

9 Spain

ÁG U E D A P E D R E R O - E N C A B O

The *Libro de cifra nueva para tecla, harpa y vihuela* (1557), compiled by Luis Venegas de Henestrosa (ca. 1510–1570), and the *Obras de música para tecla, harpa y vihuela* (1578) by Antonio de Cabezón (1510–1566) are the earliest books of keyboard music printed in Spain.¹ Except for some strictly liturgical organ pieces, they contain multipurpose repertoire meant for all sorts of keyboards – organ, clavichord, harpsichord, spinet, etc. – as well as for harp and vihuela.² The genres include dances, *diferencias* (i.e., variations), and *glosados* (diminutions). Cabezón’s command of counterpoint, melodic diminutions, and masterful variation technique gives his works special distinction.³ Among these are the *diferencias* based on a given melodic/harmonic structure (e.g., *Diferencias sobre las vacas*, on a bass pattern akin to the *romanesca*); dances (*Pavana italiana*, *Gallarda milanesa*); and popular tunes (*La dama le demanda*, the villancico *¿Quién te me enojó, Isabel?*, or the *Canto llano del cavallero*, based on the famous love song, *Dezidle al cavallero*) (see Example 9.1).⁴

The *glosados* on chansons and madrigals reveal Cabezón’s knowledge of foreign, especially Franco-Flemish, polyphonic music (e.g., Lasso’s *Susanne un jour*, Willaert’s *Anchor che col partire*, Verdelot’s *Ultimi miei sospiri*, etc.). His elaborated, Josquin-influenced contrapuntal technique appears even more intricate in his four- and five-part settings, where he develops beautifully imaginative *glosas*.⁵ His *diferencias* (which strongly influenced English virginalists, as Kastner once noticed) are enriched by expressive harmonies and musical rhetoric patterns, making him one of the most important composers of his time.⁶

The earliest repertoire specifically intended for the harpsichord is found in Francisco de Tejada’s *Libro de música de clavicímalo* (1721), a collection of dances, some popular and typically Spanish (e.g., *Marizápalos*, *tonadilla*, *canarios*), some bearing descriptive names such as *Gitanilla* (Gipsy girl), and others courtly, with a significant presence of the French minuet.⁷ His simple, uncluttered style exemplifies the secular repertoire commonly played on the harpsichord – entertaining and easy to execute, in accordance with the eighteenth-century *galant* spirit.

The four volumes of keyboard music collected by Antoni Martín i Coll from the early eighteenth century mainly contain organ works, but all the secular repertoire, with no specific organ registrations, and no liturgical

Example 9.1 Antonio de Cabezón, *Diferencias sobre la Gallarda Milanesa*, *Obras de música para tecla, harpa y vihuela* (1578), mm. 1–18

use, could as well be played on the harpsichord. This is the case with his *tocatas alegres de Corelli*, canciones, minuets, dances (*zarabande*), *folías*, *canarios*, and transcriptions from stage works by Lully and others.⁸ How much improvisation and harmonic filling was added in performance is not known. The same is true of the works by Joan Cabanilles (1644–1712) on an ostinato bass or dance rhythm, such as his *gallardas* and *xácara*, which are well suited to the harpsichord.⁹

The favorite early eighteenth-century genre, the sonata, encompasses the oldest repertoire intended solely for the harpsichord. The work of Vicente Rodríguez (1690–1760), Cabanilles's heir, is regarded as its earliest dated evidence.¹⁰ His *Tocatas para címbalo* are preserved in a 1744 manuscript containing one *pastorela* and thirty *tocatas*, called *sonatas* in the source, proof that the two terms were then interchangeable in Spain.¹¹ His pieces are arranged by key, in chromatic ascending order from the tonics of D-Dorian to D \flat major an octave above, and display great formal and stylistic variety, indicating that they were written over many years, during which Rodríguez honed his skills in the use of the tonal system and the blossoming *style galant*.¹² Some sonatas (nos. 1, 2, 23) are in three movements connected by motivic links, reminiscent of the early baroque ensemble sonata. Others are extended single-movement works in a freer toccata style, mixing late-baroque pseudo-polyphonic voicing and long episodes displaying the newer hand-crossing technique. Rodríguez calls for this in twenty sonatas, perhaps because it was such a novelty, but such passages are not as picturesque and timely placed as in Albero or Soler; rather, they often sound stagnant and repetitious, halting the musical flow.

Example 9.2a Vicente Rodríguez, Sonata 20, *Toccatas para címbalo* (1744), mm. 1–9Example 9.2b Vicente Rodríguez, Sonata 20, *Toccatas para címbalo* (1744), mm. 64–72

Typical of Rodríguez is the extended *Fortspinnung* of a motif (Sonata 25, 240 bars) or cell (Sonata 16, 283 bars). The influence of the Italian concerto is recognizable in the melodic gestures of the Adagio of Sonata 27 and in the Largos of the three-tempo sonatas. Analysis of Rodríguez's fourteen two-section sonatas clearly reveals the sundry stylistic trends upon which he draws, including *Fortspinnung* and early *galant* phrase articulation (e.g., nos. 5, 8, 10, 15, 17–21, 24, 26, 29, and 30).¹³ An interesting example of such a mixture can be found in Sonata 20. Its chromatic theme is stated in imitation but is written in a danceable 3/4 meter and connected to a decorated countersubject (see Examples 9.2a and 9.2b).

