

## 10 Antonio de Cabezón at the Centre of the World Repertoire, Interpretation and Meaning

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Bive agora Antonio el ciego, tañedor de la  
Capilla de la Emperatriz, que en el arte no  
se puede más exmerar, porque dicen que  
[ha] hallado el centro en el componer.<sup>1</sup>

This article aims to offer an overview of Antonio de Cabezón's music in the European context of his time. Before entering into the relevant aspects of his compositional output, it is necessary to review an important part of Cabezón's life. Only then can any guidelines for the interpretation of his music be presented in light of the most recent research.

As a point of departure, let us consider the words contained in the preface to *Obras de música*, published by Antonio's son, Hernando, in 1578:<sup>2</sup>

And no one was so mad as to not surrender their fantasies to the renowned genius of Antonio de Cabezón. This was understood not only in Spain, but also in Flanders and Italy, where he journeyed in the service of our lord the Catholic Monarch King Philip.<sup>3</sup>

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- 1 'In our time there lives Antonio [de Cabezón], the blind, a musician in the Empress' Chapel. They say that in his art none can perfect it any further, as he has come upon the very center of composition'. Cristóbal Villalón, *Ingeniosa comparación entre lo antiguo y lo presente* (Valladolid: Nicolas Tyerri, 1539), ed. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, Libros publicados por la Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles 33 (Madrid 1898), 176–7; online: <<https://bibliotecadigital.jcyl.es/es/consulta/registro.do?id=18741>> (accessed 5 September 2022).
  - 2 It is not known for certain whether or not these eloquent words from the preface to this book are those of Hernando de Cabezón or those of another author. On this matter, José Sierra Pérez, *Antonio de Cabezón (1510–1566). Una vista maravillosa de ánimo* (Madrid, Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2010), preface.
  - 3 'Y ninguno huvo tan loco, que no rindiesse sus fantasias a la grandeza de ingenio que en Antonio de Cabeçon se conocia. Lo qual se entendio assi no solo en España:

Evidently, this passage seeks to express the importance and singular nature of Antonio de Cabezón as a composer and performer in the European context of his time. Though this description may seem an exaggeration to us, one must bear in mind that during his lifetime, Antonio de Cabezón stood at the centre of the world.

It bears emphasising that Antonio de Cabezón served as a musician in the Spanish Royal Court over the span of 40 years, beginning in 1526 at the age of 16 and continuing uninterrupted until his death in 1566.<sup>4</sup> During this period, he was in turn in the service of the members of the royal family listed in Tab. 1.

Tab. 1: Antonio de Cabezón (1510–66) in the service of the Spanish Royal Court	
1526–39	Empress Isabel of Portugal
1539–48	<i>Infantas</i> (princesses) Juana and María, and Prince Philip, alternating every six months with Francisco de Soto
1548–56	Prince (later King) Philip II
1557–59	Prince Carlos (son of Philip II)
1559–66	King Philip II

Empress Isabel of Portugal was the wife of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, grandson of Maximilian I of Habsburg. Isabel acted as regent in the Spanish territories during the long absences of her husband, whose involvement in state affairs required extensive travel. Following the death of the empress in 1539, Cabezón went into the service of her daughters Juana and María of Austria.

María of Austria married Maximilian II of Austria in 1548. Together they succeeded the Empress Isabel as regents in Castille during the continued absences of the emperor, now often accompanied by his own son, Prince Philip. Maximilian and María left Spain in 1552 for his native Vienna. Following the death of Maximilian in 1576, María returned to Madrid and retired to the convent of Las Descalzas Reales, an institution founded in 1577 by her sister Juana. Among her retinue there, serving as a chaplain, was the composer Tomás Luis de Victoria. Though now relegated to the role of dowager empress, given her status as the widow of Emperor Maximilian, two of her sons, Rudolf

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pero en Flandes y en Italia, por donde anduvo siguiendo y sirviendo al catholico Rey don Philippe nuestro señor de quien fue tambien querido y estimado, quanto pudo ser hombre de su facultad de Rey ninguno [...].’ Hernando de Cabezón, *Obras de Música* (Madrid: Francisco Sanchez, 1578) (RISM 1578<sup>24</sup>), proemio (n.pag.); online: <<http://purl.org/rism/BI/1578/24>> (accessed 24 June 2022).

4 For all biographical data, if not stated otherwise, Macario Santiago Kastner, *Antonio und Hernando de Cabezón. Eine Chronik dargestellt am Leben zweier Generationen von Organisten* (Tutzing, 1977); Spanish edition published as Macario Santiago Kastner, *Antonio de Cabezón*, ed. Antonio Baciero (Burgos 2000).

and Matthias, would both eventually secure their own election to the imperial throne.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, María was mother of two rulers of the Low Countries (Ernest and Albert of Austria),<sup>6</sup> as well as mother of Maximilian III, regent of Austria. María's daughter Elisabeth became queen of France by marriage<sup>7</sup> and her daughter Ana married her own uncle, Prince Philip, after his accession to the Spanish throne as Philip II.

María of Austria's younger sister, Juana, married King João Manuel of Portugal. Their son would later succeed to the Portuguese throne as Sebastião I. Following the death of her husband in 1554, she returned to Spain and assumed a regency for the duration of her brother Philip II's voyage to England to marry Mary Tudor.

Throughout this period, the Spanish court had no fixed residence. As a court musician, Cabezón's travels therefore took him across Europe, where he passed through the many cities listed in Tab. 2.

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5 Rudolf II of Habsburg was educated in Madrid. He became Archduke of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and was Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire from 1576 till his death in 1612. Matthias of Habsburg was governor of Austria, King of Hungary, Bohemia and Croatia, and became emperor in 1612.

6 Ernest, also educated in Madrid, was Archduke of Austria and became governor of the Low Countries in 1594. Albert was Archduke of Austria, Chancellor of Castille, Viceroy of Portugal, archbishop of Toledo and governor of the Low Countries together with king Philip II's daughter Isabel Clara Eugenia from 1596 to 1621.

7 After the death of Charles, she returned to the Stallburg (a part of the Hofburg palace in Vienna) in 1575 and founded the Klarissenkloster St. Maria, Königin der Engel. She died there in 1592.

**Tab. 2: Cities in which Antonio de Cabezón's music sounded****1. SPANISH CITIES WHERE ANTONIO DE CABEZÓN LIVED WITH THE COURT**

Valladolid, Palencia, Burgos, Toledo, Segovia, **Ávila**, Salamanca, Zamora, Badajoz, Burgo de Osma, Medina del Campo, Tordesillas, Alcalá de Henares, Madrid, Lerma, Arévalo, Aranda de Duero, Ocaña, Aranjuez, El Pardo, Torquemada, Villalón, Monzón, Zaragoza, Barcelona or Valencia, among many others.

**2. THE ITINERARY WITH PRINCE PHILIP TO BRUSSELS**

Valladolid (2th October 1548), Zaragoza, Barcelona

**Genoa** (25th November 1548), Alessandria, Pavia, **Milano**, Malegnano, Lodi, Cremona, Mantova, Villafranca, Rovereto, Trent, Bolzano, Brixen

**Innsbruck** (4th February 1549), Munich, Augsburg, Ulm, Heidelberg, Saarbrücken, Luxemburg, Namur

**Brussels** (1<sup>st</sup> of March 1549–12th July 1549)

**3. CITIES VISITED IN THE LOW COUNTRIES WITH PRINCE PHILIP**

Lovain, Dendermonde, Gant, Brugge, Ypres, Bergues, St. Omer, Bethune, Lille, Tournai, Douai, Bapaume, Cambrai, Valenciennes, Le Quesnoy, Binche, Mons, Soignies, Malines, Lier, Amberes, Bergen op Zoom, 's-Hertogenbosch, Gorinchem, Dordrecht, Rotterdam, Delft, 's-Gravenhage, Leiden, Haarlem, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Amersfoort, Harderwijk, Campen, Zwolle, Deventer, Zutphen, Arnhem, Nijmegen, Middelaar, Venlo, Roermond, Weert and Turnhout, among other cities along the way.

