I, William Willits, hereby submit this original work as part of the requirements for the degree of Master of Music in Music History.

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Borrowing in the Music and Culture of the Vihuela: 
A Case Study on the Intabulation

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Borrowing in the Music and Culture of the Vihuela:

A Case Study on the Intabulation

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Abstract

This thesis investigates borrowing from vocal music in the Spanish vihuela de mano repertoire of the sixteenth century. The study first provides an overview of the culture and context of musical borrowing specific to the vihuela repertoire, followed by an evaluation of current methodologies for the research of borrowing. Then, these components aid a case study of borrowing in the genre of the intabulation, with discussion of artistic and technical issues that arise in this practice. Although borrowing occurs in many genres of vihuela music, the intabulation is especially central to this issue as it consists of mostly borrowed material. Throughout intabulations, many conventions of adapting vocal music to this highly idiomatic instrument exist, and these same practices have wider implications in other genres. Intabulations contributed significantly to the spread of international style and were also important didactic tools, serving to teach amateur musicians of the middle class the art of counterpoint and composition. Due to this didactic quality, a greater understanding of artistic and technical preferences in intabulations informs an understanding of compositional style of the vihuela repertoire in general.

Little scholarly work exists concerning borrowing techniques in the genre of the vihuela intabulation, so the study is framed by two areas of literature review. First, a partial account of the vihuela’s history and culture as it relates to borrowing establishes why this type of research is valuable. Next, an investigation of research methods commonly used in vocal music borrowing aids an analysis of borrowing in the vihuela intabulation. The third chapter presents several comparative transcriptions of vihuela intabulations and their corresponding vocal sources, providing case studies of both artistic and technical issues that surface when realizing polyphony on the vihuela. Finally, the concluding chapter categorizes the artistic and technical alterations
discussed in chapter three to allow for broader application. The paper concludes that the amount and style of figuration in intabulations is directly related to the compositional style of the source vocal work, since certain methods of composition allow for more ornamentation than others.
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Introduction to Study

“Among earthly creatures, God placed music with the greatest reason and perfection in man, and among stringed instruments in the vihuela.”¹ This statement by the sixteenth-century vihuelist and composer Enríquez de Valderrábano illustrates an attitude that seemed to be widely held regarding this instrument during the Spanish siglo de oro (golden century), which was a time of prosperity in Iberian economic and cultural development. Though the vihuela’s popularity was limited both in geographic area and in years (the Iberian peninsula and Italy between the mid-fifteenth and late sixteenth centuries), the vihuela was held in very high esteem during this time. Sharing the same tuning as the lute, the vihuela was thought of as a nationalistic Spanish instrument, while the lute was of Arabic descent.² It was also one of the few solo instruments of the time capable of realizing polyphony. Coincidentally, the height of the vihuela’s popularity aligns with the beginning of music printing, which made music available to a much larger audience. In the early years of music printing, vocal music was the easiest to obtain and vihuelists were quick to adapt this music to their instruments by ciphering intabulations. These intabulations became a vehicle for the transmission of style from vocal to instrumental repertories. The goal of this thesis is to investigate how these vocal works were adapted to the vihuela, what artistic and technical changes were necessary, and what elements were retained.

Chapter 1 – Borrowing in the History and Culture of the Vihuela

This chapter comprises an overview of vocal borrowing’s impact on the music of the vihuela. It also investigates how this borrowing influenced the instrument’s cultural environment, and considers intabulations in the broader context of musical borrowing in the Renaissance. Though it is interesting to examine borrowing on a purely musical basis, it is also important to look at related issues such as historic events, technological developments, and cultural or artistic trends. An understanding of such events explains how borrowing in intabulations impacted Spanish society and also the larger musical tradition. John Griffiths states the value of this type of work very succinctly in *The Vihuela: Performance Practice, Style, and Context*: “…an understanding of context develops an image of the cultural and intellectual world of the original practitioners, while more detailed questions of musical style and instrumental technique, respectively, delineate the artistic objectives of performance practice and strategies for implementation.”\(^3\) This study aims to cover both clauses of this statement regarding the intabulation. Chapter one and two provide the context for developing an image of the cultural and intellectual world of this genre, and chapters three and four address the more detailed questions of musical style and instrumental technique by analyzing some specific intabulations in detail.

A complete historical account of the instrument is not necessary to frame this investigation and has been done elsewhere, but several basic areas of the vihuela’s history should be discussed. This begins with a brief account of the primary vihuela composers and their books.

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Only seven printed books of vihuela music survive, but each employs borrowing in many different musical forms. Though this paper focuses primarily on the intabulation, other genres that employ borrowing include parody fantasias, sonetos, diferencias, and songs, and these forms are also outlined briefly. After discussing the vihuelists and the forms that use borrowing, the system of notation known as tablature is investigated. Tablature provides a window into the use of musica ficta, and issues related to ficta are discussed with reference to the vihuela in many primary sources such as the writings of Juan Bermudo, Franchino Gafori, Pietro Cerone, Tomas de Santa Maria, and Ernesto Cabezon. The time period of the vihuela books also coincides with the advent of music printing on the Iberian Peninsula, and these books were some of the earliest and most widely circulated instrumental repertoire. The wide dissemination of these books and their less prohibitive costs unlocked a new audience for the instrument and music in the middle class. This new audience may have been first exposed to international composers through intabulations in the vihuela repertoire. Finally, borrowing aided the teaching of compositional methods, and the practice of intabulating the work of others for learning purposes was common. All of these contextual issues are tied in with the practice of borrowing, and an understanding of them informs the following analysis.

**History and Composers**

The vihuela is thought to have originated in the mid-fifteenth century, and first records of its existence are from Aragon in northeast Spain. This is supported by city records of vihuela builders in Zaragoza, and also by Johannes Tinctoris in his *De inventione et usa musicae* of

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around 1487, where he describes the vihuela as “hispanorum invento.” John Griffiths asserts that
the early vihuela was both a courtly instrument and also popular with the urban middle class.\(^6\) At
the end of the fifteenth century, the lute fell out of favor in the Spanish kingdoms with much of
the rest of Moorish culture (due largely to the Spanish *Reconquista* that ended with the fall of
Granada in 1492), and since the vihuela was considered an instrument of Spanish conception, it
became the preferred plucked string instrument in courts.\(^7\) This preference set the stage for the
courtier Luis Milán and several of the other professional composers for the vihuela in the next
century.

The vihuela was originally an instrument of oral tradition, and although it was widely
used in the fifteenth century, no substantial body of notated music survives from before 1536.
During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, professional ballad singers called *oracionaeros*
travelled between courts playing either bowed or plucked variants of the vihuela and singing folk
songs such as villancicos, romances, and other forms.\(^8\) This relates to the idea of musical
borrowing, because transmission through oral tradition is a type of borrowing in itself.
Inherently, when a piece of music is passed down orally it evolves, gets reworked,
misremembered, etc., creating variants in which some of the creative input comes from someone
other than the original composer. The final result is an artistic work in which some amount of the
material is “borrowed” from the oral tradition itself and some is original, recreated or improvised
at each performance. Multi-part, independent vocal polyphony is a bit too complex to survive in

\(^6\) Griffiths, “The Vihuela: Performance Practice, Style, and Context,” 159.

\(^7\) John Griffiths, “Hidalgo, Merchant, Poet, Priest: The Vihuela in the Urban Soundscape,” *Early Music* 37,
no. 3 (2009): 356.

\(^8\) John Griffiths, “At Court and At Home with the Vihuela de Mano,” *Journal of the Lute Society of
the oral tradition, and intabulations are attempts at recording this music for accurate reproduction.

Seven books of vihuela music by seven different composers were printed between 1536 and 1576, and since there are no substantial manuscript sources for vihuela repertory these books contain nearly all of the surviving music. Also, biographical information of the known players and composers for the vihuela is scarce. Most of our knowledge comes from the introductions to the seven books, a few accounts by theorists such as Juan Bermudo and Tomas de Sancta Maria, and recent investigations of city and court records of financial transactions and legal proceedings by John Griffiths. Four of the seven composers for the instrument were employed as professional musicians at courts (Luis de Milán, Luis de Narváez, Enríquez de Valderrábano, and Miguel de Fuenllana), two were middle class, amateur musicians (Diego Pisador, Esteban Daça), and one was a cleric (Alonso Mudarra). A major concern of this study is the use of borrowing in the intabulation as a pedagogical tool and also a means to spread stylistic knowledge to the middle class, so it is important to consider the different societal roles of the composers. Understanding who these composers were, their social status, and sphere of influence helps to explain the significance and impact of their music.

The earliest book of printed vihuela music known comes from Valencia in 1536, and was composed by D. Luis de Milán (1500 – c. 1561). Though little is known about Milán’s life, it is inferred that he was a member of the court because of the nature of his other publications, which included instructions for a popular parlor game and also a Spanish adaptation of Baldassare Castiglione’s Il Cortegiano. Also, the very fact that he was able to publish three books in his life shows a connection with wealth and probably aristocracy, because he would have needed a wealthy patron to finance these publications (at this time in Spain, the costs of publication fell on
the author, not the printer). His book of vihuela music titled *El Maestro* was dedicated to Joao III of Portugal, which suggests that he may have had a wider sphere of influence than the Valencian court. However, there are not many secondary accounts of Milán’s playing, and the music in his book is stylistically distinct from the others. The style of Milán’s music is much more instrumentally conceived than the music of his successors, and does not seem to incorporate the strong influence of vocal polyphony to the same degree as the music of the other composers. He published some villancicos and romances that borrowed from the folksong tradition, but is the only vihuela composer who did not publish any intabulations.

Luis de Narváez (fl. 1526 – 1549) was not aware of Milán’s work when he published his book of vihuela music two years later, because the colophon states that his book is the first. *Los seys libros del Delphin de musica* was published in Valladolid in 1538, and both the book and its author almost certainly had a wider sphere of influence than Milán. Luis de Narváez was employed first by Francesco de los Covos, and then by Phillip II, king of Spain where he directed the boys choir in addition to playing the vihuela at court. Luis Zapata in his *Miscelanea* sums up the skills and musical values of this vihuelist:

> There was in Valladolid, in my youth, a vihuelist named Narváez, of such extraordinary talent in music, that from four voices of canto de organo… he produced from memory another four on the vihuela; a miraculous thing for those who did not understand music, and for those who did, a *most* miraculous thing.\(^{11}\)

Besides the compliment that it pays Narváez, this quote is interesting because it tacitly acknowledges the influence of vocal music on vihuela composition, and also the practice of improvising new lines over precomposed polyphony. Unlike Milán, Narváez travelled abroad

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extensively during his court appointments, which allowed for trading of ideas and music with
other European musical traditions. Evidence of this cross-pollination can be seen both in
Narváez’s book and elsewhere; two of his motets for four and five voices were printed by
Moderne (Lyon, 1539 and 1542), and one of the same was printed by Berg and Neuber
(Nurnberg, 1553). In addition, the printer Pierre Phalèse of Louvain produced several of
Narváez’s fantasias in his lute tablatures, though he did not give proper credit, listing the author
as anonymous. In Spain, the organist Venegas de Henestrosa borrowed, parodied, or directly
copied from five of Narváez’s fantasias. Narváez himself also intabulated the works of many
prominent composers such as Josquin, Gombert, and Morales, and two of his intabulations will
be discussed in detail later.\textsuperscript{12}

The third surviving book of vihuela music was composed by Alonso Mudarra (c. 1510 –
1580), and was titled \textit{Tres Libros de Musica en Cifras para Vihuela} (1546). Though Mudarra
spent a good portion of his life as a cleric, he published this book while employed by the third
and fourth \textit{Duques del Infatado}, who shared a close relationship to Charles V and Francis I.\textsuperscript{13} His
close connection with this court helps explain how he was exposed to international styles, and
also may account for the humanistic slant of the texts in many of his song settings. His fame
throughout Spain was also reported by Bermudo, and Sancta Maria either copied or borrowed
from twenty of Mudarra’s compositions in his \textit{Arte de Taner Fantasia}.

Enriquez de Valderrábano (c. 1500 – c. 1557) published the \textit{Silvas de Sirenas} in 1547,
and he seems to be one of the more widely known vihuelists during his time. Juan Bermudo paid

\textsuperscript{12} ~\textit{Grove Music Online}, s.v. “Narváez, Luys de,”
http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.libraries.uc.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/19577 (accessed October
4, 2013).

\textsuperscript{13} ~Ward, “The Vihuela De Mano and its Music,” 376.
him the compliment of being a top performer on the instrument during his time, and his music was reprinted or borrowed from in several other sources.\textsuperscript{14} The organist Venegas de Henestrosa borrowed from one piece by Valderrábano in his \textit{Libro de Cifra Nueva}, and the printer Phalèse reprinted fourteen fantasias and intabulations by Valderrábano in his \textit{Hortus Missarum} of 1552.