Fortspinnung and driving rhythms can be found throughout, even in the cross-hand leaps in the left hand, but the chromatic theme reappears, expanded and enriched, until a surprising cadential phrase is repeated three times in a downward sequence, thus producing a lively *galant* atmosphere.

Cantabile themes articulated in four-bar phrases can be found in Sonatas 19, 21, and 24; and in five-bar groups in Sonata 30, sequentially repeated over a *romanesca* progression, shown in Example 9.3.¹⁴

Other sonatas in this collection feature a two-movement prelude–toccata format – either a slow, improvisational part followed by fast tempo in fugato style (as in Sonatas 9 and 27) or a solemn Grave preceding the Allegro (Sonatas 6 and 9), reflecting Rodríguez's own view of the French overture.

The same slow–fast pattern was used by Rodríguez's Catalan contemporary, José Elías (ca. 1687–1755).¹⁵ His twelve sonatas, actually called *tocatas*, are written in a graceful *style galant*, very unlike those of his colleague.¹⁶ They reveal the assimilation of Italian stylistic traits such as the *stile concertante* (e.g., the Allegros of nos. 5, 6, and especially 11),

Example 9.3 Vicente Rodríguez, Sonata 30, *Toccatas para címbalo* (1744), mm.1–16

certain melodic contours, the use of *pastorela*, the da capo aria form, or the Grave–Allegro pattern drawn from Corelli’s *sonata da chiesa*. Even when the copyist added organ directions to the titles, such as *Partido* or *Registro Ygual*, these toccatas fit the harpsichord because of their light two-part voicing, often with a simple “trommel bass,” and repeated full chords, as in the Grave from Toccata 11.¹⁷ Some feature late-baroque rhythms, rich chromaticism and frequent repeated notes (e.g., nos. 4 and 10), while others make use of the lyrical dotted rhythms of the *siciliana* typical of the *pastorela* (e.g., Allegros from nos. 2 and 9, Graves from nos. 7 and 8). A distinctive aspect of Elías’s style is an exuberant, richly ornamented right-hand melody line over a simple texture in the left, as seen in the Grave movements of nos. 1, 2, 3, and 5.

Perhaps the oldest Spanish harpsichord sonata is the only surviving work by Pere Rabassa (1683–1767), which also attests to the Italian-style influence.¹⁸ It is in four movements, *Giusto* – *Allegro* – *Adagio* – *Allegro*, like a baroque ensemble sonata, with a 12/8 gigue-like opening *Allegro* in Corelli fashion. Idiomatic harpsichord writing is especially apparent in the *Adagio*, with full chords suggesting that arpeggios are used, and in the second *Allegro*, quite similar to Rodríguez’s Sonata 29.

Among the Madrid court musicians who were active alongside Domenico Scarlatti, then Queen María Bárbara’s teacher, Sebastián Albero (1722–1756) stands out.¹⁹ His works have come to us in two manuscripts: *Obras para clavicordio o piano forte*, dedicated to King Ferdinand VI, with six three-movement works (*Recercata* – *Fugue* – *Sonata*); and the *Sonatas para clavicordio* codex, with its two groups of fourteen sonatas plus a fugue (nos. 15 and 30).²⁰

Albero adhered to a predominantly old-style Spanish prototype, the *tiento* (i.e., fugue), *intento*, or *partido*, which remained the favorite organ genre throughout the eighteenth century. His very extended fugues (some

are 300 to 500 measures in length) follow Elías's model, the learned Iberian *tiento* heritage being updated by the use of long themes embellished with *galant* elements in a tonal language (where, according to Koch, "dissonance need not be prepared"), as opposed to the modal *tiento*. This was actually the mixture Elías hinted at when he called his 1749 collection *Obras entre el antiguo y moderno estilo*.²¹ Like Elías, Alberro makes extensive use of chromatic passages, chords, and modulations; counterpoint is also treated freely, going as far as using a 3/8 dance meter (perhaps inspired by Scarlatti's Sonata K30, Fuga) and hemiolias.²² This is the case with the *Fuga prima*, in which a rhythmic theme, first stated six times in tonic and dominant, reappears throughout, alternating with modulating sequential passages and left-hand broken chords, always based on motifs derived from the theme. Some of these, containing the Phrygian cadence VIb–V, stress the use of a Spanish folk device, to which Soler often resorted as well.