**4. ITINERARY OF THE RETURN TO SPAIN WITH PRINCE PHILIP**

**Brussels** (26th October 1549–7th June 1550), Aachen, Köln, **Augsburg** (8th July 1550–25th May 1551), Genoa, Barcelona (12th July 1551)

**5. TRIP TO ENGLAND WITH PRINCE PHILIP**

Tordesillas, Santiago de Compostela, La Coruña (13th June 1554), Southampton (24th July), Winchester, **London** and other Tudor residences (mid-August 1554–August 1555), **Brussels** (September 1555–January 1556). Antonio de Cabezón returned to Ávila (Spain).

From 1548, Cabezón was in the exclusive service of Prince Philip. This decision was taken at the start of the prince's journey to Italy, Austria and Germany, where he was to be presented as the successor to the Spanish crown in the Low Countries.<sup>8</sup> As a member of the entourage, Cabezón departed from Valladolid on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of October 1548 (Tab. 2). Travelling via Zaragoza and Barcelona, their fleet of one hundred ships was received in Genoa by Admiral Andrea Doria him-

8 A complete report of this journey appears in Juan Cristóbal Calvete de la Estrella, *El felicissimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso Principe don Phelippe* (Amberes: Martín Nucio, 1552), modern edition by Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Carlos V y Felipe II (Madrid, 2001). Online: <<https://bibliotecadigital.jcyl.es/es/consulta/registro.do?id=4546>> (accessed 5 September 2022).

self. From Genoa, they travelled on through Milan, Cremona, Mantua, Rovereto and Trent. They crossed the Alps via Bolzano and Brixen, arriving in Innsbruck in early February of 1549. Here the entourage was received by Ferdinand I, the regent of Austria and Prince Philip's uncle. They continued on through Munich, Augsburg, Ulm, Heidelberg, Luxembourg and Namur, arriving in Brussels on the 1st of March 1549, six months after their departure from Spain. Prince Philip finally joined his father, the Emperor Charles, as well as the Emperor's two sisters, Queen Mary of Hungary and Queen Eleanor of France. After an initial four-month stay in Brussels, the retinue (Cabezón ever present in the roster) visited the most important cities in Flanders and Holland, which were ready to acknowledge Philip as the apparent heir to the throne. This trip, along the cities listed in Tab. 2, took more than three months. They then returned to Brussels and remained for another seven months, finally departing at the beginning of June 1550. Thus, Cabezón spent a total of fourteen months in the Low Countries in the course of this journey.

On the 7th of June of 1550, Philip and his father, accompanied by their respective entourages, departed for Augsburg via Aachen and Cologne. There they were hosted by the Fugger family and attended the Diet of the Holy Roman Empire. Its main agenda at the time was to contain the spread of Protestantism in Europe. Their stay in Augsburg lasted more than ten months: from the 8th of July 1550 to the 25th of May 1551.<sup>9</sup> They finally returned to Spain via Genoa in July 1551. In total, Cabezón's journey in the service of the prince lasted two years and eight months.

Just three years later, Cabezón again accompanied Philip on his journey to England to marry Queen Mary Tudor. They departed from Spain on the 13th of June 1554, this time with a fleet of 125 ships, arriving in Southampton 41 days later. The princely court settled in Winchester, where the wedding was celebrated in the cathedral. Their arrival in London was delayed until mid-August, where they remained for one year until August 1555, when Philip departed to Brussels for a third visit. Cabezón spent another four and a half months there before he was granted permission to return to Spain. His brother Juan de Cabezón, also a member of the Spanish Royal Chapel since 1546, continued in the Prince's service.

Thus, Cabezón spent a total of four years and five months of his life away from Spain, with long stays in Brussels (more than fifteen months), Augsburg (more than ten months) and London (one year) and punctuated by visits to many important cities in Italy, Austria, Germany, the Low Countries, England. It is worth noting, that in addition to other ceremonies, the sung Catholic mass was celebrated daily by the Spanish Royal Chapel in each and every one of the

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9 Even if the session of the diet had adjourned officially on the 14th of February 1551.

cities they visited. No doubt local musicians participated in many of these ceremonies, religious or otherwise. The frequency and variety of these occasions provided a rich meeting place for Cabezón and a diverse array of musicians, an environment in which he would have encountered many different repertoires and styles of playing. Given his official role as a court organist, he would surely have been able to listen to and perhaps even play many of the organs of the churches in which the Royal Chapel heard and celebrated mass.<sup>10</sup>

Philip remained abroad until 1559. Back in Spain, Antonio de Cabezón spent the next two years in the service of Philip's son Prince Carlos in Valladolid, after one year's leave of absence in his hometown in Ávila to marry Luisa Nuñez. When Philip returned to Spain to rule, Cabezón returned to his service. At this time, the members of the now defunct Emperor's Flemish Chapel were incorporated into the Spanish Chapel in Madrid, thus strengthening and consolidating the pre-existing musical exchange between these two professional institutions.<sup>11</sup>

As far as the context of Antonio de Cabezón's professional life is concerned, the most thorough analysis can be found in the work of the musicologist Macario Santiago Kastner. His research seeks to establish concrete connections between Cabezón and the numerous musicians whom he would have been able to meet, both in Spain and abroad. He notes, for example, Cabezón's possible influence on Peter Paix, the organist of the Fugger family in Augsburg. This hypothesis is based on the appearance of the first description of the use of both thumbs in the context of German keyboard music, in the writings of Jacob Paix, Peter's son.<sup>12</sup> This practice had been an integral facet of keyboard technique in Spain since the middle of the 16th century, if not earlier. Kastner also notes the presence of a copy of Antonio de Cabezón's *Obras de música* in the library of Wolfenbüttel, signed by Gregor Aichinger, an organist and

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10 On this matter, Andrés Cea Galán, 'Audire, tangere, mirari: Notas sobre el *instrumentarium* de los Cabezón', in: *AnM* 69 (2014), 225–48.

11 An updated study about the Chapel of king Philip II can be found in Luis Robledo Estaire, 'La música en la Casa del Rey', in: *Aspectos de la cultura musical en la Corte de Felipe II*, ed. Luis Robledo Estaire et al., *Patrimonio Musical Español* 6 (Madrid, 2000), 99–193.

12 Kastner, *Antonio und Hernando de Cabezón* (see n. 4), 216. The text from Paix's edition quoted by Kastner reads, '[...] Dann so man mit dem Daum an der rechten Hand auch haltet, wirt die Coloratur mit dem hindern und kleinen finger leichtlich gefuhrt: deszgleichen auch mit der linken hand geschehen kan. Dann ich mit fleisz nachgesuchet, wie drey Stimen mit einer hand gegriffen, unnd dennoch ein Coloratur könnte mit lauffen [...]'. In any case, this must be contrasted with Harald Vogel's essay on German organ technique, 'Zur Spielweise der Musik für Tasteninstrumente um 1600', in: *Samuel Scheidt. Tabulatura nova*, ed. by Harald Vogel, Part II (Wiesbaden/Leipzig/Paris, 1999), 145–71.

composer active in Augsburg. For Kastner, these facts point to a probable diffusion of Cabezón's music in the region.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, Kastner points out that Cabezón's visit to London coincides with Thomas Tallis's duties in the English capital, when he was employed by the Chapel Royal under Mary Tudor. He also speculates on the possibility of a meeting between Cabezón and Tallis' student William Byrd (who was at this time about fourteen years old), and thus suggests Cabezón's variations as a model for the style of the English virginalists.<sup>14</sup> Appearing some years after Willi Apel's publication 'Neapolitan links between Cabezón and Frescobaldi', Kastner's observations are part of a well-established line of research into the probable connections between Cabezón and other national schools of composition.<sup>15</sup>

We could add some more data to those connections. The presence of *Obras de música* in France, for example, can be traced back to a reference by Pierre Trichet in his *Traité des instruments* (c. 1640). In 1586, only eight years after the publication of *Obras de música*, at least seven copies of the book were sent to colonial Mexico. Likewise, two of the extant exemplars preserved in Brussels and Washington D.C. attest to the presence of Cabezón's music in Portugal.<sup>16</sup> One can also imagine Antonio de Cabezón hearing and likely playing the organ of the cathedral church of Notre-Dame in Saint-Omer. Jehan Titelouze was born there in 1562 and later took up his first post as organist in this very church. Also noteworthy is Cabezón's visit to the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam, which at this time boasted two organs. Jan Pieterzoon Sweelinck began his illustrious career as city organist associated with this church in 1577. Even more intriguing is the meeting in Brussels between Peter Phillips, Peter Cornet and John Bull in the immediate wake of Cabezón's 18 month stay in this city.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to draw any solid conclusions about these relationships and possible influences in the absence of both concrete documentary references and of any surviving music by many of the musicians whom Cabezón would have encountered (especially those attached to the courts of

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13 Kastner, *Antonio und Hernando de Cabezón* (see n. 4), 226. Unfortunately, this particular copy with the signature '5.2 Musica 2º' has been misplaced.