Like Mudarra’s book, \textit{Orphenica Lyra} (1554) by Miguel de Fuenllana (c. 1500 – 1579) also contains many humanistic traits, notably his introduction: “… without (music) there is no perfect discipline, as the ancient wise men maintain.”\textsuperscript{15} Though even less is known about his life, travel, and sphere of influence than the vihuelists discussed previously, it is known that he was in service of Phillip I and his wife, Queen Isabel de Valois. Fuenllana printed a large number of intabulations including forty-one motets, twenty-three mass sections, nineteen villancicos, thirteen madrigals, one chanson, ten sonetos, eight fabordones, three Italian villanescas, three ensaladas, and two romances.\textsuperscript{16} This great diversity of forms intabulated for solo vihuela (sometimes with optional sung part) reflects the work of a cosmopolitan composer who is familiar with multiple national styles.

Rather than a courtly composer, a member of the upper middle class produced the next surviving vihuela book. Diego Pisador (1509/10 – c. 1557) belonged to this new group of musicians that flourished with the advent of music printing. He served as \textit{mayordomo} (public official) of the city of Salamanca and also lived off of the earnings of his family’s estate. Though his book contains intabulations from internationally recognized composers, the variable quality of both the intabulations and Pisador’s original compositions reflect that of a non-professional

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 391-93.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Miguel de Fuenllana, \textit{Orphenica Lyra} (1554), translated in Ward, “The Vihuela De Mano and its Music,” 367.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Ward, “The Vihuela De Mano and its Music,” 214.
\end{itemize}
who may not have travelled or been taught formally.\textsuperscript{17} Despite the dubious quality of his work, it is interesting that he was the first non-professional musician to publish a book of his own in Spain.

The last surviving book of vihuela music was composed by Esteban Daça (Daza) (c. 1537 – c. 1594) in 1576, entitled \textit{El Parnasso}. Like Pisador, Daça was a member of the upper middle class and lived primarily off of family money. His book may have also been financed by his family, as there is no record of him ever having any other type of employment. Griffiths has presented a detailed account of Daça’s life, mostly based on family records found in city archives. The second and third \textit{libros} or chapters of his book contain intabulations of both sacred and secular songs from France, Italy, and Spain.

The vihuela collections themselves are arranged in very practical ways. Most of the books are divided into several \textit{libros} or chapters, but the organizational methods of each book differ. Milán’s \textit{El Maestro} is divided into two libros, each containing a variety of forms organized by difficulty, reflecting a pedagogical purpose. The title of the book expresses this didactic nature as well: “Book of music for the vihuela de mano, entitled ‘the teacher’, that brings the same manner and order that a teacher would bring to a beginner….”\textsuperscript{18} Narváez’s \textit{Delphin de Musica} is comprised of six \textit{libros}, each containing music of a different form. The first contains fantasias in all eight modes, the second contains easier fantasias, the third intabulations of French chansons, the fourth variation sets, the fifth romances and villancicos, and the sixth has more variations. The first two of the three books in Mudarra’s \textit{Tres Libros} contains pieces arranged from easy to difficult and the third is full of songs. The seven books of

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 385.

Valderrábano’s *Silva de Sirenas* are arranged by form, and Pisador, Fuenllana and Daça also organize their books in this same way (though Fuenllana’s book is a bit more complex and also organized loosely by difficulty).¹⁹

Musical Forms that Use Borrowing

Many of the forms in the vihuela repertoire commonly use borrowing from vocal music. Ward divided the works into three main categories: intabulations, parody fantasias, and “cantus firmus” compositions.²⁰ Each of these three categories are summarized here, with special respect to the intabulation.

Intabulations are reproductions of multi-part vocal works, reduced to the six courses of the vihuela. These are interesting in part because of the fact that polyphony of more than three voices cannot be fully realized on an instrument such as the vihuela due to technical restrictions. Investigating what concessions are made and what attributes from the original compositions are retained illustrates some of the artistic values of the composers who wrote the intabulations, and thus the values of the musical culture. All of the main sacred and secular international genres were intabulated, including mass sections, motets, chansons, madrigals, and others, as well as Spanish romances and villancicos. The intabulation would sometimes include one line of text, with special indications in the tablature to illustrate which notes could be doubled with singing. Methods that vihuelists notated these optional sung lines in their tablatures are discussed later in this chapter.

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²⁰ Ibid., 135.
Differing levels of fidelity to the original compositions exist in the intabulations of the vihuelists. Broadly speaking, the earlier vihuelists who published intabulations (Narváez, Mudarra, and Valderrábano) took more liberties in ciphering them, inserting more scalar passagework and taking more creative license to make the piece work musically on the instrument. The later intabulations of Pisador, Fuenllana, and Daça attempt to maintain maximum fidelity to the original works, which often results in music that is technically difficult to perform. In addition to the difficulty of performing these, the restraints of the instrument in terms of sustain and ability to maintain multiple melodic lines result in compositions that could be perceived more in terms of vertical sonorities than independent horizontal lines. There are stylistic differences in the intabulations of earlier and later source material as well, which is probably a result of the compositional nature of these source works. Mid-sixteenth century works by composers such as Gombert and Morales were very imitative, containing voices that move with a high degree of rhythmic and melodic independence, and so could not tolerate as much addition of scalar passagework without disrupting the complex voice interplay. Earlier works that were based on long-note cantus firmus structural voices or were more homorhythmic and text based were much more tolerant of melodic diminutions and ornaments.

Although intabulations are the focus of this study, parody fantasias and “cantus firmus” compositions provide a useful perspective as well. In parody fantasias, the vihuelist borrows short motives from other compositions and uses them within a free, fantasia form. The term “parody fantasia” is retroactively applied first by Ward, and several other names were used to describe this type of work in the vihuela books such as *glosa*, *fantasias contrahecho al [model]*, *fantasias sobre [model]*, and *fantasias remendando al [model]*. This form is especially

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interesting because it illustrates a crossroads between the fantasia (an entirely original, instrumental composition) and the intabulation (a composition mostly borrowed from vocal music). Since the intabulation was a primary means for teaching the art of counterpoint and was also thought of as a prerequisite for composing fantasias, this genre of parody fantasia offers insight into how the intabulation influenced the genre of fantasia, the most prolific and artistically sophisticated genre in Spanish Renaissance instrumental music.

In addition to intabulations and parody fantasias, a large number of the vihuela compositions that employ borrowing do so in a “cantus firmus” style. All that is implied by this term is that a borrowed melody is retained with entirely new material written around it. These compositions are very diverse in nature, and can be divided into several subcategories including settings of sacred melodies, secular songs which encompass villancicos, romances, and sonetos, and diferencias. Many song settings fall into the genre of intabulation when they are strict reproductions of a previous polyphonic work. However, in “cantus firmus” style songs, the accompaniment is totally or mostly original. A large percentage of the songs from the oral tradition belong in this genre. Since there is not a single authoritative source for the composition, the accompaniment of the melody could be highly variable.

**Tempo Indications**

The seven vihuela books contain some of the first known notated tempo markings. While most of Europe adopted the term *tactus* to describe the rate at which the notes were to be played, the preferred Spanish term was *compas*. These two words meant the same thing, and *compas* was

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described by Milan as “to raise and lower the hand or foot for an even tempo,”[^23] which conforms to how other European sources describe the word *tactus*.[^24] Milán, Narváez, Mudarra, and Valderrábano all included tempo signs before most of their works, though they did not follow the same conventions. In most cases, the tempo markings were adapted from the mensuration signs found in vocal music, but they did not mean the same thing. Mensuration signs denote how the *tactus* is divided into smaller beats, while the *compas* markings only designate a relative tempo. Bar lines in the tablature illustrate how the *compas* is broken into smaller beats. Pieces were divided into two or three categories of slow, medium, and fast. In general, pieces that were deemed *apriesa* were to be performed with a more lively character and pieces labeled *espacio* were given a slower, more deliberate quality.[^25] Below, the two signs used by Narváez to designate *algo apriesa* and *muy espacio* are shown:

Example 1.1: *Compas* markings in the music of Narváez[^26]

![Example 1.1: Compas markings in the music of Narváez](image)


Milán and Narváez both use the two tempo markings of *espacio* and *apriesa*, and Mudarra and Valderrábano have three categories, including a medium variant. None of these designations represent specific speeds, but rather character, such as the terms *andante* and *allegro* are used today.\(^\text{27}\) In the case of intabulations, it is interesting to compare the tempos given by the intabulators with those commonly used in vocal performances, because vocal music did not contain tempo designations beyond what could loosely be inferred by the mensuration signs. The study in chapter three will address some apparent inconsistencies between *compas* markings and vocal sources.

**Conventions of Publication**

The very method of this music’s notation provides some insight into aspects of borrowing, and two notational conventions in particular can illuminate style preferences in these publications. The first is the system of notation called tablature, which was the only system of notation for the vihuela and also very popular with lute, viol, and organ music. The following example illustrates the same first four measures of Luis Narváez’ *Cancion del Emperador* in both facsimile tablature and modern notation:

\(^{27}\) Ibid., 70-73.
Example 1.2: Comparison of tablature and equivalent modern notation

The tablature does not provide any information about what pitches are to be played, but rather is a grid of finger positions on the fretboard. This system, unique to just a few instruments from this time, provides a window into the vihuelists’ conception of *musica ficta*. Due to the fact that the performer was shown exactly where to place fingers rather than notes, the *musica ficta* was embedded in the tablature rather than expected to have been realized extemporaneously. Instead of being a matter of performance practice, it was prescribed by the composer in the music, giving us a surviving opinion of the stylistic practice.

It is important to note that the vihuelists should not necessarily be regarded as authorities on the use of musica ficta, although they do provide a very clear primary source viewpoint on the subject. Anthony Newcomb has outlined two basic objections concerning the use of intabulations as evidence for practice of *ficta*. First, intabulations were often created generations after a vocal

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28 Luys de Narvaez, *Los Seys Libros Del Delphin de Musica de Cifra Para Taner Vihuela*.

work was published, putting them outside the contemporary practice of the original works. Though this is true and the style of ficta usage probably changed over time, they are still usually the closest source that provides specific pitches in regards to ficta. Given that we have so little evidence on this matter of performance practice, we should use everything we have. Newcomb’s second objection is the insinuation that intabulations are merely arrangements for a chordal instrument and are thus too far removed from vocal or melodic instrument performance practice to be of much use. Though intabulations differ in their fidelity to their original sources, many of them (especially in the vihuela repertoire) are remarkably unaltered. Although it is easy for modern musicians and scholars to perceive the lute and vihuela as vertically conceived, chordal instruments, this was not the case at all. The four course and baroque guitars were the instruments used in an accompanimental, chordal fashion, while the music of the lute and vihuela is decidedly polyphonic and almost never vertically conceived. It is the position of this paper that the music of the vihuela is very closely related to vocal music in terms of compositional style, which gives credit to the validity of the ficta contained in these sources.

It is valuable to consider the method for notating intabulations that had an optionally sung vocal line. There were two primary ways to notate which voice in the tablature was meant to be sung, though different vihuelists would transcribe different voices, which in itself is an artistic decision of borrowing. The sung line was usually optional, and so was almost always doubled in the vihuela, allowing the same piece of music to be performed either instrumentally or with voice. Narváez and Fuenllana have a preference for doubling the top voice in the polyphony, while Milán and Valderrábano consistently indicate that an inner voice should be doubled.

Mudarra often writes an independent vocal line on a second staff with mensural notation, creating a true duet.\(^\text{30}\)

Notating the vocal line within the tablature makes it easy for the vihuelist to realize the sung part while playing, but makes it difficult for a second musician to decipher. So, the vihuelist and singer was probably most often the same person. There were two main conventions of notation: either the sung line was printed in red ink, or apostrophes known as *puntillos* would be printed above certain numbers in the tablature, showing the finger positions that corresponded to the sung voice.\(^\text{31}\)

Example 1.3: Methods of notating vocal lines in vihuela tablature\(^\text{32}\)

In the introductions to the tablatures, several of the composers advocate the benefits of singing different lines while playing, which strengthens the argument that the vihuelist would be practiced in playing and singing simultaneously. In many compositions, the melody set is the soprano, but not always.

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The Vihuela and Social Class

The vihuela was once thought to be primarily a courtly instrument, but evidence uncovered in the last thirty years has proven that the instrument must have been prominent on a much wider scale. Griffiths and others strongly support the vihuela’s widespread use in the middle class, as well as the commonly accepted use in courtly life. If the vihuela was indeed as prominent both inside and outside the court as it seems, this further strengthens the cultural influence of the intabulation and other borrowing from vocal repertoires. The intabulation allowed for the spread of the knowledge of international musical styles and repertoire to the emerging middle class, contributing to a more cosmopolitan culture and greater general musical literacy in Spain. In addition, it was an important didactic tool and method for middle class members such as Daça, Pisador, and doubtless many others to learn composition. This section presents evidence supporting the vihuela’s prominence in the middle class.