The *recercada* genre had disappeared from Spain after Diego Ortiz's sixteenth-century *recercadas* for viola da gamba. Clearly, Alberro was trying to resurrect the genre of a prelude-like, free-tempo work, and his *recercata* is quite close to Louis Couperin's *prélude non mesuré*, as well as to the virtuoso baroque toccata, in that he uses a brilliant improvisational style unknown to Spanish composers at this time.²³ The same can also be detected in the short preludes included by Antonio Soler in his major treatise, *Llave de la modulación* (1762).²⁴ Thus, Alberro's music embodies three different styles: the *phantasticus* (improvisational) in his *recercatas*, the learned (imitative) in his fugues, and the *galant* in his sonatas. His six sonatas in the Madrid source are in two-part form, the second part opening with striking surprises, thus avoiding shallow repetition. There are almost no hand crossings (except for those few in nos. 4 and 6, plus nos. 1, 5, 13, and 18 from the Venice source), as the composer is seeking musical substance rather than mere virtuosity. The early *galant* style dominates, and the episodic structure is built on motivic repetition. The Sonata no. 2 fully displays Alberro's concertante style, as does the opening of no. 4, a type of allemande quite similar to Rodríguez's no. 2. No. 6 is a fine example of Alberro's expressive style (Example 9.4a), its similarities with Scarlatti's notwithstanding.²⁵

The use of folk rhythms (no. 1, m. 21) and guitar-like repeated chords (no. 4, m. 28; no. 5, m. 26; no. 6, m. 22) is also noteworthy. The Andantes display an intensely expressive singing style as, for instance, in no. 6 or in no. 3 (Example 9.4b), where a repeated motif on a descending chromatic bass (F–Eb–D–Db–C) and the contrasting tonalities F minor and Bb minor produce the effect of a heartfelt lament.

Another major figure is José de Nebra (1702–1768).²⁶ A dozen movements of his sonatas have been uncovered so far. These include some that

Example 9.4a Sebastian Albero, Sonata 6, *Obras para clavicordio o piano forte*, mm. 31–46

Example 9.4b Sebastian Albero, Sonata 3, *Obras para clavicordio o piano forte*, mm. 33–43

have not been fully documented as being written by the composer, plus an unfinished Grave. Nebra's works are in a late-baroque style mixed with early *galant* elements (Tocatas 1E and 2E, and Tocata 1A, 4A) and aspects of Italian music (Tocata 5E).²⁷ Melodic patterns from Tocata 2E are quite similar to Elías's Grave movements from Tocatas 1, 2, and 3, as well as to his Allegro from Tocata 8. While Nebra uses a closed-type two-part form, he introduces unexpected key contrasts and new expressive themes in the second section, as in his Tocata 1E in G major. Here, after the introductory D major cadence, an effusive, languid D minor subject is stated (m. 20). Its opening motif appears in imitation three times in each hand – a typical *stile antico* feature – and is then repeated twice more, with variations, in F major (m. 25) and D minor (m. 29), before leading to the D major closing section (m. 33). Notice his use of the Phrygian interval, with its contrasting folk modal character.

The best-known mid-eighteenth-century figure is undoubtedly Antonio Soler (1729–1783).²⁸ His work embodies the consolidation of new stylistic trends and the adoption of the classical sonata form. Out of more than 130 surviving sonatas, only a selection of twenty-seven was published during his time (London, ca. 1796).²⁹ A detailed chronology is hard to pinpoint, as most sonatas have come to us as undated manuscripts.³⁰ They display an impressive variety of forms and styles.³¹ Most are single-movement works, but Soler also wrote a few with two,

Example 9.5 Antonio Soler, Sonata in C minor, R48, mm. 6–15

Example 9.6 Antonio Soler, Sonata in C minor, R100, mm. 9–21

three, or four movements, although it remains difficult to ascertain if all were originally multimovement. Examples of two-part form abound, revealing a mixture of late-baroque style (and powerfully driving *Fortspinnung*), usually in triple meter, with *galant* motifs and ornamentation, sequential progressions, virtuoso passages, and hand crossings. Here, Soler appears at his most inspired and original. The polyphonic legacy is present in the movements expressly written in this style (e.g., the *intentos* from Sonatas nos. 63 to 68/III), as well as in the numerous sonatas opening with an imitative theme statement (nos. 5, 6, 9, 14, 18, etc.).³² A folk flavor is occasionally achieved by resorting to ostinatos, particularly on the Phrygian cadence (VIb–V), as in *Sonatas* no. 18 (m. 8), no. 19 (mm. 13, 46), and no. 48 (Example 9.5, mm. 10–12).

Some sonatas come close to the orchestral *Sturm und Drang* style (e.g., nos. 10, 48), while others are lighter and more playful (nos. 25, 37, 49, and 56); some are quasi-folksongs (nos. 53, 58, and 60); a few have a military character (nos. 1 and 22); and several use stylized folk dances, such as the bolero rhythms of nos. 4 (mm. 1, 21), 73 (m. 57), and 86 (m. 2) or 90 (mm. 1 and 11). The *Andantes* exhibit an intimate singing style (nos. 16, 68), now languid (no. 18, 20), now agitated, again in the *empfindsamer Stil* (nos. 75, 77, 79). Rich harmonies are exquisitely combined in no. 100 (see Example 9.6) to create a plaintive lament, also resorting to such typical

Andalusian folk music resources as the insistent Phrygian interval (A^b–G; m. 5) and guitar imitation, with *rasgueado* (strumming) on a diminished seventh chord and its *punteado* (i.e., finger picking) answer given to the left hand (mm. 9–10).

In multimovement sonatas, one can notice the adoption of the classical sonata format, as well as the inclusion of *galant* traits, such as a slower harmonic rhythm and frequent use of Alberti bass patterns. Earlier lively folk elements yield to transparency and clarity, typical of the early classical style. Based on dated sources, these sonatas are believed to have come from Soler's final years.

