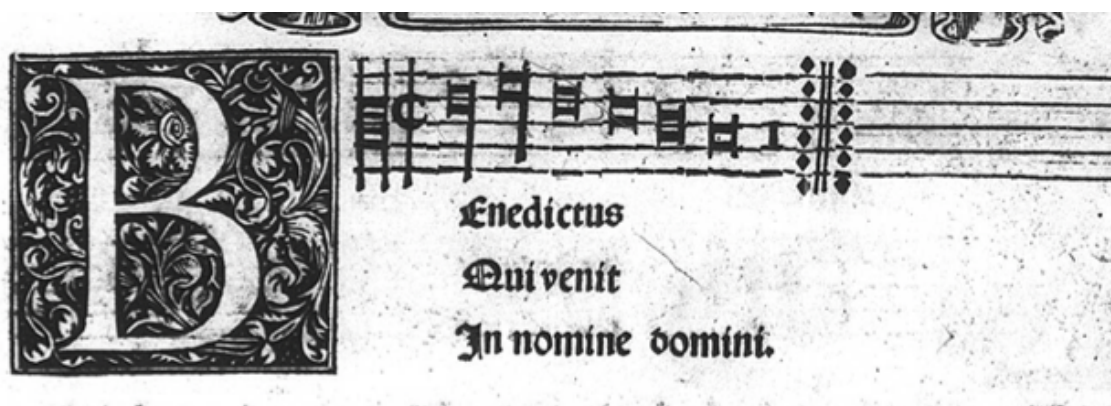


Fig. 40: Altus from *Benedictus de la Missa L'Homme armé*

116 Galilei, Vincenzo, and Carol MacClintock. *Fronimo: 1584 / Vincenzo Galilei; Translated and Edited by Carol MacClintock*. Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1985, p. 54.

117 Ibid., p. 58.

118 Ibid., p. 54.

119 Ibid., p. 55.

Already in the first bars of the intabulation we can observe that Fuenllana resolved this situation by re-striking the note with every bar line, which preserves the presence of the tone. Fuenllana decided to color the altus line, so altus is supposed to be sung in this case. This is another way of ensuring that the sound is prolonged on the vihuela.

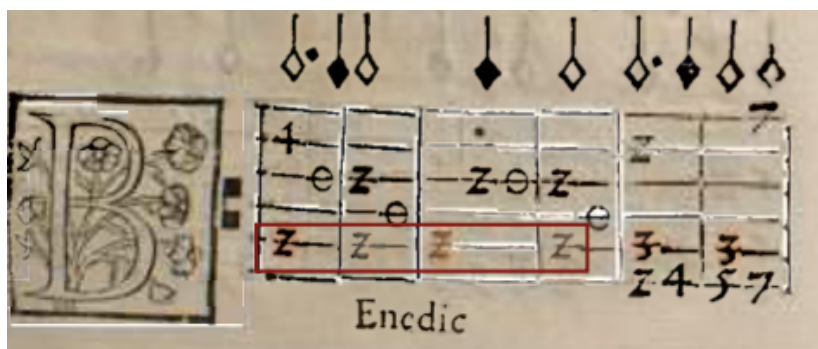


Fig. 41: Fragment of the intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa L'Homme armé* - repetition of the note in altus due to the longer value.



Fig. 42: Transcription of the fragment of the intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa L'Homme armé* - repetition of the note in altus due to the longer value.

In some cases the decision of the placement of the note being re-struck is necessary to adjust to the placement of the other voices and technical possibilities of the fingering. In this case, it may be worth considering placing the tone on a different string in a higher position to avoid technical difficulty, as we can see on the following example:

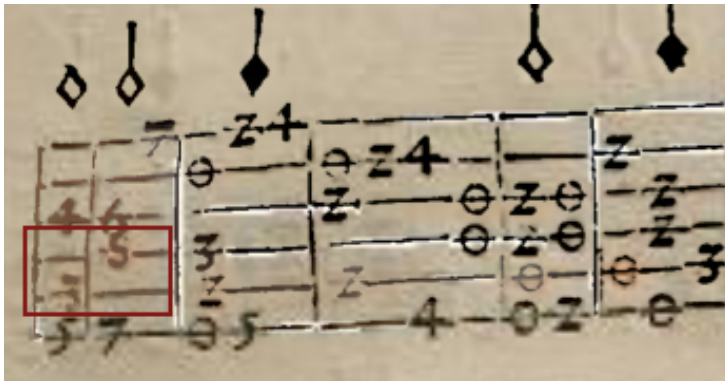


Fig. 43: Fragment of the intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa L'Homme armé* - Placement of the same note on the different string.

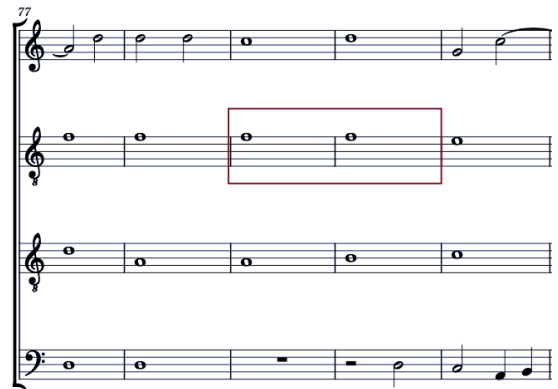


Fig. 44: Transcription of the fragment of the intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa L'Homme armé* - Placement of the same note on the different string.

In some instances, Fuenllana uses the re-striking technique to accentuate dissonance within the cadence. In the intabulation of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* we can encounter this case twice in the second half of the piece. From a practical point of view, Fuenllana divides the brevis into semibrevis with an augmentation dot and minima to emphasize the leading voice of the cadence.



Fig. 45: Transcription of the fragment of the intabulation of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* - first example of re-striking the note within the cadence



Fig. 46: Fragment of transcription of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* - first example of re-striking the note within the cadence



Fig. 47: Fragment of the intabulation of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* - first example of re-striking the note within the cadence



Fig. 48: Fragment of transcription of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* - second example of re-striking the note within the cadence

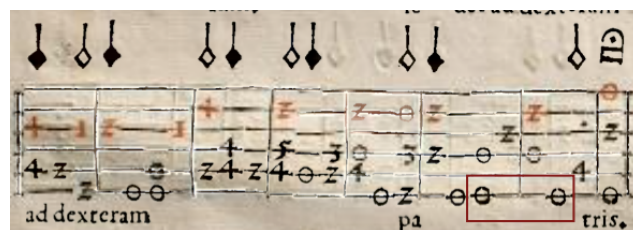


Fig. 49: Fragment of the intabulation of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* - second example of re-striking the note within the cadence



Fig. 50: Transcription of the fragment of the intabulation of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* - second example of re-striking the note within the cadence

The vocal line:

It is common practice for the text to appear in the intabulations of the vocal repertoire accompanied by the marked (colored) vocal line. The importance of preserving the sung text is demonstrated by this excerpt from the preface of Fuenllana's *Orphénica Lyra*:

*"It was my intention to give the words [of the works], as it seems to me that the words are the soul of any composition; for although a piece of music may have great merit, without the words it lacks real spirit. And as I have said I thought it better to give the words and to indicate that part which was the most suitable for singing, by putting it in red numerals. If the student of these works pays attention to this instruction, and to others which will be given later, he will be enabled to taste the delights of singing one of the parts of the work which he is playing."*¹²⁰

In the examples of Fuenllana's intabulations we can see that the choice of vocal part varies from piece to piece as it is already in the three examples mentioned above (*Benedictus de la Missa Mille regretz*, *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* and *Benedictus de la Missa L'Homme Armé*). In the case of the *Benedictus de la Missa L'Homme Armé*, the decision of coloring the *altus* is linked to the practical use for the sound extension of the *cantus firumus* (see above). In the other two examples, Fuenllana decided to color *bassus*. The reason for this decision may be related to the aesthetic aspect, or to the pitch of the vihuelist's voice itself. Other potential considerations may be pedagogical intention for better clarity and understanding of the polyphonic part. Bermudo mentions in the *Declaración de los instrumentos musicales*:

*"Some [players] want to recognize the voice-parts in the tablature, so that they can sing [along] on whichever part they like, or better enjoy the music, seeing how the parts fit together."*¹²¹

It is important to mention that Bermudo is not using the same way of marking the voice line as Fuenllana. Bermudo prefers the way of indicating the notated polyphonic parts above the tablature

120 Translation by Bal, J. *Fuenllana and the Transcription of Spanish Lute-Music*. *Acta Musicologica* 11, no. 1/2, 1939. p. 17. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.2307/932118>.

"Fue mi intencion poner les letra [a estas composturas], porque me parece que la letra es el anima de qualquiera compostura, pues aunque qualquier obra compuesta de musica sea buena, faltandole la letra parece que carece de verdadero spiritu. Por lo qual, como dicho es, me movi a ponerla, y a señalar una de las bozes que mas agradable fuese para poderse cantar, que es la de la cifra colorada. Pues teniendo cuenta con esta señal y con las que adelante se porman, el que de veras lo quisiere trabajar, sin duda podra gozar desta excellencia, que es cantar una boz de la compostura que tañere."

121 Astrid Dawn, Espinoza. *Juan Bermudo: "On Playing the Vihuela"*. *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, inc., volumes XXVIII-XXIX, 1995-1996, p. 63. *"Algunos desean cognoscer las bozes en la cifras, para yr cantando la boz que quisiesen, o para gozar mejor de la musica viendo como dan unas con otras"*

to avoid confusion.¹²² In some cases, Fuenllana also leaves the notated part above the tablature, as we can see on the example of intabulation of *Lamentaciones* by Cristóbal de Morales. In this example, the singing line is not a part of the intabulation. A voice line marked in this way appears especially in the case of intabulations of more than five voice polyphony to avoid increasing technical difficulty.¹²³



Fig. 51: Example of the intabulation of *Lamentaciones* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Orphénica Lyra* - the singing line as notation above the tablature.

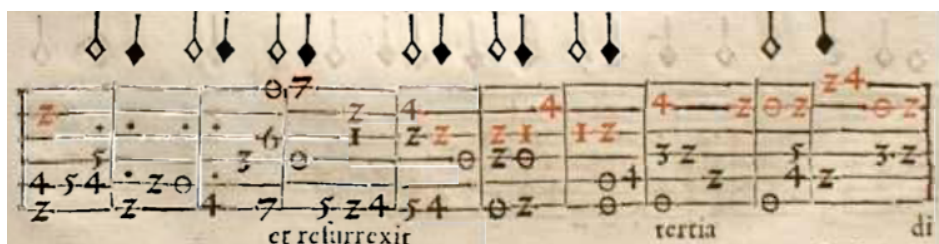


Fig. 52: Fragment of intabulation of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Orphénica Lyra* - example of colored bass part.