Looking at the biographic details of the vihuelists from the perspective of social class provides a diverse cross-section of the middle and upper echelon of Spanish society. Four of the vihuelists were indeed employed primarily as court musicians, including Milán, Narváez, Fuenllana, and Valderrábano. Not only were their lives supported by courts, but their books were financed by and dedicated to their patrons. Mudarra was a priest, and Pisador and Daça were members of fairly well-to-do, upper middle class families.33 Both Pisador and Daça were largely supported by their families for most of their lives, giving them freedom to compose relatively at leisure. There is no evidence that Daça was ever formally employed, though Pisador did work part time as a city official for several years. This new category of relatively wealthy citizens with no court connections was a prime demographic for the vihuela. Griffiths has researched

surviving city estate and transaction records, which show evidence of families with collections of ten or more vihuelas.  

As previously mentioned, Daça was never employed by a court (or at all, for that matter), nor did he ever marry. His family was large and wealthy (he was the first of fourteen children), gathering income by owning and renting many properties in Valladolid. He was a talented composer, and seems to have been quite heavily steeped in the vihuela tradition. Valladolid was a center for vihuela activity, and Daça may have had contact with Narváez when he was very young, and also possibly Valderrábano several years later when he traveled there to publish his book. Regardless of their personal connection or lack thereof, Daça borrowed the structure and ideas of the introduction of Narváez’s Delphin for use in his book. Compositionally, his book is influenced by the sections on how to compose fantasias in Tomas de Santa Maria’s Arte de Taner Fantasia. Daça also intabulated a very large number of works, which further shows his exposure to vocal music. Unlike many of the other vihuela composers, Daça did not dedicate his book to a patron, but rather a friend who was a lawyer named Hernando de Habalos de Soto. This further supports the speculation that he did not have a court connection, because he would have probably dedicated the book to a court member in that case.

Besides the biographies of Daça, Pisador, and the city records, other evidence supports the vihuela’s popularity in non-courtly circles. Griffiths shows that although only 180 individual vihuelists have been identified in primary sources, evidence for nearly the same number of violeros (vihuela makers) exists, suggesting that the number of identified vihuelists must be

34 Cristina Diego Pacheco, “Beyond Church and Court: City Musicians and Music in Renaissance Valladolid,” Early Music 37, no. 3 (August 2009): 371.


36 Ibid., 442-43.
amazingly low compared to how many truly existed. He estimates that at a given point in the sixteenth century, as many as around fifteen violeros would have been operating in a large Spanish city such as Madrid, Seville, Valladolid, etc.\textsuperscript{37}

This evidence coupled with information about the printing of these books strongly supports the idea that the vihuela was commonplace in popular as well as courtly Spanish culture. If this is true, it strengthens the impact of musical borrowing on Spanish musical culture significantly in several ways. These include an increased general knowledge of international composers and higher overall levels of musical and compositional literacy among the general public. These things in turn contributed to a more cosmopolitan atmosphere in certain Spanish cities (such as Valladolid), creating environments to foster the success of amateur composers such as Pisador and Daça. The popularity that the vihuela seems to have achieved would have enabled it to influence other musical repertoires, or even other art forms. In the same way, the intabulations in the vihuela books allowed internationally acclaimed vocal music to influence this new class of musicians.

\textbf{Print Culture and its Impact}

The advent of printing technology in Iberia is closely tied with the rise of middle class musicians and an entirely new market of music buyers, as was also the case in the rest of continental Europe. The vihuelists took advantage of this and evidence supports that their books were targeted at a mass audience that was not necessarily musically trained. The press runs were relatively large compared to other music books during the sixteenth century in Spain, with sometimes multiple editions of 1000 to 1500 copies at a time. This equals two to three times the

\textsuperscript{37} Griffiths, “Hidalgo, Merchant, Poet, Priest: The Vihuela in the Urban Soundscape,” 355.
volume of the average instrumental music book pressing (which was customarily run in numbers of 300, 500, or 700). The cities in which the vihuela books were published were not especially large in population (Valladolid had an estimated population of 8,000 and Seville 20,000), so the books must have been targeted for a national or even international audience.38

Further supporting the target market of the middle class, publishers tried to keep the cost of the books as low as possible. Like many of the music books from this time that were aimed at a large demographic, the books were printed in an economical quarto format, allowing for cheaper printing because multiple pages would be printed in one pressing and then cut, requiring less total presses. The books were initially bound with paper to save cost as well, although customers could pay extra money to upgrade to better bindings such as leather.39 In addition, attempts were made to reduce the number of impressions required to print the books. Daça and Mudarra avoided the need for multiple impressions by notating the sung vocal lines with puntillos instead of red ciphers, which could have all been done in one pressing. This was still a problem because different fragments of type had to be fashioned for each cipher that included the puntillos, but it was in the end deemed more cost effective than using the red ink. In the case of the books with red ciphers, there would have been two pressings which was time consuming and expensive because of the labor intensive nature of aligning the page and resetting the printing press.40 All of these efforts were aimed at reducing the cost of the books as much as possible, in order to reach a larger socio-economic group.

40 Ibid., 197.
In addition to the efforts to reduce production costs of the books, there were also cheaper publications of vihuela music such as broadsides and single sheets. These often had accompaniments based on famous grounds such as the Romanesca, Bergamesca, or were based on famous variation sets such as Conde claros or Guardame las vacas. The lyrics were either popular villancicos or romances, taken from vihuela books, or contrafact texts meant to be sung to the tune of another preexisting work. This reuse of common conventional chord progressions with different texts is a means of borrowing as well, though quite basic.

**Intabulations as Pedagogical Tools**

Intabulations served several functional purposes in the instrumental music of the Spanish Renaissance. They had an entertainment purpose like most secular music, and also a pedagogical one. Ciphering intabulations of works by the masters of vocal polyphony such as Josquin, Gombert, Morales, and others provided a way for individuals with little music training to learn some of the rules of composition and counterpoint through imitating these masters. In his Arte de taner fantasia, Tomas de Sancta Maria describes a path to learning counterpoint through intabulating the works of others, guiding the student through works of increasing difficulty. A famous passage concerning this method is quoted in summary below:

The music with which you have to begin to cipher will be some villancicos (first for duos and then a tres) of strummed music, in which all voices usually sound together. To cipher these there is almost no work, since the ciphers in the measures are equal in number. Whoever wishes to take my advice will not make use of these ciphers for playing, because it is not desirable music and the ear is not made for them. The strummed villancicos do not have very good basis in music; though they suffice for developing and acquiring a good style of fantasia … After the player is somewhat instructed by these, he should seek out the villancicos of Juan Vasquez, which are certainly music, and the works of a rare musician who is called Baltasar Tellez … (Next) In the masses of the eminent musician Cristobal de Morales you will find much music to set, with so many and such good qualities that I am not able to explain them … Among foreign music which you will find good for setting, do not forget that of the great musician Jusquin,
who began music ... The last which you have to set is the music of the excellent Gomberth. On account of the difficulty of setting it on the vihuela, because of its being extravagant, I name it last ... The players err much who, when beginning to play, wish to begin with fantasia. Though they know counterpoint (unless they are good as the above-mentioned musicians) they should not play fantasia so soon, in order not to take on a bad style.\textsuperscript{41}

Sancta Maria first instructs the pupil to intabulate very simple strummed pieces, which would be a useful exercise but would not really serve a musical purpose because the resulting music would be the same regardless of whether the performer was reading the intabulation or the alfabeto symbols (\textit{alfabeto} was the system for notating chords, much like modern lead-sheet notation). Then, a pathway of intabulating polyphonic composers of increasing complexity is described. The pedagogical nature of this process is confirmed when he says that it should be a prerequisite for composing fantasias, supporting the importance of intabulations for learning proper compositional style.

In the colophon of \textit{El Parnasso}, Estaban Daça writes of this “art of playing fantasia,” and his intabulations seem to follow the general guidelines established by Sancta Maria in his treatise of the same name. The books of the later vihuelists such as Pisador, Fuenllana, and Daça contain a larger preponderance of intabulations than the earlier books, which may reflect some increased value in them, either as performance pieces or as pedagogical tools.

In addition to their pedagogical purpose, intabulations were also a means to disseminate the music of these international composers to a new middle class audience who may not have been exposed to them in other ways. The printing license for Narváez’s book states that one of his primary intents was to spread the knowledge of both highly regarded Spanish and international compositions as well: “[this book contains] many motets and villancicos in

tablature to play on the vihuela in a manner so elegant, clear and new as never to have been seen in Spain before, and in addition there are many other polyphonic works to sing by many composers that have never been published in these kingdoms and others for vihuela by Francesco da Miláno and Luis de Guzman which have been gathered together and anthologized because they were not transmitted accurately….“42 In the same vein, Pisador wished to champion the music of Josquin in Iberia because he did not believe that it was widely enough circulated: “I also inserted two books that contain eight masses by Josquin because those who have written until now have not included this composer, apart from very few works, picking out what they wished. I wanted to include eight masses so that he who so wishes may choose according to his desires because this musician was so good that there is nothing of his that can be discarded.”43 From these quotes, it is evident that a primary function of these intabulations, at least according to the intabulators, was to spread knowledge of composers who they deemed important.

* * *

As can be seen, many issues in the vihuela repertoire and Spanish musical culture connect to the practice of musical borrowing. Many forms of vihuela music make use of borrowed material, which was spread through a large demographic of Spanish society due to the advent of music printing. This widely dispersed borrowed material exposed a new and large audience to the music of composers who had already been celebrated in courtly circles. From this, a greater knowledge of music and an understanding of composition was achieved by a much larger group of people. To further understand how the transmission of musical culture to this new


43 Ibid., 185.
demographic happened, an analysis of specific works is necessary, taking place in chapter three. However, a method for this study must first be developed. There is little previous research on the specifics of borrowing in intabulations, so it is necessary to look just outside this repertoire at borrowing in Renaissance vocal music for methodologies. The following chapter discusses borrowing in the larger sense of Renaissance music and also investigates how borrowing has been researched in other contemporary genres.
Chapter 2 – Research Methods Concerning Borrowing

Throughout art history in general, there exists a practice of reusing the work or creative methods of previous artists, and this “borrowing” has many purposes. In music, borrowing is integral to developing cohesive stylistic elements within a repertoire, trading of styles between repertoires, pedagogy, and transmission of style through generations, among other contributions. Scholars have developed different categories of borrowing which include parody, paraphrase, variation, quotation, allusion, and more. The borrowed element itself can also take many forms within these categories, such as a complete monophonic melody, structural device, rhythmic/melodic fragment, full polyphonic texture, etc. There are several possible reasons for the borrowing, including: emulation (borrowing to learn from a master composer’s work, pedagogical), tribute (out of respect, to pay homage), transcription (arranging a work for other instrument configurations), or competition (improving on or outdoing the source composition in some way).¹

Regardless of the purpose of the borrowing, widespread acts of it have helped create large scale style movements in music history. Examining the nature of the borrowing in particular can be useful in understanding the process of composition, stylistic traits, and artistic message of the music. This paper is primarily concerned with borrowing specifically in the vihuela repertoire with special attention to the intabulation, a repertoire in which borrowing has not received very much scholarly attention. In order to provide more background and sample methodologies, it is useful to examine other work on borrowing in Renaissance vocal genres.

Since the source material for all of the vihuela borrowing is vocal music, many of the methodologies for vocal borrowing research can also be applicable to the vihuela repertoire.

It is doubtless that elements of borrowing have existed since the very beginning of music-making in the oral tradition, such as the improvisatory performance of folk based melodies, the accompaniment of songs by different ensembles, and the use of borrowed motives in liturgical music, etc. In notated polyphonic music of the twelfth century, plainchant melodies were often borrowed to be used as structural voices for polyphony (such as organum), or newly composed sections (tropes) would be added to existing melodies. In the 14th and fifteenth centuries, polyphonic borrowing began to gain popularity over the older tradition of composing around borrowed structural voices.\(^2\) By the sixteenth century, ideas of humanism and borrowing from Greek and Roman ideals were very popular. The classical literary tradition of *imitatio* experienced a major resurgence and also illustrates a tradition of borrowing in the classical world. Though this broad level historic account does not concern the vihuela, it is useful to illustrate that the level of familiarity with borrowing in the time of the vihuela was very high. It is important to realize both how ingrained the tradition of borrowing was in musical culture by the sixteenth century, and also how many different techniques of borrowing existed by this time.

This chapter examines several different research methods used in scholarly analysis of Renaissance vocal music. The strengths, weaknesses, and usefulness of these methods in the context of the vihuela repertory are evaluated and usefully incorporated into the analysis in chapters 3 and 4. The methods divide into two overarching groups: the empirical and the cultural/contextual. The empirical approaches produce hard evidence and examples, necessary for supporting larger claims. The cultural/contextual approaches establish borrowing in a larger

framework, drawing broader conclusions, and determining historical significance. Employing and understanding these methodologies will help to create a well-rounded, useful analysis in following chapters.