An especially interesting figure is Manuel Blasco de Nebra (1750–1784), organist at Seville Cathedral and José de Nebra's nephew.³³ Twenty-four sonatas and six *pastorelas* of his survive, out of a known total of 172 attributed to him, revealing a very interesting and original style, with a lyrical and emotional quality that sets him apart from his colleagues.³⁴ The six pieces discovered in Osuna are single movements in a simple and elegant *style galant*. All other sonatas, except 11MO and 12MO, are in two movements, Adagio (or Andante) and Allegro (or Presto).³⁵ Blasco de Nebra merges folk elements with his own peculiar manner of articulating the melody in long, profusely ornamented phrases, full of winding and irregular motifs, in a fascinating combination of the *galant* and *Empfindsamkeit*. He is fond of repeating a motif or phrase with charming variants or unexpected harmonic and melodic turns. His Adagios are intensely expressive (3Ma, 5Ma), subtly lamenting (2MO, 6MO, 1Ma), or display a delicate, intimate lyricism (2Ma; 3MO, third theme) and a funeral march character (2MO; 4Ma; 5MO, second theme, which is also the opening Allegro theme).³⁶ Some Allegros feature a late-baroque rhythmic drive in a danceable gigue meter, with motivic repetitions typical of Scarlatti and Soler (3MO, 4MO, 11MO, 2Ma). Blasco de Nebra also employs vigorous Spanish folk traits, some of which burst into and contrast with the more meditative first themes. The four-note arpeggiated appoggiaturas, recalling the French *arpègement figuré* (2Ma, Allegro, m. 19; 1MO, m. 26), emulate guitar strumming (see Example 9.7). The short grace notes conjure up the sharp sound of castanet clicks, which are usually associated to the downward melodic tetrachord in the melody of Phrygian ostinatos, as in 1MO, m. 26 (i.e., D–C[#]–B–A[#]), 4MO, m. 14 (F[#]–E^b), and 9MO, m. 9 (C[#]–B^b). Such augmented seconds also contribute to an exotic, Middle Eastern sound.

Joaquín Montero (1740?–ca. 1815) published *Seis sonatas para clave y fuerte piano* in 1790, also in two movements, Adagio – Allegro. His style is reminiscent of that of his predecessor Blasco de Nebra, such as the embellished melodic contours on a siciliana, 6/8 dotted rhythm (Sonata 1). However, Montero's style is simpler, less ornamented, often featuring

Example 9.7 Manuel Blasco de Nebra, Sonata 1 from E-MO Ms. 2998, mm. 26–39

triplets and unexpected passages in parallel octaves, divided between two hands, creating a playful rustic character (e.g., Sonata 2/I, m. 4).³⁷ The *galant* style dominates, rhythmically varied motifs unfolding with irregular articulation and emphasizing majestic dotted rhythms (Sonatas 2 and 4) that evoke a symphonic style (Sonata 6).

Besides the cited works, repertoire from the Catalan region is of remarkable interest, especially that of the organists of Montserrat Monastery, such as Anselm Viola (1738–1798). Sixteen sonatas of his are preserved; five bear the title *para clarines*, indicating performance on the organ.³⁸ The others connect Soler's *galant* compositional style to the Iberian organ tradition, with frequent fanfares and horn-call motifs as well as bass-line passages in broken octaves (e.g. nos. 11 and 13), not unlike those of Cabanilles and Elías. Some sonatas feature regular phrases in a light two-part texture, with frequent use of the Alberti bass – or its shortened two-note version (nos. 1, 3, 7, 9). Others are more virtuosic in character, with a thicker texture (Nos. 2, 8, 10, 12). This is evident in some of the fifteen known sonatas by Felip Rodríguez (1759–1814).³⁹ Other notable works by Catalan composers are twenty-one single-movement sonatas by Manuel Espona (1747–1779); eight sonatas published by Narcís Casanoves (1747–1799), which are also single-movement works, although some might be followed by a rondo; twenty-two sonatas by Francés Mariner (1720–1789); ten works by his nephew, Carles Baguer (1768–1808); or the collection of twenty-three single-movement sonatas by Josep Gallés (1758–1836).⁴⁰ The most relevant sonatas in the Aragonese area are

those by Juan Moreno y Polo (1711–1776), now recognized as the real author of the Sonata 121, once attributed to Soler; the six by Mariano Cosuenda (1737–1801); and the seven attributed to José Ferrer (ca. 1745–1815).⁴¹