¹²² Astrid Dawn, Espinoza. *Juan Bermudo: "On Playing the Vihuela"*. Journal of the Lute Society of America, inc., volumes XXVIII-XXIX, 1995-1996, p. 63.

¹²³ For more information about singing line in Fuenllana's intabulations see: Bal, J. *Fuenllana and the Transcription of Spanish Lute-Music*. Acta Musicologica 11, no. 1/2 (1939): 16-27. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.2307/932118>

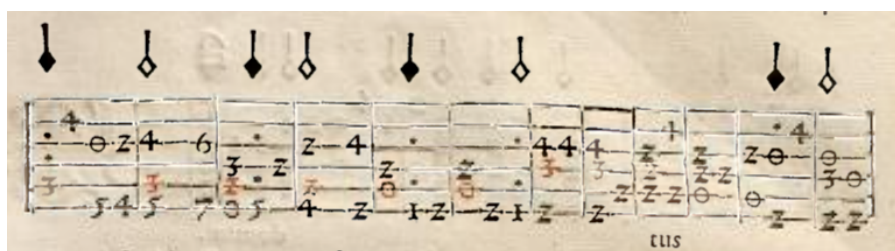


Fig. 53: Fragment of intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa L'Homme armé* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Oprhénica Lyra* - example of colored alto part.

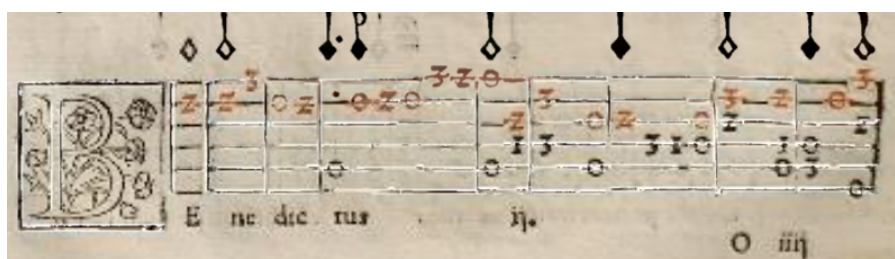


Fig. 54: Fragment of intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Oprhénica Lyra* - example of colored bass part.

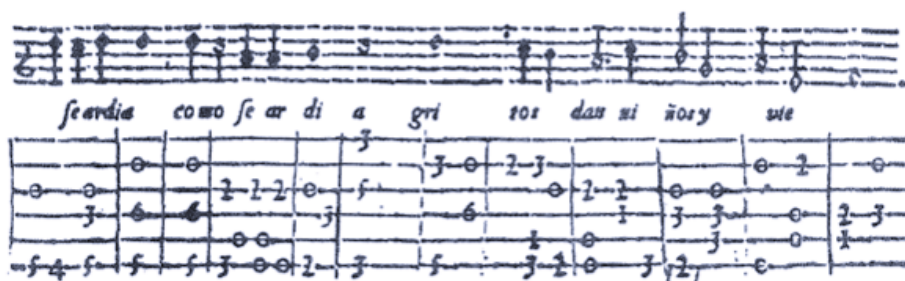


Fig. 55: Example of intabulation by Juan Bermudo - singing line as notation above the tablature.

• **Embellishments**

While ornamentation and improvisation has an important role in lute and vihuela performance, the Spanish process of intabulating sacred vocal pieces is different from that of other European countries. However, this distinction of use of diminutions by nation is not accurate. If we take the example of Spanish composers such as Diego Ortiz, Antonio Cabezón and also some of the variations on hymn melodies and a basse dances included in the books of other vihuela players, such as Luis de Narváez we see a wide variety in diminutions.¹²⁴ Speaking now mainly about the intabulations of sacred vocal pieces for plucked instruments, in comparison with almost wild diminutive intabulations of lutenists such as Vincenzo Capirola or Francesco Spinacino, the manner of the Spanish vihuelists is an almost ascetic and literal way of intabulation with a minimum of added diminutions. The overuse of ornamentation in intabulations of vocal pieces and adding too many tasteless *glossas*¹²⁵ is described in Bermudo's view as the aforementioned *Barbarismos musicales* (together with playing incorrect tempos, using the wrong accidentals in a mode).¹²⁶ Bermudo is not the only one who criticizes wild application of diminution. Gioseffo Zarlino in his *Institutioni harmoniche* (1558) makes a strong statement against singers who applied the diminutions which are wild and out of proportion and disturb the listeners and create many errors.¹²⁷ Generally speaking, the overuse of diminutions may cause a confusion within the piece.

Also Miguel de Fuenllana in his preface (fol.V) admonishes the use of excessive embellishment in intabulations:

"I do not always put glossas on composed works, because I am not of the opinion that with glossas or redobles¹²⁸ is hidden, as we see, that some people, content with their own opinion, they compose again the works that very good authors have composed with excellent artifice and good spirit surrounding the works with so many redobles, ordered at their will. I say, that if it were not offered by cadence, or at a time the composition itself would not require it, one should not in any way defraud the composition with such glossas or redobles,

124 Griffiths, John. *The Vihuela: performance practice, style and context. Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela: Historical Performance and Modern Interpretation*. Ed Victor Coelho. Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice. Cambridge: CUP, 1997. p. 163.

125 embellishments

126 Astrid Dawn, Espinoza. *Juan Bermudo: "On Playing the Vihuela"*. Journal of the Lute Society of America, inc., volumes XXVIII-XXIX, 1995-1996, p. 5.

127 Collins, Timothy A. *Reactions against the Virtuoso.' Instrumental Ornamentation Practice and the Stile Moderno*. International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music 32, no. 2, 2001. p. 142. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.2307/1562263>.

128 diminutions

*and as I have said, because of the cadence I have mentioned here, I do not put [redobles] in the works of this book, except to the case of cadences, or in the places that the composition demands it, as in the works themselves you will see.”*¹²⁹

Fuenllana's statement about “destroying already perfect polyphonic composition” can also be supported by an apocryphal anecdote from 1562, in which Josquin de Prez recounts his intolerance of embellishments:

*“When he heard a singer ornamenting one of his compositions, he went up to him and said: you ass, why do you add embellishments? If I had wanted them, I would have written them myself. If you wish to improve on finished compositions make your own, but leave mine unimproved.”*¹³⁰

If we want to use any kind of embellishment in an intabulated vocal piece, it is important that its use never gets in the way of clarity of the polyphony. As Fuenllana suggests, one of the suitable places is cadence, as we can see in following examples:

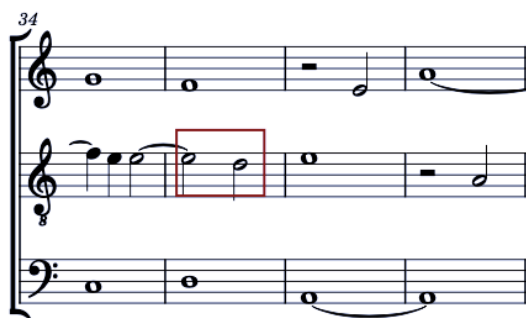


Fig. 56: Transcription of the fragment of the vocal original of *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz* by Cristóbal de Morales - example of diminution within the cadence.

129 “No pongo glosa todas veces en las obras compuestas, porque no soy de opinion que con glosas ni redobles se obscurezca la verdad de la compostura, como vemos que algunos contentos con toda su opinion, las obras que muy buenos authores han compuesto con excellente artificio y buen espiritu, puestas en sus manos las componen ellos de nuevo, cercandolas con no se que redobles, ordenados a su voluntad. Digo que sino fuese ofreciendole clausula, o en tiempo que la misma compositura diere lugar no se debe en otra manera defraudar la compositura con las semehantes glosas o redobles y como dicho tengo, por la clausula que aqui digo, yo no la pongo en las obras deste libro: salvo a clausular, o en los lugares que la compositura lo demanda, como en las mismas obras veras.”

130 Collins, Timothy A. *Reactions against the Virtuoso.’ Instrumental Ornamentation Practice and the Stile Moderno*. International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music 32, no. 2, 2001. p. 142. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.2307/1562263>

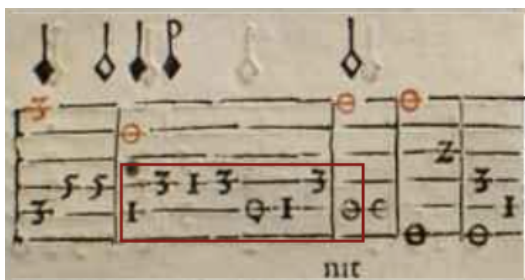


Fig. 57: Fragment of intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Oprhénica Lyra* - example of diminution within the cadence.

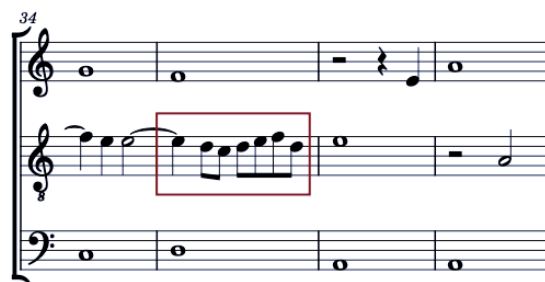


Fig. 58: Transcription of the fragment of intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Oprhénica Lyra* - example of diminution within the cadence.

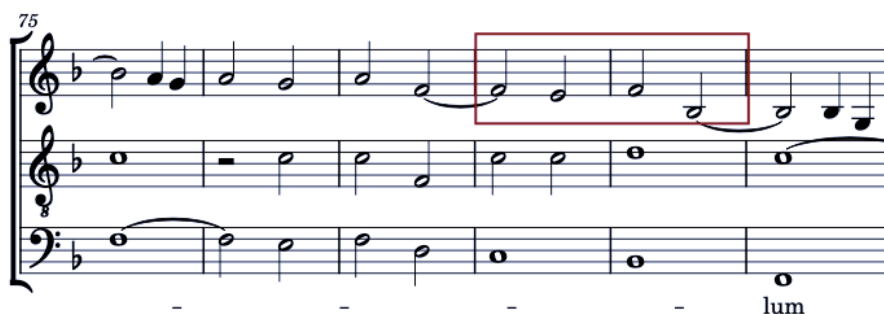


Fig. 59: Transcription of the fragment of the vocal original of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* by Cristóbal de Morales - example of diminution within the cadence.

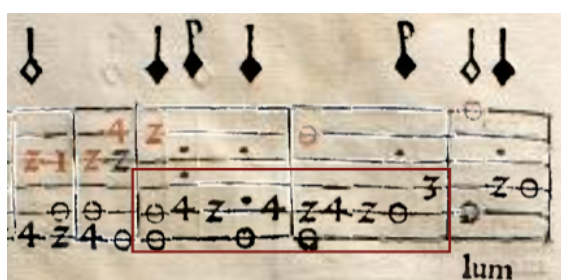


Fig. 60: Fragment of intabulation of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Oprhénica Lyra* - example of diminution within the cadence.