**Empirical Analysis**

Some research methodologies that have been used in Renaissance vocal music are especially good at producing hard data. These approaches are deemed “empirical” because they provide quantifiable evidence that can be used to support a claim or discussion. The following section will outline a few methods that may be usefully adapted to vihuela repertoire, namely the recording of congruences, empirical categorization, and creation of a typology of borrowing. For each of these methods of research, strengths and weaknesses for use in the genre of vihuela repertoire will be evaluated, and the technique will be exemplified by the work of other scholars in Renaissance vocal music.

*Focused Categorization*

One of the most basic ways that the brain retains information is through categorization and grouping of concepts. The development of these categories can either be based on expected or anticipated correlations, or reactively based on data that has already been collected. When categories are tailored to answer a specific research question, it is useful to create artificial categories to help understand certain valued characteristics in a repertoire. These categories need not have objective, exhaustive qualities, but rather can be shaped to help answer a particular research question. In the context of this study, this type of analysis is deemed “empirical
categorization,” and it has been used successfully by many scholars in the study of Renaissance borrowing.

There are several important strengths to this type of analysis. When trying to answer a specific research question, certain methods of borrowing research will be more useful than others. With empirical categorization, the criteria are determined by the observation of the most valued characteristics in the sample, which can produce focused, meaningful categories that can answer a research question as directly as possible. However, it can be troublesome to invent values and rules for a repertory that is centuries old and has such little evidence explaining its compositional process. Any time one imparts these divisions on a system that was not developed categorically, generalizations and oversimplifications will be made. Since the quality of the categorizations are based on the value and pertinence of the criteria, it is critically important for the researcher to select good criteria. As is always the case, an uneven distribution of pieces in the sample also has the risk of skewing the data.

Focusing one’s efforts on one particular stage of composition can be a valuable way to get detailed information with the empirical categorization method. Howard Mayer Brown has suggested a useful system concerning the compositional intent of borrowing. He creates three broad categories: borrowing that seeks to emulate, add to/revise, or allude to another work. Brown’s “allusion” and “adding to/revising” categories conceptually. This is a useful grouping

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because examining compositional intent can help us speculate on how people approached and thought about music. However, since there is little primary evidence that discusses the process of composition, asserting a compositional intent can be difficult. Determining allusion (copying of style without direct borrowing of notes) is perhaps the most troublesome because Renaissance music is filled with many common stylistic conventions, and false signs of deliberate borrowing can be common.

Despite these dangers, instances of emulation, adding to/revising, and alluding to are found throughout the vihuela repertoire. The idea of emulating previous composers is the main pedagogical device tied to the tradition of intabulation, as confirmed by Juan Bermudo in his 1555 treatise, *Declaración de instrumentos musicales*:

> In the masses by the celebrated musician Cristóbal de Morales you will find much music to intabulate, of so many and such good qualities that I am incapable of explaining. He who devotes himself to this music will not only gain wisdom but also become devoutly contemplative. You will find few composers who cherish the qualities and differences in the texts they set. And among the few, the aforementioned composer is one of the few. Among the foreign music that you will find good for intabulating, do not forget the great musician Josquin who is the father of all music. The last that you should attempt to intabulate is the music of the excellent Gombert. Due to the difficulty that it presents in intabulating it for the vihuela, because it is so overflowing [in its counterpoint], I put it in last place.

As illustrated by this quote, “ciphering” intabulations and therefore emulation was a central tool for learning to compose counterpoint on the vihuela. It impacted the repertoire not only by the sheer volume of intabulations published, but also by strongly influencing the compositional style of original works. Technical revisions are necessary in the process of transcribing songs and polyphonic works for an instrument with limitations such as the vihuela, and these instances would fall under the category of adding to or revision. However, they are for technical reasons rather than musical, making them fundamentally different (and less interesting to non-players).

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than the type of “revision” Brown discusses (artistic revision). Allusion can be found especially in the parody fantasias by Mudarra, Valderrábano, and Fuenllana, in which brief motives or compositional devices are re-used in an original, free, fantasia style. Rather than recreating the source work, these parody fantasias use the borrowed motive with an entirely different purpose and in a different form than their sources, which is why these compositions do not fall under the category of adding to/revision.

A concrete form of empirical classification should focus directly on the music, because most of the hard evidence we have lies in scores. Ludwig Finscher provides a model that suggests an “evolution” of borrowing, consisting of four steps. First, one or multiple voices are completely borrowed to create a framework for new composition. Next, that framework is only slightly compromised with “interpolations and rhythmic variations.” Third, only motivic or phrase fragments are used, with no borrowed structural voice. Finally, the whole counterpoint structure is reworked in parody style with little or no direct borrowing.6 Since Finscher views these steps as an evolutionary progression, the fourth is seen as the most advanced type of borrowing. Though his categories are interesting and useful from a non-contextual perspective, it is a problem to view stylistic changes in borrowing as an evolutionary phenomenon where later styles are more highly developed than early styles. How could one judge the treatment of a cantus firmus against a passage of imitative polyphony? One is not inherently better or more complex than the other; rather they are fundamentally different approaches.

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Demonstration of Congruences

To aid the identification and explanation of borrowing methods within a given repertoire, it is valuable to collect exact pitches to support more abstract concepts of categorization and contextualization. An entry level method of identifying length and placement of quotations is necessary for this. This empirical form of analysis involves demonstrating pitch and rhythm correspondences through counting and recording congruences between a composition and a source of borrowing. There are many ways of presenting this material. In cases of direct borrowing between one voice in the composition and one voice in the source (such as in cantus firmus works), both individual voices can be presented in a side-by-side transcription, with adjunct symbols such as an x marks, brackets, boxes, or other signifiers to indicate congruent notes. This simple configuration is illustrated by Rob Wegman in example 1, with a comparison of L’homme armé cantus firmi. In cases of polyphonic borrowing, a melodic fragment or motive from the source material is used in multiple voices, so a presentation of the entire polyphony is usually required. In example 2, Murray Steib uses adjunct letters to represent different borrowed vocal parts in a mass by Martini. In this analysis, “o” refers to a quotation from the Superius, “x” indicates borrowing from the Tenor, “+” indicates the Contratenor, and “*” refers to the Bassus part. Cathy Ann Elias uses boxes in example 3, which has the advantage of showing regions of borrowing that consist of multiple voices. If there are many instances of polyphonic borrowing, it can be useful to arrange them into a numbered table and note the corresponding number in the score to denote each melodic entrance.
Example 2.1: Side by side comparison of canti firmi from L’homme armé masses by Busnois (A) and Ockeghem (B)⁷

Example 2.2: Murray Steib’s illustration of polyphonic borrowing using adjunct symbols in Martini’s Missa la Martinella⁸

Example 2.3: Use of boxes to denote borrowed areas within a polyphonic texture⁹

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There are some inherent problems with collecting quantifiable data in musicological research, because qualitative evidence necessarily plays a large part in musical understanding. Though the collected data does not provide an argument in itself, it can strengthen an argument considerably. There has been a large amount of research on the Renaissance vocal repertoire that utilizes the basic recording of correspondences. Michele Fromson has found many of these that are augmented with other contextual evidence to prove that Willaert included many liturgical chant quotations in his *Musica Nova* (1559). She describes a set of criteria that she uses to prove the existence of a quotation. These criteria were not completely pioneered by her and have been used in other cases, though she abstracts a methodology quite clearly and succinctly. Her steps for identifying quotations are stated below:

1. The quotation includes approximately nine consecutive quoted notes.
2. The quotation is placed in a prominent place within a piece, such as at the beginning of an imitative section.
3. The length of the quotation corresponds to one complete syntactical unit of the original chant.
4. The borrowed melody was widely known and recognizable to educated listeners.
5. A connection must not only be proven, but it should be proven that the melody is not a common stylistic device.\(^{10}\)

Though Fromson is analyzing chant quotes in motets, the same techniques can also successfully be applied to other repertories. A similar framework could be developed for analysis of parody fantasias and other vihuela compositions that only loosely borrow material.

If a possible quotation follows these criteria, it can support a claim that the quote was intended by the composer and authentic. However, the argument needs to be strengthened even further by contextual evidence, because of the possibility of unconscious quotation or the simple use of a conventional melodic fragment. If the source material had frequent liturgical use, it also

\(^{10}\) Michele Fromson, “Melodic Citation in the Sixteenth Century Motet,” in *Early Musical Borrowing*, ed. Honey Meconi (New York: Routledge, 2004), 186.
increased the possibility of quotation. In addition, the original borrowed melody can have textual implications within the new work; this is known as intertextuality.\textsuperscript{11} For example, Leeman Perkins has found quoted melodies from compositions with texts about war in the \textit{L’homme Armé} masses of Busnoys and Okeghem. As previously stated, a main issue with this type of analysis is the identification of common conventional melodies rather than legitimate quotation.

Though Fromson articulates a clear methodology, it is helpful to highlight some other examples to show how the data gathered is valuable for many applications. Steib examines how the tenor in Okeghem’s chanson \textit{Missa ma bouche rit} is borrowed for the cantus firmus in Martini’s parody mass \textit{Missa ma bouche rit, patrem} (among other examples), focusing especially on the inaccuracies between the composition and its model.\textsuperscript{12} Focusing on the differences between a piece and its model is an applicable technique for analyzing vihuela intabulations, because they usually maintain as much fidelity to the original composition as possible. This makes deviations from the source material especially interesting. James Haar uses similar techniques to establish borrowings from Josquin masses in fantasias and ricercars of Giuliano Tiburtino. Many of the resulting Tiburtino works were then intabulated or borrowed from by vihuelists. Haar shows evidence of borrowing by Narváez, Mudarra, and Fuenllana, making them second generation borrowers of Josquin (because they borrowed from a work that borrowed from Josquin).\textsuperscript{13} Rob Wegman used these methods for work on a long tradition of masses based on the

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\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., 180.
\textsuperscript{12} Steib, “A Composer Looks at His Model: Polyphonic Borrowing in Masses from the Late Fifteenth Century,” 7.
\end{flushright}
monophonic tune *L’homme Armé*.\(^{14}\) The congruences he found also support his contribution to an argument on the issue of the term *imitatio* in relation to music, in which he claims that the composers were both learning from and competing with previous generations by writing music based on the same traditional tune. These varied examples and others illustrate how the collection of data such as congruences is a valuable building block for many different types of arguments, whether contextual, evolutionary, or categorical.\(^{15}\)

In the vihuela repertoire, the counting of congruent pitches or rhythms is valuable for several reasons. For instance, recording the length, structural placement, frequency, original text and context, and familiarity of quotations in the parody fantasias provides a means of comparison between composers and even other repertoires. It could also be productive to use a method of reverse note-counting on intabulations, where one could count the length, structural placement, frequency, etc. of non-congruent notes. Then, categories could be established to produce evidence to explain the reasons for and nature of the alterations.

**Typology**

The methodology of focused categorization discussed previously is useful for establishing divisions in a repertoire to support targeted research questions. However, there is also value in using a pre-established set of categories that are tried and true across many different genres. Devising custom boundaries can help aid an argument, but they can also be biased or fail to incorporate all the pertinent information. A way to avoid this is to use a typology, or an


extensive system of taxonomy for a particular musical trait, in order to establish the finest possible distinctions between different methods or variances in the trait. This takes the idea of empirical categorization a step further, by creating a uniform, detailed system. It also makes cross boundary comparisons much easier, because music of other genres can be evaluated on the same terms. Peter Burkholder has developed a detailed typology of musical borrowing, and below is an example of one of his classification questions:

Example 2.4: Sample criteria from Burkholder’s typology\(^\text{16}\)

1. What is the relationship of the existing piece to the new work that borrows from it?
   a. It is of the same genre, medium, or style
   b. It is of a different genre, medium or style
   c. It is of a different musical tradition
   d. It is a single-line melody used in a new monophonic work
   e. It is a single-line melody used in a polyphonic work
   f. It is a single-line melody used in a new polyphonic work
   g. The existing work is by the composer of the new work
   h. It is from the same circle of musicians
   i. It is from a distant place or earlier time
   j. It is likely to be familiar to most listeners at the time and place the new works is created
   k. It is relatively unfamiliar

In this method, a precise question is asked regarding the borrowing, and then provides as many unique answers for it as possible. A piece always conforms to at least one of the sub criteria, but usually agrees with several. This quantifies the borrowing in a specific way, which is useful for comparison within and across genres and time periods.

Burkholder wrote extensively on the proposition of creating a typology of musical borrowing in his article “The Uses of Existing Music.” He claims that it is not enough to simply refer to borrowing, because there are huge variances in the ways that borrowed material is used. Rather, he proposes a cross-genre, cross-period approach to musical borrowing as a general trait.

\(^{16}\) Burkholder, “The Uses of Existing Music,” 867.
He also discusses how a close relationship between taxonomy and evolution has been established in other sciences. For instance, it was the taxonomy established by John Gould that led Darwin to propose his system of evolution based on the birds he collected in the Galapagos Islands.17 Related connections between taxonomy and stylistic change can also be made in music.