Despite generations of famous organists at the service of the Madrid royal chapel, which employed four players at the same time, little eighteenth-century keyboard repertoire from this chapel has survived. They include several sonatas and fugues, dated ca. 1746–1752, by Joaquín Oxinagas, which strongly resemble those of Alberó.⁴² This compositional approach was to be passed on to the next generation of composers, such as Jose Lidón (1768–1827) and Juan Sessé (1769–1801). Both were hired as court organists in 1768. Another applicant for the position was the Valencia organist, Manuel Narro (1729–1776), from whom a Concerto for Harpsichord and Orchestra in G major (1767) and fifteen sonatas survive.⁴³ Several harpsichord sonatas by Lidón have been recently discovered, including a *Sonata para clave en sol* and a *Sonata para órgano con trompeta real y clave*.⁴⁴ Sessé's surviving music consists of *Seis fugas para órgano y clave*, *Obra I* (1773) and the *Cuaderno primero de una colección de piezas de música para clavicordio, forte-piano y órgano. Obra 6ª* (1785?). We know of other lost works by Sesse from inventories or newspaper advertisements, such as his *Doce minuetos para clavicordio* (1776), *Ocho divertimentos para clave o forte-piano* (1790) or *Seis sonatas para clavicordio que pueden servir para órgano* (1777).⁴⁵ These provide evidence of the most popular genres as well as a flexible approach to instruments, their repertoires being interchangeable either between harpsichord and piano or between harpsichord and organ, unless idiomatic organ writing was used.⁴⁶

Felix Máximo López (1742–1821) represents the end of the era of harpsichord composition in Spain, his works already featuring unmistakable indications for the fortepiano.⁴⁷ However his collection *Música de clave* contains seventeen sonatas idiomatically suited for the harpsichord. Symbolically, it opens with a *Pieza de clave* in a style that is old-fashioned for the time: a two-part texture, spirited baroque *Fortspinnung* in a dance-like 3/8 meter, with hand crossings and repeated notes. His other works use a more contemporary language, attesting to the reception of the classical Viennese style in Spain; in fact, eight of the sonatas are loose arrangements of seven Haydn symphonies.⁴⁸ López also wrote rondos, minuets, *pastorelas*, and two sets of six *Variaciones al minuet afandangado*.⁴⁹ In the second set he uses a mixture of classical features: the prelude (*Preludio Largo*) begins with dramatic French overture solemnity and *Sturm und Drang* harmonic tension. This contrasts with the minuet (*Allegro Moderato*), which takes on a light fandango air from its rhythmic

pattern (three quarter-notes – four eighth-notes – one quarter-note). López's *Variaciones del fandango español* resemble the older fandangos by José de Nebra, José Martí, and Soler (R146).⁵⁰ It is jam-packed with typical folk elements like the *seguidilla* rhythmic pattern and its variants, frequent guitar and castanet imitations, alternating 3/4 and 6/8 meters, and Phrygian inflections, such as the extended Andalusian cadence in the last section, in which the Phrygian tetrachord is heard above a pedal (see mm. 156–160).⁵¹ This piece, with its breathless, almost frantic pace and exhilarating gestures, effectively expresses the fury and fire of this famous dance, which has since become a symbol of Spanish music.

The illustrious history of the harpsichord in Spain spanned a period of more than two hundred years, beginning in the sixteenth century with the rich contrapuntal works in Henestrosa's book and those by Cabezón and reaching its full splendor with the virtuoso and idiomatic harpsichord music of the eighteenth. The repertoire encompassed a wide range of genres, national styles, keyboard techniques, and folk idioms, making Spanish harpsichord music one of the most important contributions to the repertoire.

Notes

1. Cabezón entered Queen Isabel's service in 1526 and was appointed *músico de cámara* at Charles V's court by 1538. When the Queen died (1539), Cabezón passed to the service of Prince Philip and his sisters, the infantas Maria and Juana, as *músico de tecla* (keyboard musician). In 1543 Cabezón was named organist of the chapel of Prince Philip. From 1548 to 1551 he accompanied the prince in his travels to Milan, Naples, Germany, the Netherlands, and later to London, when Philip married Mary Tudor.
2. See John Griffiths, "Venegas, Cabezón y las obras 'para tecla, harpa y vihuela,'" ed. Luisa Morales, in *Cinco siglos de música de tecla española. Five Centuries of Spanish Keyboard Music* (Almería: Asociación Cultural Leal, 2007), pp. 153–168.
3. See Miguel Angel Roig-Francolí, *Compositional Theory and Practice in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Spanish Instrumental Music: The Arte de tañer fantasia by Tomas de Santa Maria and the music of Antonio de Cabezón* (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1990).
4. See Maurice Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias in Spain during the 17th and Early 18th Centuries, Vol. 1, History and Background, Music and Dance*, Dance and Music Series 2 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1991), pp. 659–662.
5. See an updated review of Cabezón studies in J. Artigas and A. Ezquerro, "Antonio de Cabezón redivivo," *Anuario Musical* 69 (2014), pp. 5–50.
6. M. Santiago Kastner, *Contribución al estudio de la música española y portuguesa* (Lisbon: Atica, 1941), pp. 71–94. See Águeda Pedrero-Encabo,