Fig. 61: Fragment of intabulation of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Oprhénica Lyra* - example of diminution within the cadence.

In some cases, diminutions also occur in out-of-cadence situations, when the composition requires it, as was mentioned by Fuenllana. On the musical instrument such as vihuela or lute, by adding diminution, it becomes easier to control dynamic possibilities of the melodic line, as may be the case of the beginning of the intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz*.



Fig. 62: Transcription of the fragment of the vocal original of *Benedictus de la Missa Mille regretz* by Cristóbal de Morales - example of diminution

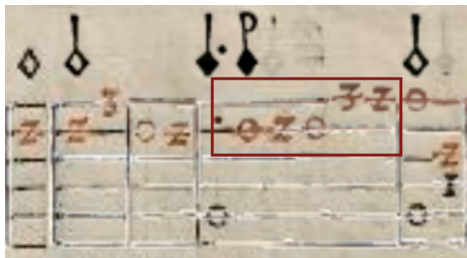


Fig. 63: Fragment of intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Mille regretz* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Ophénica Lyra* - example of diminution



Fig. 64: Transcription of the fragment of intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Mille regretz* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Ophénica Lyra* - example of diminution

As the number of polyphonic voices increases in accordance with the difficulty, the embellishments decreases, as we can trace through the chapters in *Orphénica Lyra*. What the actual performance practice was is discussable. As John Griffiths mentioned in the article *The vihuela: performance, practice, style and context*:

*“It must be remembered that all their writers are expressing their personal preference and taste and in so doing all are also tacitly acknowledging a practice of embellishing intabulated vocal pieces.”*¹³¹

131 Griffiths, John. *The Vihuela: performance practice, style and context. Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela: Historical Performance and Modern Interpretation*. Ed Victor Coelho. Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice. Cambridge: CUP, 1997. p. 164.

- **Musica ficta:**

Musica ficta is an essential concept in understanding historically informed performance practice. According to the Britannica dictionary, *musica ficta* can be defined as:

“...notes that were not included within the gamut first authorized by the Italian theorist Guido d’Arezzo in the early 11th century. The opposite of *musica ficta* was *musica recta*, which included only the recognized notes”¹³²

The use of *musica ficta* was highly dependent on the regional and personal taste of each school in the sixteenth century. In the Spanish style, *musica ficta* was used to introduce and apply accidentals and other nuances, resulting in an exotic, uniquely Spanish sound.¹³³ While in vocal notation *musica ficta* was generally left to the performer, instrumental tablatures constitute the largest body of evidence about the way sixteenth-century musicians applied *musica ficta* in actual practice. The precise right hand position indication on the fingerboard during the process of intabulating vocal pieces makes this regional use of *musica ficta* unquestionable. We can assume that this use of accidentals can be applied to vocal performance too. Some treatises on embellishment make clear that the same kinds of ornaments were meant to be sung as well as played. As Ganassi even mentioned, instrumentalists should imitate singers in every possible way, which in literal interpretation can be applied to the use of *musica ficta* as well.¹³⁴

To exemplify the use of *musica ficta* in the intabulations of Miguel de Fuenllana, I have chosen the following examples:

132 Karp, T. *Musica ficta*. Encyclopedia Britannica, December 5, 2007. Available from: <https://www.britannica.com/art/musica-ficta>.

133 Jacobs, Charles. *Spanish Renaissance Discussion of Musica Ficta*. Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 112, no. 4, 1968. p. 277. Available from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/985873>.

134 Brown, Howard Mayer. *Embellishment in Early Sixteenth-Century Italian Intabulations*. Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association 100, 1973. p. 69. Available from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/766176>.

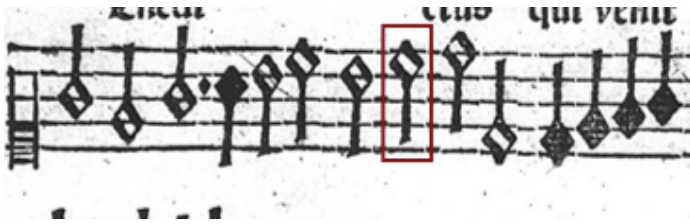


Fig. 65: Fragment of *Benedictus de la Missa L'Homme Armé* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Missarium* - example of musica ficta in *cantus*.



Fig. 66: Transcription of fragment of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Missarium* - example of musica ficta in *altus*.



Fig. 67: Fragment of intabulation of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Orphénica Lyra* - example of musica ficta in *altus*.



Fig. 68: Transcription of fragment of intabulation of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Orphénica Lyra* - example of musica ficta in *altus*.

10. Intabulation in my Own Practice

In order to test the acquired knowledge contained in the aforementioned chapters, I decided to intabulate *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales. It is a three part polyphony setting for altus, tenor and bassus. The vocal original can be found in *MS Capp.Sist.17* available in digitalized form by *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*.¹³⁵



Fig. 69: *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17)

¹³⁵ See https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Capp.Sist.17

Following the instructions by Juan Bermudo, the first step will be to decide which of the seven drawn vihuelas the intabulation will be for. My first decision was based on Bermudo's recommendation to determine the position according to the lowest note of the composition, which is F in this case. According to this information, I will intabulate the *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* for *vihuela de Fefaut*.

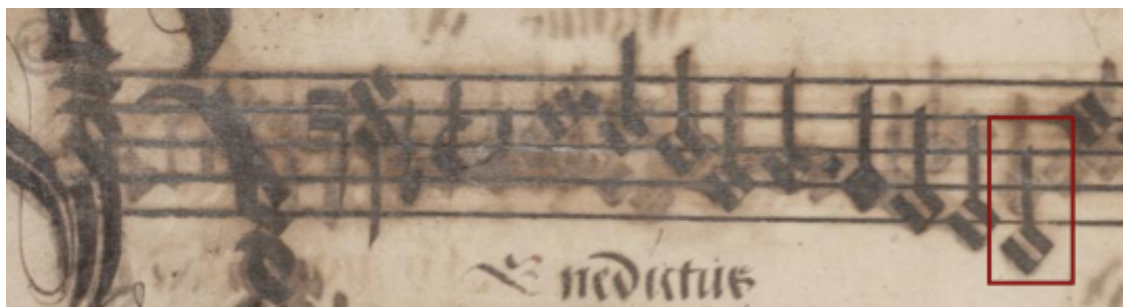


Fig. 70: Fragment of *bassus* from *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17) - the lowest tone



Fig. 71: Transcription of fragment of *bassus* from *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17) - the lowest tone

At this point it is important to put the music from vice parts into the score for better orientation. The placement of bar lines also serves this purpose.

In the case of the intabulation for *vihuela de Fefaut* we can observe that the first tone in tenor would be placed on the first open string. This is a promising start for this instabulation, given that it allows for the player to maintain as many open strings as possible, following the advice of Bermudo.



Fig. 72: Transcribed fragment of *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17)

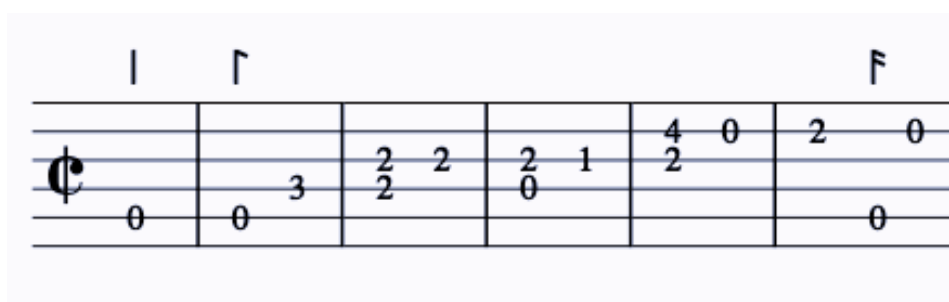


Fig. 73: Fragment of intabulation for *vihuela de Fefaut* from *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17)

This intention of maintaining as many open strings as possible and using simple fingerings in the left hand was quickly disproven by the inability to maintain the dissonances. In order to keep the sonority and understanding of the voice leading it became required to place the intabulation in a high position (7th fret up) on the lowest strings. Because the fingering became too complicated, I then decided to change the instrument for which the piece should be intabulated.

Instead, I followed another of Bermudo's suggestions to place the intabulation onto the vihuela according to the number of notes in the composition. As *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* has a total of 16 notes, we should place the lowest note on the second or third fret of the sixth course. This allows us to follow the drawn example of *vihuela de Desolre*. In this case the first tone of the tenor part would be placed on the third fret of the second string.

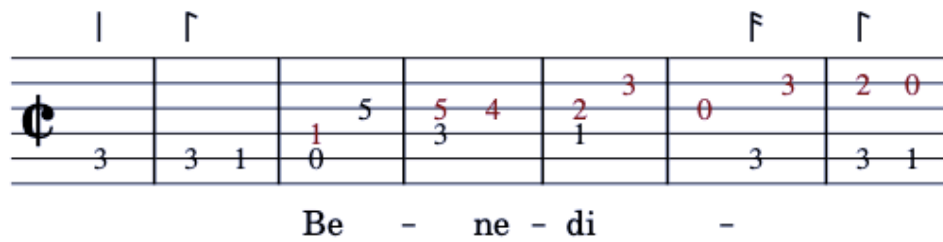


Fig. 74: Fragment of intabulation for *vihuela de Desolre* from *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17)

Given the lack of simple solution for intabulating this particular piece on vihuela, the final decision to place it in vihuela de Desolre seems to be the most appropriate choice.

Points of interest in my own intabulation process:

- Re-striking of dotted notes of notes of longer values
- The vocal line
- Embellishment
- Musica ficta

- Re-striking of dotted notes of notes of longer values

In the intabulation of the *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* I decided to follow the combination of advice given by Bermudo and Galilei. In the case of longer values and longer values with an augmentation dot (brevis and semibrevis), I am re-striking the note after the bar line. In all other cases, I decided not to repeat the strike unless it was necessary in order to maintain dissonances.



Fig. 75: Fragment of *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17) - re-striking the notes of longer values with augmentation dot

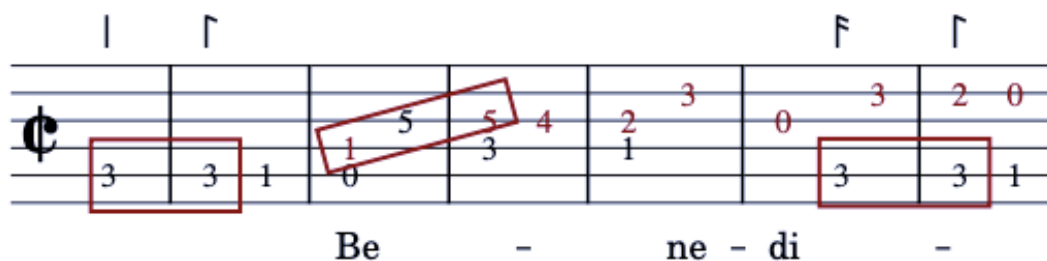


Fig. 76: Fragment of intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17) - re-striking the notes of longer values with augmentation dot

In the third and fourth bar of the aforementioned example, I placed the second re-struck note on a different string in order to maintain the dissonance between the *bass* and *tenor* voices.

- **The vocal line**

As this intabulated piece is equally balanced in the polyphonic voicing, I was able to choose any voice as a vocal line without any technical limitations for the vihuela (as it was in the case of the intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa L'Homme Armé* by Cristóbal de Morales intabulated by Miguel de Fuenllana). I decided to select the *bassus* as a vocal line largely due to the fact that I am collaborating with a bass-baritone singer and this intabulation will be later performed with him.

In order to use the intabulation in practice, it was important to correctly allocate the text of *Benedictus*.¹³⁶ The facsimile offers only an approximate suggestion, and therefore the placement of the text may be up to the performer's interpretation. Following the guidelines of strong and weak syllables, it was necessary to decide several options with which to repeat the text, especially in the places with long melismas. This is the first step of the intabulation in which I relied on the use of my own vihuela to play the intabulation. The placement of the text in a comfortable manner required practical examination with the singer. The knowledge of the text setting is essential in my understanding and practice of the piece in order to collaborate successfully and convey the meaning of the text using the vihuela.¹³⁷

The figure displays two staves of musical notation for a vihuela. The first staff begins with a C-clef and a common time signature. The notation consists of numbers (0-5) placed on the lines and spaces of the staff, representing fret positions. Below the staff, the text 'Be - ne - di - ctus be - ne - di -' is written, with hyphens indicating long melismas. The second staff continues the notation, starting with a '12' above the first measure. The text below the second staff is '- ctus be - ne - di - ctus be - ne -'. The notation includes various accidentals and fingerings, with some numbers in red ink.

Fig. 77: Fragment of intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17) - marked vocal line in *bassus* with emphasis on repeating the text due long melismas.

¹³⁶ *Benedictus, qui venit in nomine Domini* (Blessed one he who came in the name of the Lord)

¹³⁷ I would like to thank Jaap van der Wel for valuable advices within this part of the process intabulation.

- **Embellishments**

Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan is a piece containing many dissonances and very clear polyphonic lines. Following the instructions by Miguel de Fuenllana and Juan Bermudo, I decided to ornament only one cadential point in order to maintain the sound of the vihuela. It should be mentioned that during the performance, small unwritten ornaments such as *trills*, modest diminutions within the cadences, etc additionally may be added.



Fig. 78: Fragment of trascription of *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17) - cadential point without ornamentation.

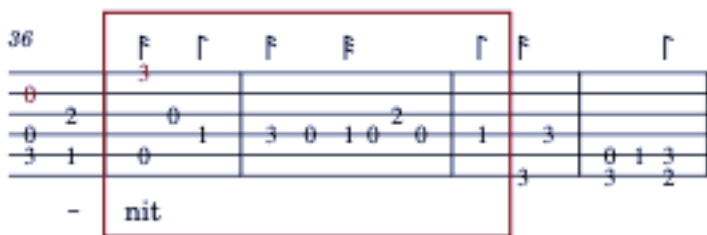


Fig. 79: Fragment of intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17) - cadential point with ornamentation



Fig. 80: Transcription of fragment of intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17) - cadential point with ornamentation

- **Musica ficta**

In order to keep the dissonances and imitative voice leading, there were not so many options in which the application of *musica ficta* would be appropriate within this intabulated piece. As my intention was not to make the music sound even more “Spanish” as was the common practice in 16th-century Spain, the reason for my minimal use of *musica ficta* is most likely due to the Europeanized aural customs that I have been trained with within my own performance practice.

It is important to mention that this intabulation exemplifies the use of instructions contained in the previous chapters. Some elements may differ in actual performance practice. The main point of discussion is the re-striking of the note, which may work differently when performing the intabulation as a solo piece as when collaborating with a singer.

Conclusion

Bermudo's methodology has allowed me to expand my applied knowledge of intabulation, both in my teaching and performance as a vihuela player. My hope is to bring this structured methodology into the pedagogical canon in order to inform the next generations of historically informed musicians. The aim of this thesis is to provide readers with a more comprehensive understanding of the Spanish methods of intabulating sacred vocal polyphonic music, with a focus on Bermudo's *Declaración de los instrumentos musicales*.

Through the process of comparing the original vocal pieces by Cristóbal de Morales to the intabulated version included in Fuenllana's *Orphénica Lyra*, it was possible to discern the nuances not described by Juan Bermudo, such as the use of *musica ficta* and/or embellishments. Intabulated pieces are an essential source of musical practice, providing us with an important historical context of 16th-century polyphony music in Spain. By comparing the lesser known "Spanish school" with the florid "Italian school" of intabulation, we can observe their differences, particularly regarding the use of embellishments. In the case of the vihuela intabulation of sacred vocal music, it is clear in the notation that a singer or another instrument could be included in the performance. In contrast to the "Italian school", the lack of diminutions in Spanish vihuela intabulations allows the singer(s) to orient themselves better in the polyphonic texture of the piece.

In the example of *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* originally by Cristóbal de Morales, I experienced first-hand the process of intabulation informed from the following primary sources: *Declaración de los instrumentos musicales* by Juan Bermudo, *Il Fronimo* by Vincenzo Galilei, *Orphénica Lyra* by Miguel de Fuenllana, and both volumes of Morales's books of masses.

The most useful result of this thesis for my own practical vihuela playing is the newfound ability to employ the seven drawn vihuelas suggested by Bermudo to inform my own personal intabulation method. Prior to this exploration of literature, I did not have the tools necessary to intabulate certain pieces on my vihuela without previous transposition, thus limiting my repertoire.

Another important result of this research has been obtaining a more comprehensive understanding of the historical context during the time of the vihuela. This has broadened my musical experience and allowed a fuller appreciation of the music in 16th-century Spain.

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Fig. 37: Transcription of the fragment of the intabulated version from *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz* - example of note with the augmentation dot (without re-striking)

Fig. 38: Fragment from the intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz* - example of the use of fermata.

Fig. 39: Transcription of the fragment from the intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz* - example of the use of fermata.

Fig. 40: *Altus* from *Benedictus de la Missa L'Homme armé*

Fig. 41: Fragment of the intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa L'Homme armé* - repetition of the note in *altus* due to the longer value.

Fig. 42: Transcription of the fragment of the intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa L'Homme armé* - repetition of the note in *altus* due to the longer value.

Fig. 43: Fragment of the intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa L'Homme armé* - Placement of the same note on the different string.

Fig. 44: Transcription of the fragment of the intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa L'Homme armé* - Placement of the same note on the different string.

Fig. 45: Transcription of the fragment of the intabulation of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* - first example of re-striking the note within the cadence.

Fig. 46: Fragment of transcription of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* - first example of re-striking the note within the cadence.

Fig. 47: Fragment of the intabulation of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* - first example of re-striking the note within the cadence.

Fig. 48: Fragment of transcription of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* - second example of re-striking the note within the cadence

Fig. 49: Fragment of the intabulation of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* - second example of re-striking the note within the cadence

Fig. 50: Transcription of the fragment of the intabulation of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* - second example of re-striking the note within the cadence

Fig. 51: Example of the intabulation of *Lamentaciones* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Oprhénica Lyra* - the singing line as notation above the tablature.

Fig. 52: Fragment of intabulation of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Oprhénica Lyra* - example of colored bass part.

Fig. 53: Fragment of intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa L'Homme armé* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Oprhénica Lyra* - example of colored alto part.

Fig. 54: Fragment of intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Oprhénica Lyra* - example of colored bass part.

Fig. 55: Example of intabulation by Juan Bermudo - singing line as notation above the tablature.

Fig. 56: Transcription of the fragment of the vocal original of *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz* by Cristóbal de Morales - example of diminution within the cadence.

Fig. 57: Fragment of intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Oprhénica Lyra* - example of diminution within the cadence.

Fig. 58: Transcription of the fragment of intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Oprhénica Lyra* - example of diminution within the cadence.

Fig. 59: Transcription of the fragment of the vocal original of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* by Cristóbal de Morales - example of diminution within the cadence.

Fig. 60: Fragment of intabulation of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Oprhénica Lyra* - example of diminution within the cadence.

Fig. 61: Fragment of intabulation of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Oprhénica Lyra* - example of diminution within the cadence.

Fig. 62: Transcription of the fragment of the vocal original of *Benedictus de la Missa Mille regretz* by Cristóbal de Morales - example of diminution

Fig. 63: Fragment of intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Mille regretz* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Oprhénica Lyra* - example of diminution

Fig. 64: Transcription of the fragment of intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Mille regretz* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Oprhénica Lyra* - example of diminution

Fig. 65: Fragment of *Benedictus de la Missa L'Homme Armé* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Missarium* - example of musica ficta in *cantus*.

Fig. 66: Transcription of fragment of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Missarium* - example of musica ficta in *altus*.

Fig. 67: Fragment of intabulation of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Orphénica Lyra* - example of musica ficta in *altus*.

Fig. 68: Transcription of fragment of intabulation of *Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis* by Cristóbal de Morales included in *Orphénica Lyra* - example of musica ficta in *altus*.

Fig. 69: *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17)

Fig. 70: Fragment of *bassus* from *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17) - the lowest tone

Fig. 71: Transcription of fragment of *bassus* from *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17) - the lowest tone

Fig. 72: Transcribed fragment of *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17)

Fig. 73: Fragment of intabulation for *vihuela de Fefaut* from *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17)

Fig. 74: Fragment of intabulation for *vihuela de Desolre* from *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17)

Fig. 75: Fragment of *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17) - re-striking the notes of longer values with augmentation dot

Fig. 76: Fragment of intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17) - re-striking the notes of longer values with augmentation dot

Fig. 77: Fragment of intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17) - marked vocal line in *bassus* with emphasis on repeating the text due long melismas.

Fig. 78: Fragment of trascription of *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17) - cadential point without ornamentation.

Fig. 79: Fragment of intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17) - cadential point with ornamentation

Fig. 80: Transcrip tion of fragment of intabulation of *Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan* by Cristóbal de Morales (MS Capp. Sist.17) - cadential point with ornamentation

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Appendix

1. Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz by Cristóbal de Morales

- Vocal original - fascimile from *Missarum*
- Transcription of the vocal original
- Intabulation by Miguel de Fuenllana
- Transcription of the intabulation

2. Crucifixus de la Missa Tu es vas electionis by Cristóbal de Morales

- Vocal original - fascimile from *Missarum*
- Transcription of the vocal original
- Intabulation by Miguel de Fuenllana
- Transcription of the intabulation

3. Benedictus de la Missa L'Homme Armé by Cristóbal de Morales

- Vocal original - fascimile from *Missarum*
- Transcription of the vocal original
- Intabulation by Miguel de Fuenllana
- Transcription of the intabulation

4. Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan

- Vocal original - fascimile from *Ms. Capp. Sist. 17*
- Transcription of the vocal original
- My own intabulated version
- Transcription of the intabulation



Benedictus qui
venit benedictus
qui venit in nomine domini ii
in nomine domini domi ni

Benedictus tacet.

Benedictus tacet.



Benedictus qui venit ii benedi
ctus qui venit ii in nomine domini
in nomine domini

Benedictus tacet.

Osanna vt supra



Benedictus qui venit benedic
tus qui venit in nomine domini
in nomine domini

Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regretz

transcription from Missarum

Cristóbal de Morales

Be - ne - di - ctus qui ve - nit

9

be - ne - di - ctus qui

17

ve - nit be - ne - di - ctus qui

26

- ctus qui ve - nit

34

- nit in no - mi -

43

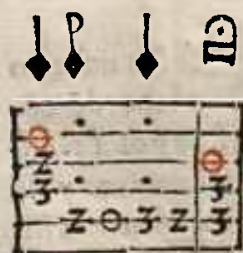
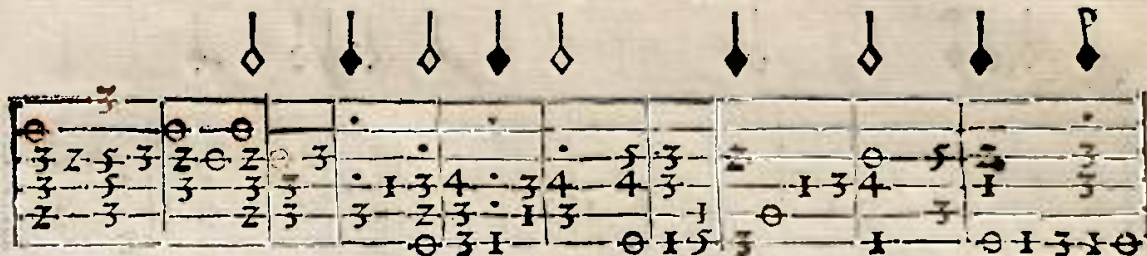
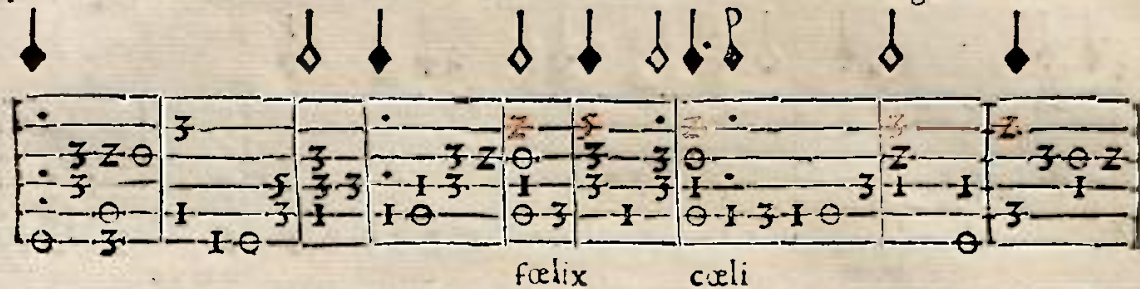
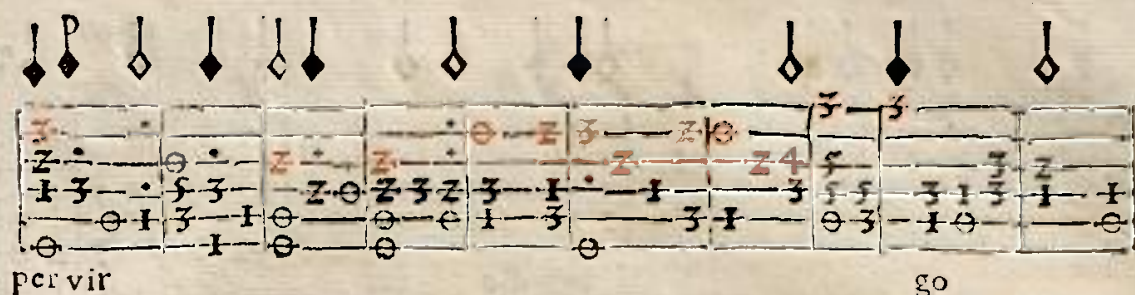
ne Do - mi - ni in no - mi - ne Do -

51

mi - ni in no - mi - ne Do - mi -

60

- ni in no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni



Benedictusa tres de la missa de
Mila regres. Morales. .F.



benedic tus qui venit

bene dictus qui ve

nit in no mi ne do mini

in no mi ne

domini in no mi ne domine.

Siguense los ocho tonos en sabordõ cõpuestos por Frãncisco Guerrero:

primero tono.

Donce ponam inimicos tuos escabelum pe dum tuo

Benedictus de la Missa Mille Regrets

transcription from Orphénica Lyra
for vihuela de Are

Cristóbal de Morales

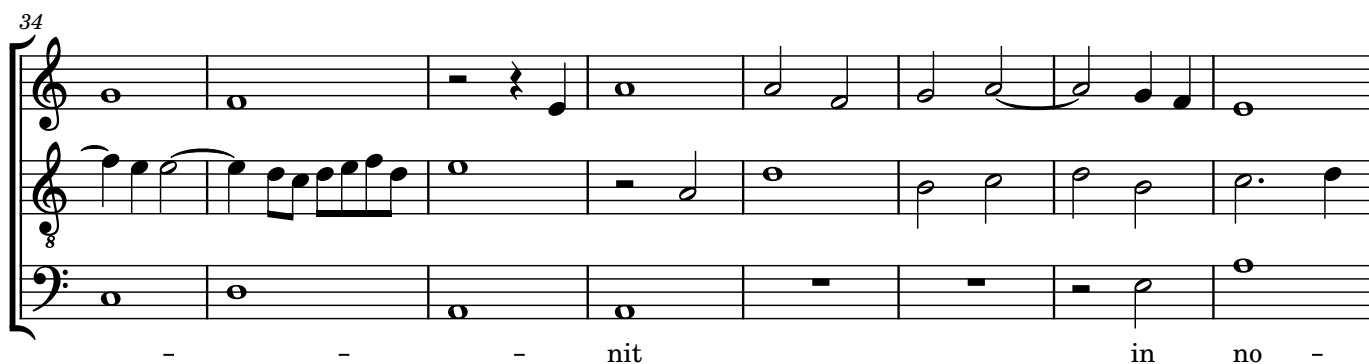
Be - ne - di - ctus - qui - ve -

9
- nit be - ne - di - ctus qui

17
ve - - - nit be - ne - di -

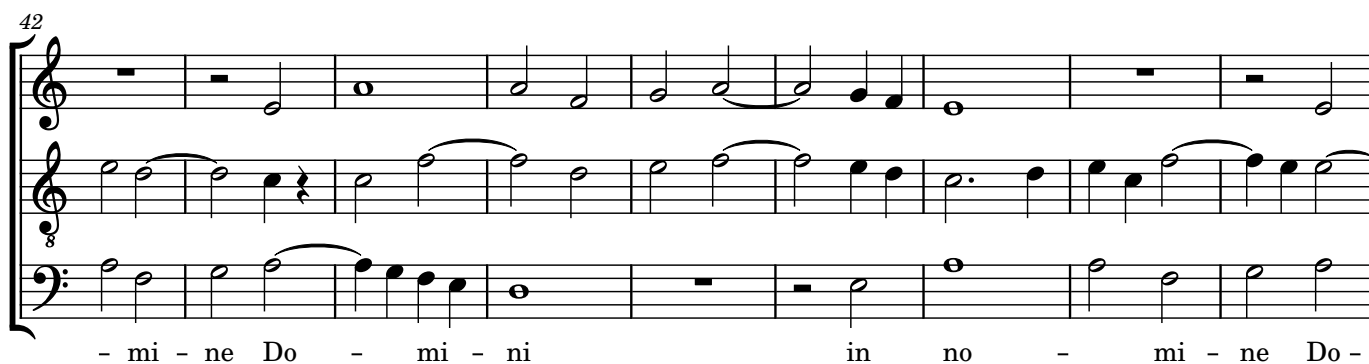
26
- ctus qui ve - - -

34



- - - nit in no -

42



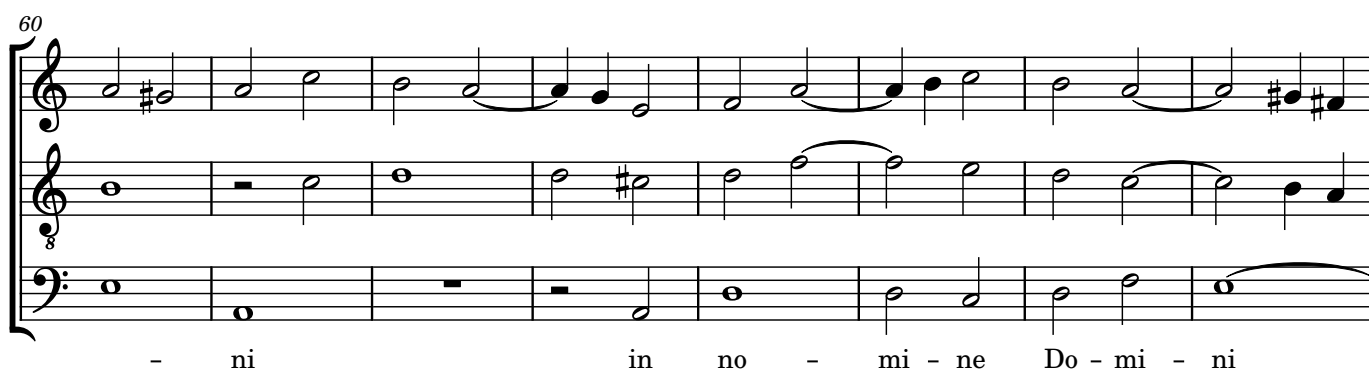
- mi - ne Do - mi - ni in no - mi - ne Do -

51



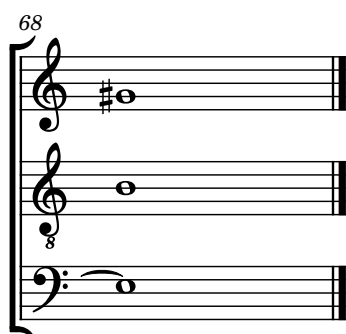
mi - ni in no - mi - ne Do - mi - -

60



- ni in no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni

68



- ni in no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni



Crucifixus etiam pro nobis
sub pontio Pilato
passus et sepultus est.
Et resur-
xit tertia die secundum scriptu-
ras. Et ascendit in
celum ij
Et ascendit in ce-
lum sedet ad dexte-
ram pa-
tris.