This supports the idea of musical borrowing as a field that could be applied to all genres of music. Though his preliminary typology is more extensive, Burkholder discusses several borrowing methods that are especially prevalent in Renaissance vocal music: structural modeling, variation, paraphrase, transcription, setting of a melody, multiple contrapuntal melodies, allusion, and intertextuality, all of which can be found in vihuela repertoire.18 Though the scope of this project does not require the creation of an all-encompassing taxonomy for musical borrowing, the concepts of creating a typology are useful in developing focused, discrete categories.

A notable trait of the typology method is that it categorizes as much as possible with simple “yes or no” questions. This works well for any type of statistical analysis, or finding general correlations in traits between different types of pieces. Since these categories are basic and not specific to any repertoire, they can easily be applied to any music that involves borrowing. Since this method does not utilize specific music examples, it must be augmented with other methods of analysis.

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17 Ibid., 854-56.
18 Ibid., 855.
Cultural/Contextual Analysis

The empirical forms of analysis are invaluable for producing evidence to support some type of argument. But, this evidence needs to be contextualized within a broader cultural or contextual framework. Connecting empirical work with larger concepts gives the data more value, and there has been a large amount of work done contextualizing borrowing in Renaissance vocal music. The following sections outline several different ways that scholars have connected musical borrowing with the cultural context of vocal repertoires. The first section focuses on the humanist movement and the widely debated idea of imitatio and its application to music. There are humanist undertones in many of the vihuela books and it is interesting to consider whether or not these books support the validity of an imitatio tradition in music. The second section covers some other ways that scholars have linked borrowing with larger ideas. Finally, the relevance and application of these ideas to the vihuela repertoire are assessed.

Imitatio

In many art forms, the imitation of great artists has been used as a teaching tool to help educate young artists about stylistic traditions. Besides its pedagogical value, imitation can also be used creatively for homage, or to allude to or reference a source composition in a number of ways. It is a very broad term, and instances of imitation can be as discreet as brief allusion to a composer’s style or as blatant as complete polyphonic borrowing in an intabulation. In the sixteenth century, it was popular in philosophy and literature to attempt to imitate and learn from classical models, such as Plato, Cicero, and others. This is seen in Baldassare Castiglione’s Book of the Courtier:

I am content, to err with Plato, Xenophon, and M. Tullius, leaving apart the disputing of the intelligible world and of the ideas or imagined formes: in which number, as
(according to that opinion) the idea or figure conceived in imagination of a perfect commune weale, and of a perfect king, and of a perfect Oragour are contained: so it is also of a perfect Courtier.19

This quote illustrates the value of these classical writers and philosophers to even a character like the fashionable courtier. The idea of imitating, learning from, and paying homage to classical models was widely discussed in literature, and was often referred to using the term imitatio. The word imitatio comes from classical ideas about literature, and involves borrowing structural devices or phrases in poetry for adaptation in new material. There could be many layers of meaning in the new work’s reference to the source. The new work could seek to borrow from the structure, melodic characteristics, or style of the source in some way, or it could pay homage to it. Sometimes, the new material attempts to outdo the old, creating a form of competition. Most of all, the tradition of imitatio was a means for students of literature to be educated in a tradition by connecting with model artists (also known as antichi) of the past. Like writers, musicians often borrowed or alluded to other composers for both pedagogical and purely artistic purposes, raising the question of whether or not the tradition of imitatio existed in music.

Though there exists widespread discussion of literary imitatio in primary sources, there is very little discussion of musical imitatio in primary sources. Brown suggests that this is due to the simple fact that there are almost no primary sources that discuss methods of composition in general, so the absence of any mention of imitatio in primary sources should not exclude the possibility of its period use.20 Imitatio was hardly mentioned in contemporary sources until the end of the sixteenth century, with a few exceptions. In 1532, Johannes Frosch used the term “imitatone” to describe an advised technique of recording musical ideas learned from other

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composers in a notebook, which is comparable to a practice of recording favorite poetic lines or devices in the tradition of imitatio. Joachim Burmeister was the first writer to explicitly link the ideas of imitatio and musical borrowing in his treatise *Musica Poetica*.21

In recent years, the idea of how far the term imitatio can accurately be applied to music has been widely debated. Lewis Lockwood was the first modern scholar to discuss the idea of applying the concept of imitatio to music in his 1966 article “On ‘Parody’ as a Term and Concept in sixteenth Century Music.”22 His view of what types of compositions fall within the tradition of imitatio is restrictive compared to later scholars, and is comprised mostly of masses by generations immediately following Josquin and compositions that explicitly denote “Ad Imitationem” in the title.23 In 1982, Howard Mayer Brown continued the discussion of what may be regarded as imitatio, and proposed a much broader categorization. Brown includes a wider array of works within the term “imitatio”, such as compositions that add lines to a preexisting piece (including cantus firmus pieces), and also compositions that are revisions or transcriptions of works (such as vihuela intabulations). He also includes music that only alludes to a source, such as chansons that begin in the same way as a model but then deviate from the model into completely original compositions.24

More recently, David J. Burn has examined the idea of imitatio within the context of the tradition of masses based on the well-known monophonic melody *L’homme Armé*. He asserts


that the long traditions of writing new material over pre-composed melodies allowed composers
to connect with both the tradition of composition with that individual melody, and to compete or
pay homage to other composers who have also written works on the given melody. In the
vihuela repertoire, Pisador and Fuenllana set parts of L’homme Armé masses. Honey Meconi
wrote critically about the wider issue of imitatio in “Does Imitatio Exist?,” highlighting many
problems with the term. She writes that the term imitatio did not exist in Italy, and not in France
until 1552 and Germany about a decade later: “the procedure of polyphonic borrowing had
therefore been used for possibly as much as two centuries before the word imitatio came to be
associated with it in the latter half of the sixteenth century.” When compared with its wide
discussion in literature, it is true that the topic of imitatio in music does not get addressed very
early or often in primary sources. However, this does not necessarily preclude the possibility that
the connection was made.

The seven vihuela books exhibit some humanist characteristics that are worth noting. The
titles of many of them are classically themed (Luys de Narváez’s Los Seys Libros Del Delphin
De Música, Miguel de Fuenllana’s Orphenica Lyra, Enríquez de Valderribano’s Silva de Sirenas
and Esteban Daça’s El Parnasso). These, along with the ornate woodcuts of classical scenes that
many of the books contain suggest a connection with the ideals of humanism and neo-Platonism
that was popular in literature and philosophy at the time. Also, the extensive borrowing from
both contemporary and earlier composers for both pedagogical and artistic purposes can be
viewed as a musical representation of the humanist literary idea of imitatio.

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25 David J. Burn, “‘Nam erit haec quoque laus eorum’: Imitation, Competition and the ‘L’homme armé’

However in other ways, the nature of the contents in these books does not reflect the same humanist style that the titles and woodcuts suggest. Most of the books are written in a very concise manner that is consistent with many of the previous lute books of the time, and also what Jack Sage deems as a more practical, Aristotelian approach.\textsuperscript{27} For example, rather than present a loftier, humanist mission, Luis Milán’s \textit{El Maestro} states a practical purpose of teaching the amateur, possibly untrained musician to play some pieces on the vihuela: “The purpose of the book is to teach the vihuela de mano to a beginner who has never played before, and to provide the discipline of the master to the pupil.”\textsuperscript{28} Like Milán’s book, many of the other vihuela books state a similar purpose of teaching the basics of technique, reading tablature, and musical rudiments on the instrument, followed by graded pieces for the student to play. This type of training was for the purpose of playing for personal enjoyment by amateurs, and Sage argues that this style of presentation disagrees with neo-Platonic humanist ideals.\textsuperscript{29} The debate over the musical relevancy of the humanist and imitatio traditions are interesting to consider in light of the vihuela books, though these books seem to only have a surface level connection with humanism on closer inspection.

\textit{Other Cultural/Contextual Approaches}

There have been several other methods of linking borrowing with cultural and contextual concepts. As previously mentioned, analysis of borrowing is often used to place a work within a larger context of a tradition. David J. Burn and Katelijne Schultz have worked on this within

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\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 634.

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., 633-5.
traditions of *L'homme Armé* masses and the complex of works based on Josquin’s motet *Miserere mei, Deus*, and both of those traditions can be investigated within the vihuela repertoire (Fuenllana and Pisador set different versions of *L'homme armé*, and Pisador set Josquin’s *Miserere mei, Deus*).\(^{30}\) Within the repertoire of the vihuela, some pieces are rearranged by multiple composers, creating miniature traditions. Examples of this include *Guardame las vacas* (versions by Narváez, Mudarra and Pisador) and *Conde claros* (versions by Narváez and Mudarra).

* * *

Established scholarship on borrowing in Renaissance vocal music provides many methods for analysis in the vihuela repertoire. During the time of the vihuela, musical style preferences came from vocal music, as did the art of composition. Although the models of analysis in this chapter are vocal, the fact that the Renaissance vocal repertoire is so closely related to the vihuela repertoire helps to make these methods applicable. The values of both data driven, empirical analysis such as categorization and recording of congruences/incongruences, and contextual/cultural methods such textual analysis and the discussion of validity within the humanist tradition among others are evident. In chapters 3 and 4, fragments from the methodologies explained in the present chapter coalesce into a set of criteria tailored for examining the vihuela intabulation.

Chapter 3 – A Preliminary Typology of Intabulations

This chapter examines and compares several intabulations in the vihuela repertoire using research methods discussed in chapter two. A large proportion of the vihuela music that survives belongs to the genre of the intabulation, and this music was important for both musical and pedagogical reasons. Other genres of vihuela music that employ borrowing have already been discussed at some length by Ward, Griffiths, and others cited in this study, but the same attention has not been given to intabulations.\textsuperscript{74} The examination of a few intabulations in detail provides information that can be generalized to the rest of the body of intabulations, and much of this information can also be applied to other genres that utilize borrowing such as the parody fantasia, differencia, and even original compositions such as the polythematic fantasia. This information helps paint a picture of the style preferences of these musicians in general, which can aid both scholarship and performance of this music. In the following pages, a brief outline of the research method is followed by a series of transcriptions with discussion.

Works to be Studied

Rather than examining many pieces at the surface level, this study takes an in-depth look at four intabulations. \textit{Mille regretz}, attributed to Josquin de Prez, and \textit{Jamais ie neuz} by Nicolas Gombert were intabulated by Narvaez and are discussed first. \textit{Tant que vivray} by Claudin de Sermisy and \textit{Il bianco e dolce cigno} by Jacques Arcadelt were intabulated by Fuenllana and are the final two pieces transcribed. In order to examine how models with different compositional techniques were treated, four stylistically distinct pieces were chosen. \textit{Mille regretz} is a work in

which the text is very important and closely related to the music. Since the text is stripped away during the process of intabulation, it is valuable to examine what the vihuela composer does to fill this artistic void. *Jamais ie neuz* is densely polyphonic, and full of imitation. Maintaining the complex interplay between the four voices in this piece is an entirely different challenge than in *Mille regretz*. *Tant que vivray* is very homophonic and homorhythmic, and contains repeated A and B sections that become quite tiresome when stripped of their text in an intabulation. Finally, the text of *Il bianco e dolce cigno* is also closely related to the music, and has sections of homophony and imitative polyphony. Two of these intabulations are heavily glossed (*Mille regretz* and *Tant que vivray*), and two maintain a high fidelity to the sources (*Jamais ie neuz* and *Il bianco e dolce cigno*). This is an uneven proportion of glossed works, because the vast majority of intabulations are strict recreations of sources. However, the heavily altered works incorporate more of the vihuelists’ ideas and changes, so they are more telling of the style preferences of these musicians.

**Method of Analysis**

First, the selected works are transcribed in a side by side format with the vihuela version on the top staves and the vocal source work below. Both versions of the piece are reduced to grand staff notation. Measures have been added to the vocal transcriptions, and the mensuration reflects the barring in the vihuela books rather than the modern editions of the vocal works (the mensuration in these are usually different, as will be discussed). Although this at times implies an incorrect sense of *tactus* or *compas* in regard to the vocal work, it both reflects the vihuela version’s primary source and aids the discussion that follows each transcription by making it easy to note points of interest with measure numbers. In the vocal works, only one line of text is
transcribed (most often the superius) to help delineate phrase structure without overwhelming the transcription with multiple lines of text.

The works in this study are transcribed for a vihuela in G, which will make the notation familiar to both Renaissance lutenists and vihuelists (and also playable on these instruments). For ease of comparison, the vocal works have been transposed accordingly so that the pitches will match those in the vihuela transcriptions. At times this puts the voices in ranges that may be unsingable, and voices have been rewritten on different staffs where necessary to avoid extensive ledger lines. Despite this, it does make comparing the two versions much easier.