14 On this topic, see Macario Santiago Kastner, 'Parallels and discrepancies between English and Spanish keyboard music of the 16th and 17th century', in: *AnM* 7 (1952), 77–115, and William Porter, 'A stylistic analysis of the fugas, tientos and diferencias of Antonio de Cabezón and an examination of his influence on the English Keyboard School', DMA thesis, Boston University, 1994.

15 Willi Apel, 'Neapolitan links between Cabezón and Frescobaldi', in: *MQ* 24 (1938), 419–37.

16 B-Br Fétis 2000C (RP), US-Wc M7.C145. The former belonged to the 'Congregação do Oratorio de Estremoz', the latter bears the inscription 'Do uso do irmão frei Gaspar de S. João'.

Brussels and London and to the city of Augsburg). What is known for certain, however, is that having heard and probably played a great many instruments in the course of such widespread travels across Europe, Cabezón proposed to engage a Flemish organ builder when the construction of new organs became an imperative for the Royal Chapel in Madrid.<sup>17</sup> In particular, he put forward the name of Jean Crinon, who had built not only the organ of St-Omer mentioned above (later played by Titelouze), but also several other important instruments which he would have known in Brussels, at least from their regular use at state occasions. Crinon declined the royal invitation to work in Spain, because he was already busy with a number of important commissions in Flanders, and by this time, also surely because of his advanced age. These circumstances paved the way for the appearance of Gilles Brebos in the context of organ building in Spain.<sup>18</sup> Brebos was commissioned to carry out the most important organ project in 16th century Europe: four large organs for the Basilica of the Monastery at El Escorial. In addition, he provided a variety of smaller instruments, both for the monastery itself and for other institutions associated with the Spanish Royal Court.<sup>19</sup>

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All things considered, Antonio de Cabezón's most important legacy is his music, which still speaks to us eloquently five centuries after its creation. The printed sources account for a total of at least 282 compositions, of which 157 are brief versets or *fabordones*. A further 125 pieces can be considered major works. The composition of one vocal piece has been attributed to the period of his stay

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17 On this topic, see Cea Galán, 'Audire, tangere, mirari' (see n. 10).

18 The documents relating to this matter were published by Cristina Bordas, 'Nuevos datos sobre los organeros Brebos', in: *Livro de homenagem a Macario Santiago Kastner*, ed. Maria Fernanda Cidraes Rodrigues, Manuel Morais and Rui Vieira Nery (Lisbon, 1992), 51–67. This documentation complements the dates presented by Guido Persoons, *De Orgels en de Organisten van der Onze Lieve Vrouwekerk te Antwerpen van 1500 tot 1650* (Brussels, 1981), 158, and Jeannine Lambrecht-Douillez, *Orgelbouwers te Antwerpen in de 16de eeuw*, Mededelingen van het Ruckers-Genootschap 6 (Antwerpen, 1987), 16.

19 On this topic, see Andrés Cea Galán, 'Órganos en la España de Felipe II: elementos de procedencia foránea en la organería autóctona', in: *Políticas y prácticas musicales en el mundo de Felipe II*, ed. John Griffiths and Javier Suárez-Pajares (Madrid, 2004), 325–92. An abbreviated version of this article (in English, French and German) was published in Andrés Cea Galán, 'Órganos en España entre los siglos XVI y XVII', in: *ISO Journal* 23 (July 2006), 6–32. See also Louis Jambou, *Evolución del órgano español. Siglos XVI-XVIII*, 2 vols., Ethos música 2 (Universidad de Oviedo, 1988).



in England.<sup>20</sup> Not included in this account are a number of pieces probably by Cabezón, but without any indication of authorship. These are the anonymous pieces published in the *Libro de cifra nueva* of 1557<sup>21</sup> and the pieces marked Ca or A.C. in the Coimbra manuscript (P-Cug MM 242).<sup>22</sup> Also excluded are pieces by other composers which have been misattributed to Cabezón.<sup>23</sup>

As presented in Tab. 3, the preserved repertoire is remarkable for its quantity and in its variety. These qualities led Willi Apel to define Antonio de Cabezón as an exception in the panorama of 16th-century European keyboard music, since his output includes examples that represent the full range of genres and styles used by the musicians of his time.<sup>24</sup> In absolute terms, because of the large amount of surviving music, he occupies a position among Renaissance composers of keyboard music which is similar to that of Francesco da Milano in the field of lute music.

Tab. 3: Pieces by Antonio de Cabezón preserved in printed sources			
	1557	1578	Total
Tientos	15	12	27
Hymns	17	20	37
Versets	-	124	124
Fabordones	1	32	33
Intabulations	-	42	42
Diferencias	3	9	12
Others	3	4	7
Total	39	241	282

20 A *Letanía pro Regina gravida* composed during the supposed pregnancy of Mary Tudor, published by Luis Robledo Estaire, 'Sobre la letanía de Antonio de Cabezón', in: NASS 5, no. 2 (1989), 143–9.

21 Venegas de Henestrosa, *Libro de cifra nueva* (Alcalá de Henares: Juan de Brocar, 1557), title page; online: <<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000039213&page=1>> (accessed 23 June 2022).

22 The question of the identification of these pieces in the manuscript MM 242 of the University of Coimbra is rather complex. One of the pieces by Antonio de Cabezón published in *Libro de cifra nueva* was copied in the fol. 13 under the name Ca. In total, another 13 pieces bear the same letters identifying their authorship, but Kastner assigned all of them to Antonio Carreira. This composer is identified in the sources with A. *carreira*, with only his surname *carreira*, twice with A. *Car.* and once with A.C. On this topic see also Gerhard Doderer, 'Os manuscritos MM 48 e MM 242 da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra e a presença de organistas ibéricos', in: RdM 34, no. 2 (2011), 43–62.

23 See Andrés Cea Galán, 'New Approaches to the Music of Antonio de Cabezón', in: *Early Keyboard Journal* 27–29 (2012), 7–25.

24 Willi Apel, *The History of Keyboard Music to 1700* (Bloomington, 1972), 76.

Although all of the *tientos* by Cabezón printed in 1557 and half of those published in 1578 generally fit the *ricercar* or the *fantasia* models,<sup>25</sup> six *tientos* in *Obras de música* exhibit considerable originality at many levels. Commenting on these six pieces, Willi Apel writes that each of them, 'is a master-piece, and has individual features and many remarkable and captivating details'.<sup>26</sup> Combining imitative sections with others based on *fabourdon* techniques, they anticipate the toccata style, a genre whose nascent features scarcely appear in any other keyboard repertoire before Cabezón's death in 1566. Of the six, Apel believes that it is the *Tiento de primer tono* which 'represent[s] the climax of Cabezón's works'.<sup>27</sup> In many respects, the style achieved by Cabezón in these pieces not only predates the style developed in the *tientos* of Aguilera de Heredia, Correa de Arauxo or Rodrigues Coelho in Spain, but also exhibits many of the techniques explored in the fantasias of Sweelinck and Pieter Cornet.<sup>28</sup>

With regard to the hymn settings, Willi Apel likewise observes that, 'no organ master crystallised this [cantus firmus] style so purely, filled it so perfectly with content, as Cabezón'.<sup>29</sup> Many extraordinary passages in these pieces confirm a unique approach to diminution. For those hymns in which Cabezón places the melody as a *cantus firmus* in the bass, the resulting texture heralds the style adopted by Titelouze for each of the opening versets of his own *Hymnes*, published in 1623. Among other conspicuous outliers is a singular *Pange lingua* composed in *protus* mode, with the cantus firmus maintained in *tritus*.