Crucifixus Tacet.



Crucifixus etiam pro nobis
sub pontio Pilato
passus et sepultus est.
Et resur-
xit tertia die secundum
scripturas. Et ascendit in celum
Et ascendit in ce-
lum sedet ad dexte-
ram pa-
tris. ij



Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub pontio Pila-
to passus et sepultus est. ij Et resur-
xit tertia die secundum scripturas.
Et ascendit in celum ij Et ascendit
in celum sedet ad dexteram patris. ij

Crucifixus de Tu es vas electionis - Credo

(Transcription from Missarum II)

in F

Cristóbal de Morales

First system of musical notation, measures 1-8. The music is in F major (one flat) and 4/4 time. It features a vocal line in the treble clef and a lute line in the bass clef. The vocal line begins with a half note F4, followed by a half note G4, and then a half note A4. The lute line begins with a half note F4, followed by a half note G4, and then a half note A4. The system ends with a half note A4 in the vocal line and a half note F4 in the lute line.

Second system of musical notation, measures 9-16. The music continues in F major and 4/4 time. The vocal line begins with a half note G4, followed by a half note A4, and then a half note B4. The lute line begins with a half note G4, followed by a half note A4, and then a half note B4. The system ends with a half note B4 in the vocal line and a half note G4 in the lute line.

Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro -

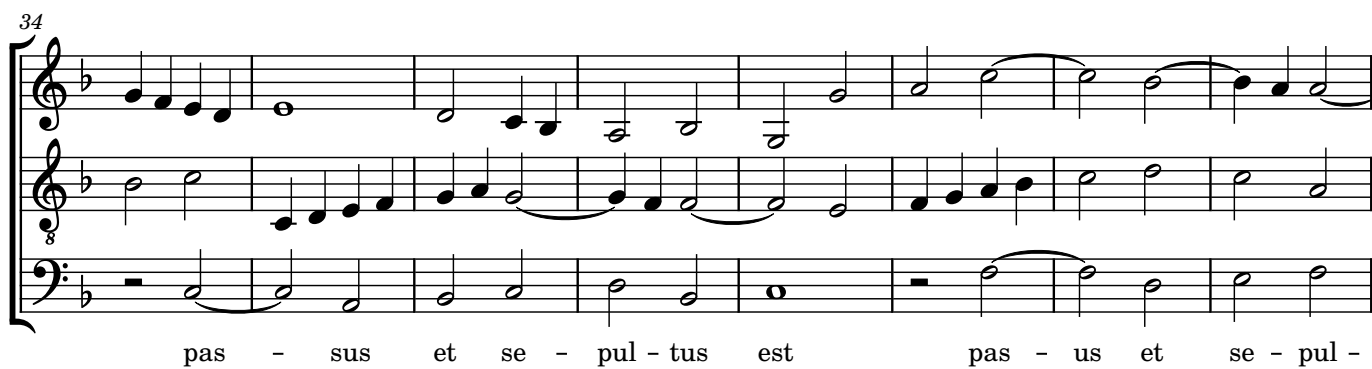
Third system of musical notation, measures 17-24. The music continues in F major and 4/4 time. The vocal line begins with a half note C5, followed by a half note D5, and then a half note E5. The lute line begins with a half note C5, followed by a half note D5, and then a half note E5. The system ends with a half note E5 in the vocal line and a half note C5 in the lute line.

no - bis sub Pon - ti - o Pi -

Fourth system of musical notation, measures 25-32. The music continues in F major and 4/4 time. The vocal line begins with a half note F5, followed by a half note G5, and then a half note A5. The lute line begins with a half note F5, followed by a half note G5, and then a half note A5. The system ends with a half note A5 in the vocal line and a half note F5 in the lute line.

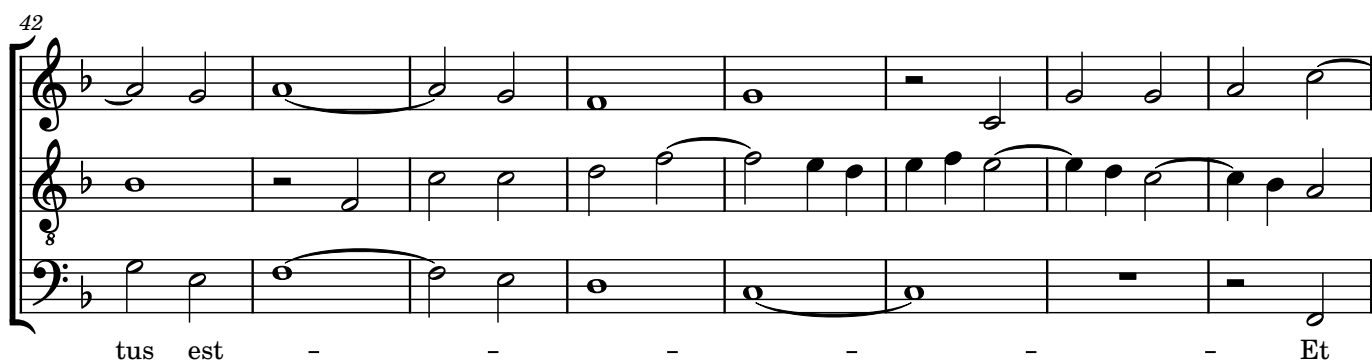
la - - - to

34



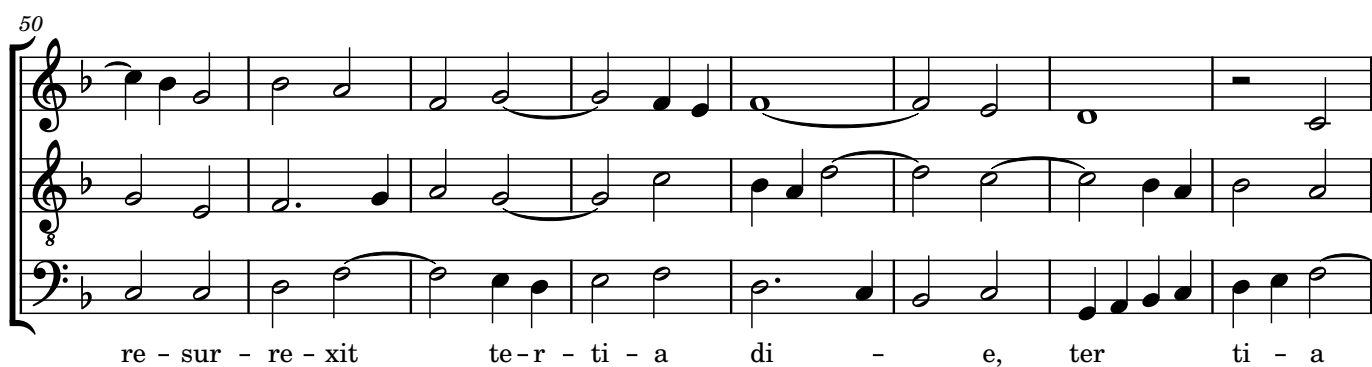
pas - sus et se - pul - tus est pas - us et se - pul -

42



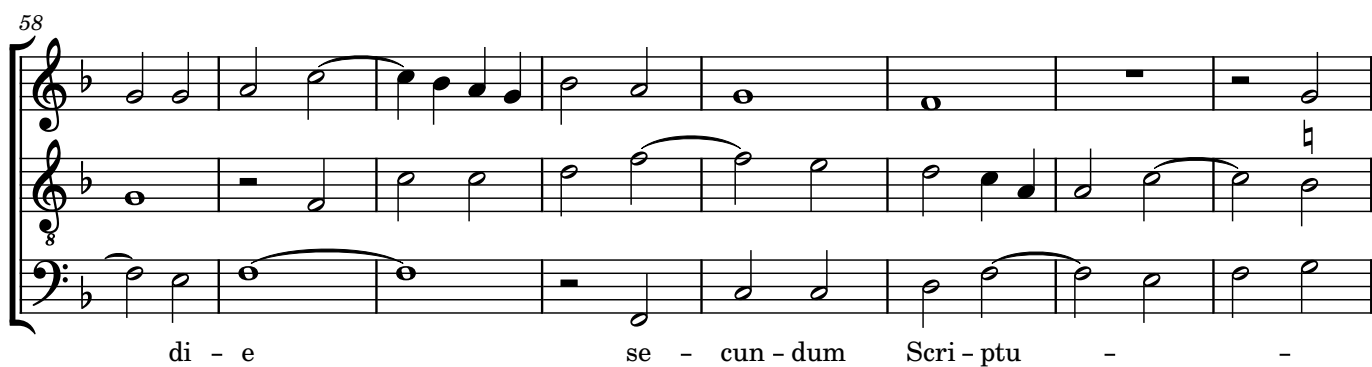
tus est - - - - - Et

50



re - sur - re - xit te - r - ti - a di - e, ter ti - a

58



di - e se - cun - dum Scri - ptu -

66



- - - ras. Et a - scen - dit in cae -

75

- - - - lum et a - scen -

83

dit in cae - - - lum et a - scen - dit

91

in cae - - - lum se -

99

det ad dex - te - ram - Pa - tris, se - det ad dex - te - ram

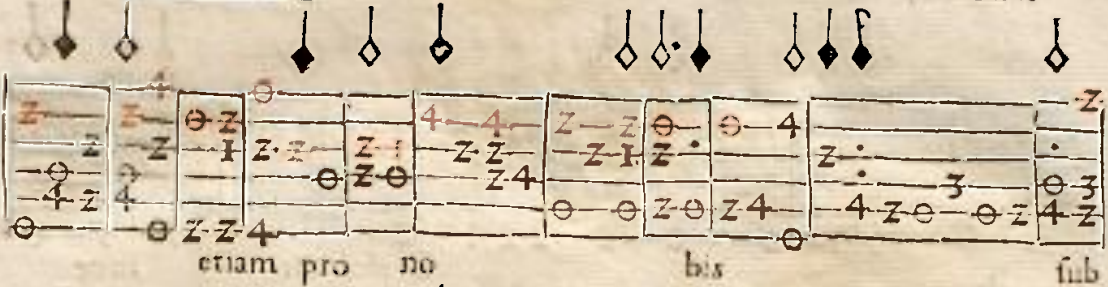
107

Pa - - - - tris.

Tres d
la mulla
rues vas
electiōis
morales



Rucifixus



etiam pro

no

bis

sub

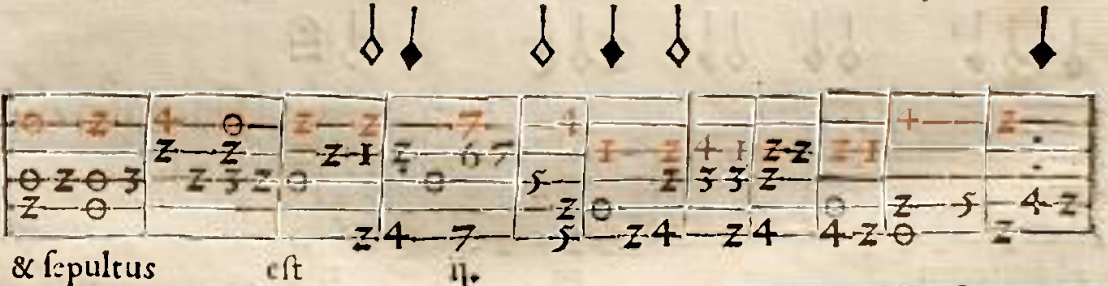


pontio

Pila

to

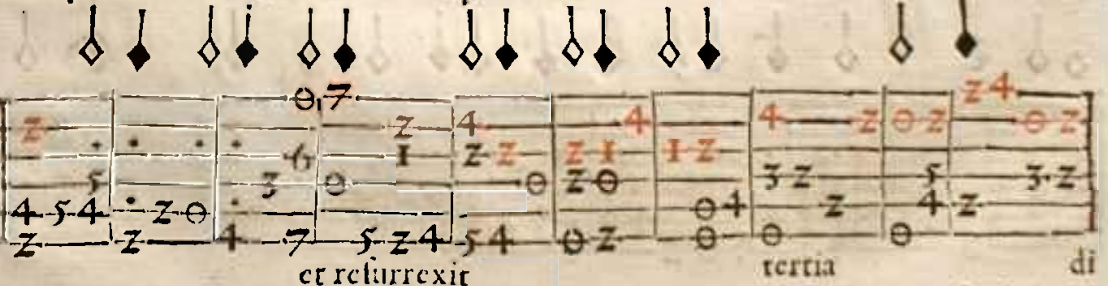
passus



& sepultus

est

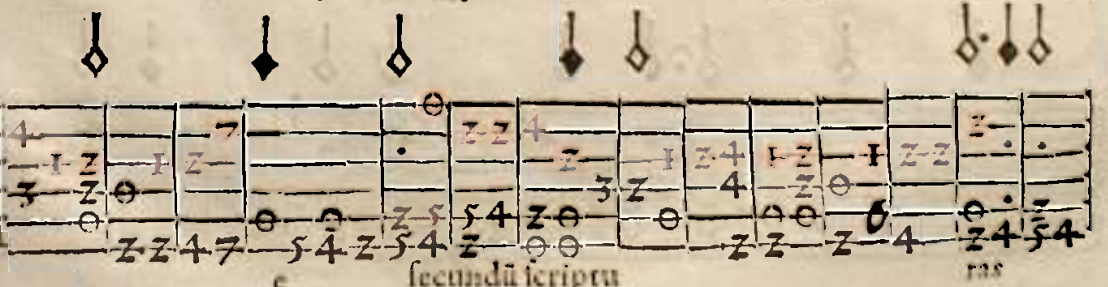
q̃



et resurrexit

tertia

di



secundū scriptu

B ij

et ascendit in cē lum

ij. Et ascendit in cē

lum, se det ad dexteram pa tris, Seder

ad dexteram pa tris.

Fantasia del
author.

Crucifixus de Tu es vas electionis - Credo

(Transcription from Orphénica Lyra)

in F

Cristóbal de Morales

The first system of the musical score is in F major, 4/4 time. It consists of three staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano line (treble clef, marked with an 8), and a bass line (bass clef). The vocal line begins with a half rest, followed by a series of eighth and sixteenth notes. The piano and bass lines provide harmonic support with various note values and rests.

Cru - ci - fi -

The second system of the musical score continues the composition. It features the same three-staff structure. The vocal line has a half rest at the beginning of the system. The piano and bass lines continue their accompaniment. The system concludes with a half rest in the vocal line.

- xus a - ti - am pro - no - bis

The third system of the musical score continues the composition. It features the same three-staff structure. The vocal line begins with a half rest. The piano and bass lines continue their accompaniment. The system concludes with a half rest in the vocal line.

sub Pon-ti - o Pi - la - to

The fourth system of the musical score continues the composition. It features the same three-staff structure. The vocal line begins with a half rest. The piano and bass lines continue their accompaniment. The system concludes with a half rest in the vocal line.

pas - sus et se - pul - tus est pas - sus et se - pul - tus

43

est. Et re-sur - re-xit ter - ti-a

54

di - e, ter - ti-a di - e se - cun-dum Scri-ptu -

64

- - - ras. Et a - scen - dit in cae -

75

- - - lum et a - scen - dit in

84

cae - - lum et a - scen-dit in cae - -

95

lum se - det ad dex - te - ram - Pa - tris, se - det ad

105

dex - te - ram Pa - tris.

Christosorus Morales

Benedictus qui venit
in nomine domi ni. ij in nomi
ne do mini ij
in nomine domini.

Benedictus qui venit
ij
in nomine do mini ij
in nomine do mini
in nomine domini.
domini. ~

Abome Arme.

Fo. 123

Benedictus
Qui venit
In nomine domini.

Benedictus qui ve nit ij
in nomine do mini.
in nomine domi ni.
in nomi ne domi ni.

Benedictus de la Missa L'Homme Armé

transcription from Missarum

Cristóbal de Morales

First system of the musical score, measures 1-8. The score is in 4/4 time and features four staves: two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto) and two piano staves (Right and Left Hand). The lyrics "Be - - - ne - - -" are written under the vocal staves. The piano accompaniment consists of a melodic line in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.

Second system of the musical score, measures 9-17. The score continues with the same four-staff format. The lyrics "di - - - ctus" are written under the vocal staves. The piano accompaniment continues with the same melodic and bass lines.

Third system of the musical score, measures 18-25. The score continues with the same four-staff format. The lyrics "qui ve - - -" are written under the vocal staves. The piano accompaniment continues with the same melodic and bass lines.

27

8 nit

36

8 in no

45

8 mi ne

54

8 Do - - - - -

63

8 - - - mi - ni

72

8 Do - - - - -

81

8

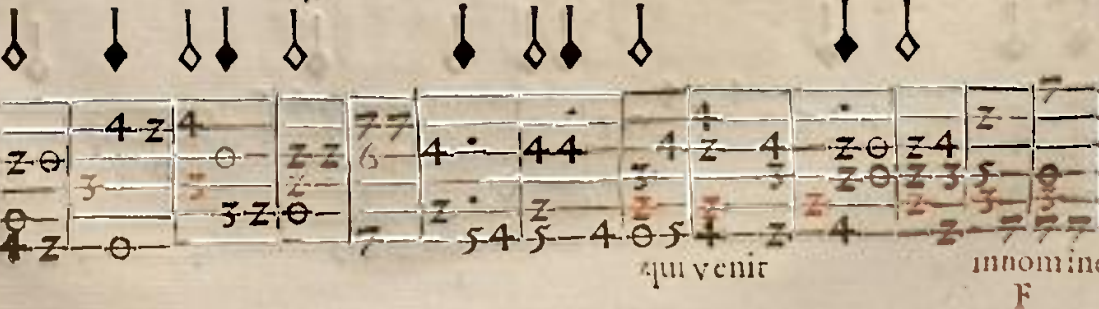
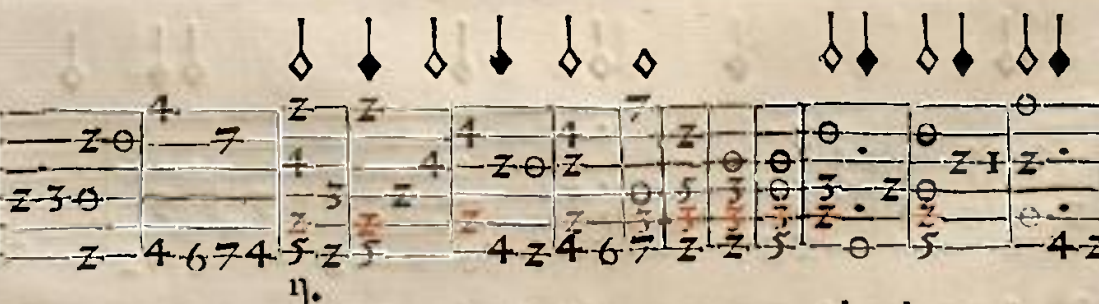
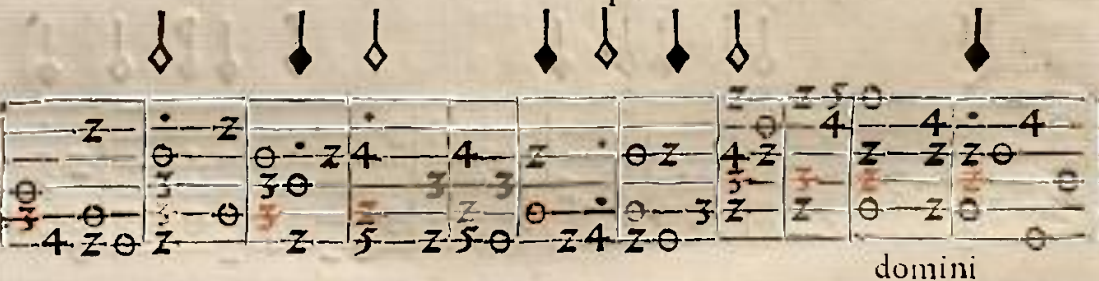
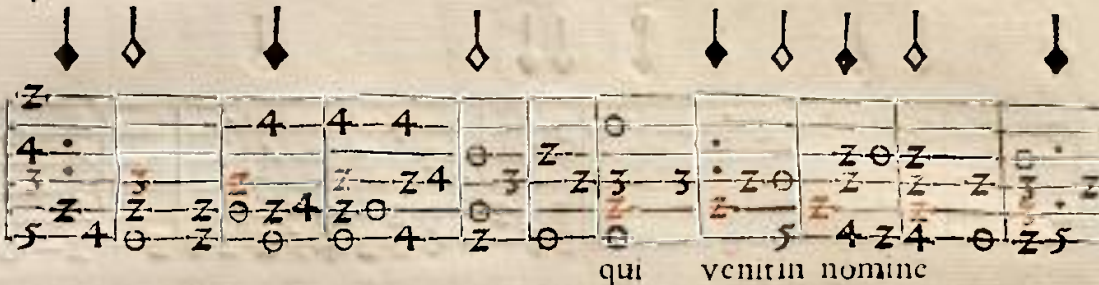
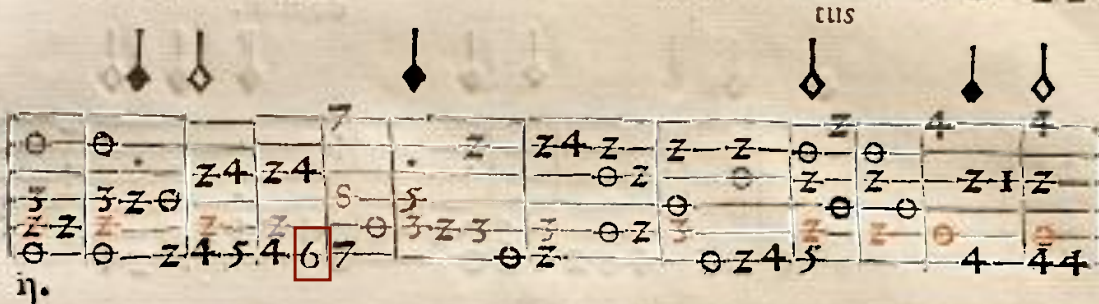
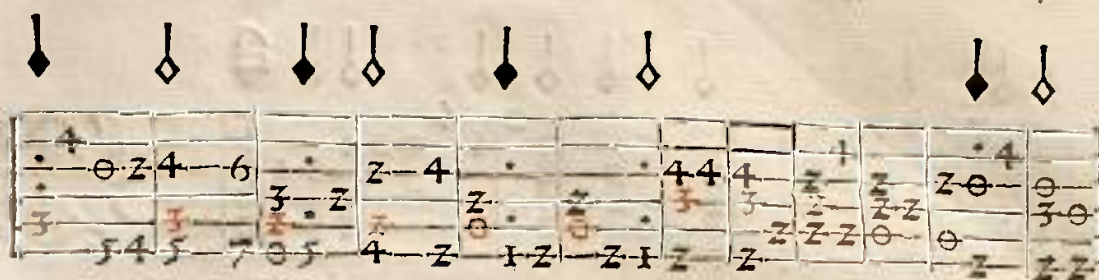
mi ni

Fantafias aquatro Orphenica Lyra. Fuenllana. Libro. ij.

De la missa de Lome
arme de Morales. F.



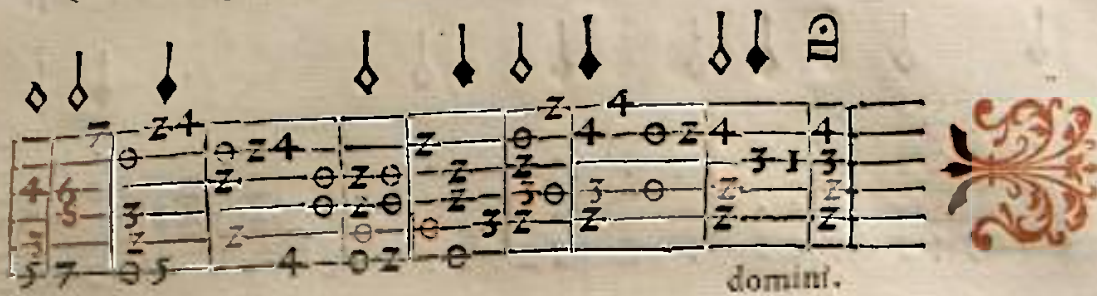
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✱ Fantasia a quatro.

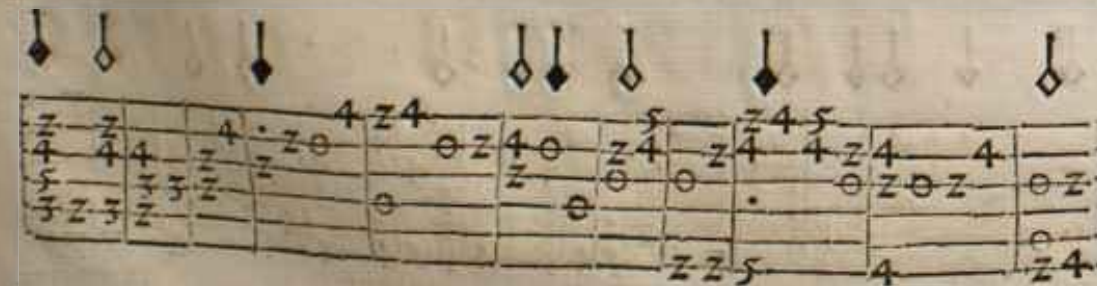
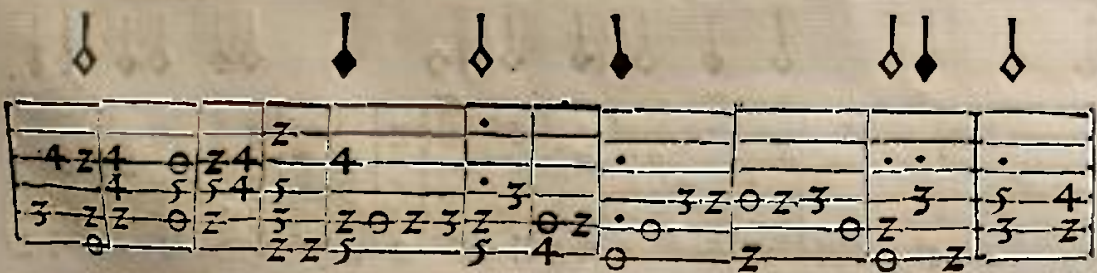
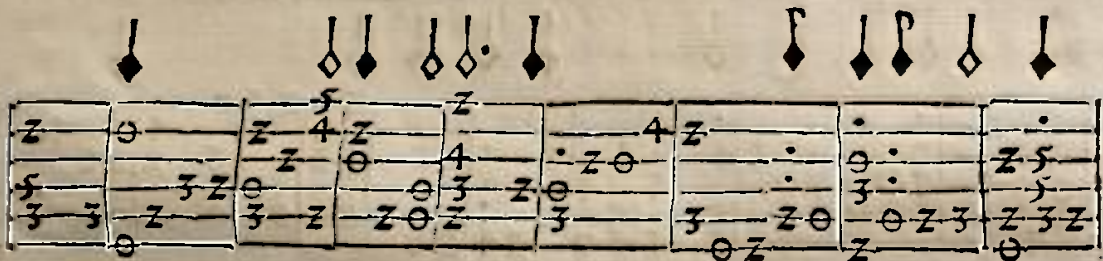
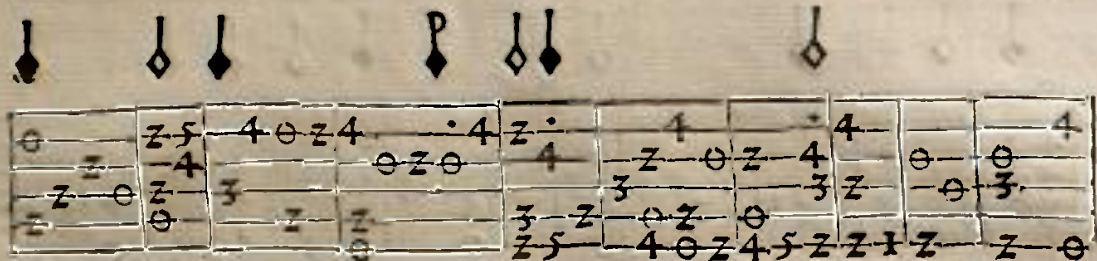
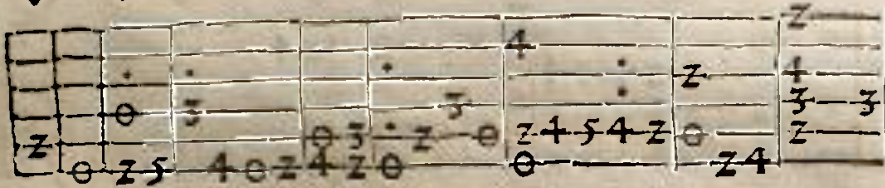
● Orphenica Lyra.

● Fuen llana Libro ij.



domini.

Fantasia del
author: F.



Benedictus de la Missa L'Homme armé

transcription from Orphénica Lyra

Cristóbal de Morales

First system of the musical score, measures 1-6. The score is written for four staves: Treble, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The time signature is common time (C). The lyrics "Be - - - ne - - -" are written below the Alto staff.

Second system of the musical score, measures 7-13. The score is written for four staves: Treble, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The time signature is common time (C). The lyrics "- - - di - - -" are written below the Alto staff. A measure number "7" is written above the first measure of the Treble staff.

Third system of the musical score, measures 14-20. The score is written for four staves: Treble, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The time signature is common time (C). The lyrics "- ctus" and "qui" are written below the Alto staff. A measure number "14" is written above the first measure of the Treble staff.

21

ve - - - - -

28

- - - - - nit

35

in no -

42

Measures 42-48 of a musical score. The system consists of four staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a melodic line. The second staff is a treble clef with a sustained octave (8) and rests. The third staff is a treble clef with a melodic line. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a bass line. The music is in 4/4 time and features a mix of eighth and quarter notes with some ties.

49

Measures 49-55 of a musical score. The system consists of four staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a melodic line. The second staff is a treble clef with a sustained octave (8) and rests, with lyrics "mi - ne Do -" below it. The third staff is a treble clef with a melodic line. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a bass line. The music is in 4/4 time and features a mix of eighth and quarter notes with some ties.

56

Measures 56-62 of a musical score. The system consists of four staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a melodic line. The second staff is a treble clef with a sustained octave (8) and rests. The third staff is a treble clef with a melodic line. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a bass line. The music is in 4/4 time and features a mix of eighth and quarter notes with some ties.

63

8

mi - ni

70

8

Do -

77

8

84

8 - mi - - ni -



Benedictus de la Missa Triztezas me matan

transcription from M. Capp.Sist. 17

Cristóbal de Morales

Be - ne - di - ctus be -

11
- ne-di - ctus be - ne - di - ctus

21
be - ne - di - ctus qui ve -

31
nit qui ve - nit

Benedictus de la Missa Tristezas me matan

Intabulation for vihuela in Dsolre

Cristóbal de Morales

1

Be - ne - di - ctus be - ne - di -

12

- ctus be - ne - di - ctus be - ne -

24

di - ctus qui ve - nit qui ve -

36

- nit qui ve - nit

47

qui ve - nit In no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni, in no -

58

- mi - ne Do - mi - ni, in no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni, in

69

no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni.

Benedictus de la Missa Triztezas me matan

transcription of intabulation

Cristóbal de Morales

Be - ne - di - ctus be -

11
- ne-di - ctus be - ne - di - ctus

21
be - ne - di - ctus qui ve -

31
nit qui ve - nit

40

qui ve - nit qui ve -

50

nit In no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni, in no - mi - ne Do -

60

- mi - ni, in no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni, in no -

70

- mi - ne Do - - - - mi - ni.

41

qui ve - nit qui ve - nit

51

In no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni, in no - mi - ne Do -

60

- mi - ni, in no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni, in no -

70

- mi - ne Do - - - - mi - ni.