The transcriptions of vihuela music are produced directly from facsimiles of the tablature, with some aid from good editions when they are present. This reliance on facsimile is because many editions of vihuela music have been transcribed for modern guitar rather than vihuela, which can necessitate slight changes in voicing and additional transposition, in addition to other editorial issues that obscure the original source. The vocal music is reduced to grand staff from scholarly critical editions, but no facsimiles are used. The sources for the editions are cited in footnotes on the first page of each piece. Although ficta was not notated in the original vocal works, it certainly was used in practice, so modern editorial ficta is left in these transcriptions to facilitate a comparison between the vihuelists’ conceptions of ficta and that of modern editors.

The study uses the style of analysis that this paper has deemed “empirical categorization” in several different contexts. First, several basic facts about each composition are noted in a table, followed by several categorical divisions which may be significant in the way that the resulting intabulations are treated. The categories are presented here in a format that is similar to Burkholder’s typology of musical borrowing, though they are not exhaustive enough to be considered a typology:
1. Who is the intabulator?

2. Who is the composer of the source material?

3. What genre is the source material? Is it secular or sacred?

4. How many voices are in the source material?

5. What geographic region does the source work come from?

6. Is the intabulator from the early or the late generation of vihuelists?
   a. Early – (Milán, Narváez, Mudarra)
   b. Late – (Valderrábano, Pisador, Fuenllana, Daça)

7. What primary compositional devices are used in the source work?
   c. Cantus firmus
   d. Canon
   e. Imitative polyphony
   f. Non-imitative polyphony
   g. Homophony
   h. Rhythmic modes
   i. Structural ground or bass line

8. Does the source material contain borrowing from an earlier source? What is the nature of it?
   a. Polyphony
   b. Single line from polyphonic work
   c. Plainchant

9. If the source does contain borrowed material, does the intabulation preserve these elements?
   a. What are they?

In addition to empirical categorization, the idea of identifying congruences used by Michelle Fromson and others is adapted to analyze the vihuela intabulation, though it needs to be altered because of the different nature of these compositions. In the intabulation, the general goal is to reproduce the model fairly accurately, rather than quoting or alluding to a previous work amidst original material as in the case of other genres that use borrowing. So, it would be frivolous and uninteresting to identify the congruences because the majority of notes in the piece will be congruent. Rather than similarities, this methodology is adapted to identify deviations
from the original composition. These points of incongruence or dissimilarity are much more interesting and can occur for both musical reasons or because of limitations of the vihuela.

Below is an outline of how incongruences will be evaluated:

1. How many pitches are inserted and for how many beats?

2. Where in the musical structure does the incongruence take place?
   a. Cadence
   b. Mid-phrase
   c. An important textual moment

3. What is omitted or changed from the source work?

4. Is the change for musical or idiomatic reasons?

5. If the change is for musical reasons, how does it change the composition?
   a. Adds a motive or musical device
   b. Lessens texture to bring out a certain motive or musical device
   c. Changes a section in which the text was especially important for musicality

6. If the change is for idiomatic reasons, why is it necessary? What issues in the source does the change avoid?
   a. A long note value
   b. A dense polyphonic section
   c. A large intervallic range
   d. A small intervallic range

7. If the change is for idiomatic reasons, are there other options for how to handle this problem?

For each of the analyzed works, the empirical categorization data is collected and the incongruences are noted, with a discussion of possible reasons for the deviations and alternative options that were not used.

The following sections present four side by side transcriptions of intabulations, gathering and arranging the empirical data in a table. A discussion is then presented about issues within each individual piece. Though the majority of the intabulations are attempts at recreating a vocal work with as much fidelity as possible to the original, this study contains two works that are
heavily altered and two works that are strict attempts at a reproduction to achieve a greater variety of results. This sample size is small when compared to the hundreds of intabulations that exist, but it provides a window into how the vihuelists often dealt with the process of intabulation, and many of the issues that are seen in these four pieces are applicable to the entire repertoire. The study concludes with a discussion of how the intabulations are altered and a summary of the stylistic features of them.
Sustained Polyphony - A Chanson

One of the most well-known and often played pieces in the vihuela repertoire today is Luis de Narváez’s *Cancion del Emperador*, which can be found in the third book of his *Los Seys Libros de Delphin* of 1536. This somewhat free intabulation of Josquin’s *Mille Regretz* was renamed *Cancion del Emperador* because it was one of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V’s favorite pieces of music, during Narváez’ time working for Phillip I. Though this is the only intabulation that directly borrows from *Mille Regretz* in the vihuela repertoire, Cristobal de Morales wrote a mass based on the piece. In turn, Enríquez de Valderrábano wrote a vihuela duo that borrows from the Sanctus of the Morales mass, making his work also a second-hand borrower of *Mille Regretz*.

| Intabulator: Luys de Narváez (1490-1547) | Source Composer: Josquin de Prez (1450-1521) |
| Source Genre: Secular Chanson | Source Number of Voices: 4 |
| Geographic Region of Source: Franco-Flemish | Generation of Intabulator: Early |

Compositional Traits of Source: Largely homophonic with some simple, non-imitative polyphonic moments. Not especially motivic, but there are two recurring motives: superius – mm. 5-7 and 9-11. The text is easily understood most of the time and the poetry is integral to the artistic statement of this piece. The highest voice contains the primary melody throughout.

Does the source material contain borrowing from an earlier source? No

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Example 3.1: Mille regretz (Cancion del emperador) – Josquin/Narváez


ver- ra
ver- ra brief mes jours
def
fi- ner

qu'on
me
ver- ra
brief mes jours

def
fi-
ner, brief mes jours
def
fi

54
The intabulation is generally faithful to Josquin’s work in its overall structure. In examining these pieces side by side, one will notice that cadences and even the voicing of harmonies mirror each other quite well, despite quite a large amount of instrumentally conceived scalar material (glosas) added to the vihuela version. Most of the time, this added filigree is found where the vocal version contains long note values. Narváez adds material to all of the voices relatively equally, rather than giving preference to one voice in particular. Despite the structural similarities, these additions of scalar material and the division of long note values seem to influence a major difference in the metrical interpretation of these pieces, at least in modern performance. In fact, this same metrical issue is found in every piece in this study, which makes it worth discussing at length.

This transcription of the vihuela work uses a time signature of 1/1 (compas = breve), which conflicts with most other modern editions and recorded performances that are done in 2/2 (compas = semibreve). Josquin’s original vocal work could be expressed by 2/1 (compas = longa). Since common modern vihuela performances of Cancion del Emperador are interpreted in 2/2, they contain a metrical pulse or compas with three times the strong beats of a modern vocal performance, commonly in 2/1. It is interesting to note how far modern interpretations and editions of the vihuela work have strayed from the metrical interpretation of the vocal work, and
because of this the two versions might not even be perceived as the same piece at first listen. This is made evident in mm. 1-2, where the vocal version contains two tied whole notes (a longa in the vocal source), while the vihuela contains two whole notes that are not tied and are separated by a barline. Modern instrumental performances of this piece give relatively strong beats to both of these whole notes, establishing and continuing this “double time” compas throughout the rest of the piece. The surface rhythm is not obscured, but the metric feel is totally different. This metric problem is further confirmed when the scalar material begins in mm. 3-4, which is much easier to play with a metrically diminished tactus and thus two or even three times as many strong beats. The intabulation is still beautiful and musically rich in its own right the way it is commonly interpreted. However, the longer melodic vocal lines are lost and musical emphasis is instead given to the glosas.

Narváez probably did receive formal music training in his childhood as a singer, and he also directed the boys’ choir in the court of Phillip II. So, his musical instincts were probably that of a singer, not an instrumentalist, and he was certainly familiar with vocal repertoire. It makes perfect sense that he would be thinking of the longer vocal phrases when he performed Cancion del Emperador, which would necessitate a compas at least at the rate of a breve. In this style of interpretation, the glosas are much less important and function only as decorative filigree to keep the music moving, and the more important notes used in phrasing are the long held pitches that belong to the vocal work. Conversely, modern vihuelists usually come from the guitar or keyboard tradition, and often have little familiarity with the vocal style that these intabulations emulate. So, the musical instincts of these musicians are to use the glosas as points of phrasing and importance, rather than the held pitches. This type of interpretation is reflective of Romantic
style and phrasing, and though it is beautiful to modern ears, there is little historic backing for its use in vihuela music.

This issue also rears its head in every other vihuela intabulation that has been examined in this study. In the case of Cancion del Emperador, it can be partially explained by the addition of all the scalar material. It makes sense that the more notes added to a work, the heavier it will tend to feel and the easier it is to play with more downbeats. However, this piece is a bit unusual in its liberal addition of glosas, and most of the vihuela intabulations maintain greater fidelity to their original counterparts. Since even these pieces contain this compas related issue (according to the barring in the facsimilie), there must be another reason why this was the common practice. The vihuelists commonly split note values of a breve into two semibreves, and even semibreves into two minims, pointing to a major limitation of this instrument: sustain. A voice can sustain a pitch much longer than a plucked vihuela course, and the halving and repeating of these long notes on the vihuela can cause stresses to fall on beats where they should not normally, influencing this metrical issue throughout this repertoire.

Narváez uses musica ficta very liberally in this intabulation, and much more than is indicated in the New Josquin Edition. However, the ficta in the intabulation is most often used when newly composed material is inserted into the preexisting work; the pitches of the model seem to be altered with much more caution. This may reflect the attitude that ficta is to be realized extemporaneously by the performer, and is thus more of an improvisatory and ornamental practice than a categorical, rule-bound one. Since the added material is not structurally important and serves mainly to add interest to the homorhythmic polyphony that is

stripped of its text, pitches can be raised with much freer license. For example, Narváez inserts this cadential ornamentation so often that it becomes a very recognizable motive:

\[ \text{\includegraphics{motiv.png}} \]

This motive occurs at mm. 8-9, 42-43, 46-47, and 62-63. It is entirely original to the instrumental work, and pitches are usually not raised in the vocal edition at these points. Possibly, the use of a raised pitch was thought to catch the ear more easily, establishing this as a motive. In addition to this particular motive, raising many pitches in general slightly distorts the original work in a way that may have been seen as artistic, much in the way a modern jazz musician would slightly distort a borrowed, recognizable melody with altered pitches or rhythms.

This “artistic distortion” may be seen in another case when comparing mm. 17-18 and 23-24. In the intabulation, these places resolve the same repeating phrase (compare mm. 13-18 and 19-24). However, the sonority that the phrase resolves to is D - F-sharp - A in 18 (note the raised F), and B-flat - D - F in 24 (F is not raised here to avoid disrupting the fifth with B-flat). The F is not raised in either instance in the vocal version. It is also strange to see a phrase resolve to a raised pitch, since usually the penultimate pitch collection contains the raised pitch. Other issues regarding ficta will be discussed further in following musical examples.
Imitative Polyphony

*Jamais ie neuz tant de souls* is another intabulation by Narváez, and follows immediately after *Cancion del emperador* in book three of his *Seys Libros*.

Though this piece is located within a close proximity to the previous work in the book, the intabulation is entirely different in both style and (apparently) artistic objective. This piece is composed with equal voiced, imitative polyphony where motives and interest are passed around between each voice constantly. Rather than using the source composition as a framework for adding a large amount of figuration, this intabulation is much barer. Narváez added almost no scalar passages, ornamental figures, or filigree to this intabulation, preserving the original work as much as possible.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intabulator: Luys de Narváez (1490-1547)</th>
<th>Source Composer: Nicolas Gombert (1495-1560)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Source Genre: Secular Chanson</td>
<td>Source Number of Voices: 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographic Region of Source: Franco-Flemish</td>
<td>Generation of Intabulator: Early</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compositional Traits of Source: Imitative polyphony is the broad technique used throughout this composition. No more than two of the four voices ever sing the same syllables together, creating a dense texture where the words are somewhat obscured by the music. There are few recurring motives, except for voice reentrances which are usually marked by a quarter rest followed by several unison quarter notes, which stands out in the texture.

Does the source material contain borrowing from an earlier source? No
Example 3.2: Jamais ie neuz – Gombert / Narváez


What reasons may exist for this drastic style change in intabulation when comparing these two works by the same composer in the same book? It could be that Mille regretz was already very familiar to Narváez’s audience, and so he felt that he could disguise the composition more without having it lose its identity. It has already been established by Rees and others that Narváez had a close connection to the Emperor Charles V, which must have had something to do with the renaming of this work as Cancion del emperador.\textsuperscript{79} Another possibility is that it has to do with the style of the source composition. Josquin’s Mille regretz is very homorhythmic and contains little figuration for purely musical interest. Rather than elaborate musical filigree, the artistic focus is on the poetry which is easily understood and enhanced by the sonorities. In an instrumental intabulation, the words are lost, so musical devices must be added to fill that artistic void in the piece. Conversely, in Jamais ie neuz, the piece is quite contrapuntal and imitative. The four voices move through the piece almost independently, resulting in very intricate interplay among them. A casualty of this is that the words are often obscured since the syllabification of the voices never line up in entirety. A work such as this already has plenty of musical complexities to sustain a listener’s interest even without text, so the resulting intabulation does not need to add anything. In fact, if much is added, it could ruin the delicate counterpoint that was already composed by Gombert. In all the vihuela books, a high level of respect generally exists for the more contemporary generation of vocal composers using imitative polyphony, and there are fewer attempts to alter compositions that come from this tradition.