No less remarkable is Cabezón's collection of *diferencias* (variations). Among them, the *Diferencias sobre el canto llano del caballero* is an elaboration of the cantus firmus of the Gombert chanson 'Dezilde al cavallero', presented successively in the soprano, tenor, alto and bass. This same technique is found in the work of later composers, including in that of Sweelinck and Titelouze. Cabezón's other *diferencias* are developed as variations on a ground, but with

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25 In fact, one of the *tientos* attributed to Antonio de Cabezón in the *Libro de cifra nueva* is, in reality, a *ricercar* by Julio Segni da Modena published in *Musica nova* (Venice: [Andrea Arrivabene], 1540) (RISM 1540<sup>22</sup>). The same piece is published twice in *Musicque de Joye* (Lyon: Jacques Moderne, [c. 1550]) (RISM [c. 1550]<sup>24</sup>), attributed to Segni and to Adrian Willaert. On the other hand, the *Tiento de tercer tono* published in *Obras de música* also appears in two Italian manuscript sources under an attribution to 'Giaches'. On this matter, Andrés Cea Galán, 'Nuevas rutas para Cabezón en manuscritos de Roma y París', in: *RdM* 34, no. 2 (2011), 223–34, and *idem*, 'New Approaches to the Music of Antonio de Cabezón'.

26 Apel, *The History of Keyboard Music*, 190.

27 *Ibid.*, 193.

28 Unfortunately, the lack of 16th century instrumental musical sources from the Low Countries makes it impossible to establish the possible connections between the two repertoires.

29 Apel, *The History of Keyboard Music*, 129.

incessant reference to the original melodies. Among these, three are clearly constructed adhering to Italian dance forms: *Discante sobre la pavana italiana*, *Diferencias sobre la Gallarda milanese* and *Diferencias sobre la pavana italiana*. The *Diferencias sobre el canto de La Dama le demanda* is simply another version of the same Italian pavan, a piece later reproduced by Thoinot Arbeau in the *Orchésographie* of 1588. From this collection, the *Discante sobre la pavana italiana* (Appendix 1) emerges as a highly significant piece, for it became a model reused by John Bull, Sweelinck, Scheidt, Thomas Robinson, Alfonso Ferrabosco, Michael Praetorius and many other European composers, who often acknowledged its provenance with such titles as *Spanish pavan* or *Pavana hispanica*.<sup>30</sup>

Three pieces in *Obras de música* are based on the ground of *Las Vacas*, a Hispanic variant of the Romanesca. However, it is the *Diferencias sobre el vil-lancico de quien te me enojó Isabel* that stand out as the most remarkable of Cabezón's variations (Appendix 2). As has already been expressed in an article,<sup>31</sup> this piece comes down to us in a corrupted version. This is probably due to the fact that Cabezón's son Hernando copied and published his father's music from incomplete or imperfect drafts. This piece consists of three main sections: the first presents four complete variations on the *passamezzo moderno*; the second comprises two variations and is constructed as a pavan on the same ground, albeit harmonically enriched, with the main melody in the bass. This latter technique echoes the style found some decades later in the pavans composed by William Byrd. The final section exhibits many textural changes, which according to subsequently codified performance practices can suggest interesting changes of character and tempo in the overall context of a style which also anticipates some elements of the nascent Italian *toccata*.

Apart from these phenomena, it is perhaps the collection of intabulations (based on 3, 4, 5 and 6-part chansons, madrigals, motets and sections of the mass), which represents Cabezón's most valuable contribution to the keyboard repertoire. The importance of the intabulations in terms of volume is immediately evident when comparing the number of pages devoted to each of the genres represented in *Obras de música*, as shown in Tab. 4:

There are several elements of interest in these intabulations that merit further scrutiny, such as the homogeneous distribution of the diminutions between the different voices as well as the introduction of imitative tech-

30 For an updated review of the origin and diffusion of these pieces, see Giuseppe Fiorentino, 'Música española del Renacimiento entre tradición oral y transmisión escrita: El esquema de folía en procesos de composición e improvisación', doctoral thesis, University of Granada, 2009.

31 Andrés Cea Galán, '¿Quién te me enojó, Isabel? y otras preguntas sin respuesta en las obras de música de Antonio de Cabezón', in: *Cinco siglos de música de tecla española*, ed. Luisa Morales (Garrucha, 2007), 169–94.

niques in the ornamental material. Moreover, Cabezón seems to be the first to write intabulations in six voices with diminutions explicitly for keyboard instruments. Four motets and two madrigals of this kind are included in the publication. Particularly in these pieces, the overall impression is one of the original polyphony reduced to simple chords and consonances while the diminutions flow around. The scales and passages pass from one voice to another in a style that frequently approaches that found in the *intonazioni* and *toccate* of the Gabrieli family as well as in those of Claudio Merulo. Nevertheless, there are important stylistic differences between Antonio's intabulations and those of his son Hernando. Four of Hernando's intabulations have survived, included in *Obras de música*, whose title page conspicuously bears his father's name. As Marie-Louise Göllner asserts in a 1990 article, Hernando makes use of new and advanced imitative techniques and treats each verse of the original work differently in relation to the meaning of its text. In her view, the appearance of similar elements in the music of succeeding generations connects his compositions with the *toccata* and *madrigale passeggiato* style developed by Neapolitan composers (among them Ascanio Mayone and Giovanni Maria Trabaci) some three or four decades later.<sup>32</sup>

Tab. 4: Obras de música. Repertoire in proportion	
Duos	2%
Tercios	2%
Versets and <i>fabordones</i>	11%
Kyries	5%
Hymns	6%
Tientos	9%
Intabulations	57%
Diferencias or Variations	8%

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Interest in Cabezón's music is heightened by the fact that there is an enormous quantity of information about his playing style at the keyboard, as well as about his compositional process. The principal source for this information is *Arte de*

32 Marie-Louise Göllner, 'The intabulations of Hernando de Cabezón', in: *De musica hispana et aliis. Miscelánea en honor al Prof. Dr. José López-Caló en su 65 cumpleaños*, ed. Emilio Casares y Carlos Villanueva, 2 vols. (Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1990), i, 275–90. Here, again, the lack of early Italian *toccate* or intabulations makes it impossible to establish any precise comparison between the two styles and schools.

*tañer fantasía*, published by Tomás de Santa María in 1565.<sup>33</sup> This book includes the first and most complete description of all the fundamental aspects of keyboard music interpretation: the position of the hands and fingers, fingering, articulation, ornamentation and diminution. Santa María readily informs us that his work was supervised by both Antonio and Juan de Cabezón. Just as it was addressed to the musicians and theorists of their time, this affiliation continues to affirm the work's faithful transmission of the interpretative and compositional tradition of the Cabezón brothers.<sup>34</sup>

It bears noting that Santa María's treatise presents an evidently advanced approach to fingering in the context of mid-16th century Europe, with extensive use of the thumb in both hands and the use of groups of two, three, four and even five fingers up and down in succession (*arreo*).<sup>35</sup> With regards to ornamentation, Santa María offers descriptions of both small ornaments and trills as well as diminutions. He also differentiates between the 'old' and 'new' ornaments, encouraging players to apply the latter rather than the former, and therefore implying a clear idea of evolution, progress and adaptation to the prevailing tastes of the day. These 'new' ornaments start on the upper note and before the beat. Curiously, the quantity and quality of information about ornamentation transmitted by Santa María and other Spanish theorists contrasts with an almost total absence of signs in the music itself indicating where these ornaments are to be played. The exact opposite situation occurs in the English repertoire of the same period, wherein an abundance of signs in the musical sources contrasts with a lack of information about the meaning of these signs.<sup>36</sup>

Perhaps the most interesting part of Santa María's treatise refers to the practice of '*tañer con buen ayre*' ('playing with good taste'). This signifies pri-

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33 Tomás de Santa María, *Libro llamado arte de tañer fantasía* (Valladolid: Francisco Fernandez de Cordova, 1565); online: <<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000158382&page=1>> (accessed 23 June 2022).

34 This topic was studied in detail by Miguel Ángel Roig-Francolí, 'Compositional theory and practice in mid-sixteenth century spanish instrumental music: the '*Arte de tañer fantasía*' by Tomás de Santa María and the music of Antonio de Cabezón', PhD thesis, Indiana University, 1990; idem, 'En torno a la figura de Cabezón y la obra de Tomás de Santa María: aclaraciones, evaluaciones y relaciones con la música de Cabezón', in: *RdM* 15 (1992), 55–85; idem, 'Modal paradigms in mid-sixteenth-century Spanish instrumental composition: Theory and practice in Antonio de Cabezón and Tomás de Santa María', in: *JMT* 38 (1994), 249–91; idem, 'Playing in consonances: a Spanish Renaissance technique of chordal improvisation', in: *EM* 23 (1995), 437–49.

35 See also the chapter of Maria Luisa Baldassari in this volume.

36 On this topic see Andrés Cea Galán, '*La cifra hispana: música, tañedores e instrumentos (siglos XVI-XVIII)*', Doctoral thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2014, part II.

marily an articulation technique, but also a manner of *inégal* interpretation. In tandem, these two elements are associated with good taste or grace in playing.<sup>37</sup> Similar forms of *inégalité* likewise existed in France and Italy at this time. As Anne Smith writes broadly concerning Renaissance music, 'this is one of the areas of 16th century performance practice where much may still be discovered'.<sup>38</sup>

Furthermore, Santa María's book is a manual for the study of polyphonic improvisation, describing Renaissance compositional techniques in all their rigour as well as how to apply them extempore.<sup>39</sup> From this wealth of detailed contemporary information, Antonio de Cabezón emerges as the sole composer of Renaissance instrumental music for whom such a complete textual record exists, both of the prevailing method of composition and of the interpretation of his work. In this respect he can only be compared to Claudio Merulo who actively participated in the writing of Girolamo Diruta's treatise *Il Transilvano*.

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Another prominent feature of *Obras de música* is the inclusion of a complete system of both binary and ternary tempo indications (Tabs. 5 and 6). These were used to indicate the proper playing speed of a piece or sections thereof, following a practice previously described in multiple vihuela books published by Milán, Narváez, Mudarra, Valderrábano and Pisador. In one way or another, together with Cabezón, they anticipate the use of the terms *adagio* and *allegro* invented in Italy for similar purposes around the year 1600. The Spanish system of indicating tempo reaches its peak with the *Facultad orgánica* of Francisco Correa de Arauxo, published in 1626.<sup>40 41</sup>

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37 An updated appraisal of this question can be found in *ibid*.

38 Anne Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music. Learning from the Theorists* (Oxford, 2011), 70.

39 On this topic see also the chapter by August Valentin Rabe in this volume.

40 Francisco Correa de Arauxo, Francisco, *Libro de tientos y discursos de música práctica y theórica de órgano intitulado Facultad orgánica* (Alcalá de Henares: Antonio Arnao, 1626).

41 On this topic, see Andrés Cea Galán, 'La cifra hispana', part II and chapter *Cabezón*.

Tab. 5: Binary tempo signatures in Spanish printed sources (1536–1626)					
Milán	1536		<i>bien mesurado</i>	<i>algún tanto apriesa algo apriesa algo apresurado</i>	<i>apressurado o batido</i>
Narváez	1538		<i>compasillo muy de espacio</i> ♩		<i>compasillo algo aprisa</i> ♩
Mudarra	1540		<i>despacio</i> ♩ <i>breve al compás</i>	<i>ni muy apriesa ni muy a espacio</i> ♩ <i>semibreve al compás</i>	<i>apriesa</i> ♩ <i>semibreve al compás</i>
Valderrábano	1547		<i>a espacio</i> ♩·	<i>más apriesa</i> ♩:	<i>muy más apriesa</i> ♩:·
Pisador	1551		<i>despacio</i>	♩	
Cabezón	1578		♩	♩	⊙
Correa	1626	<i>el más grave de todos</i> ⊙	<i>a espacio</i> ♩	<i>ni a espacio ni apriesa</i> ♩	<i>andado, ligero veloz</i> ♩

Tab. 6: Ternary tempo signatures in Spanish printed sources (1538–1626)						
Narváez	1538	tres semibreves al compás $\frac{3}{1}$ $\text{C}3$ $\text{O}3$		tres mínimas $\frac{3}{2}$	seis semínimas $\frac{6}{4}$	nueve semibreves $\frac{9}{3}$
Pisador	1551	tres semibreves 3		tres mínimas 3	tres semínimas 3	
Cabezón	1578	tres semibreves $\text{C}3$ $\text{O}3$		tres mínimas $\text{C}3$		
Correa	1626	proporción mayor, tres semibreves más o menos aprisa según el número de figuras $\text{O} \frac{3}{2}$		prop. menor tres mínimas $\text{C}3$ 3		

These tempo indications are complemented by Luis Milán's instructions concerning the concept of 'tañer de gala'<sup>42</sup> on the vihuela. He describes a refined manner of playing and implies alternating between slow and fast sections in a single piece.<sup>43</sup>

Nearly two centuries later, Pablo Nassarre, a student of Pablo Bruna, describes a similar manner of playing in his publication *Escuela música* (1724),<sup>44</sup> in which he compares the performance practices of the Spanish and Italian musicians of his time. According to his description, both groups played 'especially in instrumental music' alternating between slow and fast sections within a piece. However, it is the 'early Spanish masters' (as Nassarre refers to them) who preferred to handle transitions between sections by applying *accelerando* and *ritardando*, while it was the Italians who performed tempo changes abruptly.<sup>45</sup> Nassarre thus attributes to these early Spanish musicians a practice which at present, interpreters tend to associate solely with the Italian style cultivated by members of the Frescobaldi circle. It is also possible that Nassarre had in mind the Italian sonata or cantata style of the 17th century. A more difficult task, however, is to locate the music of Spanish origin to which he refers. Although it can be inferred that he was addressing his remarks to keyboardists and organists, it seems evident that Nassarre's general approach is equally applicable to the vihuela/guitar and harp repertoire, as well as to some vocal

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42 'Gala' refers to the special dress worn for significant occasions, as well as to the grace, charm or elegance employed when doing something. The term has connotations of perfection, excellence and exquisiteness, referring to specially chosen actions, persons or objects.

43 Milán expressed this clearly on several occasions. For example: 'Ya os dixes q[ue] todo lo q[ue] es redobles que l[os] agays apriessa y la consonancia a espacio. De manera que en una mesma fantasia aveys de hacer mutación de compas. Y por esto os dixes que esta musica no tiene mucho respecto al compas para darle su natural ayre [...]:' (I already told you that you have to play all the diminutions quickly and the consonances slowly. In such a manner that in a single fantasia you have to change the measure. And for this reason I told you that this music does not have much respect for the measure to give it its natural air.) Luis Milán, *Libro de musica de vihuela de mano, intitulado El maestro* (Valencia: Francisco Díaz Romano, 1536), fol. [23r]; <<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000022795>> (accessed 3 July 2022).

44 Pablo Nassarre, *Escuela música según la práctica moderna* (Zaragoza: Herederos de Diego de Larumbe, 1724), parte primera, lib. iv, cap. xii, 443–4, 'De la mucha utilidad que puede sacar el músico en la práctica de las proporciones'; <<https://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000014534>> (accessed 5 September 2022).

45 On this topic, see Andrés Cea Galán, 'Ayre de España: zu Tempo und Stil in der *Escuela Música* von Fray Pablo Nassarre', in: *In Organo Pleno: Festschrift für Jean-Claude Zehnder zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Luigi Collarile and Alexandra Nigito (Bern, 2007), 113–22. See also Cea Galán, 'La cifra hispana' (see n. 36), part II.



music. Though a connection can be made with Milan's instructions of 1536, it is otherwise difficult to establish with any degree of certainty the provenance of this Spanish approach to the performance of instrumental music as described by Nassarre. With regard to the practice of tempo changes in Spanish music, it is worth noting that the term *allarga la batutta* first appeared around 1600 in the music of composers such as Giovanni Maria Trabaci, all of whom were associated with the Spanish court in Naples.

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Another important aspect in the European context of Cabezón's music is the question of temperament and the different approaches to the tuning of musical instruments described in Spanish treatises. Apart from a controversial precedent expressed by Gonzalo Martínez Bizcargui (1511), the aforementioned Santa María was the first in Spain to characterise the diatonic, or singable (*cantabile*) semitone as 'major'. He thus positions himself as an advocate of a novel approach to temperament, as first defended in Italy by Zarlino in 1558 and later again in Spain by Salinas in 1577 (Tab. 7).

Tab. 7: Spanish treatises classified according to their consideration of the diatonic semitone as minor (Pythagorean approach) or major (Meantone approach)				
Diatonic semitone as minor (Pythagorean)			Diatonic semitone as major (Meantone)	
Domingo Marcós Durán	<i>Lux bella</i>	1492		
Guillermo de Podio	<i>Ars musicorum</i>	1495		
Alfonso Españón	<i>Introducción de canto llano</i>	1498		
Diego del Puerto	<i>Portus musice</i>	1504		
Francisco Tovar	<i>Libro de música práctica</i>	1510		
		1511	Gonzalo Martínez Bizcargui	<i>Arte de canto llano</i>
Juan Espinosa	<i>Tractado de principios</i>	1520		
Matheo de Aranda	<i>Tractado de canto mensural</i>	1535		
Gaspar de Aguilar	<i>Arte de principios</i>	1537		
Fray Juan Bermudo	<i>Arte tripharia</i>	1550		
Fray Juan Bermudo	<i>Declaración de instrumentos</i>	1555		
Juan Pérez de Moya	<i>Discursos de Aritmética práctica</i>	1562		
Luis de Villafraanca	<i>Breve instrucción</i>	1565		
		1565	Fray Tomás de Santa María	<i>Arte de tañer fantasía</i>
		1571	Juan Pérez de Moya	<i>Tratado de matemáticas</i>
		1577	Francisco Salinas	<i>De Musica</i>
		1592	Francisco de Montanos	<i>Arte de música</i>

Tab. 7: Spanish treatises classified according to their consideration of the diatonic semitone as minor (Pythagorean approach) or major (Meantone approach)				
Diatonic semitone as minor (Pythagorean)			Diatonic semitone as major (Meantone)	
Andrés de Monserrate	Arte breve y compendioso ...	1614		
		1626	Antonio Fernández	Arte de música
		1649	Fray Tomás Gómez	Arte de canto llano, órgano y cifra
		1672	Andrés Lorente	El porqué de la música
		1700	Fray Pablo Nassarre	Fragmentos músicos
		1707	Antonio de la Cruz Brocarte	Médula de música teórica
		1742	José de la Fuente	Reglas de canto llano
		1748	Antonio Ventura Roel del Río	Institución harmónica
		1760	Diego de Roxas y Montes	Promptuario armónico
		1761	Gerónimo Romero de Ávila	Arte de canto llano
		1765	Pedro de Villasagra	Arte y compedio
		1767	Manuel de Paz	Médula de canto llano
		1776	Francisco Marcos y Navas	Arte o compendio general
		1778	Francisco de Santa María	Dialectos músicos

More fundamentally, the first rejection of the classical Pythagorean division of the octave is found in the treatise *Musica práctica* (Bologna: Baltasar de Hyrberia, 1482) written by Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja. Later, Juan Bermudo presents an exemplary approach to equal temperament in his *Declaración de instrumentos musicales*.<sup>46</sup> Using the term *preparación* to describe the process, his method is based on the division of the syntonic comma into three parts. Bermudo also proposes a modified version of this temperament suitable for the organ, the result of which approximates 1/8 comma meantone. As shown, Bermudo's *preparación* of the syntonic comma anticipates the concept of *participatio* utilized by Zarlino in his mathematical and geometric definition of the various meantone temperaments.<sup>47</sup>

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Tab. 8. <i>Libro de cifra nueva</i> , 1557: Keyboard pieces in tablature printed with text			
Psalms	Motets	Chanzonetas / Villancicos	Hymns and others
<i>Cum invocarem</i> Fabordón, in 4 parts	<i>Aspice Domine</i> Palero, in 5 parts Text in the bass	<i>Iesu Christo hombre y Dios</i> Polyphony in 4 parts	<i>Sacris solemniiis Ioseph vir</i> Polyphony in 4 parts c.f. in the sopran
<i>Nunc dimittis</i> Fabordón, in 4 parts	<i>Si bona suscepimus</i> Palero, in 5 parts Text in the bass	<i>Míralo como llora</i> Polyphony in 6 parts Text applied to second soprano	<i>Salve regina</i> , Antonio de Cabezón, in 4 parts Text in the bass
<i>Non accedet</i> In 5 parts Text in the bass		<i>De la virgen que parió</i> In 4 parts Text in the bass	<i>O gloriosa domina</i> Polyphony in 3 parts c.f. in the tenor
<i>In pace</i> In 5 parts Text in the bass		<i>Mundo qué me puedes dar</i> In 5 parts Text in the bass	<i>Te Matrem Dei laudamus</i> Fabordón, in 4 parts
		<i>Al rebuelo de una garça</i> In 4 parts Text in the bass	

46 Juan Bermudo, *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (Osuna: Juan de León, 1555), facs.ed. by Macario Santiago Kastner (Kassel/Basel, 1957). Online: <<http://bdh.bne.es/bnsearch/detalle/bdh0000046174>> (accessed 5 September 2022).

47 On this matter, Cea Galán, 'La cifra hispana' (see n. 36), part II and the chapter *Bermudo*.

Antonio de Cabezón's responsibilities as chamber musician at the Spanish court offer a final point of interest. Although he was then, as now, renowned as an instrumentalist, his duties also included singing. The eyewitness account of Pierre Maillard describes Cabezón singing while accompanying himself at the keyboard. A number of the hymn settings and motet intabulations included in Luis Venegas de Henestrosa's *Libro de cifra nueva* are presented with their original texts printed in such a way that they align with the notated music (Tab. 8). This seems to suggest the practice described above, that of singing at the organ (*cantar al órgano*). In any case, the presence of these texts alongside the music opens up new perspectives for the interpretation of this repertoire.<sup>48</sup>

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To conclude, even with the wealth of information available to help us interpret the music of Antonio de Cabezón, something will always be missing. Its real essence is not captured on paper or in the minutiae of Santa María, Milán and others; the scores and treatises alone cannot not describe all that it takes to achieve a convincing rendition. This repertoire lived in the mind, in the imagination of the blind Cabezón. His music became a true sonic reality to his audience only through his fingers and his voice. In this sense, one must always maintain a critical attitude when confronting Cabezón's musical texts, especially bearing in mind the difficult circumstances surrounding their transmission, having passed first over the desk of copyist Pedro Blanco before their final delivery into the hands of Hernando de Cabezón. One must also consider the further editorial challenge which this music presented to Hernando himself, and also to Venegas de Henestrosa.<sup>49</sup> Above all, it is essential to accept the impossibility of reaching the true centre, which is a complete understanding of the original meaning and importance of Antonio de Cabezón's music, both in his context and in ours. Such efforts can never be in vain, however, as this music has been heralded as that of a new Orpheus, praised for 'sweetness', but also admired because of its 'strangeness'.<sup>50</sup>

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48 This aspect is analysed in Andrés Cea Galán, 'Cantar Victoria al órgano. Documentos, música y praxis', in: *Tomás Luis de Victoria: Estudios/Studies*, ed. Javier Suárez-Pajares and Manuel del Sol (Madrid, 2013), 307–57.

49 On all these subjects, Cea Galán, '¿Quién te me enojó, Isabel?' (see n. 31); idem, 'Nuevos pasajes corruptos en las Obras de música de Antonio de Cabezón', in: *Diferencias 1*, 2<sup>a</sup> época (2010), 67–98; idem, 'Nuevas rutas para Cabezón' (see n. 25); idem, 'New Approaches to the Music of Antonio de Cabezón' (see n. 23).

50 Calvete de la Estrella described Cabezón's playing in *El felicissimo viaje* (see n. 8), fol. 17v–18r, when referring to the mass celebrated in the Genoa cathedral on the 8th of December 1548: 'Celebrose la missa de pontifical. Oficiaronla los cantores y capilla d'el Principe con gran admiracion de todo el pueblo de ver la solenidad con que se haziay y con tan divina musica y de tan escogidas voces y de oyr la

## Appendix 1

Antonio de Cabezón, 'Discante sobre la pavana italiana', in: *Obras de música* (Madrid, 1578), fol. 186<sup>v</sup>–187<sup>v</sup>.

Transcription and reconstruction: Andrés Cea Galán

This edition is based on the analysis presented in a prior journal article 'Nuevos pasajes corruptos en las *Obras de música* de Antonio de Cabezón' (2010).<sup>51</sup> In order to paint a clearer picture of the metric structure of the piece (exemplified by its characteristic up-beat opening) in this edition, each bar is equivalent to two bars of the original. Original note values have been retained. Bars 40 and 48–49, missing from the original source, have been reconstructed and are differentiated in the score by a slightly reduced font size. Additional chromatic alterations are signaled above and beneath certain notes. Previously used to indicate the end of each variation, certain fermatas have been restored to their proper places. Each variation has been assigned a number in brackets. Each performer may view these modifications as suggestions, which in no way should hinder any personal interpretative decisions concerning both the structure and details of this composition with reference to the original source material.

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suavidad y estrañeza con que tocava el organo el unico en este genero de musica Antonio de Cabeçon, otro Orpheo de nuestros tiempos.' (The pontifical mass was celebrated with participation of the singers and chapel of the Prince, producing great admiration into the people due to the solemnity with which everything was done, with such a divine music and such selected voices, and also hearing the softness and strangeness with which the organ was played by the very unique man in this genre of music, Antonio de Cabezón, another Orpheus of our times.)

51 See n. 49.

Discante sobre la pavana italiana

*Obras de música*, fol. 186v-187v

Antonio de Cabezón  
Transcription and reconstruction: Andrés Cea Galán (2022)

Allegro

3/4

[1]

[1]

[2]

The musical score for 'The Rose Tree' is presented in a two-staff format, with the treble staff on top and the bass staff on the bottom. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The score is divided into three systems, each starting with a measure number in the left margin: 12, 15, and 18.

**System 1 (Measures 12-14):** The melody in the treble staff begins with a quarter note G4, followed by eighth notes A4-B4, and a quarter note C5. The bass staff provides a simple accompaniment with a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 2 (Measures 15-17):** The melody continues with a quarter note D5, followed by eighth notes E5-F5, and a quarter note G5. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 3 (Measures 18-20):** The melody features a quarter note A5, followed by eighth notes B5-C6, and a quarter note D6. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 4 (Measures 21-23):** The melody starts with a quarter note E6, followed by eighth notes F6-G6, and a quarter note A6. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 5 (Measures 24-26):** The melody continues with a quarter note B6, followed by eighth notes C7-D7, and a quarter note E7. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 6 (Measures 27-29):** The melody features a quarter note F7, followed by eighth notes G7-A7, and a quarter note B7. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 7 (Measures 30-32):** The melody starts with a quarter note C8, followed by eighth notes D8-E8, and a quarter note F8. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 8 (Measures 33-35):** The melody continues with a quarter note G8, followed by eighth notes A8-B8, and a quarter note C9. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 9 (Measures 36-38):** The melody features a quarter note D9, followed by eighth notes E9-F9, and a quarter note G9. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 10 (Measures 39-41):** The melody starts with a quarter note A9, followed by eighth notes B9-C10, and a quarter note D10. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 11 (Measures 42-44):** The melody continues with a quarter note E10, followed by eighth notes F10-G10, and a quarter note A10. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 12 (Measures 45-47):** The melody features a quarter note B10, followed by eighth notes C11-D11, and a quarter note E11. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 13 (Measures 48-50):** The melody starts with a quarter note F11, followed by eighth notes G11-A11, and a quarter note B11. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 14 (Measures 51-53):** The melody continues with a quarter note C12, followed by eighth notes D12-E12, and a quarter note F12. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 15 (Measures 54-56):** The melody features a quarter note G12, followed by eighth notes A12-B12, and a quarter note C13. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 16 (Measures 57-59):** The melody starts with a quarter note D13, followed by eighth notes E13-F13, and a quarter note G13. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 17 (Measures 60-62):** The melody continues with a quarter note A13, followed by eighth notes B13-C14, and a quarter note D14. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 18 (Measures 63-65):** The melody features a quarter note E14, followed by eighth notes F14-G14, and a quarter note A14. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 19 (Measures 66-68):** The melody starts with a quarter note B14, followed by eighth notes C15-D15, and a quarter note E15. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 20 (Measures 69-71):** The melody continues with a quarter note F15, followed by eighth notes G15-A15, and a quarter note B15. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 21 (Measures 72-74):** The melody features a quarter note C16, followed by eighth notes D16-E16, and a quarter note F16. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 22 (Measures 75-77):** The melody starts with a quarter note G16, followed by eighth notes A16-B16, and a quarter note C17. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 23 (Measures 78-80):** The melody continues with a quarter note D17, followed by eighth notes E17-F17, and a quarter note G17. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 24 (Measures 81-83):** The melody features a quarter note A17, followed by eighth notes B17-C18, and a quarter note D18. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 25 (Measures 84-86):** The melody starts with a quarter note E18, followed by eighth notes F18-G18, and a quarter note A18. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 26 (Measures 87-89):** The melody continues with a quarter note B18, followed by eighth notes C19-D19, and a quarter note E19. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 27 (Measures 90-92):** The melody features a quarter note F19, followed by eighth notes G19-A19, and a quarter note B19. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 28 (Measures 93-95):** The melody starts with a quarter note C20, followed by eighth notes D20-E20, and a quarter note F20. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 29 (Measures 96-98):** The melody continues with a quarter note G20, followed by eighth notes A20-B20, and a quarter note C21. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 30 (Measures 99-101):** The melody features a quarter note D21, followed by eighth notes E21-F21, and a quarter note G21. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 31 (Measures 102-104):** The melody starts with a quarter note A21, followed by eighth notes B21-C22, and a quarter note D22. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 32 (Measures 105-107):** The melody continues with a quarter note E22, followed by eighth notes F22-G22, and a quarter note A22. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 33 (Measures 108-110):** The melody features a quarter note B22, followed by eighth notes C23-D23, and a quarter note E23. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 34 (Measures 111-113):** The melody starts with a quarter note F23, followed by eighth notes G23-A23, and a quarter note B23. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 35 (Measures 114-116):** The melody continues with a quarter note C24, followed by eighth notes D24-E24, and a quarter note F24. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 36 (Measures 117-119):** The melody features a quarter note G24, followed by eighth notes A24-B24, and a quarter note C25. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 37 (Measures 120-122):** The melody starts with a quarter note D25, followed by eighth notes E25-F25, and a quarter note G25. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 38 (Measures 123-125):** The melody continues with a quarter note A25, followed by eighth notes B25-C26, and a quarter note D26. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 39 (Measures 126-128):** The melody features a quarter note E26, followed by eighth notes F26-G26, and a quarter note A26. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 40 (Measures 129-131):** The melody starts with a quarter note B26, followed by eighth notes C27-D27, and a quarter note E27. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 41 (Measures 132-134):** The melody continues with a quarter note F27, followed by eighth notes G27-A27, and a quarter note B27. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 42 (Measures 135-137):** The melody features a quarter note C28, followed by eighth notes D28-E28, and a quarter note F28. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 43 (Measures 138-140):** The melody starts with a quarter note G28, followed by eighth notes A28-B28, and a quarter note C29. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 44 (Measures 141-143):** The melody continues with a quarter note D29, followed by eighth notes E29-F29, and a quarter note G29. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 45 (Measures 144-146):** The melody features a quarter note A29, followed by eighth notes B29-C30, and a quarter note D30. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 46 (Measures 147-149):** The melody starts with a quarter note E30, followed by eighth notes F30-G30, and a quarter note A30. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 47 (Measures 150-152):** The melody continues with a quarter note B30, followed by eighth notes C31-D31, and a quarter note E31. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 48 (Measures 153-155):** The melody features a quarter note F31, followed by eighth notes G31-A31, and a quarter note B31. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 49 (Measures 156-158):** The melody starts with a quarter note C32, followed by eighth notes D32-E32, and a quarter note F32. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 50 (Measures 159-161):** The melody continues with a quarter note G32, followed by eighth notes A32-B32, and a quarter note C33. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 51 (Measures 162-164):** The melody features a quarter note D33, followed by eighth notes E33-F33, and a quarter note G33. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 52 (Measures 165-167):** The melody starts with a quarter note A33, followed by eighth notes B33-C34, and a quarter note D34. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 53 (Measures 168-170):** The melody continues with a quarter note E34, followed by eighth notes F34-G34, and a quarter note A34. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 54 (Measures 171-173):** The melody features a quarter note B34, followed by eighth notes C35-D35, and a quarter note E35. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 55 (Measures 174-176):** The melody starts with a quarter note F35, followed by eighth notes G35-A35, and a quarter note B35. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 56 (Measures 177-179):** The melody continues with a quarter note C36, followed by eighth notes D36-E36, and a quarter note F36. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.

**System 57 (Measures 180-182):** The melody features a quarter note G36, followed by eighth notes A36-B36, and a quarter note C37. The bass staff has a quarter note G3 and a half note F3.



This musical score is for guitar, spanning measures 24 to 34. It is written in a key with one flat (B-flat) and a 2/4 time signature. The notation is presented in a system of two staves per measure, with the right hand on the upper staff and the left hand on the lower staff. Measure 24 begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The right hand plays a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment. Measure 25 continues the melodic line in the right hand, with a repeat sign and a measure rest in the left hand. Measure 26 shows a continuation of the melodic pattern. Measure 27 starts with a new melodic phrase in the right hand. Measure 28 features a more complex rhythmic pattern with sixteenth notes. Measure 29 includes a measure rest in the right hand and a continuation in the left. Measure 30 shows a melodic development in the right hand. Measure 31 begins with a treble clef and a key signature change to two sharps (F# and C#). The right hand plays a melodic line, and the left hand has a measure rest. Measure 32 continues the melodic line in the right hand. Measure 33 shows a melodic phrase in the right hand. Measure 34 ends with a final melodic statement in the right hand. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, repeat signs, and measure rests.

37

40

43

46

6

x

## Appendix 2

Antonio de Cabezón, 'Diferencias sobre el villancico de quién te me enojó, Isabel', in: *Obras de música* (Madrid, 1578), fol. 193<sup>v</sup>–196<sup>v</sup>.

Transcription and reconstruction: Andrés Cea Galán

This edition is also based on a previous analysis made in another article, '¿Quién te me enojó, Isabel? y otras preguntas sin respuesta en las obras de música de Antonio de Cabezón' (2007),<sup>52</sup> wherein a preliminary version was presented. This piece comes down to us from the original source in a fairly corrupted version. Specifically in b. 17, and beginning from b. 19 on, the note values have been doubled in the original printed version, thereby obscuring the structure of the piece as a whole. Furthermore, the reprise included in each variation has usually been misplaced, as is the case with the fermatas indicating the end of each variation. In the original, only the first variation up to the middle of the second is presented in a correct reading. From an editorial point of view, the last variation is especially problematic in its presentation of unnecessary repeated bars among other inconsistencies. Thus, in its reconstruction, the present version presumes the original structure and form of each variation.

Likewise, each bar is equivalent to two bars of the original so as to paint a clearer picture of the piece's metrical structure, especially as it opens on an up-beat. Occasional notes missing from the original have been restored and are differentiated in the score by a slightly reduced font size. Additional chromatic alterations are signalled above and beneath certain notes. The fermatas have been restored to their proper places. Each variation has been assigned a number in brackets. Each performer may view these modifications as suggestions, which in no way should hinder any personal interpretative decisions concerning both the structure and details of this composition with reference to the original source material.

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52 See n. 31.

Diferencias sobre el villancico de quien te me enoja Isabel

*Obras de música*, fol. 193v-196v

Antonio de Cabezón  
Transcription and reconstruction: Andrés Cea Galán (2022)

5

8

This musical score is for guitar, spanning measures 11 to 21. It is written in a key with one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The score is organized into five systems, each containing a grand staff with a treble and bass clef. Measure 11 begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. Measure 12 contains a bracketed number [2] in the bass staff. Measure 15 begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. Measure 18 begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. Measure 21 begins with a treble clef and a common time signature, and contains a bracketed number [3] in the bass staff. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

The musical score is presented in four systems, each consisting of a treble and bass staff joined by a brace. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). Measure numbers 24, 27, 30, and 33 are indicated at the beginning of their respective systems. The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, sixteenth notes), rests, and dynamic markings such as *pp* (pianissimo) and *ff* (fortissimo). A bracket labeled [4] is placed above the staff in measure 31. The score concludes with a double bar line in measure 33.

This musical score is for guitar, spanning measures 36 to 45. It is written on a grand staff with a treble and bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The score includes various musical notations such as eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *f* (forte) and *p* (piano). Measure 39 contains a bracketed section labeled [5], indicating a five-measure rest. Measure 44 features a sharp sign (#) above the staff, likely indicating a key signature change or a specific fingering. The notation is dense, with many beamed notes and slurs, suggesting a complex and technically demanding piece.

The image displays a musical score for a piece by Antonio de Cabezón, consisting of four systems of staves. Each system begins with a measure number: 48, 51, 54, and 57. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, various note values (quarter, eighth, sixteenth notes), rests, and dynamic markings such as *sf* (sforzando) and *f* (forte). The score is written in a single system with two staves per system, likely representing a piano and a lute or guitar. The music features complex rhythmic patterns and melodic lines, characteristic of the Spanish lute repertoire. The notation is in black ink on a white background, with a clear and legible layout.

Transcription and reconstruction: Andrés Cea Galán (2022)



This musical score is for guitar, spanning measures 60 to 69. It is written in a key with one flat (B-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. The notation is presented in two systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs).  
Measure 60 begins with a triplet of eighth notes in the treble clef, followed by a series of sixteenth-note runs. A circled '7' indicates a seventh fret. The bass clef part consists of a steady eighth-note accompaniment.  
Measure 63 features a triplet of eighth notes in the treble clef, followed by a melodic line with a slur. The bass clef continues with eighth notes.  
Measure 66 shows a triplet of eighth notes in the treble clef, followed by a melodic phrase. The bass clef has a whole note chord.  
Measure 69 concludes with a triplet of eighth notes in the treble clef, followed by a melodic line. The bass clef has a whole note chord.  
Throughout the piece, there are various musical notations including slurs, ties, and dynamic markings.

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