- “Estrategias compositivas de Cabezón en su glosado de *Ultimi miei sospiri* de Verdelot,” *Revista de Musicología* 34, no. 2 (2011), pp. 317–332.
7. *Libro de música de clavicímalo del Sr. Dn. Francisco de Tejada*. Source: E-Mn M815, facsimile in www.bne.es. See Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias*, Vol. 1, pp. 272–273.
 8. See Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias*, Vol. 1, pp. 251–265; Louis Jambou, “Andrés Lorente, compositeur: essai d’identification de la tablature du ms. M1358 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid,” *Melanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 12 (1976), pp. 251–270, and Jambou, “Transmisión, evolución y transformaciones musicales en Martín y Coll: de Cabezón y Lully a Martín y Coll,” *Nasarre* 17, no. 1–2 (2001), pp. 305–330.
 9. Cabanilles was appointed chief organist of Valencia Cathedral in 1666, a lifetime position. A major organ composer, he led the transformation from the late seventeenth-century baroque to the early eighteenth-century styles. These are found in a modern edition by Higinio Anglés, *Iohannis Cabanilles Opera Omnia*, Vol. 4 (Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1927).
 10. Vicente Rodríguez Monllor was organist at the Valencia Cathedral from 1713 until his death. His organ pieces are located in the *Libro de organistas valencianos (E-Bbc M1012)*, ed. Águeda Pedrero-Encabo, *Vicent Rodríguez: Obres per a orgue*, Compositors Valencians, 10 (Barcelona: Tritó, 2009). Some pieces, e.g. the *Fantasia de VIII tono*, by Rodríguez, and the *Tocata de 5º tono punto alto* (Anonym), are suited for the harpsichord.
 11. *Libro de tocatas para címbalo 1744*. Modern edition by Almonte Howell, *Vicente Rodríguez Toccatas for harpsichord (Thirty Sonatas and a Pastorela, 1744)*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Classical Era, vols. 22–23 (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 1986).
 12. Águeda Pedrero-Encabo, *La sonata para teclado: su configuración en España* (Universidad de Valladolid, 1997), pp. 83–197.
 13. Águeda Pedrero-Encabo, “Los 30 *Essercizi* de Domenico Scarlatti y las 30 tocatas de Vicente Rodríguez: paralelismos y divergencias,” *Revista de Musicología* 20, no. 1 (1997), pp. 373–392.
 14. See Robert O. Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 25–43.
 15. José Elías was appointed organist at Sant Pere de las Puelles in 1712, and at Sant Just i Pastor, Barcelona in 1715. On 1725 he became organist of the Descalzas Reales, Madrid. In 1761 he did not sign the approval of Soler’s treatise *Llave de la modulación*, which suggests he had already died. See José Maria Llorens, *José Elías Obras completas*, Vol. 2A (Barcelona: Diputación Provincial, 1981).
 16. Águeda Pedrero-Encabo, “Some Unpublished Works of José Elías,” in *Music in Spain during the Eighteenth Century*, ed. J. Carreras and M. Boyd, second edition (Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 214–221.
 17. The *Partido* calls for splitting the registration into two halves (between c^1 and $c\#^1$); *Registro igual* indicates undivided stops. *Josep Elies. 24 Obres per a orgue*, Águeda Pedrero-Encabo, ed. (Barcelona: Tritó, 2008).
 18. Rabassa was appointed chapel master at Vic Cathedral in 1713 and at Valencia Cathedral in 1714. In 1724 he moved to Seville Cathedral, where he remained until his death (1767). He also wrote a *Guía para los*

- principiantes* (ca. 1728–1738), one of the most important eighteenth-century composition treatises. The sonata itself is preserved as *Sonata* in a volume entitled *Libro de organistas valencianos* (see Appendix 5).
19. Albero had been organist at the Madrid royal chapel since 1746.
 20. Here *clavicordio* refers to the harpsichord. The words *o pianoforte* look like a later addition, judging from the different ink color.
 21. See Heinrich C. Koch, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*, Vol. 1 (Leipzig: Adam Friedrich Böhme, 1782), p. 155, cited in Leonard Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form and Style* (New York: Schirmer, 1980), p. 23; José Elías, *Obras de órgano entre el antiguo y moderno estilo* (Madrid, 1749), ed. José María Llorens; and José Elías, *Obras Completas*, Vol. 1A, B (Barcelona: Diputación Provincial, 1971, 1975).
 22. From Domenico Scarlatti, *Essercizi per Gravicembalo* (London, 1738/9).
 23. About Albero's style of writing recercatas, see W. Dean Sutcliffe, *The Keyboard Sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti and Eighteenth-Century Musical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 211–212.
 24. Antonio Soler, *Llave de la modulación y antigüedades de la música* (Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1762), pp. 121–127: “Quatro Preludios para Aprender” and “Síguense otros quatro Preludios,” facsimile in www.bne.es, Antonio Baciero, ed., in *Biblioteca española de música de teclado*, Vol. 4 (Madrid: Union Musical Española, 1979).
 25. On the Albero–Scarlatti comparison, see Giorgio Pestelli, *Le sonate di Domenico Scarlatti proposta di un ordinamento cronologico* (Torino: Giappichelli, 1967), pp. 224–231; and W. Dean Sutcliffe, “Domenico Scarlatti and an Iberian Keyboard ‘School’: A Comparison with Albero,” in Dinko Fabris and Paologiovanni Maione, eds., *Domenico Scarlatti: musica e storia* (Naples: Turchini, 2010), pp. 269–290. Also see Sutcliffe, *The Keyboard Sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti*, pp. 224–225.
 26. Nebra was appointed organist at the Descalzas Reales in 1719 and at the royal chapel in 1724; by 1751 he was vice chapel master of the royal chapel. He had also worked as Infante don Gabriel's harpsichord teacher since 1761.
 27. Numbering from the Escalas edition cited as E, numbering from the Alvarez edition cited as A. The Sonata in F major (E-3) has been attributed to Galuppi in a German source and edited in *Baldassare Galuppi (1706–1785) Le Opere Strumentali*. Serie Prima, La musica per tastiera, Vol. 5, Manoscritti da fonti tedesche e inglesi, Giorgio Dal Monte (Sonatas 1–12) and Nicolò Sari (Sonates 13–21) eds. (Padova: Armelin Musica, 2014), No. 9 “Sonata in Fa Maggiore” (R.A. 1.8.10).
 28. Born in Olot in 1729, Soler entered the Escolanía de Montserrat by 1735. Between 1746 and 1752 he was chapel master either in Lérida or in Seo de Urgel. In 1752 he was appointed organist at the Escorial Monastery, becoming chapel master in 1759. From 1773 to 1783 he taught the Infante, Don Gabriel de Borbón.
 29. *XXVII Sonatas para Clave, por el Padre Fray Antonio Soler, que ha impreso Robert Birchall*. It contains the Sonatas 1–27, ed. Samuel Rubio, *P. Antonio*

- Soler. *Sonatas para instrumentos de tecla*, 7 vols. (Madrid: Unión Musical Española, 1957–1972), Vol. 1 (Sonatas 1–20), and Vol. 2 (Sonatas 21–27).
30. Available data in Enrique Igoa's doctoral dissertation: *La cuestión de la forma en las Sonatas de Antonio Soler* (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2013), pp. 88–90. <http://eprints.ucm.es/24593/1/T35203.pdf>. See also G. Truett Hollis, "El diablo vestido de fraile': Some Unpublished Correspondence of Padre Soler," *Music in Spain during the Eighteenth Century*, second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 192–206.
 31. See Igoa, *La cuestión de la forma*, 2013.
 32. The sonatas are cited according to the numbering in the Rubio edition, the most complete to date, despite errors and alterations. See Samuel Rubio, *P. Antonio Soler. Sonatas para instrumentos de tecla*, 7 vols. (Madrid: Unión Musical Española, 1957–1972).
 33. Blasco de Nebra was born in Seville and had studied in Madrid under his uncle, José de Nebra, for several years until 1766. He probably met Soler during this period. In 1768 he was appointed his father's assistant as Seville Cathedral organist; some ten years later he inherited this position.
 34. The most detailed study on the musical style of Blasco de Nebra is W. Dean Sutcliffe, "The Keyboard Works of Manuel Blasco de Nebra," in M. Ángel Marín and Marius Bernadó, eds., *Instrumental Music in Late Eighteenth-Century Spain* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2004), pp. 306–307.
 35. The twelve sonatas from the Montserrat manuscript E-MO 2998 are cited as "MO" in the numbering.
 36. The sonatas from the *Six sonatas para clave y fuerte piano. Obra primera. In Madrid* (ca. 1770–80) are cited as "Ma" in the numbering.
 37. Montero was organist at San Pedro el Real, Seville. Ten minuets of his have come to us as well, edited by Antonio Ruiz-Pipó as *Diez minuets para clave y fuerte piano* (Madrid: UME, 1973). See also Linton Powell, "The Sonatas of Manuel Blasco de Nebra and Joaquín Montero," *Music Review* 41, no. 3 (1980), pp. 197–206; Linton Powell, *A History of Spanish Piano Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980); and Linton Powell, "Dos caballeros de Sevilla: la música de tecla de Manuel Blasco de Nebra y Joaquín Montero," in *Claves y pianos españoles: interpretación y repertorio hasta 1830*, ed. Luisa Morales, in *Actas del I y II Symposium Internacional "Diego Fernández" de música de tecla española Vera-Mojácar 2000–2001* (FIMTE, El Ejido: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 2003), pp. 205–208.
 38. *Anselm Viola. Compositor, pedagog, monjo de Montserrat*, ed. Luisa Cortada (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1998), pp. 249–341. The "C" numbering is the order in which they appear in this edition.
 39. "Obres musicals dels monjos del Monestir de Montserrat (1500–1800) Música Instrumental," in *Mestres de l'Escolania de Montserrat*, Vol. 2, David Pujol, ed. (Barcelona: Monestir de Montserrat, 1936).
 40. *Miguel Espona: Sonatas para clavicordio o clavecín*, Serie 2C, ed. [no name], (Mollerusa: Scala Aretina 2001). *Narcís Casanoves i Bertrán. 6 Sonates per a piano*, Daniel Codina, ed. (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadía de Montserrat, 1997). See also a study of the sources by Daniel Codina,

- “Aproximació a l’obra per a tecla del P. Narcís Casanoves (1747–1799),” in *Anuario Musical* 48 (1993), pp. 143–151. *Carles Baguer: Siete Sonatas*, ed. M. A. Ester Sala (Madrid: UME, 1976); *Tres Sinfonías para tecla*, Serie C: Música de Cámara, 14, M. A. Ester Sala, ed. (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1984). *Josep Gallés: Vint-I-Tres Sonates pera tecla*, ed. Bengt Johnsson (Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans, Societat Catalana de Musicologia, 1995). See Susanne Skyrn, “Las 23 sonatas para tecla del padre José Gallés,” in *Claves y pianos españoles: interpretación y repertorio hasta 1830*, Luisa Morales, ed. (Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 2003), pp. 209–216.
41. See Benjamin Lipkowitz, “The Villahermosa Manuscript: An Important Source of Late Eighteenth-Century Spanish Keyboard Music,” *Music in Spain*, pp. 207–213; Dionisio Preciado, *José Ferrer: Sonatas para clave* (Madrid: Real Musical, 1979), and *Doce compositores aragoneses de tecla siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Editora nacional, 1983). See Luisa Morales, “Fuentes de la Sonata R121,” in *Nuevas Perspectivas sobre la música para tecla de Antonio Soler*, L. Morales and M. Latcham, eds. (Almería: Ediciones Leal, 2016), pp. 63–176, and “Juan Moreno y Polo, Sebastián Tomás y Anónimos, Obras para tecla del siglo XVIII. Ms. del Monasterio de San Pedro de las Dueñas (León),” in *Tecla Aragonesa*, V, Luisa Morales, ed. (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1997). See also Mariano Cosuenda, *Seis sonatas para clave*, Jesús Gonzalo López, ed. (Zaragoza: Instituto “Fernando el Católico,” 1998), and the anthology *Early Spanish Keyboard Music: An Anthology in Three Volumes*, Vol. 3, B. Ife and R. Truby, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).
 42. Oxinagas was organist at the royal chapel in 1749. *Obras musicales de Joaquín Ojinaga*, José López-Calo, ed., in *Cuadernos de música* Vol. 2 (San Sebastián: Sociedad de Estudios Vascos, 1989).
 43. *Manuel Narro (1729–1776). Concert per a clave i orquesta (1767)*, María Gembero, ed. (Barcelona, Tritó: 2003). *Manuel Narro Campos 1729–1776. Obras de tecla*, José Climent and Rodrigo Madrid, eds. (Valencia: RACV, 2000).
 44. *José Lidón. La música para teclado*, Vol, 2, Dámaso García Fraile, ed. (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2004). Vol. 1 (2002) contains only organ works.
 45. *Cuaderno tercero de una colección de piezas de música para clavicordio, forte-piano y órgano. Obra 8ª*, cited in Baltasar Saldoni: *Diccionario biográfico-bibliográfico de efemérides de músicos españoles, Tomo II* (Imprenta de D. Antonio Pérez Dubrull, Madrid, 1880), pp. 117–118, based on the advertisements of *Gaceta de Madrid*. See also Félix de Latassa y Ortín, *Biblioteca nueva de los escritores aragoneses que florecieron desde el año de 1795 hasta el de 1802*, Tomo VI (Oficina de Joaquín de Domingo, Pamplona, 1802), pp. 223–224.
 46. See also “José Teixidor y Barceló: Sonata para clave o fortepiano (1794),” and “José Teixidor: Sonatas de clave,” Raúl Angulo, ed., in *Ars Hispania* (Fundación Gustavo Bueno, 2010, 2012). Also, Joaquín Asiain: *Tres sonatas para forte-piano dedicadas a el serenísimo Príncipe de Parma. Variaciones*

- para forte-piano o clave*, in *Ars Hispania*, Raúl Angulo, ed. (Fundación Gustavo Bueno, 2013).
47. Félix Máximo López began as fourth organist at the royal chapel in 1775 and gradually advanced until he became first organist in 1805. See Alma Espinosa, *The Keyboard Works of Félix Máximo López: An Anthology* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1983).
 48. López arranged seven sonatas for the harpsichord from Haydn Symphonies, some with significant variants and excisions. See Alma Espinosa, "Félix Máximo López, Franz Joseph Haydn, and the Art of Homage," *Early Keyboard Journal* 16–17 (1998–1999), pp. 143–151. The Haydn symphonies are cited in Alma Espinosa "Música de clave de Félix Máximo López: ¿Realmente para clave?," in *Claves y pianos españoles*, L. Morales, ed. (Almería: Leal, 2003), pp. 177–204.
 49. See also Laura Cuervo, "Repertorio musical en nueve cuadernos manuscritos para piano en la Biblioteca Nacional de España [1800–1810]," *Revista de Musicología* 36 (2013), pp. 225–256.
 50. Entitled *Fandango de España*, it was attributed to José Nebra and edited by Rosario Alvarez in *Obras inéditas para tecla* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1984), p. 52; J. Martí, J. Teixidor, J.T. Murguía, J. Codina. *Obras para fortepiano*, Pedro González, ed. (Madrid: RCSMM, 1991).
 51. See Guillermo Castro, "A vueltas con el fandango. Nuevos documentos de estudio y análisis de la evolución rítmica en el género del fandango," *Sinfonia Virtual* 24 (2013) www.sinfoniavirtual.com/flamenco/ritmica_fandango.pdf; Judith Etzion, "The Spanish Fandango: From 18th-Century 'Lasciviousness' to 19th-Century Exoticism," *Anuario Musical* 48 (1993), pp. 229–250.

Further Reading

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