Despite the overall high fidelity to the source, several smaller changes to this intabulation were made apparently for artistic and idiomatic reasons. In the very first bar, Narváez breaks up

\textsuperscript{79} Owen Rees, “‘Mille Regretz’ as Model: Possible Allusions to the ‘Emperor’s Song’ in the Chanson Repertory,” 45.
the alto voice from a full measure (a half note in this transcription) to a dotted quarter – eighth. Possibly, this was done because none of the other voices have entered yet, and the decay of this pitch would be even more evident than usual. The superius then enters on the upbeat of measure three instead of the downbeat, making its entrance even more obvious or adding rhythmic vitality to the work (in the same manner a jazz musician would distort the rhythm of a quotation or theme). It makes sense to go to extra lengths to make voice entrances more evident in this way on the vihuela because of the instrument’s uniform tone color. When different singers sing unique parts with different notes and syllables, the voices are much easier to aurally delineate because each voice has both a different timbre and a different syllable. On the vihuela, voices cannot express different syllables and have a similar timbre, so it is much easier to lose track of voice leading.

At several different points, groups of pitches have been omitted or severely simplified (mm. 7-10 superius, 19-20 alto, 69 superius), and in many places individual notes are left out. These mostly appear to be for idiomatic reasons. While the vihuela is capable of realizing polyphony to some extent, there are limitations on maintaining melodic lines, because of necessary left hand fingering jumps and shifts. Also, clusters of adjacent notes are not always possible because multiple notes cannot be sounded on the same string. Fuenllana solves this problem at times by using a “split course” technique where only one string of the course is fretted and the other string is left to sound the open pitch. However, this technique is difficult and was not used by any of the other vihuelists. It is also only applicable when one of the pitches to be sounded is an open string. In the places where notes are left out in Jamais ie neuz, Narváez sacrificed a note or several in order to maintain fluidity in the other lines.
Narváez’ use of ficta is widespread in this composition, much like in *Cancion del Emperador*. It is also much more liberal than what is found in the modern edition. The most common altered pitch is A-flat, which Narváez raises to A natural on many occasions (mm. 18, 20, 21, 28, 30, 37, 52, 54, 57, 59, 69, 70, and none of these are raised in the modern edition). Although A natural is an open string on a vihuela tuned in G and therefore an idiomatically advantageous note, A-flat is also quite playable in nearly all of these situations. This supports that these raised pitches were for artistic reasons, not idiomatic ones. Anthony Newcomb has identified many places in intabulations of Gombert’s motets that call for ficta where most modern editions would not.\(^{80}\) Though the ficta usage in the vihuela intabulations is only one opinion on how it should have been used, it is worth noting.

Another interesting issue occurs in measure 4 and then again in measure 13, where the editors of the vocal work chose to flatten a D (E-flat in the original, non-transposed work) in the alto voice, to avoid a diminished fifth with the A-flat in the superius. Narváez does not flatten the D but instead raises the A-flat to an A natural in the superius, also avoiding the tritone. Though both of these choices successfully avoid the tritone between the superius and alto voices, Narváez’ method allows the superius’s entrance to mirror the intervals of the alto’s preceding entrance. The other option of flatting the D and leaving the A-flat alone results in the superius mirroring the intervals of the tenor and bass entrances that follow. Both methods of dealing with this dissonance seem successful theoretically on the page, but to my ears Narváez’ solution is better.

**Treble Dominated Homophony**

A well-known work by the Parisian composer Claudin de Sermisy, *Tant que vivray* was published in 1526 and is typical of a “lyric” style of Parisian chanson that was popular during the sixteenth century. The consonant, homorhythmic style is easily singable for amateurs, and also easy to intabulate for a plucked string instrument such as the vihuela. Fuenllana published this piece in two different forms in his book. First, he intabulated a bare version of the piece with little added figuration, except for repeated tag endings at the end of the A and B sections. Then, he published a much more decorated version of the piece, which is the one analyzed here (interestingly, this version does not contain the tag endings). The piece was also published for six-course lute by the French printer Pierre Attaingnant. Attaingnant’s version is much less ornamented, and is more structurally accurate to the original when compared with Fuenllana’s second version.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intabulator: Miguel de Fuenllana (1500-1579)</th>
<th>Source Composer: Claudin de Sermisy (1490-1562)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Source Genre: Secular Chanson</td>
<td>Source Number of Voices: 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographic Region of Source: Franco-Flemish</td>
<td>Generation of Intabulator: Late</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compositional Traits of Source: Homphonic, homorhythmic, and syllabic. Declamatory, making the text very easy to understand. There are few motives, except for a recurring rhythmic pattern of a long note followed by two halved note values (mm. 1-2 and 25 for example).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does the source material contain borrowing from an earlier source? No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Example 3.3: Tant que vivray – Sermisy/Fuenllana


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Most of Fuenllana’s intabulations adhere remarkably strictly to the original work with very few added or changed notes, making this piece a drastic exception. Rather than an attempt to recreate the polyphony of the original work (as was normally his goal), this was published as an example of how one might ornament a vocal work, explaining why he published it in both unadorned and decorated versions. Because of this, it has many deviations from the original composition. The heavy glossing of this work is interesting because Fuenllana actually discourages the ornamentation of intabulations in the preface of the *Orphenica Lyra*:

Thus we see that some, content with their opinion alone, compose anew works placed in their hands, which very fine authors have composed with excellent craft and good spirit, girding them with I don’t know what redobles in conformance with their will. I maintain that if there is no cadence or (other) time when the composition itself allows, one should
not, by (this or) another means, defraud the composition with such glosses or redobles; and as I have said, for the reason here stated, I do not use it (glossing) in the works of this book, save at cadences or in the places demanded by the composition, as will be seen in the works themselves.\(^{83}\)

As can be seen, Fuenllana does not agree with the idea of adding instrumental filigree to intabulations in general. He chasizes those that do, saying that they are “content with their opinion alone” and that they “defraud” good compositions with this practice. However, there was a tendency to accept glossing in both contrapuntally simpler works and earlier works that did not use imitative polyphony, and Fuenllana may have been a bit severe in his introduction, actually subscribing to the belief that ornamentation is acceptable in certain situations (explaining his actions in \textit{Tant que Vivray}). In his \textit{Declaration}, Bermudo stated that “If the music according to the old rules had need of glosas because of its heaviness, that of these times does not have the need.”\(^{84}\) This seems to state that the amount of glosas or scalar passages inserted into an intabulation should depend on the style and period of the source work.

If Fuenllana shared Bermudo’s opinions, \textit{Tant que vivray} would be a great candidate for ornamentation when compared with some of the other more densely polyphonic vocal music that was intabulated. Fuenllana adds almost constant \textit{glosas} to fill in notes that are held in the vocal version. Very often, he omits changing harmonies on beat two in favor of adding more scalar movement (mm. 4, 6, 10, 14, and 22). In the B section, he leaves out all but the bass voice so that it is possible to play a constant stream of sixteenth notes in the top voice (mm. 25-28), resulting in an effect that consists of improvisatory divisions over the piece. However, the bass voice still contains the recognizable rhythmic motive of long, short, short that is characteristic of this piece,


and the stream of divisions in the superius voice still contains all of the sung notes within the
glosa, further grounding the piece and making it instantly recognizable as *Tant que vivray*.

Fuenllana also leaves out several areas in the piece, and these are blocked out in gray in
the vihuela edition. In the A section, he shortens two cadential areas by moving on to the next
phrase a measure early. This could be the result of interpreting the piece in halved meter, much
as was previously discussed in the heavily ornamented *Cancion del Emperador* by Narváez. In
the same way, this piece would be very difficult to interpret with the same mensural feel as the
vocal version (which would be 2/2 using the note values given in this edition) because of the
added weight of all the scalar material. The almost constant streams of sixteenth notes would
need to be counted with twice the lightness (like thirty-second notes in 2/4), which would be
very virtuosic and difficult for most people to realize in a musically convincing way. The
“halving” of the meter allows for the glosas to be added, but it also makes cadence points seem
too long because they would then be two measures instead of one, and the measure in question is
a relatively minor cadence, not requiring that long of a rest.

In the B section, the same thirteen measures of musical material repeat itself in the vocal
version, with different text. Fuenllana chose to completely leave out the second repetition of this,
which is a bit puzzling. However, there are several possible reasons for doing this. One reason
may have been to encourage the player to write his own glosas to finish the piece, since this was
an example of how one might add glosas to a piece. It would make sense for him to choose a
work that was widely known, and the glosas would have made more sense to an audience who
knew the original work well, easing them to compose their own to finish the piece. Another
possible reason for the abridged version is due to the way the original piece was printed. There is
a repeat sign instead of a written out repeat in the printer Attaingnant’s original version of 1527,
and Fuenllana may have chosen to copy the look of the original. However, Fuenllana does not use a repeat sign which leaves the two sections very unbalanced, so the performer would probably elect to repeat the B section anyway, probably with his own original ornamentation.

**Sustained Polyphony - A Madrigal**

*Il bianco e dolce cigno* by Jacques Arcadelt was printed in the composer’s *Il primo libro de’ madrigali a 4 voci* (Venice, 1539), although the piece predates that book. Miguel Fuenllana intabulated this piece in *Orphenica lyra* book 5, number 12, and published it fifteen years after the *Primo Libro de madrigal a 4 voci*. All four parts of the vocal piece are transcribed for vihuela with a texted superius line printed in red, so the piece can be performed either completely instrumentally or with a sung superius.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intabulator: Miguel de Fuenllana (1500-1579)</th>
<th>Source Composer: Jacques Arcadelt (1507-1568)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Source Genre: Secular Madrigal</td>
<td>Source Number of Voices: 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographic Region of Source: Italy</td>
<td>Generation of Intabulator: Late</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compositional Traits of Source: A through composed madrigal consisting mostly of homorhythmic polyphony, with some sections of imitative, denser polyphony, especially toward the end.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does the source material contain borrowing from an earlier source? No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example 3.4: Il bianco e dolce cigno – Arcadelt/Fuenllana


nel morir' altro dolor non sento,

di mille mort' il di sarei contento.
Unlike *Tant que Vivray*, this intabulation does not contain much in the way of glosas, ornamentation, changed material, or subtracted phrases. Though it is in general quite faithful to the original, several interesting changes have been made. In the vocal works’ cadential areas of mm. 45-47 and 85-91, the superius reaches a cadential note early, holding its pitch until the lower voices resolve later. Rather than preserving this in the intabulation, these held voices are broken up, which was probably done at least partially for idiomatic reasons when the piece was performed instrumentally—the vihuela will not sustain a pitch much longer than a half note depending on the tempo. This breaking up of long note values is a common feature in these intabulations and has been seen and discussed elsewhere. The two areas where long notes are broken up in the facsimile are shown below:
Example 3.5: Repeated cadential notes in superius – *Il bianco e dolce cigno*\textsuperscript{86}

mm. 38-48

mm. 79-92

Though the lack of sustain is a common reason for breaking up held pitches in the case of vihuela performance, the fact that the superius line was printed in red and therefore meant to be sung raises another possible issue. The new notes could either illustrate that the singer should hold the syllable through the repeated pitches, or they could suggest a different syllabification than would have been the norm (as is seen in the Jacobs edition of *Orphenica Lyra*).\textsuperscript{87} In this edition, it is suggested that the final words of each phrase be repeated in order to avoid holding the same pitch for an unnaturally long period of time in what has been reduced to a solo song with vihuela accompaniment. It was a common feature of vocal polyphony to have one or more voices reach their cadential pitch before the others and sustain until all voices had cadenced, and

\textsuperscript{86} Miguel de Fuenllana, *Orphénica lyra*, folios 121-122v.

\textsuperscript{87} Charles Jacobs, *Orphénica lyra*, 635, 637.
this is a great musical effect, because when the ear is used to hearing multiple constantly moving voices, a long sustained voice sticks out in the texture very clearly. However in this intabulation, only one voice is sung, so a pitch held on the same syllable for that length of time could lose some of that musical effect. It is the opinion of this paper that either of these possibilities could be musically successful, but the issue is worth discussing nonetheless as it would need to be confronted when programming this music as solo song.

During many suspensions in this piece (mm. 8, 18, 28, 44, etc.), another slight alteration has been made. Rather than simply resolving the note on beat two of the bar as is done in the vocal edition, Fuenllana repeats the dissonant pitch during the actual suspension before it resolves. This is probably another alteration made to compensate for the instruments lack of sustain, and is a common feature in vihuela intabulations. It also adds an element of rhythmic vitality to the work. Normally, the pitch sounds during the preparation of the suspension and sustains through the dissonance to the resolution, but the vihuela’s short sustain will not allow this, so the pitch is repeated during the suspension to reinforce the dissonance. Griffiths has found this same feature used commonly by Daça in his intabulations and in his fantasias, which shows that this practice was common in both intabulations and original works of the vihuelists.88 This practice also can be found in other plucked string repertoires from other countries.

Another significant change occurs in the imitative section towards the end, where Fuenllana takes out entrances of the motive (mm. 75 and 85). Despite this simplification of texture, it is impressive that he keeps as much of it intact as he does. In addition to the rewritings, Fuenllana added some melodic passing tones to the superius line (mm. 51 and 59), and reduced a sixteenth note rhythm to eighth notes in m. 5. The addition of passing tones in the melody is purely ornamental; both instances occur in places where all voices are held half notes in the

vocal version, but not cadential points. Since the pitches on the vihuela would decay after a half note, it makes sense to insert some material to keep the phrase moving. Fuenllana does not insert any material that fundamentally changes the phrase, rather just a repeated note in an inner voice and the passing tone in the superius to keep things moving.

* * *

Though the sample size in this study is small in comparison to the entire body of vihuela intabulations, it produces many interesting points that can be applied to the repertoire as a whole. The intabulation is by definition a reproduction of a previously written vocal work, but alterations are still necessary. Even optional, artistic liberties are sometimes taken when transcribing multiple part polyphony to an instrument such as the vihuela, and this practice illuminates the style preferences of the intabulators. The following chapter will summarize and comment on these alterations further.
Chapter 4 – Conclusion

The comparison of the four intabulations with their corresponding vocal sources in chapter three illustrated the alterations that were required in making the pieces work well on the vihuela. Although these issues were discussed when they came up in each individual piece, it is possible to abstract a general list of alterations that can be applied to the entire repertoire of intabulations. The main interest is not just in what these changes were, but rather why they were made. At a larger level, these alterations are divided between those changes that were made for idiomatic or technical reasons and those that were made for musical reasons. Examples of the issues have also been provided for illustrative purposes.

Alterations for Idiomatic Reasons

Transposition

Most of the vocal works needed to be transposed to pitch centers that work well on the vihuela. The best keys and modes on the instrument are those that utilize the most open strings. On a G instrument (the most common type of modern vihuela reproduction), the open strings are G-c-f-a-d’-g’, and the modes that work best are those that have finals on one of the three lowest courses (G-c-f). Modes that lie outside that range make less use of the open strings, which causes performance to be more difficult, both technically and musically. Open strings are technically easier because they do not require the use of the left (fretting) hand, and also are musically superior because they resonate and sustain better on the instrument. There are primary sources
that advise the beginning intabulator to assign the final of a composition to one of the lowest strings on the vihuela, and work from there.  

Though only certain tonal centers are advantageous on the instrument, the concept of fixed pitch was also very loose or non-existent, supporting the fact that transposition was for purely idiomatic reasons. This is confirmed by Luis Milán, who instructs the player to tune his instrument as high as the first course will allow without breaking rather than to a fixed pitch of G. There were also vihuelas in many different sizes and keys, which is evidenced by the duos in the fourth book of Valderrábano which require vihuelas in many different configurations from unison to up to a fourth apart. All of the instruments in the family of vihuelas were tuned with the same intervals, so the tablatures could be played on a vihuela of any size or key, since the intervals between the courses are the same.

**Diminution of compas**

Every piece in this study also shows a discrepancy between the *compas* or *tactus* of the modern vocal edition and the vihuela facsimile. The barring in the tablatures all suggest a *compas* happening at twice the rate of the mensuration in the vocal versions. In some cases, the pieces are given a tempo designation of *espacio* (such as in *Mille regretz*), which seems to enforce this fact. Furthermore, added scalar material in the vihuela tablatures and repeated pitches on long note values strengthen this tendency for twice the number of strong beats. This can be clarified by comparing a recording of the vocal and instrumental versions of *Mille regretz*

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89 Ibid., 102-3.


(Cancion del emperador) while reading the side by side transcription in chapter three. As this issue applies to each piece in this study, it also exists in a majority of the repertoire of intabulations. Though we do not know the performance practice of the original vihuelists, the modern performance practice also reflects this diminution of compas.

Removal of voices

It is impossible to maintain four independent vocal lines on the vihuela without some alteration, and removing a voice is a primary method of simplifying the music. In example 4.1a below, the A in the tenor cannot be repeated in eighth notes because the C in the alto voice must be played on the same string. The C is chosen over the A because it is part of the recognizable, imitative motive on “di mille morte,” and keeping that intact is more important than repeating an A in the tenor voice. Again in Example 4.1b, the inner voices would be sounded on the same string, so material is removed. The problem of two notes occurring on the same string is the primary idiomatic reason for voice removal, and this problem is most often seen when voices get very close together, especially at intervals of seconds or minor thirds (as in the Jamais ie neuz example). In addition, the removal of voices can happen for musical reasons when it may be physically possible to play the pitches, but doing so would require drastic hand movements that would break the continuity of the melodies, producing a less musically effective result.
Example 4.1:

Vihuela:

Source:

Il bianco m. 75-76 tenor

Jamais ie neuz m. 19-20, tenor

Repeating of pitches with long duration

Pitches that are held for long durations is another common alteration to these intabulations. As was previously discussed, this was to overcome the issue of the vihuela’s lack of sustain. In examples a and b, the pitches are repeated in each measure instead of being tied. Playing these examples on a vihuela demonstrates that the sound lasts only about the length of a measure, depending on the tempo taken. The vocal version of Mille regretz begins with only octaves, and Narváez may have added the A in the first measure of the intabulation to give extra emphasis to the first chord, hinting at the metrical pace of the vocal version. In Tant que vivray, Fuenllana may have repeated the C in the alto voice as well to keep the phrase moving through both measure 15 and 16, also showing that the vocal version only has one strong beat on 15, and
16 should be felt as an upbeat. This practice of repeating pitches of long note values is widespread and seen throughout the repertoire.

Example 4.2:

Repeating of pitches during suspensions

Another common reason that pitches are repeated is to emphasize the dissonance in suspensions. The voice is entirely capable of maintaining or even growing in strength while holding a pitch, so it is easy to emphasize the dissonance of a tied suspension with intensity. However, the vihuela’s sound peaks right after the string is plucked, and then it steadily decays. In example 4.3a, the suspended F in the soprano would still be ringing on the downbeat of the suspension regardless of whether or not it was resounded, but plucking the note again gives it additional strength. In general, the dissonances are emphasized and the resolutions subdued in this performance practice, so it makes musical sense to resound the pitches on dissonances.
Example 4.3:

Vihuela:

Source:

*Jamais ie neuz* m. 53-4, soprano

*Il bianco* m. 7-8, alto

**Simplifying rhythm**

The last idiomatic alteration is the simplifying of rhythms. In example 4.4a, it is entirely possible to play with the rhythm of the vocal version, but it is more difficult for the hands. The vihuela version with the softened rhythm is easier to play with fluidity, and it also allows the passing dissonance of the B-flat in the soprano to be heard over the A and F more clearly. In example 4.4b from *Jamais ie neuz*, the rhythm is not just softened, but changed to be more playable and idiomatic on the vihuela. It would be impractically difficult for the left hand to finger the notes of the vocal version in a way that would maintain the continuity of the polyphony, so the music is altered to be more playable while still preserving the important elements of the material. The descending line in the first measure of the example is moved to the
tenor voice, and the suspension in the second measure is sounded on both the first and second beats instead of just the first. In this example, Narváez is using the same cadential formula that will be discussed in the next example.

Example 4.4:

\[ \text{Vihuela:} \]

\[ \text{Source:} \]

\[ \text{Il bianco m. 5} \]

\[ \text{Jamais ie neuz m. 29-30} \]

**Alterations for Musical Reasons**

*Glosas – cadential ornamentation*

In intabulations, cadences are often ornamented more elaborately than in their corresponding vocal works. These cadential figurations are quite formulaic, and Narváez uses the same one in both of his works in this study (seen in examples 4.5a and b). In the case of this ornament, a 4-3 suspension is resolved in the top voice, and then reestablished and resolved again before the final sonority occurs. This particular ornament both decorates the cadence and reproduces the dissonance in the suspension a second time, making it more obvious to the ear. These ornaments and other similar types are of a decidedly instrumental rather than vocal style,
and even if one does not know the vocal work it can be obvious when there is an inserted glosa such as this.

Example 4.5:

\[\text{Vihuela:}\]

\[\text{Source:}\]

\[\text{Jamais ie neuz m. 72-3}\]

\[\text{Mille regretz m. 46-7}\]

\textit{Glosas – long note value ornamentation}

As previously discussed, long notes in this repertoire are frequently repeated in order to overcome the vihuela’s lack of sustain. However, at times the long notes are filled in with rapid glosas rather than simply repeated. This is both very idiomatic to the instrument and also adds musical interest to sections that can be rather uneventful when stripped of their text. In both examples 4.6a and b, the source vocal works are very homorhythmic and declamatory, which is effective for conveying the poetic texts in a clear way. However, when the text is removed and these sonorities are played on an instrument like the vihuela, what remains is easily perceived as a series of vertical chords. Since the vocal independence is lost along with the poetic value, glosas are added to voices to fill in the void. These rapidly moving voices add musical interest.
and separate at least one voice from the homorhythmic texture to create a focal point. The ornamentation of long note values happens most frequently in pieces that are homorhythmic because of a need to draw interest somewhere in an instrumental performance. In pieces that utilize imitative counterpoint, the complex interplay between the voices already established by the composer would be disrupted if glosas were added into the texture. Imitative pieces are also much more difficult to realize on the vihuela than homorhythmic ones, and playing the notes that are already there can be a feat in itself, with no need for adding more.

Example 4.6:

![Example 4.6](image)

Glosas – ‘free’ ornamentation

In addition to the ornamentation of long note values, vihuelists also composed glosas in other places that needed musical interest. In the case of *Tant que vivray*, Fuenllana was demonstrating how one could decorate a piece such as this (see example 4.7). It is full of free ornamentation in places where the vocal melodies could be realized without any technical hindrances. However, the preference of these musicians was to use free decoration very sparsely
and only in cases where it didn’t wreck the work of the previous composer. Like long note ornamentation, free ornamentation was most commonly used in pieces that used less independently polyphonic, imitative style.

Example 4.7:

![Music notation image]

_Vihuela::

Source:

_Tant que vivray m. 25-8_

Removal of material – at cadences or resting pitches

Due to the previously discussed issue of the diminution of the _tactus_, cadences and points of rest were sometimes shortened in the vihuela intabulations. When a sonority was sustained for a long period in a vocal work (such as this point in the example from _Tant que Vivray_), it could seem longer, even to the point of awkwardness in a vihuela work with twice the number of downbeats. To avoid this, the point of rest could be shortened. In example 4.8, a measure is removed in the vihuela work and a glosa is inserted to keep the phrase moving.
Example 4.8:

\[\text{Vihuela:}\]

\[\text{Source:}\]

\[\text{Tant que vivray m. 8}\]

**Removal of material – in repeated sections**

Another place where material could be eschewed in the intabulations was in the case of repeated material. This was for economic reasons, saving cost by lessening the amount of paper and labor required in printing the piece. Also, it was for musical reasons; usually repeated musical sections would occur with different text, which provided variation in the new poetry. In the case of intabulations where the poetry was omitted, there would be no need to repeat a section for this reason. In the B section of *Tant que vivray*, the repeated B section is taken out entirely, as is some material in measures 39-47 of *Jamais ie neuz* for the same reason.

**Resetting text**

In cases where a vocal line was provided, the voice that was chosen by the vihuelist to be sung would at times need to be altered in order for the piece to make sense as a work of solo voice with accompaniment. In measures 45-47 and 67-69 of *Il bianco e dolce cigno*, the soprano
contains long held pitches while the interest lies in the other voices. In the intabulation, this
would not make sense as it is the only sung voice. So, the held notes are broken up in order to
make the soprano line last until the end of the phrase.

* * *

Intabulations have frequently been devalued by scholars as insignificant or simply
“debris of performance practice.”92 This study has illuminated numerous places where these
pieces diverge from their sources, and though some of these inconsistencies simply outline the
technical limitations of the vihuela when compared to the human voice, others illustrate
significant artistic decisions that were made by their composers. The examples listed previously
are by no means exhaustive even for these four pieces, and the same traits can be seen
throughout the repertoire. These compositional decisions are isolated amidst a background of the
almost mechanical reproduction of a previous composition, which allows them to be seen with
clarity, rather than when these ideas are used in entirely original works such as fantasias that are
entirely filled with original decisions overlapping one another. Though only a few of the several
hundred intabulations in this repertoire have been examined, the study has found a variety of
different types of deviations that are characteristic of the repertoire and could be seen in
countless other examples.

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I. Vihuela History and Culture


II. Renaissance Musical Borrowing


III. Musical Sources:


