

A PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL OF GUITAR STUDIES

Soundboard

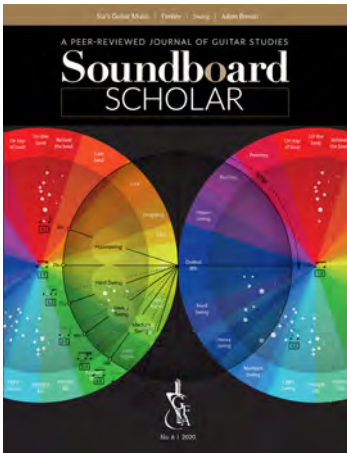
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EDITOR'S LETTER

An Online, Open-Access Journal



WHEN THE SIXTH ISSUE of *Soundboard Scholar* was released in December of last year, it was our largest yet, featuring five extended articles. After so many months of work on screen, it was a pleasure to hold the printed journal in my hands. One article—Milton Mermikides’s essay on microtiming—included a rich data graphic by the author, and our art director, Colleen Gates, had transformed it into a cover image that was even more intriguing, hinting at rosettes and soundholes.

And yet here we are a year later, and there is no escape from the computer screen: *Soundboard*

Scholar has moved entirely online. What has changed?

Quite simply, it has become clear that a paper journal—expensive to produce yet limited to around eighty pages per year—cannot serve the needs of our scholarly community. For one thing, we encourage interdisciplinary work, and contributions sometimes involve a variety of media. Visit the web pages that accompany previous numbers of the journal, and you will see material that should not, ideally, be separated from its parent article. Our new online platform, provided by Bepress’s Digital Commons through the generous support of the University of Denver, offers new possibilities for multimedia discourse.

The space constraints of a print version are particularly unfortunate for guitar scholars, who have so few opportunities to acquire the credentials of peer-reviewed publication. My colleagues on the editorial board and I do not wish to exclude any contribution for lack of room: the evaluation of the peer reviewers should be the only determinant. Nor would we want to keep scholars waiting for an entire year to find out what their colleagues have been working on, as our print schedule has done. This online journal will be updated whenever an article is ready, and each issue will be closed at the end of the calendar year.

Above all, when scholarship is hidden behind a paywall, important communities are denied access and our entire field suffers. In the wake of the shattering events of

2020, the GFA has launched several initiatives in the service of inclusion, diversity, equity, and access. I am deeply grateful to the GFA executives who listened to my proposal for a free and open-access journal and gave it their unqualified support.

Even an online journal requires considerable resources to produce. If you wish to support this project, please consider [joining](#) or [donating to the GFA](#).

In This Issue

Articles

It is not only non-profit foundations such as the GFA that have responded to the events of 2020; music educators throughout the United States have scrutinized and rebuilt their teaching repertoire. Many have thought to change not only the composers and identities to be studied but the instruments for which their repertoire is scored—lessening the emphasis on piano or bowed-string instruments, which have often been treated as somehow neutral sites on which abstract principles play out. A guitar piece is now more likely to crop up in a college music theory class than it once was.

Jonathan De Souza's article, "Guitar Thinking," positions the guitar and its idioms in relation to some current trends in music theory—cognitive science in particular. By defining music theory as a "shared culture of musical thinking," De Souza invites us to consider the guitar as a tool for theorizing about music, a tool that helped to shape common-practice tonality as it emerged around the beginning of the seventeenth century. His discussions of Amat (1596) and Brouwer (1972) as expressions of tactile musical knowledge will, I hope, open the door for guitarists who have been wondering how the gestures and patterns of guitar playing can be integrated into music analysis: after all, one could hardly imagine a satisfying account of, say, Villa-Lobos, Dyens, or Houghton that does not demonstrate this kind of integration.

Oliver Chandler's deep—and deeply heard—analysis of Reginald Smith Brindle's serial language draws on two fundamentally different theoretical models: Smith Brindle's personal, rather impressionistic ideas about tension flow, which foreground questions of voicing and texture; and Joseph Straus's rigorous "laws" of atonal voice-leading, in which every degree of tension is precisely calibrated. Chandler identifies moments in Smith Brindle's music where the two models seem to contradict one another; from this contradiction, he derives an approach to tension flow whose application clearly extends beyond Smith Brindle to any atonal repertoire that flirts with tonal implications.

It is interesting to consider these two articles side by side from the performer's point of view. Both authors draw on models of mapping and transformation in various kinds of space—atonal space and fretboard space, for example—and these models have striking implications for practice and learning. In one of his examples of *guitar thinking* at work, De Souza analyzes Amat's notation of the circle of fifths

in tablature, pointing out how the experience of harmonic progression is mirrored by the systematic movements of the fingers on the fretboard. Chandler likewise observes that Smith Brindle's balance of tonal and atonal forces can be explored directly at the guitar, by going through the musical examples and isolating the tritones and resolutions that inflect the serial discourse — thoroughbass exercises for atonal music. Both articles thus invite us to consider how knowledge of a musical score is construed through acts of reading, listening, and playing: even the listener's experience, surely, contains intimations of playing and reading, while for the performer, the three acts can hardly be separated at all.

From the Soundboard Archive

Going online has allowed us to create three additional sections: reprints, translations, and invited work. Our new section of reprints “From the *Soundboard* Archive” gathers together groundbreaking research of the past so that the voices of different generations can be put into conversation.

The articles in question will be gathered from the early years of *Soundboard*, which was for many years a major vehicle for scholarship in English, before the creation of the present journal in 2015 (of course, *Soundboard* still publishes research articles under the editorship of Robert Ferguson, himself a formidable scholar). At the core of *Soundboard Scholar's* project is the double-blind peer review: although this process cannot be conducted retroactively, we have convened a committee to select and approve the articles.

To inaugurate this project, we present an anthology of **Peter Danner's** work on the guitar in the United States from the 1770s to the 1920s, including his investigations into the American “parlor guitar,” as it has come to be known. Danner's articles are foundational to this portion of the guitar's historical record, certainly, but they are prescient in other ways as well. Increasingly, historians have demonstrated that to come to terms with the guitar as the most popular instrument in the world, we must step outside the classical canon. By giving rein to his curiosity about how people used the guitar in quotidian middle-class society, Danner helped pave the way for some of the studies of today: two examples that have been recently reviewed in this journal are *The Guitar in Tudor England*, the first in a series of social histories by Christopher Page, and Jukka Savijoki's examination of the guitar in Finland, “*So That the Soul Would Dance in You.*”

Strictly speaking, Danner's articles have always been obtainable (for example, the GFA sells a DVD of the first thirty-eight years of *Soundboard* in scanned PDFs). But this is a curated collection: we have left the original text alone — other than some discreet copy-editing — but footnotes, images, and bibliographies have been modestly updated. Most importantly, do not miss Peter's newly written, hugely motivating introduction, “How I Got into This,” which recounts his research journey and points to subsequent developments in this field.



José Ferraz de Almeida Júnior (1850–1899), *O violeiro* (The Guitarist).
Oil on canvas, 1899. Source: [Wikimedia Commons](#).

Translation Series

The end of 2020 marked an encouraging event for guitar scholars: a major Brazilian music journal, *Vórtex*, devoted an entire issue to the guitar, with Humberto Amorim as guest editor. Some of the articles were in English; most were in Portuguese. This issue presents four translations from the Portuguese contents, commencing what we intend to be an annual series of articles translated from other languages. It is a pity that out of the thirty-odd peer-reviewed articles in that issue, we could translate so few. To render these four in English would have been impossible without Diogo Alvarez's penetrating insight into the arguments of each author, making each of his translations a work of scholarship in its own right.

Two of the articles in this collection are studies in performance and repertoire. **Sidney Molina's** analysis of Julian Bream's complete discography is an interdisciplinary

essay that opens up two conversations: one between Bream and Segovia, and another between Bream's listeners and the great literary critic Harold Bloom.

Pedro Rodrigues's article on Francisco de Lacerda's *Goivos* suite is a rather unusual contribution to the literature on Segovia's project to commission a modern guitar repertoire by non-guitarist composers. While there has been much discussion of the vast trove of music that Segovia received but did not record or edit for publication, most of that music comes from unpublished manuscripts that Segovia preserved in his own archive. Lacerda's manuscripts, by contrast, are held in library collections in Portugal. In his analysis, Rodrigues raises pointed questions about Segovia's collaborative practice—what, for example, to make of Lacerda's influence on Segovia's own composing?—while highlighting some uniquely haunting music from the circle of Claude Debussy.

The other two articles in this section examine the making of the guitar in Brazil—its varying social status, its links to the realm of men, and its emergence as a solo instrument. In a demonstration of the possibilities of digital archival research, **Flavia Prando** discusses the place of the guitar in a society seeking to renew itself in relation to European modernity, pointing to currents of influence from Spain and the school of Tárrega. **Cláudia Garcia** explores the contribution of women to the guitar's progress in Brazil against the painful backdrop of gendered stereotypes. Some of the topics she discusses are particular to Brazilian culture; others are not. We would be glad to receive more submissions that grapple with the questions she poses.

Once we had finished editing the translations, it was clear what our cover image should be: Almeida Júnior's 1899 painting *O violeiro* (The Guitarist). The scene is likely located in São Paulo state, perhaps in a rural area. Almeida Júnior was living in the city of São Paulo at the time, and indeed, looking up the Paulistano newspapers of the 1890s and early 1900s discussed by Prando, one can hardly miss mentions of the painter alongside the advertisements for guitar concerts that she cites. The composition of the painting is striking, placing at its very center the instrument the guitarist is playing. This is not a classical guitar or *violão*, but a double-strung, five-course *viola caipira* (or simply *viola*), the folk guitar of south-central Brazil. The distinction between these two kinds of guitar is the premise of a poem by Meireles, analyzed by Garcia. But in this distinction also lie two histories of the guitar: on the one hand, that of standard music history texts, where it is all but absent; on the other, the kind of social history explored by scholars such as Prando and Garcia in Brazil or Danner in the United States, where it is nearly ubiquitous. In *O violeiro*, an example of the new realist style of Brazilian art, the guitar is half indoors, half outdoors; it is not quite clear if the woman is singing or talking, who might be accompanying whom, or who—if anyone—is listening: this is the ephemeral, everyday life of the guitar.

By Invitation

A third new section, "By Invitation," is a space for columns, invited contributions, and other editorially reviewed content. In this issue, we include a trenchant call for a scholarly edition of Tárrega's works by **David Buch**, a musicologist known

especially for his work on Mozart. Since this piece is a call to action, we've included a Spanish translation generously prepared by Daniel Vissi García and José Luis Segura Maldonado (see the associated files on the [main article page](#)). Putting this column together with Erik Stenstadvoll's discussion of Sor in *Soundboard Scholar* no. 6, one gains insight into the real complexity of creating a reliable text. And yet the issues involved do not always filter through to the performing community: many students devote far less care to choosing an edition than to practicing it. What is needed, then, is not just new editions but the kind of vigorous discussion of their importance that we read in Buch's piece.

Walter Aaron Clark's anniversary essay on Rodrigo consists of two complementary sections. The first creates context for Rodrigo's guitar works by discussing his output away from the instrument. In the process, Clark offers a way of thinking about composers whose work doesn't fall into stylistic periods, as is the case for many composers in the guitar canon (Giuliani, Castelnuovo-Tedesco, and others): Clark makes an inventory of Rodrigo's musical imaginarium and applies it to nearly seven decades' worth of compositions. The second section takes the reader, with transformed understanding, back to the guitar works with a comprehensive bibliography of research.

Discussion

From time to time throughout the year, we invite all who are interested to participate in informal discussion with scholars of the guitar—including discussions of this journal. These discussions take place on Zoom, where attendees may ask questions, share information, or simply listen. If you would like to receive emails about these meetings (and nothing else), let us know at sbs@guitarfoundation.org.

—Jonathan Leathwood, December 26, 2021



About Soundboard Scholar

SOUNDBOARD SCHOLAR is the peer-reviewed journal of the Guitar Foundation of America. Its purpose is to publish guitar research of the highest caliber. *Soundboard Scholar* is online and open access. To view all issues of the journal, visit <http://soundboardscholar.org>.

About the Guitar Foundation of America



THE GUITAR FOUNDATION OF AMERICA inspires artistry, builds community, and promotes the classical guitar internationally through excellence in performance, literature, education, and research. For more information, visit <https://guitarfoundation.org>.

On the Need for a Scholarly Edition of Tárrega's Complete Works

DAVID J. BUCH

IN RECENT YEARS “Urtext” editions of Turina, Villa-Lobos, and Ponce have appeared, along with facsimiles of composers’ autograph manuscripts. Yet for Francisco Tárrega, the foundational figure of what we call the “classical guitar,” the scholarship is only marginally better than it was 113 years ago, when Tárrega died. There is still no reliable complete works edition, no *catalogue raisonné*, and scant archival research.¹

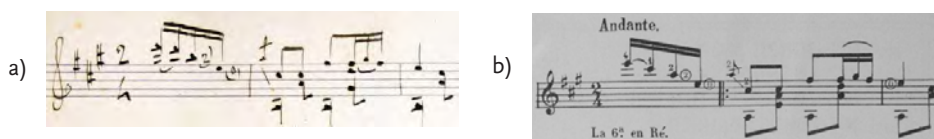
The majority of readings in the first editions of both original compositions and transcriptions (most of these were published in facsimile by Chanterelle in 1992) carry no authority.² Besides some nineteen original compositions supervised by the composer before publication,³ the vast majority of these first editions were prepared by editors considerably after Tárrega’s death, and these scores are often at odds with the surviving Tárrega autograph manuscripts and the copies made by his students. Significant editorial interventions and alterations were common in this era, while fidelity to the primary source was rare. So even such well-known works as *La alborada*, *Estudio brillante de [Jean-Delphin] Alard*, *El columpio*, *Danza mora*, *Danza odalisca*, *Las dos hermanitas*, the *Jota sobre motivos populares*, *Pavana*, *Tango María*, and many of the preludes (with the notable exceptions of nos. 1–7 but unfortunately including *Lágrima*, *Endecha*, and *Oremus*) are versions prepared and

1 A rare example of a study based on archival research is David J. Buch, “Concepción Gómez de Jacoby: Tárrega’s Enigmatic Patron and *Recuerdos de la Alhambra*,” in *Musicological Trifles and Biographical Paralipomena* (blog), ed. Michael Lorenz, November 29, 2020, <https://michaelorenz.blogspot.com/2020/11/concepcion-gomez-de-jacoby-tarregas.html>. Even in this limited investigation, a significant number of received biographical “facts” about Tárrega were shown to be contradicted by archival documents and primary sources.

2 Francisco Tárrega, *Collected Guitar Works*, ed. Rafael Andía and Javier Quevedo, 2 vols. (Heidelberg: Chanterelle, 1992–2000).

3 *Capricho árabe*, Preludios 1–7, *La mariposa*, *Gran vals*, ¡*Adelita!*, *Rosita*, ¡*Marieta!*, *María gavota*, ¡*Sueño!* (tremolo study), *Minuetto*, *Recuerdos de la Alhambra*, *Estudio en forma de minuetto*, and the Mazurka in G.

Figure 1 Tárrega, *La alborada*, mm. 1–2: (a) autograph manuscript; (b) first edition.



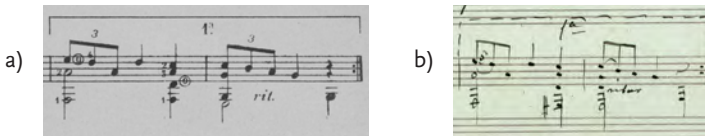
apparently altered by named and unnamed editors.⁴ One original étude (Madrid: Ildefonso Alier, no. 45, plate 6044, also reprinted by Chanterelle) claims to be based on a theme from *La traviata*, but no such theme can be found in Verdi’s opera.⁵ Even the modern reprints are not flawless. The Chanterelle reprint of Tárrega’s Preludio no. 6 (Madrid: Ildefonso Alier, plate 1053, supervised by the composer) lacks the indication to be played pizzicato throughout.⁶

Below are five representative examples illustrating the variety of significant divergences between posthumous first editions and the composer’s autograph manuscripts:

- 1 *La alborada* In both surviving autograph manuscripts, the harmony on the second beat of the first full measure is a leading-tone seventh chord against a tonic pedal (**figure 1a**). In the first edition, the harmony on the second beat of the first full measure has been simplified to a second-inversion subdominant chord; the tempo indication “Andante” has been added editorially (**figure 1b**).⁷

- 4 For examples of a named editor, see *Jota sobre motivos populares. Por Fco. Tárrega. Revisada por su discípulo Daniel Fortea* (Madrid: Ildefonso Alier, n.d., plate 5625), and the *Pavana* (Madrid: Daniel Fortea, 1930).
- 5 The initial motive bears a strong resemblance to the beginning of Azucena and Manrico’s duet “Ai nostri monti ritorneremo” in the act 4 finale of Verdi’s *Il trovatore*.
- 6 The problems with the first editions and with the Soneto edition (see below) were first discussed in Wolf Moser, *Francisco Tárrega: Werden und Wirken: Die Gitarre in Spanien zwischen 1830 und 1960* (n.p.: Saint-Georges, c. 1996). The first Spanish translation, with additions and revisions by the author, was published as *Francisco Tárrega: Devenir y repercusión: La guitarra en España entre 1830 y 1960* (Castellón de la Plana: Consejo Municipal de Cultura, 2007), then reprinted as *Francisco Tárrega y la Guitarra en España entre 1830 y 1960* (Valencia: Piles, 2009). Much of the basic biographical information and the list of works derives from Emilio Pujol, *Tárrega: Ensayo biográfico* (Lisboa: Talleres Gráficos de Ramos, Afonso & Moita, 1960; Valencia: Artes Gráficas Soler, 1978); Adrián Rius also relies on Pujol in his biography *Francisco Tárrega 1852–1909 Biography* (Valencia: Piles, 2006). But Pujol’s study makes numerous assertions of fact without evidence, and these claims, which have become received wisdom, require verification through future archival investigation.
- 7 **Figure 1a** is taken from the undated autograph score in the Biblioteca Lázaro Galdiano (shelf mark RB 15073), reproduced online at <https://bibliotecalazarogaldiano.wordpress.com/2018/10/31/serenata-espanola-de-francisco-tarrega-edicion-de-jesus-saiz-huedo/>. The first edition shown in **figure 1b** was published in Madrid by Ildefonso Alier (n.d, plate 5391). In the Galdiano manuscript, dedicated to his student Cristobál Soto, Tárrega indicates the genre as a *capricho*. In the other autograph manuscript (1891) it is a *juguete* (toy) and is dedicated to the composer’s son. Miguel Llobet’s copy of the piece, housed in Barcelona’s Museu de la Música (Fons Miquel Llobet, FA165, entitled *Scherzo para guitarra*) also has the leading-tone chord.

Figure 2 *Sueño (mazurka)*, mm. 7–8: (a) first edition; (b) autograph score.



2 *Sueño (mazurka)* At the last cadence of the first section, the first edition eliminated the slurs and the chromatic move to the dominant in the bass (F–F#–G), as well as adding an impossible low E where there is none in the original autograph score (figure 2a, possibly an engraver’s error). Compare this with the same two measures from Tárrega’s autograph score from 1897, entitled *¡Sueño! mazurka Conchita*. One clearly sees the slurs, the F#, a D, and no low E on beat one on the second measure in the example (figure 2b).⁸

3 *Tango María* The two autograph manuscripts have differences. The earlier manuscript, dated 1894, is found in Dr. Walter Leckie’s “blue” music book.⁹ It is more elaborate than the later autograph version inscribed for Tárrega’s student Mercedes Aguinaga (Barcelona, 1906),¹⁰ but both have the identical segment in the opening section (figures 3a and 3b). The posthumous first edition substantially changes this passage, both in the rhythm and the pattern of *rasgueado* and *tambura* (figure 3c).¹¹ This passage is repeated several times in the piece.

Among other changes in this introduction, the end of the first gesture in octaves has been reduced in the posthumous print, from the original four-note octave and unison to a single octave (figure 4).

4 *Las dos hermanas* The posthumous first edition is entitled *Las dos hermanitas*, meaning “the two little sisters.” In the autograph, dated 1900 in Walter Leckie’s “red” book, the title is *Las dos hermanas* (the two sisters). It has a lovely and dramatic

⁸ Tárrega, *Sueño (mazurka)*, first edition (Madrid: Ildefonso Alier, n.d., plate 5393); autograph manuscript, 1897, Fons Miquel Llobet (Arxiu del Museu de la Música de Barcelona, shelf mark ES AMDMB 4-469-7-1-FA123), <https://arxiu.museumusica.bcn.cat/improvisacion-sola-sueno-mazurka-conchita>.

⁹ A facsimile of the blue and the red books has been published as *The Tárrega–Leckie Guitar Manuscripts: Lessons with the Maestro*, edited by Brian Whitehouse (Halesowen: ASG Music [2015]). *Tango María* is found on pp. 83–84. A selection of twenty-one pieces (eleven original compositions) from these two books has been edited and published as *A Tárrega Collection* (London and New York: Ariel, 1980). Some pieces in this modern edition are flawed, as the editor omitted pitches, misread some of the notation, and left out an entire section of the *Traviata fantasia*.

¹⁰ A facsimile of this manuscript is included in Tárrega, *Originalkompositionen für Gitarre*, ed. Karl Scheit (Vienna: Universal, 1978).

¹¹ Tárrega, *Tango María*, first edition (Madrid: Ildefonso Alier, [c. 1920?], plate I. 5232 A). The controversy concerning the authorship of this piece would require a fairly detailed account and is beyond the scope of the present discussion.

Figure 3 *Tango María*, mm. 5–8: (a) autograph (Leckie, 1894); (b) autograph (Aguinaga, 1906); (c) first edition.



Figure 4 *Tango María*, m. 4: (a) autograph (1894); (b) first edition.

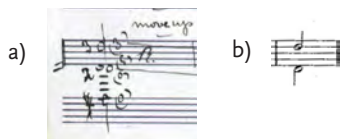
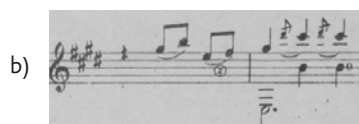
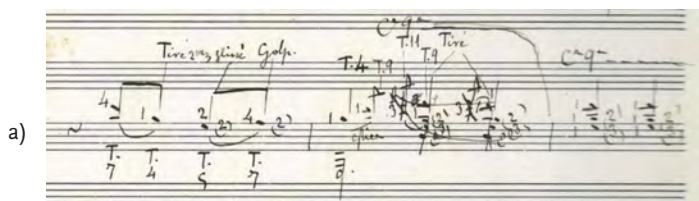


Figure 5 *Las dos hermanas*: (a) autograph, mm. 32–33; (b) first edition, mm. 20–21.



introduction that is missing from the print. **Figure 5a** shows two measures from the second strain of the first waltz. These bars are substantially different from the print (**figure 5b**).¹²

Other things have been changed in the print as well, mostly to simplify the piece. For example, the editor has eliminated the triplet at the climactic phrase of the second waltz—the only triplet in the piece. (This is a device Tárrega also used for the climactic phrase in his *Capricho árabe*.) The editor replaces the triplet with the most used ornament in the piece, an inverted mordent. Despite what one commonly hears in performances of Tárrega’s music, these are very different figures, and Tárrega is careful to distinguish them in his scores. This distinction is also emphasized in both “Tárrega” method books written by his students Emilio Pujol and Pascual Roch.

- 5 The waltz *Paquito* is a particularly egregious example of an unreliable edition. This is actually a posthumous arrangement of an earlier piece entitled *Improvisación ¡Sola!*, composed for and dedicated to Tárrega’s enigmatic patron, Concepción Gómez de Jacoby on June 29, 1897. Eliminating the dedication and renaming the piece for himself, Tárrega’s son apparently transformed what was a plaintive “valse triste” (*Sola*, meaning “lonely woman” or “loneliness” in feminine gender, is almost certainly alluding to the divorced dedicatee) into a conventional dance-like waltz referring to himself as a child. Besides erasing the original title and dedication of the piece, Tárrega junior changed many elements in this apparent “first edition,” which bears the copyright date of 1956, some sixty years after his father composed *Sola*. When one consults the original autograph manuscript of *Sola* one immediately perceives the significant differences in the printed score and the performances based on that publication.¹³ The expressive character of Tárrega’s original piece has been erased, along with the essential *crescendos*, *ritardandos*, and *a tempo* indications so typical of a slow waltz. In the final section of the print the editor has shifted one *a tempo* indication to different measures, and a repeat has been added to the score.

When the first volume of the Soneto Tárrega edition appeared in 1991,¹⁴ it seemed to offer something new—heretofore little-known manuscript readings. Yet it, too, is highly problematic. The editor claims his edition is based on “original manuscripts”—an undefined and odd locution. He provides no editorial policy, gives no identification of sources, and makes no distinction between autograph scores and copies. There are also errors, misattributions, sophomoric commentary, and few

12 Autograph, *The Tárrega–Leckie Guitar Manuscripts*, 196–200; first edition (Madrid: Ildefonso Alier, n.d., plate 6040). In the autograph, note the erasure and corrections; this and many other emendations suggest that this autograph may have been the original compositional score of the piece.

13 The autograph is in the archive Fons Miquel Llobet, shelf mark ES AMDMB 4-469-7-1-FA123, <https://arxiu.museumusica.bcn.cat/improvisacion-sola-sueno-mazurka-conchita>. For the print edition, see Tárrega, *Paquito: Vals in Do, Arreglo de Francisco Tárrega (hijo)*, no. 3 in *Cinco obras originales para guitarra*, Álbum No. 4 (Madrid: Ediciones Musicales Madrid, 1956), 6–7.

14 Tárrega, *Obras completas para guitarra: Nueva edición basada en sus manuscritos y ediciones originales*, ed. Melchor Rodríguez, 5 vols. (Madrid: Soneto, 1991–93).

Figure 6 “Exercício,” in Oswaldo Soares’s *A escola de Tárrega*, mm. 1–4.



variant readings. While this is certainly not a “complete works” edition, as the title states, the readings from these “original manuscripts” are markedly different from those in the first printed editions.

Whatever the merits of Soneto’s unidentified manuscript readings and Chanterelle’s “first edition” reprints, there have been significant developments since their publication. These developments include: (1) the availability of eleven autograph manuscripts and sixty-eight contemporary copies (including forty-eight pieces copied by Miguel Llobet) that are now housed at the archive of the Museu de la Música in Barcelona and easily accessed online;¹⁵ (2) the publication of a facsimile of two volumes of Tárrega’s autograph manuscripts written for Dr. Walter Leckie;¹⁶ and (3) the discovery of what appears to be the most ambitious composition attributed to Tárrega, a 170-measure *Serenata española* in E minor, housed in the Lázaro Galdiano Museum in Madrid.¹⁷ Moreover, there are controversies concerning pieces with conflicting composer attributions, such as *Tango María*. Some works attributed to Tárrega are clearly spurious—for example, the short arpeggio study in E minor, first published by Oswaldo Soares without attribution (**figure 6**).¹⁸ A number of Tárrega’s pieces appear to be lost. Only a close study of the sources can help resolve these issues.

Given this state of affairs, it is time for an international undertaking resulting in a truly scholarly edition of Tárrega’s complete works, with state-of-art editorial methods that include variant readings and detailed source analysis. This will certainly lead to a reexamination of the music and its historical context. A long-needed reevaluation of Tárrega’s authentic music may ensue, leading to informed performances and a serious study of the performance practice. Unreliable editions can finally be put to rest, as was done with Alessandro Longo’s editions of Domenico Scarlatti’s keyboard music.

- 15 Fons Miquel Llobet, Arxiu del Museu de la Música de Barcelona, <https://arxiu.museumusica.bcn.cat/fons-miquel-llobet>. A good deal of this material was collected by Fernando J. Alonso Mercader, particularly the scores that were originally owned by Miguel Llobet. Llobet’s personal copies seem to be the earliest surviving sources of some pieces by Tárrega that do not survive in autograph manuscripts.
- 16 *The Tárrega–Leckie Guitar Manuscripts*. The pieces in these two manuscripts have never been fully analyzed or contextualized.
- 17 *Serenata Española.- / Dedicada a D.n P. Aguilera / por su autor D.n Fran.co Tárrega*, copied by Manuela Vázquez-Barros in Seville in March, 1902. A modern edition (with many editorial interventions), including a facsimile of the original manuscript, has been published as Tárrega, *Serenata Española, critical edition by Jesús Saiz Huedo* (Madrid: Fundación Lázaro Galdiano and Asociación Cultural More Hispano, 2018).
- 18 “Exercício,” in Oswaldo Soares, *A escola de Tárrega: Método completo de violão* (São Paulo: Irmãos Vitale, 1962), 17. I wish to thank Mark Gaultier for providing information on the publication history of this piece.

Rigorous scholarly editions, when they appear, always shed new light on the music, and have many repercussions in the musical circles to which they are directed. One should recall the decisive impact of the first Bach and Mozart *Werke* editions from Breitkopf & Härtel. Even the second scholarly editions, such as the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* and the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* published by Bärenreiter Verlag, and the new Verdi and Donizetti editions from the University of Chicago Press and Ricordi, caused dramatic reevaluations of the sources, the music, and much received wisdom. Program notes proudly announce the use of these new editions because they provide new insights on the music, even if only on the level of detail.

To this end, I would suggest the formation of a working group of qualified scholars, editors, and performers to begin a process that would result in that undertaking. Because the guitar is the national instrument of Spain, and because Tárrega is the foundational figure of the classical guitar, this undertaking should be optimally centered in and supported by appropriate Spanish institutions. It also should be supervised by a team that includes leading Spanish scholars. Moreover, this project would require access to both public and private collections in Spain, as well as Spanish archives.¹⁹ Other countries, such as Argentina, may also prove to be important for primary sources.

This undertaking will not be easy. It will take many years, perhaps even decades. But the results will be well worth the effort. Once we rediscover the genuine sources of Tárrega's music that have survived, we will rediscover the authentic art of this most fundamental master of the Spanish classical guitar.



This article has been translated into Spanish by Daniel Vissi García and José Luis Segura Maldonado as “De la necesidad de una edición académica de las obras completas de Tárrega,” available in this issue at <https://digitalcommons.du.edu/sbs/vol7/iss1/2/> under Additional Files.

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¹⁹ These include the Fondo local de la Biblioteca Municipal de Villareal: Museo de la Ciudad de Villareal, Caso de Polo, Sala Francisco Tárrega, and the private collections of Amparo Ranch, Carmen Gimeno Barón, and María del Carmen Bas.

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DAVID J. BUCH, PhD, is professor emeritus at the University of Northern Iowa, formerly professor of music at Wayne State University, and most recently visiting professor at the University of Chicago. He has published numerous scholarly articles and books on music from the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries, including studies on lute and guitar. His edition of the opera *Der Stein der Weisen* (1790), with newly discovered music attributed to Mozart, was published by A-R Editions, recorded by Boston Baroque for the Telarc Label, and staged in seven productions in eight countries. The A-R series has published four more operas under his editorship.

In 1998, Dr. Buch was named University of Northern Iowa Distinguished Scholar and received the Donald N. McKay Research Award. He plays the lute, viola da gamba, and guitar. He has performed with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra under Claudio Abbado, and as guest soloist with the Eckstein String Quartet (principals, CSO).

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EDITORIAL DE COLABORADOR INVITADO

De la necesidad de una edición académica de las obras completas de Tárrega

DAVID J. BUCH

Traducción del inglés: Daniel Vissi García
& José Luis Segura Maldonado

EN AÑOS RECIENTES han aparecido ediciones “Urtext” con música de Turina, Villa-Lobos y Ponce, acompañadas por facsímiles de los manuscritos autógrafos de los compositores. Sin embargo, en el caso de Francisco Tárrega, figura fundacional de lo que hoy llamamos “guitarra clásica”, el rigor de las ediciones no es mucho mejor que hace 113 años, cuando murió Tárrega. Aún no existe una edición fidedigna de sus obras completas, ni un catálogo científico (razonado) y, si acaso, alguna investigación documental rigurosa¹.

La mayoría de las versiones de las primeras ediciones, tanto de las composiciones originales como de las transcripciones (muchas de ellas publicadas en facsímil por *Chanterelle* en 1992) no muestran fiabilidad alguna². Aparte de unas diecinueve composiciones originales supervisadas por el compositor antes de su publicación³, la gran mayoría de estas primeras publicaciones fueron preparadas por editores

1 Un ejemplo poco frecuente de estudio documental lo encontramos en David J. Buch, “Concepción Gómez de Jacoby: Tárrega’s Enigmatic Patron and *Recuerdos de la Alhambra*”, en Michael Lorenz (ed.), *Musicological Trifles and Biographical Paralipomena* (blog), 29 de noviembre de 2020, <https://michaelorenz.blogspot.com/2020/11/concepcion-gomez-de-jacoby-tarregas.html>. Aún siendo una investigación parcial, revela que un número considerable de “hechos” biográficos sobre Tárrega aceptados tradicionalmente, se contradicen con los documentos de archivo y las fuentes primarias.

2 Francisco Tárrega, *Collected Guitar Works*, ed. Rafael Andía y Javier Quevedo, 2 vols. (Heidelberg: Chanterelle, 1992-2000).

3 *Capricho árabe*, *Preludios 1–7*, *La mariposa*, *Gran vals*, *¡Adelita!*, *Rosita*, *¡Marieta!*, *María gavota*, *¡Sueño!* (*estudio de trémolo*), *Minuetto*, *Recuerdos de la Alhambra*, *Estudio en forma de minuetto*, y *Mazurca en Sol*.

mucho después de la muerte de Tárrega; y muy a menudo estas partituras presentan discrepancias con los manuscritos autógrafos de Tárrega que se conservan, y con las copias hechas por sus alumnos. En ese tiempo, las alteraciones e intervenciones editoriales significativas eran habituales, mientras que la fidelidad a la fuente original era inusual. Así pues, incluso obras tan conocidas como *La alborada*, *Estudio brillante de* [Jean-Delphin] *Alard*, *El columpio*, *Danza mora*, *Danza odalisca*, *Las dos hermanitas*, la *Jota sobre motivos populares*, *Pavana*, *Tango María* y muchos de los preludios (con las honrosas excepciones de los números 1 al 7, pero lamentablemente incluyendo *Lágrima*, *Endecha* y *Oremus*) son versiones preparadas y aparentemente alteradas por editores identificados o no⁴. Un *Étude* original (Madrid: Ildefonso Alier, núm. 45, plancha 6044, también reimpresso por *Chanterelle*) presume estar basado en un tema de *La traviata*; sin embargo tal tema no aparece en la ópera de Verdi⁵. Incluso las reediciones más modernas no son infalibles. Por ejemplo, la reedición de *Chanterelle* del *Preludio nº6* de Tárrega (Madrid: Ildefonso Alier, plancha 1053, supervisada por el compositor) no incluye la indicación de que toda la pieza debe ser interpretada en *pizzicato*⁶.

A continuación se dan cinco ejemplos representativos que ilustran las varias y notorias discrepancias entre las primeras ediciones póstumas y los manuscritos autógrafos del compositor:

- 1 *La alborada*. En los dos manuscritos autógrafos que se conservan, la armonía en el segundo tiempo del primer compás consiste en un acorde de séptima de sensible sobre un pedal de tónica (**Figura 1a**). En la primera edición, la armonía en ese segundo tiempo del primer compás se redujo a un acorde de subdominante en segunda inversión; además de la adición editorial de la indicación de tempo “Andante” (**Figura 1b**)⁷.

- 4 Como ejemplo de editor identificado véase *Jota sobre motivos populares. Por Fco. Tárrega. Revisada por su discípulo Daniel Fortea* (Madrid: Ildefonso Alier, s.f., plancha 5625), y *Pavana* (Madrid: Daniel Fortea, 1930).
- 5 El motivo inicial tiene un parecido notable con el comienzo del dúo de Azucena y Manrico “Ai nostri monti ritorneremo” en el final del acto 4 de *Il trovatore* de Verdi.
- 6 La problemática de las primeras ediciones y de la edición de *Soneto* (véase más adelante) fue tratada por primera vez en Wolf Moser, *Francisco Tárrega: Werden und Wirken: Die Gitarre in Spanien zwischen 1830 und 1960* (n.p.: Saint-Georges, c. 1996). La primera traducción al español, con adiciones y revisiones del autor, se publicó como *Francisco Tárrega: Devenir y repercusión: La guitarra en España entre 1830 y 1960* (Castellón de la Plana: Consejo Municipal de Cultura, 2007), luego reeditado como *Francisco Tárrega y la Guitarra en España entre 1830 y 1960* (Valencia: Piles, 2009). Gran parte de la información biográfica básica y el listado de obras procede de Emilio Pujol, *Tárrega: Ensayo biográfico* (Lisboa: Talleres Gráficos de Ramos, Afonso & Moita, 1960; Valencia: Artes Gráficas Soler, 1978); en su biografía, Adrián Rius [Espinós], *Francisco Tárrega 1852-1909 Biografía* (Valencia: Piles, 2006) también se basa en Pujol. Sin embargo, el estudio de Pujol hace numerosas aseveraciones sin pruebas, y estas afirmaciones que se han convertido en dicho común, requieren ser comprobadas a través de una futura investigación documental.
- 7 La **Figura 1a** está tomada de una partitura autógrafa sin fecha de la Biblioteca Lázaro Galdiano (s.f., signatura RB 15073) reproducida en línea en <https://bibliotecalazarogaldiano.wordpress>.

Figura 1 Tárrega, *La alborada*, cc. 1–2: (a) manuscrito autógrafo; (b) primera edición.

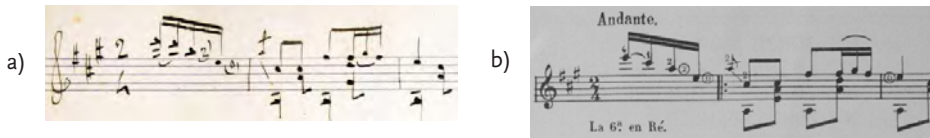
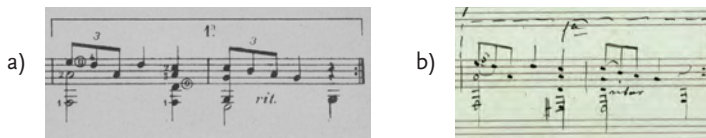


Figura 2 *Sueño (mazurka)*, cc. 7–8: (a) primera edición; (b) manuscrito autógrafo.



2 *Sueño (mazurka)*. En la última cadencia de la primera sección, la primera edición eliminó los ligados y el movimiento cromático hacia la dominante en el bajo (Fa–Fa#–Sol), pero añadió un Mi grave imposible, que no aparece en la partitura autógrafa original (**Figura 2a**, posiblemente un error de impresión). Compárese con los mismos dos compases de la partitura autógrafa de Tárrega de 1897, titulada *¡Sueño!. Mazurka Conchita*. Se pueden ver claramente los ligados, el Fa#, un Re, pero ningún Mi grave en el primer tiempo del segundo compás (ver en el ejemplo **Figura 2b**)⁸.

3 *Tango María*. Los dos manuscritos autógrafos presentan discrepancias. El más antiguo de ellos, fechado en 1894, se encuentra en el Cuaderno “azul” del Dr. Walter Leckie⁹. Se trata de una versión más elaborada que la del autógrafo posterior dedicado a la alumna de Tárrega Mercedes Aguinaga (Barcelona, 1906)¹⁰, aunque ambas tienen el mismo segmento en la introducción (**Figura 3 y 3b**). La primera edición póstuma

[com/2018/10/31/serenata-espanola-de-francisco-tarrega-edicion-de-jesus-saiz-huedo/](https://www.com/2018/10/31/serenata-espanola-de-francisco-tarrega-edicion-de-jesus-saiz-huedo/). La primera edición mostrada en la **Figura 1b** fue publicada en Madrid por Ildefonso Alier (s.f., plancha 5391). En el manuscrito de Galdiano, dedicado a su alumno Cristobál Soto, Tárrega indica que el género es un *capricho*. En el otro manuscrito autógrafo (1891) indica que se trata de un *juguete* y está dedicado al hijo del compositor. La copia de Miguel Llobet, conservada en el Museu de la Música de Barcelona (Fons Miquel Llobet, FA165, titulado *Scherzo para guitarra*) también contiene el acorde de séptima de sensible.

- 8 Tárrega, *Sueño (mazurka)*, primera edición (Madrid: Ildefonso Alier, s.f., plancha 5393); manuscrito autógrafo, Fons Miquel Llobet (Arxiu del Museu de la Música de Barcelona, signatura: ES AMDMB 4-469-7-1-FA123), <https://arxiu.museumusica.bcn.cat/improvisacion-sola-sueno-mazurka-conchita>.
- 9 Se ha publicado un facsímil de los cuadernos azul y rojo con el título *The Tárrega-Leckie Guitar Manuscripts: Lessons with the Maestro*, editado por Brian Whitehouse (Halesowen: ASG, [2015]). El tango *María* se encuentra en las páginas 83-84. Una selección de veintiuna piezas (once composiciones originales) de estos dos libros ha sido editada y publicada como *A Tárrega Collection* (Londres y Nueva York: Ariel, 1980). Algunas de las piezas de esta edición moderna son erróneas, ya que el editor omitió algunas notas, malinterpretó algunos aspectos de la notación, y excluyó una sección entera de la fantasía sobre *La traviata*.
- 10 Un facsímil de este manuscrito se incluye en Tárrega, *Originalkompositionen für Gitarre*, ed. Karl Scheit (Viena: Universal [UE 16687], 1978).

modifica sustancialmente este pasaje, tanto en el ritmo como en el patrón de *rasgueado* y *tambura* (Figura 3c)¹¹. Dicho fragmento se repite varias veces en la pieza.

Entre otros cambios a esta introducción, el final del primer movimiento en octavas se redujo en la edición póstuma de cuatro notas en octava y unísono, a una simple octava (Figura 4).

- 4 *Las dos hermanas*. La primera edición póstuma se titula “Las dos hermanitas”. En el autógrafo, fechado en 1900 y recogido en el Cuaderno “rojo” de Walter Leckie, el título es “Las dos hermanas”; y tiene una encantadora y dramática introducción, ausente en la versión impresa. La Figura 5a muestra dos compases de la segunda estrofa del primer vals. Estos compases difieren notablemente de la impresión (Figura 5b)¹².

También se cambiaron otros elementos en la edición, principalmente con el fin de simplificar la pieza. Por ejemplo, el editor eliminó el tresillo en la frase culminante del segundo vals —el único tresillo de la pieza— (recurso que Tárrega también utilizó para la frase culminante en su *Capricho árabe*). El editor sustituyó el tresillo por el adorno más utilizado en la pieza, un mordente invertido. A pesar de lo que se suele escuchar en las interpretaciones de la música de Tárrega, se trata de figuras muy diferentes, y el compositor era muy cuidadoso al distinguirlas en sus partituras. Esta particularidad se enfatiza también en los dos métodos “de Tárrega” escritos por sus alumnos Emilio Pujol y Pascual Roch.

- 5 El vals *Paquito* es un ejemplo particularmente flagrante de edición poco fiable. Se trata en realidad de un arreglo póstumo de una pieza anterior titulada *Improvisación ¡Sola!*, compuesta y dedicada a la enigmática mecenas de Tárrega, Concepción Gómez de Jacoby, el 29 de junio de 1897. Al eliminar la dedicatoria y renombrar la pieza con el suyo propio, aparentemente el hijo de Tárrega transformó lo que era un doliente “valse triste” (*Sola*, es decir “mujer solitaria” o “soledad” en femenino, alude casi con certeza a la dedicatoria divorciada) en un vals convencional bailable y refiriéndose a sí mismo cuando niño. Además de borrar el título y la dedicatoria originales de la pieza, Tárrega hijo modificó muchos elementos en esta aparente “primera edición”, que tiene la fecha de *copyright* de 1956, unos sesenta años después de que su padre compusiera *¡Sola!*. Al consultar el manuscrito autógrafo original de *¡Sola!* se aprecian inmediatamente diferencias significativas con la partitura impresa y las interpretaciones basadas en dicha publicación¹³. El carácter expresivo de la pieza original de Tárrega ha sido eliminado, junto con los esenciales *crescendos*, *ritardandos*

11 Tárrega, *Tango María*, primera edición (Madrid: Ildefonso Alier, [c. 1920?], plancha I. 5232 A). La controversia sobre la autoría de esta obra requeriría un relato bastante detallado que está más allá del alcance del presente artículo.

12 Manuscrito autógrafo, *The Tárrega–Leckie Guitar Manuscripts*, 196–200; primera edición (Madrid: Ildefonso Alier, s.f., plancha 6040). En el autógrafo, obsérvese el tachado y las correcciones; ésta y muchas otras enmiendas sugieren que este manuscrito podría ser la partitura original de la obra.

13 El autógrafo se encuentra en el archivo Fons Miquel Llobet, signatura ES AMDMB 4-469-7-1-FA123, <https://arxiu.museumusica.bcn.cat/improvisacion-sola-sueno-mazurka-conchita>. Para la edición impresa, véase Tárrega, “Paquito: Vals en Do, Arreglo de Francisco Tárrega

Figura 3 *Tango María*, cc. 5–8: (a) autógrafo (Leckie, 1894); (b) autógrafo (Aguinaga, 1906); (c) primera edición.



Figura 4 *Tango María*, c. 4: (a) autógrafo (1894); (b) primera edición.

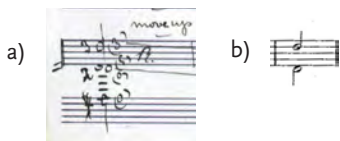


Figura 5 *Las dos hermanas*: (a) autógrafo, cc. 32–33; (b) primera edición, cc. 20–21.



Figura 6 “Exercício,” en Oswaldo Soares’s *A escola de Tárrega*, cc. 1–4.



y a *tempo* característicos de un vals lento. En la sección final de la publicación, el editor traslada una indicación *a tempo* a otros compases, y además le añade una repetición a la partitura.

En 1991, cuando apareció el primer volumen de la edición Tárrega publicada por *Soneto*¹⁴, parecía ofrecer novedades, y especialmente versiones de manuscritos poco conocidos. Sin embargo, también se trata de una publicación muy problemática. El editor afirma que su edición se basa en “manuscritos originales” —una locución vaga y chocante—. No establece ningún criterio editorial, no proporciona ninguna identificación de las fuentes y no hace distinción entre las partituras autógrafas y las copias. También hay errores, atribuciones incorrectas, observaciones frívolas y algunas versiones inconsistentes. Mientras que ciertamente no se trata de una edición de “obras completas” como el título asegura, las versiones de estos “manuscritos originales” son notablemente diferentes de aquellas de las primeras ediciones impresas.

Más allá del mérito de las versiones manuscritas no identificadas en la edición de *Soneto* y de las reimpresiones de *Chanterelle* de las “primeras ediciones”, se han producido avances significativos desde la publicación de estos trabajos. Estos avances incluyen: (1) la disponibilidad de once manuscritos autógrafos y sesenta y ocho copias de la época (incluidas cuarenta y ocho piezas dibujadas por Miguel Llobet) que actualmente se conservan en el archivo del *Museu de la Música* de Barcelona y a los que se puede acceder en línea fácilmente¹⁵; (2) la publicación en facsímil de dos volúmenes con los manuscritos autógrafos de Tárrega escritos para el Dr. Walter Leckie¹⁶; y (3) el descubrimiento de la que parece ser la composición más ambiciosa atribuida a Tárrega: una *Serenata española* en mi menor de 170 compases, conservada en el *Museo Lázaro Galdiano* de Madrid¹⁷. Al margen de esto, hay controversias

(hijo), no. 3,” en *Cinco obras originales para guitarra*, Álbum nº 4 (Madrid: Ediciones Musicales Madrid, 1956), 6-7.

14 Tárrega, *Obras completas para guitarra: Nueva edición basada en sus manuscritos y ediciones originales*, ed. Melchor Rodríguez, 5 vols (Madrid: Soneto, 1991–93).

15 Fons Miquel Llobet, Arxiu del Museu de la Música de Barcelona, <https://arxiu.museumusica.bcn.cat/fons-miquel-lobet>. Buena parte de este material fue recogido por Fernando J. Alonso Mercader, especialmente las partituras que pertenecieron originalmente a Miguel Llobet. Las copias personales de Llobet parecen ser las fuentes más antiguas que se conservan de algunas piezas de Tárrega que no se conservan en manuscritos autógrafos.

16 *The Tárrega–Leckie Guitar Manuscripts*. Las piezas de estos dos manuscritos nunca han sido analizadas o contextualizadas en su totalidad.

17 *Serenata Española.- / Dedicada a D.n P. Aguilera / por su autor D.n Fran.co Tárrega*, copiada por Manuela Vázquez-Barros en Sevilla en marzo de 1902. Una edición moderna (con numerosas modificaciones editoriales), que incluye un facsímil del manuscrito original, se ha publicado

en torno a piezas con atribuciones de autoría problemáticas, como el *Tango María*. Algunas obras atribuidas a Tárrega son claramente erróneas — por ejemplo, el breve estudio de arpeggios en mi menor, publicado por primera vez por Oswaldo Soares sin atribución justificada — (Figura 6)¹⁸. Además, varias piezas de Tárrega parecen estar perdidas. Solamente un estudio detenido de las fuentes puede contribuir a resolver estos dilemas.

Presentado el estado de la cuestión, ha llegado el momento de acometer una iniciativa internacional que dé lugar a una edición verdaderamente rigurosa de las obras completas de Tárrega, con métodos editoriales de vanguardia que contemplen las diversas versiones, así como un análisis detallado de las fuentes. Esto nos conducirá sin duda a una reevaluación de esta música y de su contexto histórico. Así, la tan necesaria revaloración de la música de Tárrega podrá materializarse, y con ello propiciar interpretaciones informadas y estudios serios sobre la práctica instrumental. De esta manera, las ediciones poco fiables podrían quedar relegadas, como sucedió con las ediciones de Alessandro Longo de la música para tecla de Domenico Scarlatti.

Cuando aparecen ediciones académicas rigurosas, siempre arrojan nueva luz sobre la música y repercuten considerablemente en el entorno musical al que se dirigen. Cabe recordar el impacto decisivo de las primeras ediciones integrales de Bach y Mozart a cargo de *Breitkopf & Härtel*. Incluso las segundas ediciones académicas, como la *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* y la *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* publicadas por *Bärenreiter Verlag*, así como las nuevas ediciones de Verdi y Donizetti publicadas por *University of Chicago Press* y *Ricordi* fomentaron una drástica reevaluación de las fuentes, de la música y de buena parte del conocimiento aceptado. En las notas a los programas de estas obras se exhibe con orgullo el uso de estas nuevas ediciones porque aportan nuevos conocimientos sobre la música, aunque sea en el más mínimo detalle.

Con este fin, me permito sugerir la constitución de un grupo de trabajo conformado por académicos, editores e intérpretes calificados para iniciar un proceso que resulte en esta empresa. Dado que la guitarra es el instrumento nacional de España, y que Tárrega representa la figura fundacional de la guitarra clásica, sería conveniente que este proyecto se centrara y recibiera el apoyo de las instituciones académicas españolas adecuadas. Asimismo, la iniciativa debería ser supervisada por un equipo que incluya a destacados académicos españoles. Además, este proyecto requeriría el acceso a colecciones públicas y privadas en España, así como a los archivos institucionales españoles¹⁹. Otros países, como Argentina, también podrían ser de gran importancia en cuanto al acceso a las fuentes primarias.

como Tárrega, *Serenata Española, edición crítica de Jesús Saiz Huedo* (Madrid: Fundación Lázaro Galdiano y Asociación Cultural More Hispano, 2018).

18 “Exercício”, en Oswaldo Soares, *A escola de Tárrega: Método completo de violão* (São Paulo: Irmãos Vitale, 1962), 17. Agradezco a Mark Gaultier la información sobre la historia de la publicación de esta obra.

19 Entre ellos, el Fondo local de la Biblioteca Municipal de Villareal: Museo de la Ciudad de Villareal, Caso de Polo, Sala Francisco Tárrega, y las colecciones privadas de Amparo Ranch, Carmen Gimeno Barón, y María del Carmen Bas.

Esta empresa no resultará sencilla. Se necesitarán muchos años, quizás incluso décadas. Pero los resultados bien merecerán el esfuerzo. Cuando redescubramos las fuentes genuinas de la música de Tárrega que han sobrevivido, nos reencontraremos con el auténtico arte de este personaje fundamental de la guitarra clásica española.



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BY INVITATION

Of Self & Circumstance

Music and Representation in the Works of Rodrigo

WALTER AARON CLARK



Joaquín Rodrigo, 1960. Photo courtesy of the Fundación Victoria y Joaquín Rodrigo, Madrid.

THE YEAR 2021 marks the 120th anniversary of the birth of one of the most important composers in the history of the guitar and perhaps the leading Spanish composer of concert music from the 1940s to 1980s: Joaquín Rodrigo (1901–99). This article focuses attention on Rodrigo's exceptional life and music by surveying the wide variety of styles in which he composed, represented by works with which many performers and aficionados of his music may not be familiar. It is crucial for us to engage with this dimension of his catalogue in order to gain a deeper and more nuanced understanding of his musical style, the influences at work upon and within it.

This survey will then prepare us to examine in greater detail the guitar works themselves, through a bibliographic overview of the extensive literature on his guitar music, including published and unpublished writings. There is no doubting the centrality of these works to his legacy, and they continue to enjoy pride of place in the general perception of his oeuvre, even if that perception is misleading. What this exploration will reveal is that Rodrigo's music, usually descriptive in nature, was in a very real sense the way that the blind composer visualized the world around him, the way that he situated himself within his circumstances.

The great challenge one faces in surveying the works of Joaquín Rodrigo lies in the sheer quantity of pieces he composed and the enormous variety of media, genres,

and styles that they encompass. Rodrigo's entire output includes about two hundred compositions spanning over six decades. Many of these works do not conform to expectations conditioned by the guitar music alone, because they lie well beyond the Spanish pale in their stylistic versatility. Conspicuous among these are the *Suite para piano* (1923), *Per la flor del liri blau* for orchestra (1934), *Concierto heroico* for piano and orchestra (1943), *Soleriana* for chamber orchestra (1954), *Himnos de los neófitos de Qumrán* for vocalists and chamber ensemble (1965–74), and *A la busca del más allá* for orchestra (1976).¹ These works reveal his attraction to orchestral color, capacity for thematic development, willingness to experiment with dissonance, and enduring attraction to literary texts and visual images.

A Composer of Many Facets

The unfortunate irony of Rodrigo's career and enduring reputation is that this prolific and versatile composer is known to the music world almost exclusively for a small handful of works, principally guitar concertos, and king among those the *Concierto de Aranjuez*. The renown these compositions enjoy is well deserved, and my purpose here is not to suggest otherwise, to question the collective taste of his legions of admirers. Rather, it is we *ourselves* whom we seek to benefit here, not the composer. For we deprive ourselves of rare pleasure and inspiration by ignoring so many works that may not remind us of the *Aranjuez* but nonetheless exhibit the same passionate embrace of life in all its diverse expressions, the same technical resourcefulness and stylistic originality that we savor in his better-known masterpieces. And yet the ineluctable fact remains that this is a Herculean task: we need an effective strategy for approaching and comprehending such an enormous mass of material.

The customary method would be to break his oeuvre into genres: concertos, tone poems, chamber music, songs, and so on. Another might be to organize it by media: orchestra, chorus, solo vocal, guitar, and so on. Yet another would be to arrange the works in chronological order, so as to trace the evolution of his style over time and to integrate musical analysis into the biographical narrative. Of course, some combination of genre, media, and chronology might suffice. It seems, however, that Rodrigo's music invites yet another approach, one that addresses his fundamental aesthetic inclinations as a creative artist and highlights the multiple facets of his distinctive musical personality, a personality greatly shaped by the gradual loss of his vision from the age of three (the result of contracting diphtheria). In the final analysis, blindness appears to have been not a hindrance but a rather a spur to his vast and multifaceted output.

¹ Fortunately for Rodrigo enthusiasts, there is a comprehensive collection of recordings of nearly his entire output—though new works continue to be discovered. *Joaquín Rodrigo Edition* (Brilliant Classics, 9297, 2013) consists of twenty-one compact discs of all the works recorded up to that time, by various artists on various labels. Liner notes in English are by Raymond Calcraft, who is also featured conducting several of the works on these discs.

Better, then, to look at Rodrigo's music through multiple lenses, including literary, folkloric, virtuosic, sacred, historical, theatrical, and descriptive. To be sure, there is considerable overlap between these areas, and a piece that we include under, say, "virtuosic" may well have folkloric and descriptive characteristics as well: the *Concierto de Aranjuez* is one such example. I treat the works below under their various rubrics according to what I view as their dominant aesthetic quality. In terms of chronological order, there is a somewhat synchronic character to the composer's musical corpus, whereby he wrote in a variety of styles at the same time, making the establishment of a stylistic evolution not only difficult but somewhat misleading. The traditional "early–middle–late" treatment is neither relevant nor useful in Rodrigo's case. Thus I do not shrink from including a work from the 1930s with one from the 1960s under the same heading. There are persistent traits in Rodrigo's musical personality that did not change significantly over time.

Rodrigo and Literature

Rodrigo was a great lover of literature.² He read widely and had a large library. There were many classics available in Braille, but he could also depend on friends and family to read to him. Thus it comes as no surprise that he wrote numerous vocal works inspired by and utilizing a variety of texts, especially those with an Iberian pedigree. Rodrigo was attracted both to the classics from Spain's *Siglo de Oro* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and to writings by contemporary authors. *Ausencias de Dulcinea* (1948), a symphonic poem for bass/baritone, four sopranos, and orchestra, is a setting of a poem from Cervantes's *Don Quijote*, while song sets such as *Dos poemas de Juan Ramón Jiménez* (1960), for voice and piano, reveal a fine sensitivity to modern literature.

The cantata *Música para un códice salmantino* utilizes a poetic homage by Miguel de Unamuno (1864–1936) to the Universidad de Salamanca, with which the renowned philosopher was long affiliated. Unamuno's *Oda a Salamanca* extols the cultural riches and enchanting environs of that historic locale, home to a university that celebrated its seven-hundredth anniversary in the year that this work was composed, 1953.

Another modern author aroused Rodrigo's musical interest, resulting in the exquisite collection of ten songs entitled *Con Antonio Machado*. Like Unamuno, Machado (1875–1939) was a member of the so-called Generation of 1898, a group of writers who sought to redefine Spain's culture and place in the modern world after its disastrous war with the United States.

Rodrigo's wife, Victoria Kamhi, was from Turkey and of Sephardic ancestry. They met while they were in Paris during the late 1920s and early 1930s, she studying piano

2 For insights into Rodrigo's relationship with Iberian literature in particular, see Raymond Calcraft, "Joaquín Rodrigo y las literaturas de España," *Música y Educación: Revista Trimestral de Pedagogía Musical* 5, no. 9 (April 1992): 37–46.

and he as a composition student of Paul Dukas at the École Normale de Musique. They married in 1933.

Rodrigo took a passionate interest in his wife's ancestral culture, as well as the indelible imprint that Jews made on Spanish music and literature before the Expulsion in 1492. This fascination found memorable expression in the *Cuatro canciones sefardíes* for voice and piano of 1965. Another interesting deviation from Castilian texts is the *Quatre cançons en llengua catalana*, also for voice and piano, composed between 1934 and 1946. These works bear witness to Rodrigo's embrace of Spain in its entirety, both in time and space. The same is true of his use of folklore.

Rodrigo and Folklore

Though Spain is often reduced in the popular imagination to flamenco, in fact it is a large nation of many regions, each with its own distinctive traditions in music, dance, costume, and language. Spanish composers from the Renaissance onward have had at their disposal an inexhaustible well of traditional and popular music from which to draw ideas. It is not hard to think of examples in the standard guitar repertory: Narváez's treatment of the romanesca on the vihuela, Sanz's spirited dances for Baroque guitar, evocations of the fandango in Soler, Scarlatti, and Boccherini (these last two Italians who worked in Spain for decades). In the nineteenth century, there was an explosion of guitar and keyboard music inspired by folklore, culminating in the nationalist piano works by Albéniz and Granados.³ The heritage they exalted in *Iberia* and *Goyescas*, respectively, continued to inspire their successors, especially Falla and his contemporaries Turina and Rodrigo. However, whereas Albéniz, Falla, and Turina were strongly attracted to flamenco, Granados was more focused on Castile in the time of Goya. Rodrigo, however, stands out as a composer whose works embrace folkloric traditions from the entire peninsula, from the *Concierto andaluz* for four guitars and orchestra (1967) to the *Set cançons valencianes* for violin and piano (1982), and from the aforementioned *Quatre cançons en llengua catalana* to the *Sonatas de Castilla con toccata a modo de pregón* for piano (1950–51). Many other works that he composed at his Braille machine,⁴ such as the *Doce canciones populares españolas* for piano and voice (1951), *Tres danzas de España* for piano (1941), and *Palillos y panderetas* for orchestra (1982), provide further evidence of his unending absorption in the multifarious melodies, rhythms, and instruments of Spain's many

3 See the author's biographies *Isaac Albéniz: Portrait of a Romantic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); translated by Paul Silles as *Isaac Albéniz: Retrato de un romántico* (Madrid: Turner, 2002); and *Enrique Granados: Poet of the Piano* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); translated by Patricia Caicedo as *Enrique Granados: Poeta del piano* (Barcelona: Boileau, 2016).

4 Rodrigo's method of composition was as collaborative as it was laborious. He would commit his inspirations to music notation in Braille using a special machine. He would then read the Braille score to an assistant, who would write the music out in conventional notation. His wife, Vicky, would then play the music at the piano so that Rodrigo could hear it and make any necessary changes. Vicky would not hesitate to make recommendations as well.



Joaquín Rodrigo and Victoria Kamhi de Rodrigo at the piano in 1942. Photo courtesy of the Fundación Victoria y Joaquín Rodrigo, Madrid.

regions. Despite the rise of the international avant-garde in Spain and the progressive composers of the so-called Generation of 1951, Rodrigo and his friend Torroba remained steadfast in their devotion to the tradition of their nationalist predecessors, giving rise in particular to a florescence of music for the guitar, that quintessentially Spanish instrument.⁵

Rodrigo and Virtuosity

Rodrigo was himself an accomplished pianist, and Victoria was at least as good as he was. Not surprisingly, then, there is a conspicuous vein of technical virtuosity in many of his works, particularly his concertos. Like many composers before him, including Bach, Beethoven, and Liszt, he could be merciless in the demands he made on the

⁵ For a fuller discussion of Torroba, see Walter Aaron Clark and William Craig Krause, *Federico Moreno Torroba: A Musical Life in Three Acts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016); translated by Luis Gago as *Federico Moreno Torroba: Una vida musical en tres actos* (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2021).

performer if the musical message he sought to convey required it. Though his resort to virtuosity does not come at the expense of musical substance, he was not unaware of how hard some of his music could be to play. We can see this fact on display in a telling exchange with guitarist Pepe Romero regarding the *Concierto para una fiesta*, composed for and premiered by Pepe in 1983:

[Rodrigo and I] always had a ritual of smoking cigars together. [The composer said,] “You know I am going to die soon, but you will die soon too because everyone dies. And then think how much fun we are going to have smoking our cigars and saying—‘Look at those poor bastards down there trying to play our piece.’”⁶

His first guitar concerto, the *Concierto de Aranjuez* (1938–39), required a degree of facility unprecedented in guitar concertos to that time, and over eighty years later, it still remains a challenging test of a guitarist’s artistry. However, he wrote concertos for other, more traditional instruments, such as the piano (*Concierto heroico*), flute (*Concierto pastoral*, 1978), harp (*Concierto serenata*, 1951–54), cello (*Concierto en modo galante* of 1949 and *Concierto como un divertimento* of 1981), and violin (*Concierto de estío*, 1943–44). All of these works exhibit Rodrigo’s trademark blend of energetic rhythms, stirring lyricism, and detailed knowledge of the idiomatic resources of each instrument.

Rodrigo and the Sacred

Rodrigo was a deeply spiritual man, a person of sincere faith, but his precise religious inclinations strike one as somewhat ambiguous. He was Catholic but not nearly as ascetically devout as Falla. And we recall that he married a Sephardic Jew, something one finds it hard to imagine a strict Catholic (or, for her part, a very observant Jew) doing. He would attend synagogue with her even as she would go with him to Mass. Was this more a matter of social convention than inner convictions? It is hard to say, though one suspects that both may have been somewhat skeptical about traditional religion but generally chose to keep their doubts to themselves. However, this does not imply indifference to religious traditions, texts, and spiritual matters. True, Rodrigo’s sacred works are neither numerous nor conventional, and other than a youthful Ave Maria, he never wrote a Stabat Mater, a Te Deum, or a setting of the Ordinary of the Mass. But religiously inspired works are conspicuous in his oeuvre, and they are the polar opposite of the popular and popularized Rodrigo the world knows so well, the Rodrigo of flamenco rhythms and virtuosic guitars. For instance, Victoria translated passages from the Dead Sea Scrolls (discovered in 1946/47) into

6 Pepe recalled this conversation in an interview conducted by John Duarte, “Record Reviews,” *Gramophone* (1984): 36. See this author’s book *Los Romeros: Royal Family of the Spanish Guitar* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2018), 215–47, for more about their collaborations with Rodrigo and other composers.

Spanish poetry for Joaquín to set in his hauntingly mystical *Himnos de los neófitos de Qumrán*. This was a very unconventional choice of texts for a sacred work. It may well be that the messianic Judaism of the Essene sect that compiled these scrolls at its monastery in Qumran represented to Victoria and Joaquín a sort of juncture of her Judaic and his Catholic faith traditions. Though Jesus was not associated with this sect, his apocalyptic message was very similar to that of the Essenes, and it was this End Times strain of first-century CE Judaism that gave rise to Christianity. Another evocation of ancient Judaism in his oeuvre is the choral work *Triste estaba el rey David* for mixed chorus (1950–51).

To be sure, there are Catholic evocations in his output as well. Prominent among these is the setting of a text by Saint Francis of Assisi, *Cántico a San Francisco de Asís*, a cantata for chorus and orchestra (1982).⁷ A further demonstration of his wide-ranging tastes in spiritual texts is the *Tríptico de Mossèn Cinto* for soprano and orchestra (1946). Mossèn Cinto (*mossèn* = priest, and Cinto is a nickname for Jacint) was the agnomen of the celebrated Catalan poet and cleric Jacint Verdaguer (1845–1902). He was one of the leading literary figures of the nineteenth-century Catalan cultural revival called the *Renaixença*, and his epic 1877 poem *L'Atlàntida* served as the basis for Falla's eponymous opera. Verdaguer's devotional temperament finds expression in this "triptych."

Rodrigo and History

Rodrigo grew up in a country with a very long and diverse history, one stretching back to at least the Paleolithic. His native Valencia is situated on the Mediterranean coast and has always provided a crossroads for seafaring civilizations, from Phoenicians and Greeks to Carthaginians, Romans, Arabs, and Italians. Add to this cultural mix the presence of Roma and Jews, and it is less difficult to understand Rodrigo's appetite for and absorption in the past. The colorful pageant of Spanish history exercised a powerful influence on his creative imagination. Thus there are repeated evocations of bygone ages in Rodrigo's scores, especially of Spain's golden age during the period from 1500 to 1700. The cultural achievements of that extraordinary epoch lived on in his music, which in turn constituted an affirmation of the enduring relevance and value of Spanish culture and tradition in the modern era.

Indeed, Rodrigo's earliest composition was *Homenaje a un viejo clavicordio* (*Sarabanda–Pavana–Giga*) for piano (1922), an homage to the old clavichord and

⁷ In Rodrigo's words, the saint's text "joyously celebrates the work of God who made the universe and its creatures." See *Joaquín Rodrigo: Voice & Vision*, trans. Raymond Calcraft and Elizabeth Matthews (Bath: Brown Dog Books, 2016), 241. This book is an invaluable compendium of Rodrigo's thoughts on composers and their music, as well as on his own compositions. Of special interest is a recently expanded edition of this work, which includes many other writings from the archive translated by Calcraft and Matthews: *Joaquín Rodrigo: Writings on Music* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021). It also features an insightful essay by Calcraft on the relationship between literature and music in Rodrigo's career.

the sorts of courtly dances realized on it. A kindred work was the *Tres viejos aires de danza* for chamber orchestra (1929), a title reminiscent of Respighi's *Ancient Airs and Dances*. The dominant Spanish vocal genre of the *Siglo de Oro* was the *villancico*, a kind of carol or song that existed in both secular and sacred varieties. It provided the inspiration for his own set of *Villancicos* for soprano, tenor, choir, and orchestra (1952). This author's sentimental favorite is the *Zarabanda lejana y Villancico*, which exists in versions for two pianos and for orchestra (the *Zarabanda lejana* itself was originally for guitar in 1926 and arranged that same year for solo piano). This "distant sarabande" and its accompanying *Villancico* bear a dedication to the vihuela of Renaissance master Luis de Milán. Rodrigo also made piano arrangements of vihuela music by Milán, Mudarra, and others. Themes from the works of Gaspar Sanz provide the raw material for the *Fantasia para un gentilhomme*, a colorfully evocative guitar concerto composed for and premiered by Andrés Segovia in 1958. The *Concierto madrigal*, for two guitars and orchestra, was written for the celebrated duo of Ida Presti and Alexandre Lagoya but premiered by Pepe and Angel Romero in 1970. As its title suggests, it also draws inspiration from the musical past, in particular a Renaissance madrigal by Jacques Arcadelt entitled *O felici occhi miei* (Oh my happy eyes). To be sure, Rodrigo's musicological interests were not confined to composition. He was a leading authority on vihuela and guitar music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, lecturing and writing on these subjects. In 1952 he was appointed to hold the Manuel de Falla Chair in the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts at Madrid's Complutense University, a post he retained until 1978.

Rodrigo and the Theater

It strikes one as odd that Rodrigo would be so attracted to the theater, given the fact that he could never see what was transpiring on stage. But despite this disability, he read the dramatic literature widely and enjoyed attending theatrical productions. Yet as much as he loved the theater, it was not the arena in which he chose to make a name for himself, and concert music would remain his forte. Still, he composed some memorable works for the stage, including musical theater and ballet. In fact, in 1946 he and Torroba collaborated on a zarzuela, *El duende azul. El hijo fingido* is another delightful zarzuela, from the period 1955–60, while the *Pavana real* is a ballet score of 1954 that bears witness to Rodrigo's ongoing love affair with the past. Also worthy of mention are his efforts as a composer of film music during the 1950s. He completed three scores, including one for Rafael Gil's *Sor Intrépida* (1952).

Rodrigo and Descriptive Music

One final aspect of Rodrigo's creative personality is his penchant for writing music that is programmatic, in the sense of telling a story, or that derives its inspiration from nature and the historical monuments of man. These descriptive works were his way of "seeing" the world, forming mental images not only from his voluminous reading but also from sensing his environment by means both tactile and aural. In

this way he joined in the long tradition of program music from the birdcall *virelais* and hunting-themed *caccias* of the fourteenth century to *L'Apprenti sorcier* by his mentor Dukas. There was a regular profusion of similar works by Rodrigo, inspired by wildlife (*Canción del cucú*, 1937), architectural monuments (*Sones en la Giralda*, 1963), childhood (*Cinco piezas infantiles*, 1924), historical events (*La destrucción de Sagunto*, 1954), outer space (*A la busca del más allá*, 1976), or a particular species of bureaucrat (*Gran marcha de los subsecretarios*, 1941). Each one is a vivid evocation of something meaningful, entertaining, or exotic. It is by means of these external points of reference that we gain entrance into Rodrigo's internal reality, which in turn dictated his stylistic orientation.

Rodrigo's Style

This brief survey of Rodrigo's multifaceted musical personality allows us to make some generalizations about his style. Despite the wide variety of genres and media embodied within his sizable corpus of works, there are certain features that remain consistent throughout his career. These provide coherence across the catalogue and indeed the decades, giving his compositions a certain quality that makes them recognizable to those already familiar with his music.

If one sought to summarize in a single word Rodrigo's stylistic orientation, it might be neoclassicism. This was a movement in early-twentieth-century music arising out of a rejection of the late-Romantic aesthetic dominated by Austro-German composers like Bruckner, Mahler, and especially Wagner, whose music came to represent to neoclassicists the excesses of musical nationalism, its subjectivity and gigantism. And much of this rejection had to do with strong political currents and anti-German sentiment. Beginning with Stravinsky's *Pulcinella* ballet in 1919, neoclassicism retreated (or advanced, depending on one's point of view) into the past of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The divisive particularism that accompanied a proliferation of national musical styles in the 1800s would be superseded by neoclassicism, a modernized version of what was perceived to be a more international, universal musical language prior to the 1800s. And the re-embrace of tonality would counter the rise of atonality, which far from being a radical break with the late-Romantic past was rightly viewed as its logical and inevitable fulfillment, as pervasive chromaticism eroded any remaining sense of a tonal center and led to the development of systematic means for the "emancipation of dissonance," as Schoenberg put it.⁸

Neoclassicism was the prevailing style in Paris of the 1920s and '30s, where Rodrigo matured as a composer during his studies there with Dukas. Thus his works would remain grounded in tonality. There are times when certain pieces or passages verge on atonality, through the use of bitonality or exotic scales, but only for expressive

8 First articulated in his 1926 essay "Opinion or Insight?," in *Style and Idea: Selected Writings of Arnold Schoenberg*, ed. Leonard Stein, with translations by Leo Black (New York: St. Martin's Press; London: Faber, 1975), 258–64.

effect or surface color, not because of a fundamental shift in his musical language, which remained wedded to traditional harmony throughout his career. He never experimented with the serialism of Anton Webern or Pierre Boulez, much less with electronic music in the manner of Karlheinz Stockhausen or with the aleatoric procedures of John Cage. Just listen to the “Entrada” from *Soleriana* followed immediately by almost any work by Rameau, and you will quickly perceive Rodrigo’s debt to neoclassicism both present and past.

Rather than merely mimicking the French composers of Les Six, however, Rodrigo’s neoclassicism was mediated through voices closer to home, which is to say Spain’s original neoclassicist, Manuel de Falla. In a significant departure from mainstream neoclassicism, Rodrigo happily embraced nationalist elements grounded in Spanish history and culture. This is a lesson Rodrigo learned from Falla, whose own neoclassical works from the 1920s, such as the puppet opera *El retablo de maese Pedro* and his Harpsichord Concerto, draw on historical sources in Spanish literature and music, recalling not only the *Siglo de Oro* but affirming the primacy of Castile as the spiritual, cultural, and political fulcrum of the country.⁹ That is to say that Rodrigo adopted the musical means, the various techniques and devices of neoclassicism, without the constraints of post-Great War anti-nationalism. Like Falla, he found a way to blend the two streams of neoclassicism and nationalism, free of cynicism or chauvinism. This was part of a trend in twentieth-century Spanish arts and letters known as *neocasticismo*, a modernized version of “pure Spanishness.” Composers grounded their works in the Spanish heritage but embraced modernist stylistic elements that left no doubt as to the century in which their works were composed.

We are walking on thin ice, however, if we attempt to connect any particular work by Rodrigo to an overarching political agenda. This is especially hazardous considering that most of his renowned works were written during the Franco dictatorship. For instance, one might be tempted to view the *Concierto de Aranjuez* as an affirmation of Castile’s historic centrality in Spain, both geographically and culturally. It was composed in Paris in 1939, at the precise moment when Franco’s right-wing nationalists completed their conquest of Spain. But if this argument is to be made, it must rest on more than the concerto’s title, for as Rodrigo scholar Javier Suárez-Pajares informs us, he “composed” the title after he composed the music, so that the palace and gardens of Aranjuez were not the driving force in his creative process.¹⁰ And even if we were to proceed on the premise that the *Aranjuez* concerto was an expression of Castilocentric nationalism, how could we explain Rodrigo’s Sephardic songs, his songs with Catalan texts, or his continuing love affair with Andalusian songs and dances, which the first movement of the *Aranjuez* in fact evokes? None of this sort of

- 9 For a recent and deeply insightful examination of Falla’s neoclassical works, see Michael Christoforidis, *Manuel de Falla and Visions of Spanish Music* (New York: Routledge, 2018), chapters 7–11.
- 10 See Javier Suárez-Pajares, “Circunstancias de la composición, estreno y difusión del *Concierto de Aranjuez*.” *Scherzo: Revista de música* 34, no. 356 (November 2019): 72–77.

thing buttressed the Francoist ideology concerning Spanish identity; in fact, it defied the nationalist government's policy of suppressing languages other than Castilian.

Nonetheless, Rodrigo's musical style cannot have been completely insulated from the political and cultural currents that swirled around him, often with violent force. His adherence to metricality, tonality, and folklore throughout a career spanning nearly seven decades was certainly a response to competing worldviews, but there is little doubt that Rodrigo would have composed the music he did, the way he did, regardless of which political party prevailed in Spain. That his musical style sometimes accorded with right-wing nationalism was not so much the result of deliberation as it was of coincidence.

In the final analysis, Rodrigo's choices, whether marital or musical, were highly personal in nature and not driven by political or religious affiliation, much less by a desire to be progressive for the sake of being progressive, to join the postwar avant-garde simply because that was "the thing to do." Perhaps partly as a result of his blindness, Rodrigo's inner life was complex and highly individual. That inner life, impossible for us fully to comprehend, was nonetheless the true wellspring of his art.¹¹ As literary scholar Nelson Orringer points out:

Joaquín Rodrigo wrote that music arose in response to the human need to make an image of the surrounding world. Affected by [philosopher José Ortega y Gasset's] view of life as the interaction of self and circumstance, Rodrigo would eventually attribute to music enough subtlety to paint even beings in the artist's ambience with perceptible properties.¹²

- 11 The preceding is a revised excerpt from an essay first published in conjunction with a special Rodrigo exhibition at the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid, from May to September 2019. See "Más allá de Aranjuez: El legado musical de Joaquín Rodrigo," in *El paisaje acústico de Joaquín Rodrigo*, ed. Ana Benavides and Walter Aaron Clark, 31–61 (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2019). This volume contains five other articles by leading experts in this area and will be of interest to both specialists and enthusiasts alike. It is entirely in Spanish. The complete English version of the essay appears in the author's recently published bio-bibliography of the composer, *Joaquín Rodrigo: A Research and Information Guide* (New York: Routledge, 2021). This includes a substantial biography; a summary of primary sources; an annotated bibliography of some 254 secondary sources; original sources of Rodrigo's writings in compilations; a catalogue of works; a selected discography of compilations; and a chronology of the composer's life, Spanish history, and Spanish culture. This author and Javier Suárez-Pajares, the leading expert on Rodrigo's life and music, are currently preparing the first-ever book-length biography of the composer in English, under contract with W.W. Norton. It is hoped and expected that the book will be available in late 2022 or early 2023.
- 12 From his article "The Absent Dulcinea: Joaquín Rodrigo's Song to Music Itself," *Hispanic Journal of Research* 21, no. 2 (April 2020): 115. Orringer later revised this essay and published it in his book *Uniting Music and Poetry in Twentieth-Century Spain* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2021), 125–38.

Rodrigo and the Guitar: A Bibliographic Guide

Writings on the Guitar Music in General

Rodrigo was not himself an accomplished guitarist; yet by working directly with renowned virtuosos such as Regino Sainz de la Maza, Andrés Segovia, and the Romeros, he acquired an intimate knowledge of the instrument and remains among the foremost composers ever to have written for it, not only in terms of the amount of guitar music he wrote but also its centrality in the instrument's repertoire. Thus both the sheer quantity and exceptional quality of his works for the guitar compel our attention. As is the case with research on his piano music, which is generally conducted by pianists, scholars in this area are usually themselves guitarists (present author included).

This bibliography begins with an overview of the literature on his guitar music in general. Because of the sustained interest in his *Concierto de Aranjuez* in particular, a section devoted to it follows the general survey. That work, as explored in the previous essay, has tended to monopolize the attention paid to Rodrigo, to the detriment of so many other works.¹³

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¹³ Annotations for nearly all the entries in this section are available in Clark, *Research and Information Guide*, 32–95. Most of them also appear in the author's article on Rodrigo for the online *Oxford Bibliographies in Music*.

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Writings on the Concierto de Aranjuez

This single composition constitutes a category of its own because of its immense popularity and renown. In late September of 1938, the Spanish guitar virtuoso Regino Sainz de la Maza proposed to Rodrigo that he write a guitar concerto. Though there were few such works in the modern repertoire and composers characteristically feared that proper balance between soloist and ensemble would be impossible to maintain because of the guitar's diminutive volume, Rodrigo was intrigued by the idea and completed the work the following year. It premiered in Barcelona in 1940, with Sainz de la Maza as soloist. It has since gone on to define the composer and secure a place as one of the most recognizable and popular works in the entire corpus of classical music. Indeed, it has inspired a plethora of jazz arrangements, by Miles Davis, Chick Corea, and the Modern Jazz Quartet, as well as finding its way into film scores and television commercials. The technical and interpretive challenges it poses to the soloist are considerable, and not surprisingly, it has garnered considerable attention from music scholars. Indeed, the publications on this single work are roughly equal to those dedicated to all of Rodrigo's other guitar works combined.

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Reginald Smith Brindle's Concept of Tonal-Atonal Equilibrium in Theory and Practice

OLIVER CHANDLER

I. Introduction

THE RICHNESS OF A PIECE OF POST-TONAL MUSIC results partly from the dizzying number of associations that can be traced between its constituent materials: rhythms and timbres but particularly pitches. Unlike in a tonal piece, in which a preexisting, enculturated, and well-defined system is responsible for determining in advance the meaning of any given note (even those that may seem ambiguous), many post-tonal pieces can be understood to have constructed their own syntax *ex nihilo*, and each piece is potentially unique.¹ It is perhaps for this reason that it proved difficult initially to quantify the pitch associations that give post-tonality its vibrancy. Such relationships between a composition's materials could be heard or—perhaps more likely—sensed, but not necessarily described.

As Michiel Shuijjer explains, the development of pitch-class set theory in the latter half of the twentieth century gave one the ability to describe any grouping of pitches—“scales, motifs, chords, and harmonic-melodic progressions”—in terms of “their objective pitch or interval content.”² As we review and elaborate on elements of this theory here and later below, the reader may find it useful to refer to the **glossary** of terms and symbols that follows the conclusion of this article. Sometimes, different tone collections, also known as *pitch-class sets*, can have the same abstract intervallic structure: that is, they can be described as being members of the same *set class*. In light of this, paths of transpositional and/or inversional connection can be traced between them; the analyst is able to demonstrate relationships between distinct groupings in

1 This is no less true of twelve-tone pieces, on account of the fact that the matrix does not imply an *obligatory* ordering, content, or syntax, in and of itself. See, for example, George Perle, *Serial Composition and Atonality* (Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), 1–2.

2 Michiel Shuijjer, *Analyzing Atonal Music: Pitch-Class Set Theory and Its Contexts* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 43.

a given musical structure. As an example, $\langle D, C\#, D\#\rangle \{123\}$ and $\langle A, G\#, G\rangle \{789\}$ are both members of set class [012]; they transform into one another at T_6 .

In many cases, however, the set classes manifested by a given number of pitch-class sets are *not* equivalent: they cannot be related in terms of transposition and inversion; indeed, they may even be of different sizes (“cardinalities”), including different numbers of notes. How are we to account for these latter kinds of relationship? One possibility is to search for so-called “similarity relations”—often calculated on the basis of the relative number of shared interval classes or common tones between any two sets. But as Miguel A. Roig-Francolí argues, “these [measures of similarity] are based on abstract set relationships, rather than on relationships immediately observable on the actual music.”³ For this reason, students, performers, and other music theorists tend to find them unpersuasive, particularly given the finely honed means we have for distinguishing between levels of structural significance in tonal music.

What is lacking from “classical” pitch-class theory, then, on Roig-Francolí’s view, is a “satisfactory way to connect [non-equivalent] pitch-class collections among themselves.”⁴ But simply being able to *connect* different sets is not enough. Readers and listeners are surely searching, more specifically, for an understanding of *why* one particular set might move to another—otherwise, one pitch-class grouping is just as good as another; compositional choice becomes arbitrary. In music of the so-called “common practice,” the series of nested functional relationships built around a given tonic accounts for the relative effect of a particular melodic-harmonic progression. The question thus becomes: Are there laws of motion that undergird harmonic progression in post-tonal music in a manner analogous to the functional and recursive relationships one finds in common-practice tonality? And can a modified version of pitch-class set theory help to make them clearer to us?

If one takes pleasure in the harmonic progressions of post-tonal repertoire, then one might feel that such an analogy must be possible. Indeed, as Reginald Smith Brindle put it, composers “combine sounds in such a way that whether they produce consonance or dissonance, stable or unstable harmonies, they should not only sound inevitable, they should make sense . . . however complex the result.”⁵ Such a conviction is particularly appropriate when discussing Smith Brindle’s own music, which aimed at the cultivation of a fresh musical language, lying somewhere between tonal and atonal worlds.⁶

In an attempt to explain how post-tonal harmonic progressions might “make sense,” Smith Brindle suggested a theory of harmonic *tension flow* in his 1966 textbook, *Serial Composition*. In a system obviously indebted to Krenek and Hindemith, he

3 Miguel A. Roig-Francolí, “A Theory of Pitch-Class-Set Extension in Atonal Music,” *College Music Symposium* 41 (2001), <https://symposium.music.org/index.php/41/item/2179-a-theory-of-pitch-class-set-extension-in-atonal-music>; para. 1. On the concept of similarity in pc set theory, see Schuijjer, *Analyzing Atonal Music*, 130–78.

4 Roig-Francolí, para 1.

5 Reginald Smith Brindle, *Serial Composition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 62.

6 Smith Brindle, 63–78.

proposed that chords might be described in terms of seven tensional grades, ranging from “strong consonance” (manifested by interval-class 5 at the dyadic level and [037] sets at a triadic level) to “very strong dissonance” (manifested by cluster-like entities).⁷ If overall coherence is to be achieved, chords should navigate this continuum smoothly but variedly. Smith Brindle’s theory, however, is more impressionistic than it is systematic.⁸ For example, counting the relative number of consonant and dissonant intervals in a chord and judging their combined effect—taking account of distinctive voicings all the while—may give us little more insight than we can attain simply from playing or listening; or conversely, it may yield so many degrees of microscopic difference that its “results” are no longer aurally sensible. Smith Brindle acknowledged these problems, and indeed the systems of Krenek and Hindemith suffer from the same limitations.⁹ We will consider shortly how these limitations might be overcome.

Smith Brindle’s most interesting concept, perhaps, is that of *tonal-atonal equilibrium*.¹⁰ Unfortunately, his textbook offers no definition but treats it as impressionistically as tension flow. The term implies the simultaneous activation and negation of a tonal intuition, but it does not specify what “activation,” “negation,” or even “tonal intuition” would mean in such a context. One of the aims of this article, then, is to develop a precise working definition for this concept. What are the requisite musical conditions for such an equilibrium to be manifested? A simple account of movement from relative consonance to dissonance and back does not quite cut it, for at any one time a single force will be in the ascendancy. For a state of genuine equilibrium to be manifested, *both* forces must be equally in evidence at *every* moment.¹¹

As I will later argue, Smith Brindle’s sophisticated concept of equilibrium is manifested most clearly in his own compositional practice. That said, recent developments in post-tonal theory can help us to formalize both tension flow and tonal-atonal equilibrium in such a way that we can understand both more precisely. In this way, we bypass Smith Brindle’s fuzzy “technical” analyses and gain a better understanding of the intuitive processes that animate his music.

7 Smith Brindle, 70–72. Larger-cardinality chords can only aspire toward strong consonance; they will necessarily contain at least some kind of “mild dissonance” (think of the whole tone in an added-sixth or dominant-seventh chord, for example). But Smith Brindle notes that these will be heard as strongly consonant in contrast to more overtly dissonant chords (71). Context is all-important.

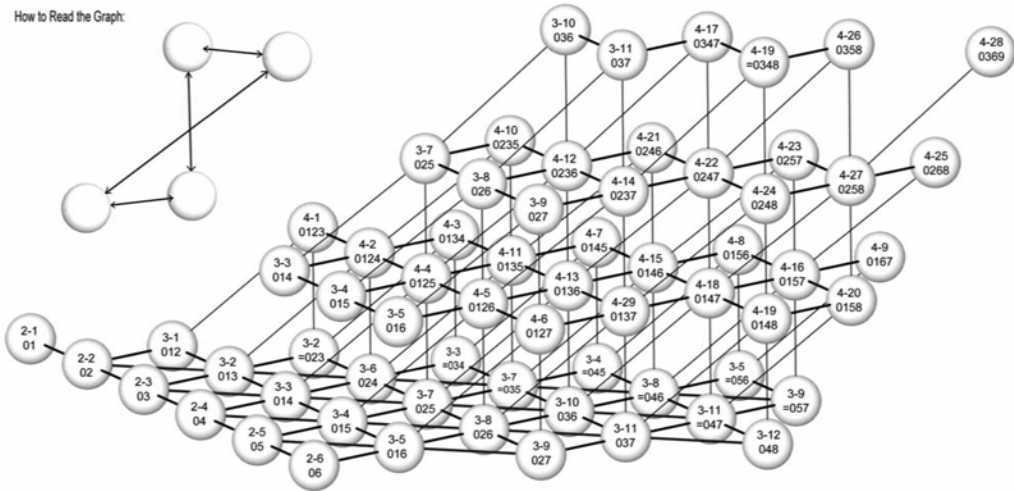
8 For summary, critique, and a theoretical finessing of these methods, see Daniel Harrison, *Pieces of Tradition: An Analysis of Contemporary Tonal Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), chapter 3.

9 Smith Brindle, *Serial Composition*, 61; 74.

10 Smith Brindle, 66.

11 I am following the *Oxford English Dictionary*’s definition here: “*Equilibrium*: In physical sense: The condition of equal balance between opposing forces; that state of a material system in which the forces acting upon the system, or those of them which are taken into consideration, are so arranged that their resultant [force] at *every* point is zero” (italics added). Given Smith Brindle’s training as an architect, it is not unlikely that he was thinking of this decidedly technical definition of the word when drawing on the idea of “equilibrium.”

Figure 1 Straus's representation of a four-dimensional set-class space.



II. Tension Flow

Let us begin by attempting to formulate a more robust model of tension flow. In his article “Voice Leading in Set-Class Space,” Joseph Straus suggests that the field of post-tonal harmony—represented here by prime-form sets—can be described in terms of a spectrum (figure 1).¹² On the extreme left-hand side are the most chromatic chords possible, the semitonal clusters: $[01]$, $[012]$, $[0123]$, On the farmost right-hand side are those harmonies that are most intervallically spacious: $[06]$, $[048]$, $[0369]$, Once plotted in a space that can include up to four dimensions (by which Straus means simply four notes) same-cardinality sets can be seen to connect to one another through *minimum-offset voice leading*—that is, by means of the displacement of a single semitone. Thus $[012]$ becomes $[013]$ by means of the upwards movement of a single semitone in set-class space; $[024]$ can become $[023 = 013]$, $[025]$, or $[034 = 014]$, also by means of semitonal displacement; and so on.¹³ Different-cardinality sets can also move smoothly from one to another by virtue of *fusing* or *splitting* individual pitch classes: $[024]$ becomes $[0124]$ by means of $[0]$ *splitting* into $[01]$; $[0237]$ becomes $[037]$ by means of $[2]$ and $[3]$ *fusing*; and so on.¹⁴ In other words, directed tension flow can occur among chords of different sizes.

To model how a passage of music might traverse set-class space, Straus posits a series of “Laws of Atonal Harmony and Voice Leading.” He argues that “within

12 Joseph Straus, “Voice Leading in Set-Class Space,” *Journal of Music Theory* 49, no. 1 (2005): figure 8, 58. For clarity’s sake, this graph restricts itself to modeling a four-dimensional space; for a graphic representation of pentachordal and hexachordal set-class space, see figure 13 in the same article, p. 64.

13 Underlined integers here represent the modified pitch classes of a given prime form.

14 Joseph Straus, “Voice Leading in Set-Class Space,” 100n10.

a harmony, the notes seek to maximize their distance from each other, as the harmony seeks to become more spacious [i.e., less chromatic].”¹⁵ Movement from relative compaction to dispersion is achieved most efficiently, he further suggests, by means of minimum-offset voice leading. To return to Smith Brindle’s earlier statement, this is how harmonic progressions might be thought to “make sense” in the atonal-chromatic universe. Straus’s model gives Smith Brindle’s intuitive theory a clearer theoretical basis.

Nevertheless, one might have reservations about the unidirectionality of the harmonic flow Straus describes. For example, why wouldn’t harmonies seek to become more compact rather than more spacious? More broadly, why can’t movement across this harmonic continuum proceed in both directions? Straus doesn’t deny such possibilities. Rather, he suggests that the historically sedimented model of consonance and dissonance, inherited from tonality, exerts an undeniable force with which all composers must reckon. In flouting these “laws”—in composing progressions that become steadily more “compact” or by using sets that don’t relate “smoothly” to one another—“modernist composers might be giving expression to an aesthetic iconoclasm, asserting their independence of the claims of the tonal tradition.”¹⁶ Alternatively, they might move toward tenser, more compact chords, in order to make an ultimate motion toward a relaxed, open sonority all the more satisfying. In other words, there is nothing *a priori*—that is to say, immanent, purely musical—that predetermines direction of harmonic motion; it is rather a historically contingent and contextual compositional choice.

III. Tonal-Atonal Equilibrium

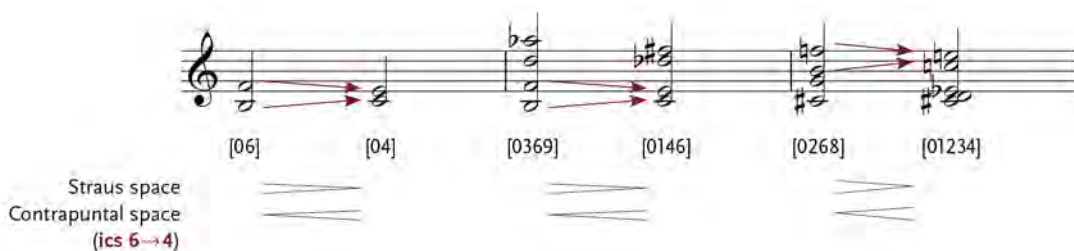
And yet there seems to be another tension in Straus’s model of atonal harmony, similarly historical but also music-theoretical. I would argue that many maximally even chords—augmented, diminished, and whole-tone-based—have “dominant” functions, on account of their abundance in Western art music of the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Thus, while they might be the “most stable” harmonies in terms of their distribution of consonant intervals, they can also be considered to be *functionally unstable*.¹⁷ Furthermore, progression toward chords with more tightly compacted intervallic structures might sometimes be considered to “resolve” the harmonic implications of more intervallically open (that is, dominant-like) simultaneities. This is especially the case if the constituent tritones of some of the most “open” set

¹⁵ Straus, 72.

¹⁶ Straus, 66–7.

¹⁷ See, for example, Smith Brindle, *Serial Composition*, 12n7; Paul LeBlanc, “Structure and Performance of *El Polifemo de oro* for Solo Guitar by Reginald Smith Brindle” (DMA diss., University of North Texas, 1993), 15–16; and Oliver Chandler, “Tonal Dodecaphony and Sentential Form: Extracts from Humphrey Searle’s Symphony No. 2, Op. 33,” *Music Theory and Analysis* 8, no. 2 (forthcoming).

Figure 2 Contrapuntal resolution and set-class contraction.



classes— $[06]$, $[0369]$, $[0268]$, etc.—resolve to a major third, in the manner of a perfect authentic cadence,¹⁸ even if the latter interval is embedded within a more overtly chromatic set class, such as $[01234]$, $[0146]$, and similar.

Figure 2 models this theoretical idea using practical examples. Contrapuntal resolution—a move from dissonance to consonance, shown in idealized form in m. 1—occurs simultaneously with contraction in Straus’s set-class space (i.e., a move towards a tighter, tenser harmony). Contrapuntal resolution is still perceivable, no matter how dissonant the chord in which the ultimate $[04]$ subset is housed. Indeed, the more dissonant the chord, the more chance there is of a tonal-atonal equilibrium being manifested, as both melodic release and increased harmonic tension are discernible simultaneously.

Once a composer has returned to a state of relative chromatic compaction, movement back toward dispersion works in the manner Straus describes above—and so on, in perpetuity. This slightly adapted reading of Straus’s model provides a technical means of explaining bilateral movement in set-class space that does not rely on interpreting movement toward dissonance negatively (as does Straus in his account of a modernistic disruption of harmonic/voice-leading coherence). The system is not entropic; harmonic energy courses through it unendingly.

To demonstrate this point in practice, I will analyze two of Reginald Smith Brindle’s compositions: *The Harmony of Peace* from *Ten Simple Preludes* (1979) and the first fragment from *El Polifemo de oro* (1956).¹⁹ The former demonstrates Straus’s argument perfectly, exhibiting a clearly directed tension flow in set-class space. Tetrachords (and cumulatively, hexachords) become increasingly even, often by means of parsimonious voice leading in set-class space. In the latter piece, by contrast, the most even pc-sets

¹⁸ More neutrally, we might describe this as a contraction from interval-class 6 to ic 4. See Neil Newton, “An Aspect of Functional Harmony in Schoenberg’s Early Post-Tonal Music,” *Music Analysis* 33, no. 1 (2014): 1–31.

¹⁹ My analysis is based on the edition published by Aldo Bruzichelli in 1962. The revisions found in the later Schott edition were made in order to get the piece republished after Bruzichelli’s death. Smith Brindle wrote in his autobiography that “unfortunately, some parts of the revised version are not as good as the original”: see <https://smithbrindle.com/biographies/>, 189.

within the row, produced by harmonic movement from compaction to dispersion, “discharge” via means of ics $6 \rightarrow 4$ or ics $6 \rightarrow 3$ “cadential” voice leading into new row forms, often beginning with relatively tightly voiced tetrachords. The resolution of “French sixths” [0268] to all-interval tetrachords [0146] and [0137], for example, is a compositional fingerprint throughout *El Polifemo de oro*. This, I propose, is a practical example of Smith Brindle’s concept of tonal-atonal equilibrium. Dissonant harmonies might be consonant in terms of their voice leading (embedding ic $6 \rightarrow 4$ discharges), while consonant intervallic structures might be *functionally dissonant*.

Given this paradoxical “feedback loop,” Smith Brindle attempts to achieve closure by other means: that is, by demonstrating that both relatively even and compact chords are subsets of various octatonic verticals later on in the movement. Indeed, these chords synthesize aspects of the three distinct conflicting sonorities articulated by the movement’s opening row: an all-interval tetrachord [0146], a minor triad [037], and a whole-tone pentachord with one errant semitone [02368]. This opposition is what I refer to as the music’s defining *problem*. Such synthetic potential, however, often leads to the breakdown of row order; resolution in one parameter provokes conflict in another — an *elaboration* of the music’s problem. In the piece’s final section, however, linear row order is restored, and the movement’s problem is *resolved*. The opposed sonorities articulated by the opening row are now revealed as relating to each other through parsimonious voice-leading transformations in set-class space. This overall narrative of problem, elaboration, and resolution plays itself out within a palindromic form, which gives it a more palpable arc.²⁰ The *perpetuum mobile* of post-tonal *harmony* is harnessed and contained by post-tonal *form*.²¹

IV. Tension Flow in *The Harmony of Peace*

Smith Brindle was a pioneer in the pedagogy of modern musical languages, and in 1979 he published a series of ten preludes to introduce students “to the sounds of [twentieth-century] music without a herculean effort to produce the notes.”²² The first prelude exemplifies Strauss’s laws of atonal harmony and voice-leading, just as its title might suggest: *The Harmony of Peace*. Chords articulated at the beginnings of phrases melt seamlessly into more euphonious intervallic arrangements by their ends. While not regulated by the essential diatony of Schenker’s “chord of nature,” Smith

20 The schema *problem–elaboration–resolution* may be indebted to Schoenberg’s concept of “musical idea”: see Jack Boss, *Schoenberg’s Twelve-Tone Music: Symmetry and the Musical Idea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

21 While Smith Brindle wrote that “the formal design of palindromes remains audibly imperceptible” (*Serial Composition*, 107), I think there are good reasons to suggest the *felt* palindromic quality of this movement: The marked pc-sets of P_4 make it easy to sense the overall reversal manifested by R_4 , and the movement’s palindromic “ideal” is reinforced by a number of smaller palindromes throughout.

22 John W. Duarte, preface to *Ten Simple Preludes*, by Reginald Smith Brindle (Australia: Universal Edition, 1979), iii.

Brindle’s *Harmony of Peace* fulfills a comparable structural function, regulating movement from dissonance to consonance across a number of structural levels. Similarly, while there is nothing quite comparable to Schenker’s concept of a metaphysical counterpoint between *Urlinie* and *Bassbrechung*, the post-tonal *Harmony of Peace* still implies voice-leading constraints: compulsory movement from relative semitonal compaction to consonant dispersion, often via the shortest possible intervallic path. In a nutshell, Schenker’s *Ursatz* implies a closing down of intervallic space *within* a consonant triad; Smith Brindle’s *Harmony of Peace*, a more indiscriminate “opening up” toward a triad-like entity—diminished, consonant, or augmented.

This play between contraction and expansion is explored in **figure 3**. The prelude begins with a model example of pitch-class-set expansion: [0126] expands to [0237] (mm. 1–2; refer to **figure 1** to see where these sets lie relative to one another on Straus’s chart). A more conventional method of harmonic labeling helps to confirm the quasi-traditional functionality Straus ascribes to such progressions, whereby expansion means increased stability: a B dominant-seventh chord (with an upwardly passing major seventh) resolves to E major 9. While the following tetrachord {0147} [0147], articulated horizontally between mm. 4 and 5, might also be read as a pc-set expansion—it is offset by six semitones from the cluster [0123], whereas the preceding [0237] is only offset by four—this claim is perhaps overly abstract, at least without further argument.²³ Compare, for example, how each tetrachord presents its dissonant ic 1. In the first tetrachord <3E46>, the two notes E \flat ₄ and E \natural ₂ are spaced out in time and register, separated by an intervening attack and by 23 semitones. In the second tetrachord, <4017> D \flat ₄ and C₃ are attacked in succession and only 13 semitones apart. The effect is euphonious in the first tetrachord, piquant in the second. Thus the intervallic openness of the second tetrachord (manifested in its C-major subset) is upset by its minor ninth.

This characterization of the {0147} tetrachord provides a useful means of explaining the set-class progression that follows: namely, from [0147] to [036] to [026]. In order to rid {0147} of semitonal interference, {0} and {1} are fused almost in the way that a suspension resolves in tonal composition, yielding {147}. Crucially, the set {147} isn’t present on the surface of the music: it becomes audible only when it is transposed up a semitone to produce the {258} trichord in mm. 7–8. This pitch-class progression is represented in diagrammatic form below:

$$\{0147\} \xrightarrow{*fusion} \{147\} \xrightarrow{T_1} \{258\} \xrightarrow{T_3^{*(1)}} \{59E\}$$

23 The latter assertion may seem counterintuitive, but [0237] \rightarrow {1237} (by means of the offset of 1 semitone) = [0126] (3 semitones offset from [0123], making [0237] 4 semitones offset altogether). Another way to confirm this is to trace the number of jumps between [0123] and [0237] and [0147] on the set-class diagram in **figure 1**.

Figure 3 Reginald Smith Brindle, *The Harmony of Peace*, mm. 1–10. Reproduced by permission of Universal Edition. Upi = unordered pitch interval.

$P_9 = 9T3E46017852$

Molto calmo, alla breve $\text{♩} = 44$

[037]
"C-major"
subset
veiled
by ic 1

Musical score for the first system (measures 1-4). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The tempo is *Molto calmo, alla breve* with a quarter note equal to 44. Dynamics are *mf*, *mp*, *mf*, and *più p*.

Pitch class set diagram for [0126]. The set is represented by a circle with points labeled 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. A red arrow labeled 'upi 23 mild' points from 0 to 6.

Pitch class set diagram for [0147]. The set is represented by a circle with points labeled 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. A red arrow labeled 'upi 13 sharp!' points from 0 to 7.

tri-/tetrachords [0126] < [0237] ————— [0147]

hexachords [012578] ————— T₁₁ ————— [3469TE]

Musical score for the second system (measures 5-10). The tempo is *rall.* Dynamics are *mf* and *p*.

Pitch class set diagram for [0147]. The set is represented by a circle with points labeled 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

Pitch class set diagram for [026]. The set is represented by a circle with points labeled 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

[0147] fusion [036] ————— [026] ————— [037]
[037]
[012578] ————— [023679]
[012578] Non-row-based harmony

However, one problem is solved only for another to manifest: the original goal of ridding $\{0147\}$ of its semitone results in a set-class contraction from $[0147]$ to $[036]$.²⁴ This contraction is further intensified by the subsequent contraction of $\{258\}$ to $\{59E\}$ — $[036]$ to $[026]$ in **figure 1**. Local resolution for this problem is found in the phrase’s final chord, which also serves to complete the overall arc traced by the phrase through set-class space. It is composed of two statements of $[037]$, “D minor” $\{259\}$ and “E major” $\{E84\}$. Depending on how slowly one plays this spread chord at the end of the *rall.*, one can make this more or less explicit, with each chord being registrally distinct. Locally, there is definite expansion from $[036]$ and $[026]$ to $[037]$. This might be understood, if only conceptually, as an opening up of the earlier $[0147]$ chord, which represented the peak of intervallic expansion up to that point, albeit one that was *veiled* by ic 1 bite. Voiced as two separate, admittedly transposed subsets, it becomes more overtly consonant. The phrase’s overall intervallic expansion might be mapped as follows, with the link between the $[0147]$ and $[037]$ pc sets represented by underlining:

$$[0126] < [0237] < [\underline{0147}] < [\dots \text{FUSION } 036] > [026] \dots < [\underline{037}] \times 2$$

One might object, of course, that the phrase’s concluding sonority is a *hexachord* $[023679]$, irrespective of its variable audiation in performance. How can this be heard as more intervallically spacious than the prelude’s earlier, smaller cardinality sets, especially given its relative proliferation of semitones? But this would be to ignore a crucial point: namely, the concluding spread chord’s relationship to the twelve-tone fixed-pitch field that is established by the foregoing music: $\langle A_2, B\flat_3, E\flat_4, B_3, E_2, F\sharp_3, C_3, D\flat_4, G_3, A\flat_3, F_2, D_3 \rangle$. $[023679]$ contains both an E and an F. Adhering to the established pitch field would require both of these notes to be played on the bottom string of the guitar, which is obviously impossible if both are to be sounded concurrently; one must be placed in a different register. This makes no difference to the overall set class, but it has potentially profound ramifications for how the constituent trichords of the overall hexachord might be heard when it is arpeggiated. If F_3 had been placed on the top string, for example, and E_2 on the bass string, the bottom

24 Again, it might seem counterintuitive to understand this as a contraction. That $[0147]$ is six-semitones offset from the most chromatic tetrachord possible, $[0123]$, is easy enough to appreciate: 2 semitones are added to the third integer of the latter set, and 4 semitones to the fourth. The case of $[036]$ is slightly more complicated. If we used the same logic, we’d transform the most chromatic *trichord*, $[012]$, into $[036]$ by adding 2 semitones to the second integer of the former and 4 semitones to the third, resulting in six semitones of offset overall: i.e., the same semitonal distance that exists between $[0147]$ and $[0123]$. However, there is a more ergonomic way to work this out. Imagine that $\{036\} [036] \rightarrow \{236\}$ through movement of a whole tone. (This is a purely heuristic step, designed to illustrate the abstract intervallic distance between two chords; it does not reflect an actual musical progression.) $\{236\} \in [014]$. $[014]$ is two semitones offset from $[012]$ (the maximally chromatic trichord). That means that $[036]$ is only *four* semitones offset from $[012]$ (i.e., less than the *six* semitones between $[0147]$ and $[0123]$). In consequence, it is more chromatic than $[0147]$ —i.e., it is less intervallically spacious.

trichord would have been a quintal $\langle E, A, D \rangle$ [027] and the upper a diminished triad $\langle A\flat, B, F \rangle$ [036].²⁵ In other words, the apex of trichordal expansion that is implied by the two [037] sets in the actual music would be replaced by sets without the same directed quality. Indeed, the fact that this hexachord departs from the loose twelve-tone serial ordering that controls the music before and after it further suggests the key structural role that tension flow plays in this piece, and the importance of the [037] trichords within it. To hear this *solely* as a hexachord, then — as something without a specific intervallic ordering and spacing — would be to disassociate oneself from Smith Brindle’s carefully cultivated tension flow.

That said, it is still relevant to observe that each discrete motivic idea of the prelude cumulatively articulates a hexachord (the two hexachords of the series on which it is based). From the beginning to the end of the opening section, the following “middleground” set-class trajectory is traced:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \{3469TE\} & \xrightarrow{T_{11}I} & \{012578\} < \{24589E\} \\ [012578] & & [012578] & [023679] \end{array}$$

Reinforcing our earlier, tetra/trichordal hearing of the piece, the music articulated by the second hexachord can be felt as a “prolongation” of the first, which is then “resolved” by the expansion of the phrase’s final chord.²⁶

Analysis of this sort can help to reinforce and, I hope, amplify intuitions about *relative* degrees of stability and instability as part of a coherent trajectory in performance: to alert listeners and performers to salient pitch collections and the changes between them. And yet if a performer felt flashes of intuitive sympathy with the musical narrative of Smith Brindle’s piece — if they were convinced that something meaningful was being lost in the post-tonal static that they wanted to grasp — then traditional (that is, tonal) means of analysis would be of little use, even if the central behaviors of this prelude are much akin to tonality. Oddly, freeing oneself from a tonal vocabulary — giving oneself over to the abstraction of set theory — allows one to sense the music’s directed, consonance-driven trajectory all the better. The visceral is unlocked by the abstract.

Now that the relevance of Straus’s laws of atonal harmony and voice leading have been demonstrated in relation to the directed tension flow of *Harmony of Peace*, we can move on to consider how examination of Smith Brindle’s harmonic writing in a very different compositional situation — purely artistic rather than pedagogical — can

25 My thanks go to Jonathan Leathwood for this point.

26 **Figure 2** shows the outer sections of a ternary form. The eleven-measure middle section (not shown in the example) also describes a trajectory from compaction to dispersion. Its construction, however, is a little more complex: it is based on I_9 , omitting A and swapping C# and B \flat . An analysis of its progression might focus on trichordal expansion: [015] at the beginning reaches [036] by the end, via [016], [025], and [026].

lend nuance to Straus’s concept of voice leading in set-class space. But first, let us consider one of Smith Brindle’s analyses.

v. Smith Brindle’s Analysis of Dallapiccola’s *Simbolo*

In *Serial Composition*, Smith Brindle claims that “*given adequate control*, the series can be made to produce music which borders on the field of chromatic harmony, music which maintains a delicate tonal-atonal equilibrium.”²⁷ But how is such control exercised? Through the regulation of tension flow, Smith Brindle argues. Yet, as already discussed, this idea is a fairly blunt instrument theoretically. Perhaps his ideas can be placed in fruitful dialogue once more with Straus’s laws of atonal harmony and voice leading? Smith Brindle’s brief words on a work by his teacher Luigi Dallapiccola—*Simbolo* from *Quaderno musicale di Annalibera* (1952)—provide a useful jumping-off point for such inquiry.

“There is subtle chromatic movement from B major to A minor here, *which is cleverly obscured by the oscillating pedal notes*. . . . It is evident that here Dallapiccola fuses serialism with the functions of chromatic harmony, producing a subtle amalgam of both techniques.”²⁸ **Figure 4** expands on this idea. The chord in m. 2 can be heard as a B-major triad decorated by a neighboring major seventh; in m. 3, the bass ostinato assumes a different function with its first note (A#) functioning as the root of a B \flat dominant seventh; the right-hand trichord in m. 4 is an incomplete French sixth/half-diminished seventh on G; and the final right-hand chord is an A-minor triad. In terms of chromatic harmony, this progression can be modeled as a fairly lucid auxiliary cadence: secondary dominant, tritone substitute for the dominant, Aeolian dominant (natural-vII), minor tonic. A Strausian pc-set interpretation chimes nicely with this account:

$$[047] > [046 = 026] \quad [026] < [037]$$

Despite the important syntactical role played by dissonance in this progression, the dice are ultimately loaded toward consonance, as they are in Straus’s laws of atonal harmony and voice leading more generally. In what way might this be understood in terms of Smith Brindle’s tonal-atonal equilibrium? The answer, I think, is made plain by hearing the trichordal paths traced above in terms of their contextualization as part of larger-cardinality set classes inclusive of the *obscuring* pedal notes. For example, while the $[047] > [046 = 026]$ subset reflects the overall contraction of its larger $[0158] > [0236]$ superset, the “resolution” of the progression $[026] < [037]$ is contradicted by its encasing $[02368] > [01237]$. Both discharge *and* inhibition are sensible; they are the countervailing forces of an overall equilibrium.

²⁷ Smith Brindle, *Serial Composition*, 66 [italics in the original].

²⁸ Smith Brindle, 9; italics added.

Figure 4 Luigi Dallapiccola, *Quaderno musicale di Annalibera* (1952), *Simbolo*, mm. 1–6.

P₁₀ = <TE3682157094>

Quasi lento (♩ = 84)

trichords: [047]	—————	[046=026]	[026]	—————	[037]
tetrachords / pentachords: [0158]	—————	[0236]	[02368]	—————	[01237]

Mutually supporting multidimensional contractions

Tonal-atonal equilibrium: triadic expansion and pentachordal contraction

VI. Tonal-Atonal Equilibrium in *El Polifemo de oro*: Ben adagio

“My most successful piece”: this is how Smith Brindle describes his 1956 work for guitar, *El Polifemo de oro: Quattro frammenti* [The Golden Polyphemus: Four Fragments].²⁹ It is a standard of the guitar repertoire even today. *El Polifemo* first rose to prominence when it was used to open Julian Bream’s landmark 1966 album *Twentieth-Century Guitar*, the immense success of which, John W. Duarte suggests, “threw a stone into the almost unruffled pool of the guitar’s classical/romantic image.”³⁰ Despite its novelty, however, a certain debt to Dallapiccola is apparent from the first measures.

Figure 5 provides a complete score of the first fragment, Ben adagio, with analytical annotations. There are a number of echoes of **figure 4**: (1) *Simbolo*’s opening tetrachord [0158] becomes the penultimate sonority of the Ben adagio—crucially, both discharge to a whole-tone set with an errant semitone; (2) Dallapiccola’s final chord embeds a triad [037] in an all-interval tetrachord [0137], and Smith Brindle creates a similar effect in mm. 1–2 of the Ben adagio, when C₃ sounds below the sustained B-minor triad; (3) both composers highlight the pentachord [02368]—see

²⁹ Smith Brindle, *Autobiography*, 188.

³⁰ John W. Duarte, quoted in Graham Wade, *The Art of Julian Bream* (Blaydon on Tyne: Ashley Mark Publishing Company, 2008), 100.

[A] **Problem** Opposing pc-sets. First step of large-scale palindrome, P_4 .

[B] **Elaboration** Derivation of opposing pc-sets from $OCT_{1,2}$ revealed, but row order consequently breaks down. [0146] "prolonged"; small-scale palindromes mimic overall form.

Ben Adagio

tastiera pont. -----

mf *p* *mf*

P_4

palindrome

ics 6→3

ics 6→4

$OCT_{1,2}$

[0146] = all-int.
[037] b triad
[02368] wt-ish
[0146] = all-interval
{08} = A♭ triad
[026] = wt subset
[02358]
[0136] subset = all-interval*⁻¹
{7T} = g triad
[026] = wt subset

5

tastiera -----

poco allarg.

vibrato

pizz. -----

$I_{11} (T_2)$ RI_0 $I_{11} (T_2)$

palindrome

5 missing!

$R_4 <0-2>$

ics 6→4

ics 6→4

[0137] = all-interval
<149> = A triad
[026] = wt subset
[01369] [0136] = all-interval*⁻¹
{T2} = B♭ triad
[0258] = wt-ish subset
[0137] = all-interval
<149> = A triad
[026] = wt subset
[0146] [026] = all-interval = [0146] subset

[A'] **Solution** Row order restored. R_4 completes large-scale palindrome; opposing pc-sets relate through smooth voice-leading.

8

f

f

$I_0 (T_1)$ R_4

palindrome

palindrome

[0146] $\xrightarrow{T_5(+?)}$ [0268] [0258]
= all-interval
[0158] = all-interval
[037] = b triad
= wt- wt-ish subs.* = wt-ish subset

Figure 5
Reginald Smith Brindle,
El Polifemo de oro,
i. Ben adagio.
Reproduced by permission
of Schott Music Ltd

m. 4 of *Simbolo* and the last five notes of the Ben adagio's opening row form.³¹ It is this pentachord that we shall focus on first.

Lines trace the unfolding of the rows in **figure 5**, starting with $P_4 <485TE2609317>$. This initial row can be understood to manifest pc set-class expansion overall: $\{458T\}$ $[0146]$ at its beginning is transformed, via $T_{11}I^{*(3)}$, into $\{7913\}$ $[0268]$ at its end.³² So far, so Strausian. Smith Brindle does not make use of this expansion as a means of rounding off the accompanying musical gesture, however; the latter in fact continues into the beginning of the next row, I_0 ,³³ which is marked by a tightly voiced all-interval tetrachord $[0146]$. How can this considerable jump in set-class space, toward the more condensed, semitonal end, be explained? Does it not work counter to the idea of rounding off a musical gesture? Wouldn't the increase in dissonance open things up again? To use Straus's words, "in flouting the Law of Atonal Voice Leading," is Smith Brindle "giving expression to an aesthetic iconoclasm, asserting [his] independence of the claims of the tonal tradition"?³⁴ Absolutely not. Returning to the earlier *Simbolo* example, and its penultimate $[02368]$ pentachord, it can be heard either as a G half-diminished or a French sixth chord (depending on which note of the bass ostinato is read as a neighboring tone), especially in light of its subsequent discharge to a triad. If the equivalent chord in *Polifemo de oro* can also be heard as *dominant-like*, then one might wonder in what sense $[0146]$ might be considered *triadic*. However, as Neil Newton has argued, it isn't triads that are responsible for functional discharge at cadence points; far more important is the resolution of the dominant-seventh's constituent *tritone*: the contraction of ic 6 to ic 4.³⁵ Despite $[0146]$'s ultimately non-triadic, non-consonant quality, this exact voice leading is manifested between P_4 and I_0 : $\{17\}$ "resolves" to $\{08\}$.

The whole-tone quality of P_4 's final tetrachord, an emphasized subset of the overall *Simbolo* pentachord, is therefore critically important. On the one hand, its intervallic spaciousness, relative to the row's beginning, allows set-class expansion to be manifested: a movement from dissonance to consonance, fulfilling Straus's law of atonal harmony. On the other hand, it is also *dominant-like*, so that it requires resolution.³⁶ This resolution is not contingent on pc-set spaciousness or cardinality: it requires only that a tritone should contract to a third, and that Smith Brindle should make

31 Accentuated texturally by its being intoned horizontally rather than vertically, unlike the first two pc-sets. Note also that the pc-set that directly precedes this pentachord—whole-tone with one errant semitone—is a B-minor triad, just as the chord that Dallapiccola uses *after* the pentachord is A minor, both of which are members of set-class 3-11.

32 The intervening transformations initially hint at expansion— $[0146]$ becoming a more intervallically open, albeit tighter-voiced, $[037]$ —but as noted in the main text, when C_3 is introduced beneath, it is revealed ultimately to manifest another all-interval tetrachord $[0137]$.

33 I follow George Perle and Joseph Straus here by referring to inverted row forms by means of the label I_n , rather than $T_nI(P)$.

34 Straus, "Voice Leading in Set-Class Space," 66–7.

35 See Newton, "An Aspect of Functional Harmony in Schoenberg's Early Post-Tonal Music," 1–31.

36 See Smith Brindle, *Serial Composition*, 12n7: "In general [whole-tone groups] do not contain tonal suggestions (though some groups can form incomplete minor seventh or major ninth chords)."

it obvious and satisfying. This means that bilateral movement in set-class space becomes freshly legible: simultaneous expansion *and* contraction become coherent, even necessary. As Dallapiccola does in *Simbolo*, Smith Brindle achieves a remarkable balance, increasing tension in the atonal domain while decreasing it in the tonal domain. This is the essence of his tonal-atonal equilibrium.

This raises an important question, however: how can Smith Brindle achieve a sense of finality and closure in this piece if quasi-cadential resolutions result in set-class contraction? Again, the “law” that Straus hypothesizes — that pieces should grow toward (relative) consonance, except for reasons of expressive effect — is historically contingent on the tonal past, and not an immutable fact of musical logic. It is at this point that *form*, as opposed to moment-to-moment harmonic succession, becomes crucially important. Form is manifested in two ways in the Ben adagio: by means of a “large narrative of conflict, elaboration of that conflict, and resolution, expressed intervallically. . . , which Schoenberg called the ‘musical idea’”;³⁷ and more simply, by means of a large-scale palindrome paralleled by a number of smaller, nested palindromes throughout the movement.

To begin with the former: the opening row manifests its *problem* in its very first bar as a rich, *tastiera* all-interval tetrachord [0146] is contrasted with the relative-bareness of a *ponticello* triad. How can these contrasting sets be understood in terms of an overall, atonal motivic unity?³⁸ (Tonally speaking, of course, the resolution of {E, A#} to {B, D} seems locally cadential.) A sense of set-class contrast is further intensified by P₄'s concluding pentachord, [02368], which is, as already noted, whole-tone-like, despite the errant semitone. I₀ begins with another [0146] tetrachord, but the context of its presentation is critical. The {17} P₄ <T-E> → {08} I₀ <0-1> discharge spotlights the A^b-C dyad, which sounds initially triadic: a reminiscence of P₄'s {E26}. Furthermore, the way the full tetrachord is voiced makes it sound very much like an incomplete A^b7 chord, with the B functioning as a neighbor-note to the C. Understood in this more traditional way, the underlying chord is recognized as an instantiation of sc 3-8, [026]: a partial dominant-seventh chord; an abstract allusion to the whole-tone(ish) pentachord of P₄. The original conflict between sets of different intervallic quality in the first row appears to be mellowed here; antithesis may yet be resolved in synthesis.

The following <725T4> pentachord, while not directly related to any of the distinct intervallic profiles of P₄'s constituent sets, contains a number of subsets that *are* so related. It consists of one [0136] statement (that is, a minimally offset version of the earlier [0146]); an implied G-minor triad (foregrounded by an ic 6 → 3 contraction,

37 See Jack Boss, *Schoenberg's Atonal Music: Musical Idea, Basic Image, and Specters of Tonal Function* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 4.

38 These chords can be meaningfully connected, transformationally speaking. [0146] contains a [014] subset. [037] and [014] are M-related: i.e., if each of the set-class integers of [014] is multiplied by 5, [037] is the result. (0 × 5 = 0, 1 × 5 = 5, 4 × 5 = 20 = 8 modulo twelve; {580} = [037].) I thank Ciro Scotto for this point. However, their connection is not *parsimonious*: transformation between them results in an extensive jump in set-class space. While coherent, then, their relationship can still be interpreted as oppositional (at least in terms of Straus's set-class space).

which resembles the resolution of a dominant-seventh to a *minor* triad); and another [026] whole-tone subset. Furthermore, it makes explicit for the first time the octatonic sound world from which *all* of P_4 's opening harmonies are derived.³⁹ Smith Brindle's special brand of *octatonic serialism* might well be indebted to Dallapiccola.⁴⁰

However, as well as representing a move toward a solution of the movement's problem, this moment also precipitates an *elaboration* of that same problem. That is to say, its arrangement in pitch space upsets strict row order, leading to a temporary disintegration of the row itself.⁴¹ Measure 5 clearly demonstrates the fallout of this elaboration. Even though it technically manifests the final three notes of I_0 , its sounding simultaneously with pc 4 (retained from the previous measure) leads to the articulation of a <1439> tetrachord (sc 4-z29). These notes occur as adjacencies in only one row form: the second tetrachord of I_{11} . The price of chordal synthesis is the breakdown of linear row order.

RI_0 is unfolded next, but issues of serial coherence become even more acute here. {39} discharges by means of ic 6 \rightarrow 4 contraction to {T2}, highlighting a possible B \flat -major triad (another reference to P_4 's [037] trichord). This is embedded within a [01369] pentachord, which contains [0136] and [0258] subsets. The former is a "fuzzy" transposition of the earlier all-interval tetrachord [0137]; the latter, a subset of P_4 's ultimate pentachord. Again, the chord's bottom-up intervallic structure leaves row order hopelessly jumbled. The fact that pc 5 is *omitted* from the row's proceeding completion—an absence marked by an echo of the <9134> tetrachord that upset the preceding completion of I_0 —might be thought to represent acknowledgment of this growing crisis in the music's unfolding. Indeed, the culmination of RI_0 is followed by a statement of <713>—a group of pitch classes from R_4 <0-2>—which is itself followed by a lone tetrachord of I_0 : <08E6>. It is almost as if the piece is no longer twelve-tone at this point: technique and idiom have been overwhelmed by the movement's problem.

Yet it is precisely at this apogee of crisis that the problem is solved. Now that the original opposition of P_4 's constituent set classes has been resolved, their shared octatonic DNA illustrated, all that remains is for row order to be restored. This is achieved by means of a complete linear statement of R_4 , thus manifesting a large-scale pitch palindrome with the movement's opening. The inner portion of the

39 Sundar Subramaniam points out that they are all embedded in set-class 6-30. See "Pitch Structures in Reginald Smith Brindle's *El Polifemo de oro*," *Ex Tempore* 14, no. 2 (2009): 78–93, 82.

40 As Brian Alegant and John Levey have noted, sc 6-30 (see footnote 39) played a crucial structuring role on the surface and at "important formal subdivisions" in Dallapiccola's compositions of the 1950s: see "Octatonicism in Luigi Dallapiccola's Twelve-Note Music," *Music Analysis* 25, nos. i–ii (2006): 39–87, 62.

41 Upsetting row order is not some fatal syntactic error that invalidates the premise of serial composition, and composers might choose to *interpret* such disruptions expressively or utilize them as an important structuring device. (My thanks to Ciro Scotto for this clarification.) The common use of secondary harmonies (i.e., non-row-derived harmonies) in Schoenberg's music is a case in point: see Martha Hyde, *Schoenberg's Twelve-tone Harmony: The Suite Opus 29 and the Compositional Sketches* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1982).

movement, sandwiched between these symmetrical row statements, reinforces this larger design—see the {80} {6E} {80} dyadic palindromes in mm. 3 and 8 and the {14} {39} {14} palindrome in mm. 5 and 7, which are also arranged palindromically between themselves. Furthermore, it arguably “prolongs” the movement’s opening and closing set-class [0146] by means of set-class expansion and contraction:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc}
 \text{m. } & 3 & & 4 & & 5 & & 7 & & 8 \\
 & [0146] & > & [0136] & < & [0137] & > & [0136] & < & [0146] & [026] & [0146] \\
 & & & \text{subset} & & & & \text{subset} & & & & &
 \end{array}$$

The first [0268] tetrachord of the final row statement, R_4 , relates to the preceding [0146] by means of $T_{5I}^{*(3)}$. A series of fuzzy transpositions then occurs, as a means of showing how movement from relatively spacious to relatively compressed set classes is achieved *parsimoniously*, thus satisfying Straus’s law of atonal voice leading whereby harmonic changes occur through the smallest voice-leading increments possible: [0268] > [0258] > [0158]. As outlined earlier, closure for the movement as a whole is achieved by means of [0158]’s return to [0146], potentially referencing the opening two tetrachords of Dallapiccola’s *Simbolo*. Smith Brindle described the harmonic movement from [0158] to [0236] as part of a chromatic but still *functional* progression from B major (decorated with a neighbor-note major seventh) to a B♭ dominant-seventh, which would ultimately move by stepwise voice-leading to a tonic A minor. In the context of the Ben adagio, we have a similar progression, from a B-minor sixth chord to a B♭ dominant seventh with a sharpened eleventh. Smith Brindle’s prized tonal-atonal equilibrium is maintained here: for considered post-tonally, the [0146] can be heard plainly as a point of rest—it marks the beginning and end of a large-scale palindrome; it is “prolonged” throughout the movement; and it often houses ic 4 as part of the movement’s quasi-cadential ic 6 → 4 contractions. Considered in terms of the chromatic functional harmony that Smith Brindle alludes to in the equivalent Dallapiccola progression, however, it implies something of a dominant sensibility that requires resolution to a more triadic entity—the closing A-minor chord of *Simbolo*’s opening phrase, and the B-minor triad of the Ben adagio’s m. 1. Thus, Smith Brindle’s final sonority might be thought to manifest action and repose simultaneously.

Despite its brevity, this piece demonstrates Smith Brindle’s originality and the sophistication of his twelve-tone technique. On one level, it exhibits little of the complexity of Schoenberg’s mature style: hexachordal combinatoriality, isomorphic partitioning, multidimensional set presentation, etc.⁴² It does, however, pursue Schoenberg’s signature *narrative* of problem, elaboration, and resolution; the musical characters that animate this tale just owe more to Dallapiccola—that is, to octatony—than to Schoenberg. Furthermore, he pursues a more personal—Straus might argue *more conservative*—musical syntax, which emphasizes set-class expansion and

42 See Ethan Haimo, *Schoenberg’s Serial Odyssey: The Evolution of His Twelve-Tone Method, 1914–28* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), chapter 1.

smooth voice leading. His approach to this, though, is nuanced by his understanding of tonal-atonal equilibrium. Set-class expansion produces intervallically consonant but functionally dissonant harmonies, which can discharge (via means of ic 6 → 4 voice leading) into compact, more overtly semitonal set classes.

As before, in my analysis of *The Harmony of Peace*, I admit that the analysis pursued above is abstract; but I believe that it leads to a clearer understanding of the piece. A simple awareness of tritones and their potential destinations in pitch-class space can lend a different tactile awareness to learning and performance. Furthermore, an appreciation of this movement's overall argument might help to give performers more interpretive *options* than might otherwise present themselves. How should one emphasize the opposition of P_4 's opening set classes? (The *pont.* and *tastiera* performance directions already provide an inkling of this.) How to make both the small- and large-scale palindromes more clearly palpable to a listener? How to convey the crisis precipitated by the breakdown of row order in the movement's middle section? However one chooses to go about answering such questions (if at all), it is my hope that one's being aware of them will nevertheless be fruitful.

VII. Conclusion

One of Smith Brindle's first professional musical experiences was playing clarinet with the jazz trumpeter Louis Armstrong at the *Palais de Dance* in Bolton, a town in the North West of England;⁴³ he went on to become a leading member of the post-war Italian avant-garde, and then a university professor at Bangor and Surrey. It is perhaps not hard to see how this unusual musical journey led to an original approach to twelve-tone technique. Smith Brindle decided actively to explore dodecaphony after seeing the first performance of Dallapiccola's *Il Prigioniero* (The Prisoner) at the *Teatro Comunale di Firenze* on 20 May 1950. He recalled that this work had "just the kind of sound I had long looked for - a mysterious, complex sound with an intangible, enigmatic harmony which I found intensely beautiful." When he subsequently approached Dallapiccola to request composition lessons—he had received instruction from him on orchestration at the Florence conservatory already—the older man was about to set off on his Summer vacation. In preparation for future lessons, however, he suggested that Smith Brindle should read two books by Rene Leibowitz: *Introduction a la musique de douze sons* and *Schoenberg et son école*, both published in 1949.

After diligently finishing these texts, Smith Brindle set about writing a twelve-tone organ piece. He was appalled by the result. Rather than continuing to rely on theoretical abstraction, based on German models, he decided to make a study of the music that had so impressed him instead: namely, Dallapiccola's. The following passage from his autobiography is worth quoting at some length:

43 The narrative and quotations from Smith Brindle in this section come from his *Autobiography*, 20, 160–64.

That summer, I not only read the Leibowitz books, but bought the score of Dallapiccola's "Il Prigioniero", and examined the work in detail from end to end. I found a very different brand of serialism than that described by Leibowitz. The music had a more conventional look, with a smooth and refined harmony which appealed to me very much. Though it had the total-chromaticism of serialism, the harmony was without the brutism which was all-too-common with the Schoenberg School.

But how was this "smooth and refined harmony" to be produced? How was the "strong aversion for obscurity, and a compelling desire for illuminating clarity" that Smith Brindle associates with Dallapiccola's style to be actualized in a twelve-tone environment? The foregoing analyses have attempted to answer exactly these questions. In a word, it is a matter of tonal-atonal equilibrium.



Glossary of Terms & Symbols

Pitches are notated using scientific pitch notation, where middle C = C₄. Note that the guitar sounds an octave lower than written: in the text, notes are referred to by their sounding pitch.

Pitch classes (pcs) are labeled from 0 to 11:

C = 0; C# = 1, D = 2, . . . , A = 9, B♭ = 10, B = 11.

These labels apply to all enharmonic equivalents: for example, 0 stands for B#, C, D♭.

10 and 11 are abbreviated as T and E.

ic *n* = interval class *n* (*n* refers to the number of semitones).

Prime-form set classes are represented by [square brackets]; **normal-form** pitch-class sets by {curly brackets}. (For readers who would appreciate a quick summary of these terms, see the brief explanation of set-theoretical terminology below.)

[*n* = *n*] (e.g., [034 = 014]) This notation illustrates that two sets (usually a normal form and a prime form) are inversionally equivalent.

<**Angle brackets**> represent sets either of pcs, ics, or pitches as they appear literally on the surface of the music; context makes the distinction clear. (Pitches are separated by commas; integers are not.)

Individual angle brackets represent either set-class expansion (<) or contraction (>): e.g., [0123] < [0246] > [0123].

Commas separate members of sets when they consist (or might consist) of more than one character, as in scientific pitch notation: {012}, <012>, but {C1, C#3, D2} and <C1, C#3, D2>.

"Fuzzy" transposition/inversion (T/I_{*n*}^{*(*n*)}) When a set gets larger or smaller, it is sometimes possible to understand it as a transposition or inversion (always around 0) of a pc set in *all voices but one*, which might be a number of semitones offset from its intended destination (hence the overall contraction

or enlargement). This is represented by an asterisk and a superscript number, which indicate and record the degree(s) of semitonal offset, respectively: e.g., $\{012\} T_7^{*1} \{78T\}$. Crucially, because these operations are not one-to-one, there are usually a number of possible offset transpositions/inversions possible. I try to label only those that I think are musically salient. See Joseph N. Straus, “Uniformity, Balance, and Smoothness in Atonal Voice Leading,” *Music Theory Spectrum* 25, no. 2 (2003): 305–52, particularly his discussion of voice-leading “consistency” and “uniformity”: 315; 318–9.

Integers in bold between arrow brackets represent row order numbers rather than pitch classes: e.g., $\langle 0-1 \rangle$ equals the first two pitch classes of a given row. **Prime** and **inverted** forms of twelve-tone rows are referred to by means of P_n and I_n . The letter n denotes the pc on which the rows begin. R is used to indicate **retrograde** forms (which may also be inverted).

A Very Brief Explanation of Set-Theoretical Terminology

A succession of given pitch classes in a piece of music, e.g., $\langle 8T91 \rangle \langle G\#, B\flat, A, C\# \rangle$, written out in its most compressed possible form (i.e., packed toward the left-hand side), e.g., $\{89T1\} \{G\#, A, B\flat, C\#\}$, represents the *normal form* of a pc set. For ease of comparison, normal-form sets can be transposed to 0, thus producing a *prime-form* set, e.g., $[0125]$ —the equivalent of transposing a series of extended tonal chords back to C major. Sets that are shown to have the same structure (when transposed to 0) belong to the same *set class*. “Structure” here simply denotes a particular series of ascending intervals calculated from 0 (e.g., $[0125]$ or $[0246]$). Distinct set classes may still have the same intervallic content (i.e., the same relative number of all possible interval classes) but that intervallic content will be distributed from 0 in a different way. Sets that have the same intervallic content, but different set-class contents, are described by the theorist Allen Forte as being z-related: z stands for “zygotic.”

Matrices

The Harmony of Peace (see **figure 3**)

	I																			
	↓																			
P→	0	1	6	2	7	9	3	4	T	E	8	5								←R
	E	0	5	1	6	8	2	3	9	T	7	4								
	6	7	0	8	1	3	9	T	4	5	2	E								
	T	E	4	0	5	7	1	2	8	9	6	3								
	5	6	E	7	0	2	8	9	3	4	1	T								
	3	4	9	5	T	0	6	7	1	2	E	8								
	9	T	3	E	4	6	0	1	7	8	5	2								
	8	9	2	T	3	5	E	0	6	7	4	1								
	2	3	8	4	9	E	5	6	0	1	T	7								
	1	2	7	3	8	T	4	5	E	0	9	6								
	4	5	T	6	E	1	7	8	2	3	0	9								
	7	8	1	9	2	4	T	E	5	6	3	0								
	↑																			
	RI																			

El Polifemo de oro (see **figure 5**)

	I																			
	↓																			
P→	0	4	1	6	7	T	2	8	5	E	9	3								←R
	8	0	9	2	3	6	T	4	1	7	5	E								
	E	3	0	5	6	9	1	7	4	T	8	2								
	6	T	7	0	1	4	8	2	E	5	3	9								
	5	9	6	E	0	3	7	1	T	4	2	8								
	2	6	3	8	9	0	4	T	7	1	E	5								
	T	2	E	4	5	8	0	6	3	9	7	1								
	4	8	5	T	E	2	6	0	9	3	1	7								
	7	E	8	1	2	5	9	3	0	6	4	T								
	1	5	2	7	8	E	3	9	6	0	T	4								
	3	7	4	9	T	1	5	E	8	2	0	6								
	9	1	T	3	4	7	E	5	2	8	6	0								
	↑																			
	RI																			

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Guitar Thinking

Perspectives from Music Theory and Cognitive Science

JONATHAN DE SOUZA

WHAT DO YOU LEARN when you learn to play the guitar? Exercises and scales develop physical skills—for example, the ability to place fingers on the strings, to coordinate both hands, to play the right notes at the right time. Yet this practice is also a kind of ear training. With experience, the budding guitarist becomes aware of differences in chord quality, harmonic progression, meter, and texture. Even simple studies can build understanding of a musical language, whether common-practice tonality in Fernando Sor’s études or more modern styles in Leo Brouwer’s *Estudios sencillos*. These musicianship skills overlap with those of other instrumentalists. But in other respects, they are shaped by the possibilities and constraints of the guitar itself. Ultimately, you start to think like a guitarist. You start to conceptualize music—to know it, imagine it, or experience it—in new ways. The guitar, then, is not just a tool for making sounds. As it coordinates body, ear, and mind, the instrument also becomes a tool for musical thinking.

In my view, “musical thinking” is another name for music theory. That is, music theory is just a shared culture of musical thinking.¹ At a basic level, you can learn music theory through the guitar. But if the guitar can change how we think about and what we know about music, it can also change music theory itself. For example, consider baroque music for the Spanish-style guitar. *Rasgueado* dances such as the *folia*, *chacóna*, and *zarabanda* were popular throughout seventeenth-century Europe. While keyboardists at the time thought more contrapuntally, strumming guitarists treated triads as objects. Perhaps surprisingly, a central construct of Western music theory first emerged from this tradition: the musical circle. The earliest circle of fifths was published in *Guitarra española* (1596) by Joan Carles Amat, a Catalonian physician and amateur guitarist. **Figure 1** reproduces Amat’s circle, while **figure 2** provides a transcription by Thomas Christensen. The notes and letters within the grid are tablature for a five-course guitar, indicating chord shapes that are still common today. The top half of the diagram cycles through major triads, starting with E major on the far left; the bottom, minor triads, with E minor on the far right. Christensen

¹ Lawrence M. Zbikowski, *Conceptualizing Music: Cognitive Structure, Theory, and Analysis*, AMS Studies in Music (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 106–19.

Figure 1 Circle of fifths in tablature from Joan Carles Amat, *Guitarra española* (1596).

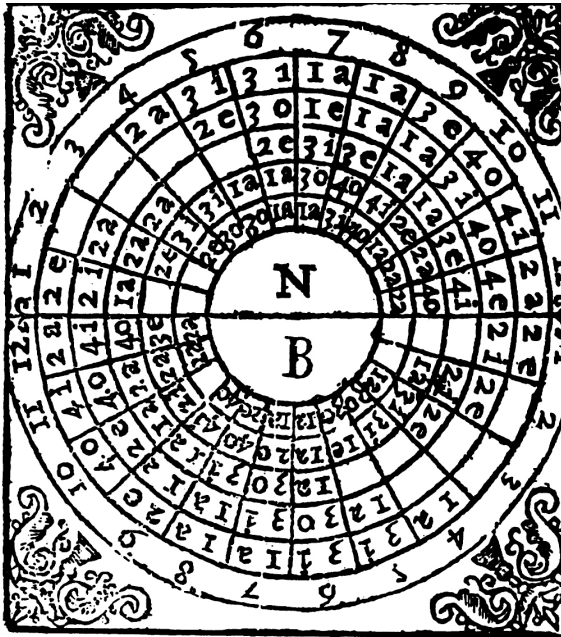


Figure 2 Transcription of Amat's musical circle (from Christensen, "The Spanish Baroque Guitar and Seventeenth-Century Triadic Theory," example 4).



has argued that Amat's manual and others "stake out a distinct theoretical perspective, one that was instinctively understood and more widely practiced by musicians of the time than the theory depicted in the learned, weighty tomes of their scholastic counterparts."² This perspective was grounded in guitar practice, but its implications went much further:

2 Thomas Christensen, "The Spanish Baroque Guitar and Seventeenth-Century Triadic Theory," *Journal of Music Theory* 36, no. 1 (1992): 11. Collections of lute pieces that explore all twenty-four major and minor keys also emerged around this time, facilitated by the fretboard and tablature (see Megan Kaes Long, "What Do Signatures Signify? The Curious Case of Seventeenth-Century English Key," *Journal of Music Theory* 64, no. 2 [2020]: 147–48, <https://doi.org/10.1215/00222909-8550771>).

As unpretentious as *rasgueado* music was, its theoretical implications were profound: music was now conceived and taught as consisting of *chordal entities* that were self-sufficient and combinable in permutations independent of contrapuntal or modal control. Amat describes chords as “raw material” for the guitarist, comparable to “the colors of the painter, with which one can mix in any way and in whatever key, jumping from one to the other.”³

The guitar’s chordal possibilities, then, supported distinctive modes of musical thought, anticipating the chord-based tonal theory that would take hold later. Similarly, a set of instructional materials by the jazz guitarist Pat Martino, titled *The Nature of the Guitar*, anticipated ideas about chromatic harmony from contemporary music theory.⁴ Where neo-Riemannian theory uses mathematics to model systematic relationships among triads, Martino started from fretboard shapes. In such cases, the guitar can be understood as a tool for musical thinking, an “instrument of music theory.”⁵

More recently, guitars and guitar thinking have become objects of inquiry in music theory and cognitive science. This reflects a broader trend in academic music research. Traditionally, music has often been imagined as a form of text.⁶ This view treated the performer as a relatively passive intermediary between composer and audience, whose duty was to faithfully realize musical works, without adding to them. By contrast, many twenty-first-century scholars insist that music is performance and that scores are best understood as scripts or recipes for performance.⁷ Performance studies in music are highly interdisciplinary, drawing on anthropological, historical, and psychological methods, among others. They also develop dialogues between music analysts and performers.⁸ More generally, this research can reveal distinctive aspects of instrumental thinking. So, how does guitar playing fit into this discourse? This article will examine several performance-based analyses of guitar music, culminating in analytical sketches for two of Brouwer’s études. First, however, let’s begin with broader cognitive and theoretical perspectives on guitar thinking.

3 Christensen, 8.

4 Guy Capuzzo, “Pat Martino’s *The Nature of the Guitar*: An Intersection of Jazz Theory and Neo-Riemannian Theory,” *Music Theory Online* 12, no. 1 (2006), <http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.06.12.1/mto.06.12.1.capuzzo.pdf>.

5 Alexander Rehding, “Instruments of Music Theory,” *Music Theory Online* 22, no. 4 (2016), <http://mtosmt.org/issues/mto.16.22.4/mto.16.22.4.rehding.html>.

6 Nicholas Cook, *Beyond the Score: Music as Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

7 For example, see Jonathan Dunsby, *Performing Music: Shared Concerns* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1998); John Rink, ed., *Musical Performance: A Guide to Understanding* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

8 Daphne Leong, *Performing Knowledge: Twentieth-Century Music in Analysis and Performance*, Oxford Studies in Music Theory (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

Guitar Psychology

For performers, music is not only a sonic phenomenon; music involves both sound and action. Instrumental practice develops particular, two-way connections between auditory and motor domains. Because of this, an expert guitarist might imaginatively “hear” the chords in handshapes made away from the instrument. Conversely, the guitarist might imaginatively “feel” performative gestures while listening to guitar music. These links between the ears and the hands often color musicians’ experiences. But they are also evident in neuroscientific studies that show learned patterns of auditory-motor coactivation in instrumentalists’ brains. When listening to music for one’s instrument, there is activity in motor areas (even if the player stays still); when making performative gestures, there is activity in auditory areas (even when no music can be heard).⁹ These neural connections, produced by extensive training, help to explain how instrumentalists come to hear movements and feel sounds.

Yet, as I argue in my book *Music at Hand*, this process depends on instruments.¹⁰ If instruments do not consistently link action and sound, this multisensory coupling does not emerge. An experiment by Marc Bangert and Eckart Altenmüller demonstrates this nicely.¹¹ In the study, participants without prior musical training received ten weeks of piano lessons. One group played a regular keyboard; the other played a randomized keyboard, where pitch locations frequently changed. Neuroimaging showed that the first group quickly developed patterns of auditory-motor coactivation, which resembled the brain activity of expert pianists. With the random-keyboard group, however, these associations never developed, despite weeks of practice. The link between ear and hand, then, requires an instrument with stable affordances.

- 9 Marc Bangert, Udo Haeusler, and Eckart Altenmüller, “On Practice: How the Brain Connects Piano Keys and Piano Sounds,” *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 930 (June 1, 2001): 425–28, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-6632.2001.tb05760.x>; Jens Haueisen and Thomas R. Knösche, “Involuntary Motor Activity in Pianists Evoked by Music Perception,” *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience* 13, no. 6 (2001): 786–92, <https://doi.org/10.1162/08989290152541449>; Martin Lotze, Gabriele Scheler, Heng-Ru May Tan, Christoph Braun, and Niels Birbaumer, “The Musician’s Brain: Functional Imaging of Amateurs and Professionals During Performance and Imagery,” *NeuroImage* 20, no. 3 (2003): 1817–29, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.neuroimage.2003.07.018>; Ulrich C. Drost et al., “Action-Effect Coupling in Pianists,” *Psychological Research* 69, no. 4 (2005): 233–41, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00426-004-0175-8>; Amir Lahav et al., “The Power of Listening: Auditory-Motor Interactions in Musical Training,” *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 1060, no. 1 (December 1, 2005): 189–94, <https://doi.org/10.1196/annals.1360.042>; Elizabeth Hellmuth Margulis et al., “Selective Neurophysiologic Responses to Music in Instrumentalists with Different Listening Biographies,” *Human Brain Mapping* 30, no. 1 (2009): 267–75, <https://doi.org/10.1002/hbm.20503>; Joyce L. Chen, Charlotte Rae, and Kate E. Watkins, “Learning to Play a Melody: An fMRI Study Examining the Formation of Auditory-Motor Associations,” *Neuroimage*, 2011, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.neuroimage.2011.08.012>.
- 10 Jonathan De Souza, *Music at Hand: Instruments, Bodies, and Cognition*, Oxford Studies in Music Theory (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).
- 11 Marc Bangert and Eckart O. Altenmüller, “Mapping Perception to Action in Piano Practice: A Longitudinal DC-EEG Study,” *BMC Neuroscience* 4 (2003): 26, <https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2202-4-26>.

The term *affordance* comes from J.J. Gibson, the founder of ecological psychology.¹² An object's affordances are its possibilities for action. For example, a guitar affords playing, and a chair affords sitting. Of course, they have other affordances too: I could also stand on the chair, use it to prop up my sheet music, and so forth. All of these possibilities depend on the object's properties and also my abilities. The chair does not afford sitting for a newborn baby, and the guitar is not playable for a goldfish. Affordances, then, are fundamentally relational. Some affordances are based on physics, while others are culturally or technologically produced. The guitar affords harmonics at particular locations, which are determined by the behavior of vibrating strings. Guitar tuning is fairly regular too, but this relies on convention rather than nature. Either way, these affordances are relatively predictable. When the string gets shorter or tighter, its pitch gets higher. Such invariance grounds perception of affordances and is essential for instrumental expertise.

In another experiment, Ulrich C. Drost, Martina Rieger, and Wolfgang Prinz investigated expert musicians' relation to instrumental affordances.¹³ Guitarists were shown an onscreen prompt—"A" or "Am"—and were asked to finger the corresponding chord on a guitar fretboard. When they saw the prompt, they also heard a chord that might or might not match the chord symbol. When a mismatched chord had the timbre of a piano, organ, flute, or voice, it did not significantly affect participants' response time. But when the mismatched chord sounded like a guitar, they were significantly slower to respond. When these researchers did the same experiment with pianists, the participants' performance was compromised by piano and organ sounds. This suggests that pianists were responding not only to a familiar timbre but to the affordances of the keyboard in general. In both cases, musicians were able to ignore distractor sounds that were made by instruments that they did not play. They had a distinctive connection to music for their own instrument, which the researchers described in terms of affordances.

That study used familiar chord shapes, and familiarity is important here. Keith Phillips, Andrew Goldman, and Tyreek Jackson have examined this by using altered auditory feedback.¹⁴ Studies with altered auditory feedback are well established in music psychology, but previous research in this area has focused on the piano.¹⁵ Phillips and colleagues, by contrast, used chord shapes on the guitar. Guitarists would play two versions of the same voicing—one with a familiar shape and one

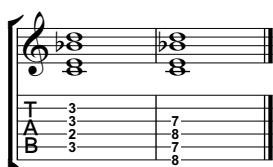
12 James J. Gibson, "The Theory of Affordances," in *Perceiving, Acting, and Knowing: Toward an Ecological Psychology*, ed. Robert Shaw and John Bransford (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1979), 67–82.

13 Ulrich C. Drost, Martina Rieger, and Wolfgang Prinz, "Instrument Specificity in Experienced Musicians," *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology* 60, no. 4 (2007): 527–33, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17470210601154388>.

14 Keith Phillips, Andrew Goldman, and Tyreek Jackson, "Hand Shape Familiarity Affects Guitarists' Perception of Sonic Congruence," *Auditory Perception & Cognition* 2, nos. 1–2 (2019): 82–97, <https://doi.org/10.1080/25742442.2019.1684164>.

15 For research on altered auditory feedback, see Peter Q. Pfordresher, *Sound and Action in Music Performance* (Cambridge, MA: Academic Press, 2019).

Figure 3 Familiar and less familiar fretboard shapes for the same voicing of a C₉ chord (from Phillips, Goldman, and Jackson, “Hand Shape Familiarity Affects Guitarists’ Perception of Sonic Congruence”).



with a relatively unfamiliar shape.¹⁶ **Figure 3** presents two chord shapes from the study. As the notation above the tablature indicates, they produce the same pitches, but the first version is more familiar for most players. In half of the trials, the auditory feedback was altered, so the participants did not hear the exact chord that they were playing. They found it much easier to identify this mismatch between sound and action when the chord shape was familiar. This suggests that some chord shapes had stronger perception-action coupling than others, that less familiar chord shapes are not as closely associated with an auditory image. So, style and habit are important for auditory-motor coupling. A classical guitarist, a rock guitarist, and a jazz guitarist will share some knowledge of their common instrument, but their know-how will not be identical. Instrumental expertise is shaped by a specific cultural context.

Guitarists experience chord shapes in terms of physical action or feel, as well as sound. But hand shapes on the fretboard are also visible.¹⁷ Visual associations are often tested via a Stroop task. The classic Stroop task involves words, written in color. Participants are supposed to ignore the words and name the color, but this is difficult when the words spell out other color names (e.g., when the word “red” is written in blue). The paradigm has been expanded in many ways: for example, in one Stroop-like sight-reading task, pianists find it almost impossible to ignore nonsensical finger markings in their music.¹⁸ Matthew J. C. Crump, Gordon D. Logan, and Jerry Kimbrough used a similar approach to study visual aspects of guitarists’ expertise.¹⁹ They focused on common CAGED-system chords, which were visually represented with photographs of a guitarist’s hand on the fretboard. These photographs were

- 16 James Renwick has systematically investigated fretboard shapes that produce the same voicing (see James Renwick, “Pitch, Voicings, and Fretboard Transformations in Tōru Takemitsu’s ‘Rosedale’” [presentation, Annual Meeting of the Society for Music Theory, November 7, 2021]).
- 17 Of course, vision plays many roles in guitar performance. For example, expert guitarists often look ahead to fretboard locations (before moving or placing the left hand), or speak of visual patterns for chords or scales “lighting up” on the fretboard. Amy Brandon and David Westwood, “How the Guitar Shapes Us,” part 1, *Soundboard* 45, no. 1 (2019): 40.
- 18 Lauren Stewart, Vincent Walsh, and Uta Frith, “Reading Music Modifies Spatial Mapping in Pianists,” *Perception & Psychophysics* 66 (2004): 183–95.
- 19 Matthew J. C. Crump, Gordon D. Logan, and Jerry Kimbrough, “Keeping an Eye on Guitar Skill: Visual Representations of Guitar Chords,” *Music Perception: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 30, no. 1 (2012): 37–47.

combined with sounds to create congruent or incongruent pairs. The pairs were presented in the experiment, and guitarist and non-guitarist participants were asked to identify the visual or auditory information as quickly as possible. Once again, the guitarists were unable fully to ignore the incongruent pairs, and their response time was significantly slower for them. This demonstrates visual aspects of guitar knowledge and indicates that the instrument-based connection between sight, sound, and action is automatic. Because of this (and because guitar lessons typically involve watching and imitating others), cognitive neuroscientists have also used guitar learning to investigate mirror neurons and the brain's action-observation network.²⁰

To play an instrument, then, a musician must recognize its sound-making affordances. And these affordances expand as a player develops new bodily skills and neural connections. This also supports distinctive perceptual habits, different ways of knowing. Musical instruments, then, are not just tools for making sound. They are also cognitive tools or “epistemic tools,” which produce musical knowledge.

Fretboard Theory

Like psychologists, music theorists have begun to consider guitar playing. Traditionally, theory has examined various musical objects, from individual pitch classes to intervals to harmonic progressions to large-scale formal templates. And across these different levels, it has typically valued abstraction. This approach has produced many useful insights, and some degree of abstraction is needed to draw connections between different moments or pieces. Abstract theoretical models tend to downplay performance, yet they might still rely on instrumental knowledge. Arguably, they have implicitly privileged the piano: they imagine pitch space in terms of a keyboard, where each note appears in a single place, ordered in terms of a single dimension, where the natural notes of C major form a referential collection (and other notes require accidentals), where the repeating structure of every octave highlights pitch-class relations.²¹ The fretboard, by contrast, presents a very different kind of space, and this has proved useful for scholars who wish to consider how musical organization might be conditioned by players' bodies and musical instruments.

Already in the early 1990s, the ethnomusicologists John Baily and Peter Driver used guitar playing to investigate musical structure and human movement. They considered the fretboard as “a framework within which actions are planned and executed.”²²

20 Giovanni Buccino et al., “Neural Circuits Underlying Imitation Learning of Hand Actions: An Event-Related fMRI Study,” *Neuron* 42, no. 2 (April 22, 2004): 323–34, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0896-6273\(04\)00181-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0896-6273(04)00181-3); Tom Gardner, Aidan Aglinskas, and Emily S. Cross, “Using Guitar Learning to Probe the Action Observation Network's Response to Visuomotor Familiarity,” *NeuroImage* 156 (August 1, 2017): 174–89, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.neuroimage.2017.04.060>.

21 Alexander Rehding, “Three Music-Theory Lessons,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 141, no. 2 (2016): 251–82.

22 John Baily and Peter Driver, “Spatio-Motor Thinking in Playing Folk Blues Guitar,” *World of Music* 34, no. 3 (1992): 61.

While their main examples came from folk-blues and rock, they were thinking about fretboard space in general, and this article built on Baily's earlier research on long-necked lutes in Afghanistan. For Baily, the guitar, with its six adjacent strings, forms a "tiered array."²³ On the guitar, the Afghan rebab, or many other instruments, the fretting hand can move along the strings or across them. The fretboard, then, has two basic dimensions, and music for it often reveals a "kind of spatial logic."²⁴

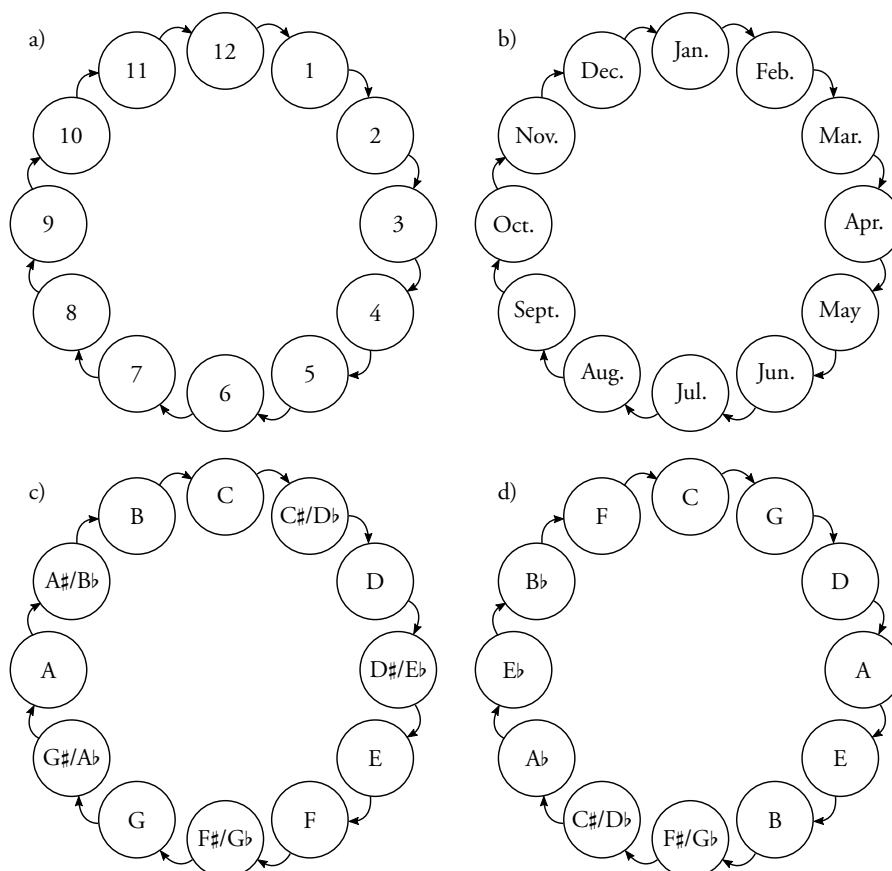
This line of thinking was taken up by music theorists in the twenty-first century. Where Baily and Driver theorized the fretboard's dimensionality, Timothy Koozin examined guitarists' hand shapes. He developed a new theoretical construct—the "fret-interval type"—as "a measure of fretboard hand position."²⁵ Each fret-interval type is a vector with six values, ordered by string number (from 6 to 1). For example, <133211> indicates the standard shape for an F-major barre chord. It's important to note that the numbers in the vector refer to relative fret positions, so that 1 represents the lowest position in the shape, not the first fret. As Koozin explained, "this is like a guitar chord tab, with fret numberings reduced by the factor that will represent the lower boundary or barre as 1."²⁶ In other words, the fret-interval type <133211> stands not only for an F barre chord but also for any barre chord with that shape. Koozin also used the fret-interval type melodically, to represent common scalar shapes. This theoretical tool adds a performance-based element to Koozin's analyses, which consider hand shapes alongside tonal progressions, lyrics, and other musical features.

While the fretting hand forms melodic or chordal shapes on the fretboard, the picking or plucking hand typically activates the sound. Joti Rockwell analyzed fingerpicking patterns in an article on bluegrass banjo.²⁷ To do so, he connected banjo performance to transformational theory. Before discussing Rockwell's analysis, then, let me offer a brief introduction to this music-analytical method.

Transformational theory was developed by David Lewin in the 1980s.²⁸ It models various musical "spaces," and also moves or shapes within them. These spaces might involve pitches and pitch classes, chords or tone rows—but also rhythmic patterns, the arrangement of parts in invertible counterpoint, timbres, or other musical elements. Each of these spaces, however, will be represented by a mathematical group.

- 23 John Baily, "Movement Patterns in Playing the Herati Dutar," in *The Anthropology of the Body*, ed. John Blacking (London and New York: Academic Press, 1977), 310.
- 24 John Baily and Peter Driver, "Spatio-Motor Thinking in Playing Folk Blues Guitar," *World of Music* 34 (1992): 67.
- 25 Timothy Koozin, "Guitar Voicing in Pop-Rock Music: A Performance-Based Analytical Approach," *Music Theory Online* 17, no. 3 (2011): para. 2, <http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.11.17.3/mto.11.17.3.koozin.html>.
- 26 *Ibid.*
- 27 Joti Rockwell, "Banjo Transformations and Bluegrass Rhythm," *Journal of Music Theory* 53, no. 1 (2009): 137–62.
- 28 David Lewin, *Generalized Musical Intervals and Transformations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987). For accessible introductions, see Ramon Satyendra, "An Informal Introduction to Some Formal Concepts from Lewin's Transformational Theory," *Journal of Music Theory* 48, no. 1 (2004): 99–141, <https://doi.org/10.1215/00222909-48-1-99>; Steven Rings, *Tonality and Transformation*, Oxford Studies in Music Theory (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), chap. 1.

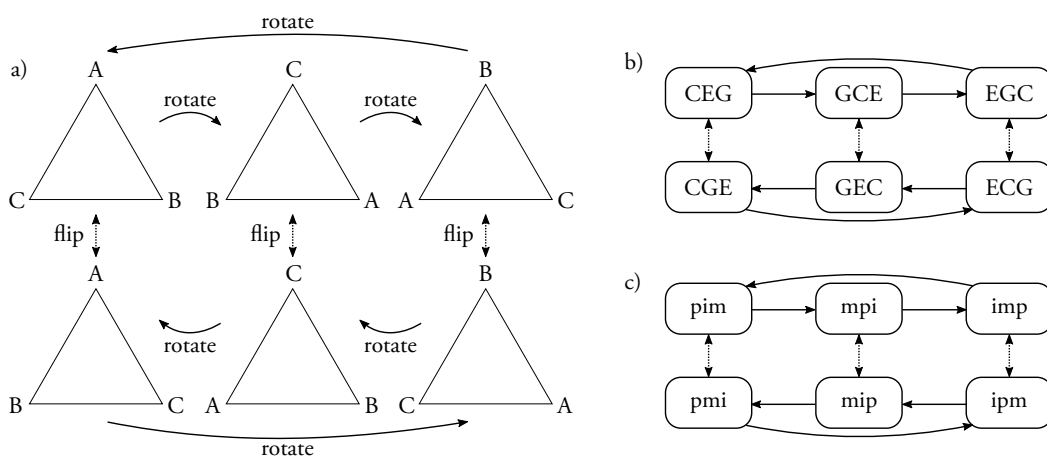
Figure 4 A cyclic group with twelve elements can model (a) the hours on a clockface, (b) the months of the year, (c) the chromatic scale, or (d) the cycle of fifths.



At a basic level, a mathematical group involves a set of related elements. For example, the numbers on a clockface form a group with twelve elements. This same group can be used to model the months of the year, the pitch classes of the chromatic scale, or the cycle of fifths. **Figure 4** visualizes these spaces through transformation networks, where each node includes an element, and each arrow represents a relation. If you start at any element and move, say, “two steps clockwise,” you will find yourself at another element in the group. That move can be repeated or combined with other moves: “two steps clockwise” plus “one step clockwise” takes you to the same place as “three steps clockwise.” The move can also be reversed, so that “two steps counter-clockwise” takes you back to your starting point. Importantly, transformations do not only apply to individual elements. They can also affect sets or shapes with multiple elements. As Lewin puts it, transformations let you change one gestalt into another gestalt “as regards content, or location, or anything else.”²⁹ Though this method of analysis is

29 David Lewin, *Generalized Musical Intervals and Transformations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 159.

Figure 5 The rotations and flips of an equilateral triangle (a) also form a mathematical group, which corresponds to the permutations of a triad (b) and banjo fingering patterns (c).



highly formalized, Lewin wanted to cultivate a view from “inside” the music, taking a performer’s perspective.³⁰

Bluegrass banjo picking uses the thumb and two fingers, and this is reflected in the group that underlies Rockwell’s analysis. **Figure 5a** imagines this group in terms of a triangle with equal sides. If you always keep one corner pointing up, there are six different ways of placing the triangle. The arrows in the figure show how these positions relate to each other by rotating and flipping. This group has been used to analyze triadic permutations (as in **figure 5b**), chromatic chord progressions, and invertible counterpoint in J. S. Bach’s three-part sinfonias.³¹ Yet, as Rockwell showed, these triangles also correspond to the three-finger “rolls” that are foundational to bluegrass banjo picking, such as the forward roll (p, i, m) and the backward roll (m, i, p) (see **figure 4c**). He analyzed these physical patterns and considered how they create cross rhythms—groups of three eighth notes within common time, which create syncopation—and contribute to a sense of drive.

Related fingering patterns can be found in classical guitar repertoire. **Figure 6** presents the opening of Sor’s *Étude in E minor*, op. 6, no. 11. Here Andrés Segovia’s edition indicates a repeating cycle, involving the index, middle, and ring fingers (although Sor himself likely played this pattern with thumb, index, and middle fingers).³² The triplets fit the metrical structure, unlike the cross rhythms that Rockwell analyzes.

30 For discussion of theory and performance, see David Lewin, “Music Theory, Phenomenology, and Modes of Perception,” *Music Perception* 3 (1986): 327–92.

31 Daniel Harrison, “Some Group Properties of Triple Counterpoint and Their Influence on Compositions by J. S. Bach,” *Journal of Music Theory* 32 (1988): 23–49; De Souza, *Music at Hand*, chap. 5.

32 On Sor’s fingering, see David Tanenbaum, *The Essential Studies: Fernando Sor’s 20 Estudios* (San Francisco: Guitar Solo, 1991), 52.

Yet the finger cycle does not necessarily begin on the beat. It is possible to imagine this as an (a, i, m) cycle, starting on the second beat. But it can also be imagined as a kind of forward roll, a repeating (i, m, a) cycle. This physical cycle would start just after each beat, on the second triplet, and lead into the next beat (much as the melody's first three notes lead to the E on the downbeat of m. 2). In this way, the performative pattern might again subtly push against the meter and contribute to a certain sense of forward motion or drive. Similarly, in the second section of Benjamin Britten's *Nocturnal after John Dowland*, op. 70, Julian Bream's fingering begins with a three-finger cycle (a, i, p) that resembles the backward roll (see **figure 7**). Here, at the last note of m. 1, the fingers reverse: the thumb, which previously came before the ring finger, now comes after it (a, p). Of course, where banjo players typically use three fingers, guitarists typically use four. With this in mind, Nathan Smith has recently extended Rockwell's transformational model by using a larger four-element group to represent finger patterns.³³ For example, this allows for formal analysis of the right hand in Brouwer's sixth simple study. The étude's opening appears in **figure 8**. In mm. 1–22, (p, a, m, i) is always followed by two (a, m, i, p)s. Note that the first group (p, a, m, i) is a rotation of the second (a, m, i, p), and the second is a kind of four-finger backwards roll.

In Brouwer's study, the order of the right-hand fingers initially corresponds to the notes' order in pitch space. The thumb plays the lowest note, and so on. In mm. 13–14, however, the index finger plays a note that is higher than the middle finger's note. (This foreshadows the relation between plucking and pitch contour in mm. 23–30, where the meter shifts from 3/4 to 2/4 and the (p, a, m, i) motion continues throughout.) Similarly, in Britten's opening, the highest string in the passage plays the middle note, so that the descending contour in finger space or cross-string space corresponds to a wavelike melodic shape. Again, this is possible because of the guitar's affordances, because of the structure of its musical space.

My 2018 article "Fretboard Transformations" examined the instrument as a musical space and analyzed shapes within it.³⁴ This theoretical model does not analyze pitches directly. After all, many pitches can be played in multiple places on the fretboard, and their locations can change with altered tuning.³⁵ And, as the Britten example in **figure 7** shows, lower notes can appear on higher strings (and vice versa). Instead, I focused on fretboard locations. Every spot on the fretboard can be represented by a pair of numbers, where the first number labels the fret and the second number

33 Nathan Smith, "Formalizing the Fretboard's Phantasmic Fingers" (presentation, The 21st-Century Guitar Conference, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal, March 24, 2021), <http://www.21cguitar.com/livestream>.

34 Jonathan De Souza, "Fretboard Transformations," *Journal of Music Theory* 62, no. 1 (2018): 1–39.

35 With unfamiliar altered tunings, fretboard locations might be more salient than pitches. For example, as I've discussed elsewhere, the jazz guitarist Kurt Rosenwinkel disrupts his habits by using unusual tunings, so he does not consciously know what the notes are (De Souza, *Music at Hand*, chap. 4; see also Jonathan De Souza, "Instrumental Transformations in Heinrich Biber's *Mystery Sonatas*," *Music Theory Online* 26, no. 4 [2020], <https://doi.org/10.30535/mto.26.4.1>).

Figure 6 Fernando Sor, *Étude in E minor, op. 6, no. 11*, mm. 1–2, edited by Andrés Segovia.

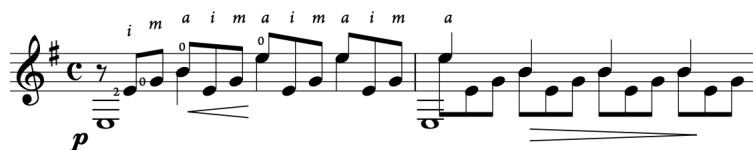


Figure 7 Benjamin Britten, *Nocturnal after John Dowland*, op. 70 (1963), second movement, mm. 1–2.



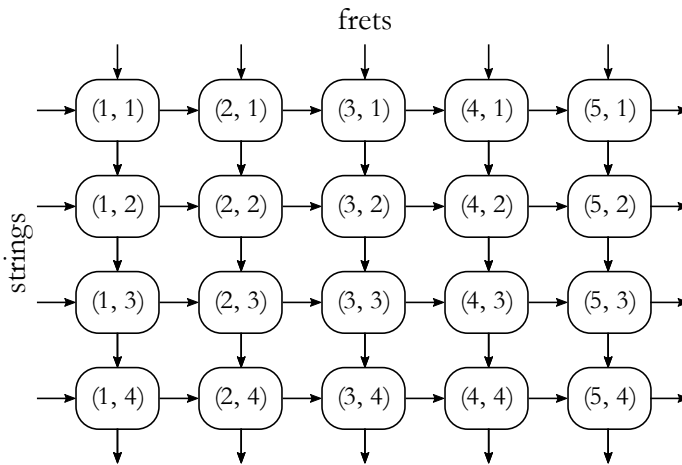
Figure 8 Leo Brouwer, *Estudios Sencillos, no. 6* (1972), mm. 1–2.



labels the string. For example, the second note in that Britten example appears at the eighth fret on the fifth string, (8, 5). The subsequent note is at the eighth fret on the sixth string, (8, 6). The transformation (0, +1) takes one to the other, staying at the same fret but moving down one string. **Figure 9** maps the underlying space here, which resembles a Cartesian plane with x, y coordinates. Its two dimensions, already identified by Baily and Driver, allow for movement along and across the strings.

My transformational model offers new ways to measure distances in fretboard space. Nicholas Shea used this in a recent corpus study of pop-rock guitar music. Corpus analysis is increasingly common in twenty-first-century music theory. Instead of analyzing individual pieces or performances, it engages a larger body (i.e., “corpus”) of works. This can reveal stylistic norms and statistically significant trends. Shea analyzed nearly five hundred pop and rock songs from 1954 to 2019. One of his key questions involved fretboard space and musical form. In guitar music, a formal section might be associated with a particular zone on the fretboard. In such cases, the transitional move that sets up a new section might be larger than the moves within a section. Of course, this might also involve a change in register. So, are formal transitions predicted by fret distances, pitch distances, or both? In Shea’s statistical analysis, both fret distances and pitch distances were highly significant, yet the fret

Figure 9 Any point on the fretboard can be labeled with a fret number and string number, which creates a two-dimensional space.



distances had a larger effect. These results suggest that “performative transitions on an instrument potentially have greater bearing on formal organization and segmentation than pitch data.”³⁶ This supports Shea’s broader argument that the structure of pop-rock music is influenced by the affordances of the guitar.

Transformational theory also goes beyond measurements. It is possible to transpose fretboard shapes along or across the strings (as discussed in my analysis of Eddie Van Halen’s solo piece, “Cathedral”).³⁷ It is also possible to invert fretboard shapes in either dimension. For example, common fretboard shapes for D and D7 are related by along-string inversion. But the possibilities for transforming shapes are endless. For example, custom transformations have been used to analyze pivoting gestures by the jazz guitarist Kurt Rosenwinkel and expanding/contracting gestures in a mandolin part by Mark O’Connor.³⁸ New fretboard transformations can be created as needed, to change one gestalt into another.

As an example, let’s return to Joan Carles Amat’s musical circle from *Guitarra española*. On an abstract level, it corresponds to a series of major and then minor triads, related by falling perfect fifths. Yet it also enacts a transformational process involving fretboard shapes. Every shape involves all five courses of the baroque guitar. **Figures 10a** and **10b** show two ways of representing this transformation. For convenience, we can call it “J” (transformations can be labeled with letters or names, and in this case, “J” might stand for Joan). With this transformation J, most fret positions move to the next highest string. The fret on the highest string wraps around to the lowest, and this is shown by a dotted arrow in the figure. At the same time, when the

36 Nicholas J. Shea, “Ecological Models of Musical Structure in Pop-Rock, 1950–2019” (ProQuest Dissertations, 2020), 122, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/2489204736>.

37 Van Halen’s “Cathedral” is a canon for electric guitar and delay pedal. See De Souza, “Fretboard Transformations,” 16–25.

38 See De Souza, *Music at Hand*, 88–97; “Fretboard Transformations,” 31–35.

fret on the third string moves to the second string, it increases by one (to account for the major third between those strings). The figure shows this departure with a dashed arrow. Overall, then, the fretboard shape nearly rotates in across-string space.³⁹ The J transformation accounts for every transition in the top and bottom half of figure 1. Amat applies this transformational process to two familiar chord shapes for E major and E minor (see figures 10c and 10d, respectively). But in principle, any fretboard shape could serve as a starting point.⁴⁰ For example, figure 10e launches the same process from the dominant seventh E7. Because each iteration of J increases a single fret position by one, the entire shape is transposed up one fret along the string after five repetitions (e.g., $J^5 = (+1, 0)$). From this point onward, all of the open strings will have disappeared, and the remaining voicings will repeat the first five shapes as barré chords. After eleven iterations, every triad has been presented once (and because the fretboard positions are not marked with sharps or flats, there is no spot where enharmonic equivalence is explicitly invoked). The twelfth step in the process would return to E but with a different voicing.⁴¹ Of course, this process could continue indefinitely, creeping up the fretboard. Ultimately, Amat's diagram reveals a dual awareness involving sounding chords and also interrelated fretboard shapes—a kind of awareness that is still familiar to guitarists more than four centuries later. And while earlier music theorists might have focused on the harmonic aspects of Amat's groundbreaking musical cycle, music theorists today are increasingly curious about its guitaristic features too.

Two Simple Studies

For a final case study, let's return to Brouwer's *Simple Studies*. "It's not the music which is simple," the composer explains. "I always have a complicated harmony or meaning or lines or broken figures in the music, which is not simple. What is simple is the way to play. Simplicity for fingers; complexity for ear."⁴² The pieces are complex for the

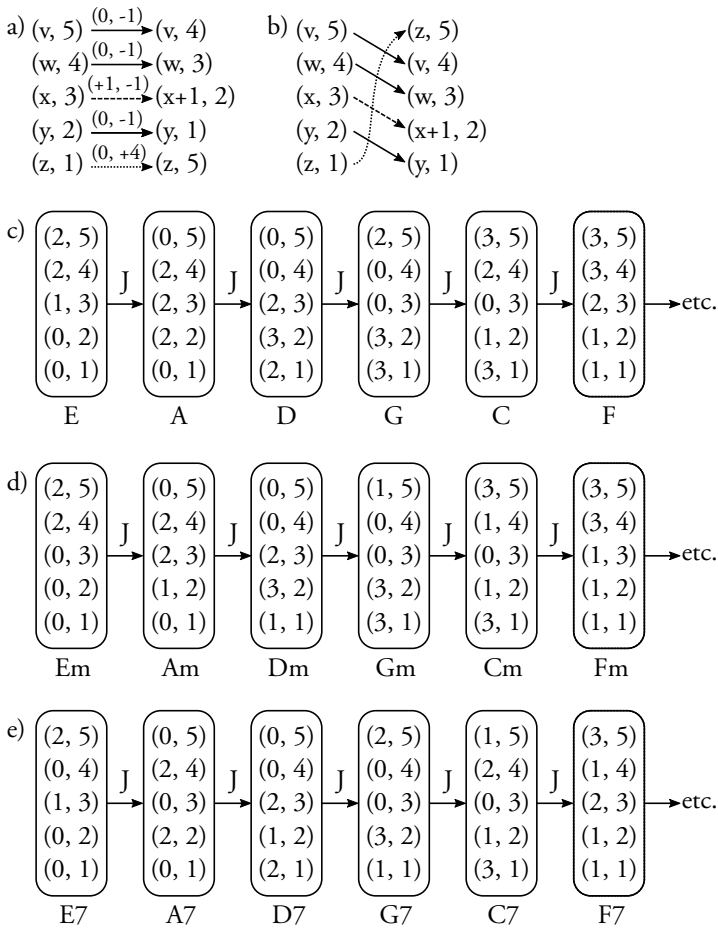
39 In "Fretboard Transformations" (7n9), I doubted the value of a rotational perspective on the fretboard. Thanks to Mark Simos for a conversation that helped me to change my mind.

40 At the same time, Amat's starting point is not arbitrary. This becomes clear when we reverse the process. To undo the transformation J, the shape would rotate from higher to lower strings, and the fret value that goes from the second to third strings would decrease by 1. Mathematically, this inverse of J would be labeled with a negative exponent, J^{-1} . When J^{-1} is applied to either major or minor starting chords, the open B string moves to fret -1 on the G string! Obviously, this fretboard shape is unplayable, even though it's theoretically conceivable.

41 My transformational model can help us answer various theoretical questions about this process. For example, when will E reappear with a higher version of the first shape? Remembering that $J^5 = (+1, 0)$, we can calculate the answer: $(+12, 0) = J^{60}$. To take the original shape up an octave (twelve frets), Amat's transformation must be repeated sixty times. That is, the original shape for E won't reappear until all twelve triads have taken all five fretboard shapes ($12 \text{ triads} \times 5 \text{ shapes} = 60$).

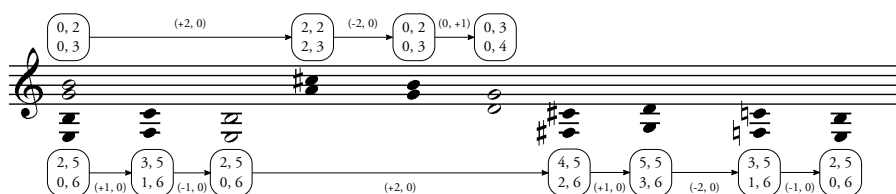
42 Leo Brouwer, "Leo Brouwer Teaches 'Estudios Sencillos,'" YouTube video, *Tonebase Guitar*, December 2, 2018, <https://youtu.be/2IWN8NWfZA>.

Figure 10 The transformation J nearly rotates a fretboard shape across the strings: (a) and (b) illustrate the mapping; (c), (d), and (e) start this process with a major, minor, and dominant seventh chord, respectively.



eye as well as the ear. And what about the mind? It is possible to construct a complex analysis of these pieces, focusing on the harmonic and contrapuntal challenges of their modern musical idiom. But if the mind follows the fingers, the études are much more simple. The fingers reveal when two apparently different moments are based on the same gesture. Conversely, they also help us understand when a musical element that is apparently the same is, in fact, produced in a different way. Take the interval between E₂ and B₂. According to traditional theory, this is simply a perfect fifth. But on a guitar in standard tuning, there are two distinct realizations: this fifth spans from (0, 6) to (2, 5), corresponding to the fretboard transformation (+2, -1) (i.e., up two frets and up one string); it also appears from (0, 6) to (7, 6), moving up seven frets along the same string (+7, 0). Though they sound the exact same pitches, Brouwer's études show that these fretboard intervals are not interchangeable for the fingers, even if they are equivalent for the ears.

Figure 11 Pitch reduction and fretboard transformations for Brouwer, *Estudios sencillos*, no. 1, mm. 5–15.



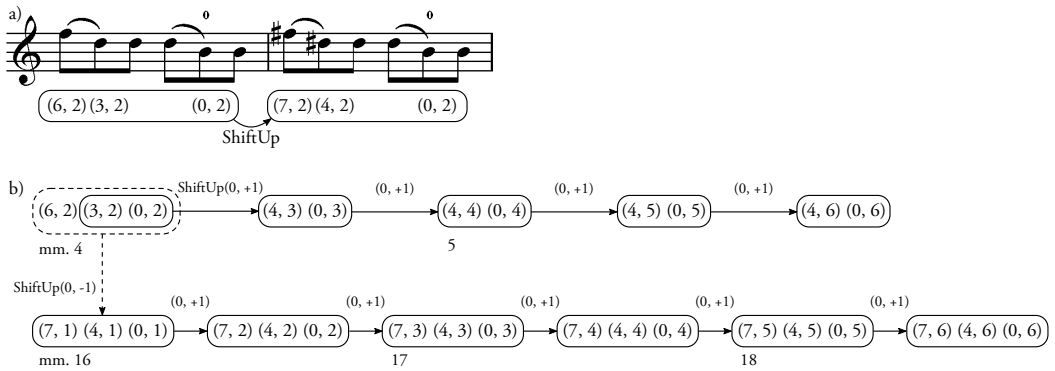
The cross-string perfect fifth (2, 5)–(0, 6) features in the set’s first étude. This étude begins with a melody in the bass, interlocking with a repeated third on the open G and B strings. The perfect fifth first appears in the accented pickup to m. 3, at the end of the initial phrase. It emerges as a motif in the étude after that melody’s echo. **Figure 11** traces Brouwer’s use of this fifth throughout the piece, combining transformational networks with a pitch reduction. In mm. 5, it shifts up one fret, while the pulsing open strings continue, and this back-and-forth continues through m. 9. In m. 11, the open-string pair shifts down one string by (0, +1)—the sounding major third becomes a perfect fourth, though the performance gesture is almost identical. Next, Brouwer returns to the cross-string fifth: in mm. 12–14, it shifts up two frets, then one fret. The process reverses, shifting down two frets and finally—after a delay that intensifies the climactic return—down one more fret. Note how the fretboard moves are inverted here: (+2, 0), (+1, 0) turns into (–2, 0), (–1, 0). The original fifth arrives at the end of m. 15, played fortissimo and *marcato*. This motivic fifth always involves the fifth and sixth strings.

In terms of fret distance, this cross-string fifth has a kinship with the (± 2 , 0) gestures that appear throughout the étude. This two-fret whole tone is especially emphasized in mm. 9–10 (shown above the staff in figure 11). But this might also explain why the melodic echo in mm. 3–4 replaces C (3, 5) with C# (4, 5). With this adjustment, the fingering on the A string matches the earlier pattern on the D string, which was also built from (± 2 , 0)s. In that echo, all of the fret numbers are even. That C#, two frets above the top note of the fifth, also features in the brief retransition (mm. 16–17), which connects the *marcato* fifth with the reprise in m. 18.

Étude 7, by contrast, highlights the along-string version of the E2–B2 fifth: this interval is repeated in m. 13, at the étude’s midpoint (the entire piece is 26 measures long). In my view, it derives from the opening gesture. This ascending gesture juxtaposes an across-string C-minor triad and an along-string B-diminished triad. In m. 4, the diminished triad is inverted, setting off a descent in which a third repeats above each open string. **Figure 12a** illustrates a relevant transformation that I call ShiftUp.⁴³ ShiftUp holds open strings in place and moves all other frets up by one. **Figure 12b** shows how ShiftUp is applied to the end of the diminished triad, generating

43 De Souza, “Fretboard Transformations,” 27–29.

Figure 12 (a) The transformation ShiftUp holds open strings in place and moves all other fret positions up by 1; (b) transformation network for along-string gestures in Brouwer, *Estudios sencillos*, no. 7, mm. 4–5 and 16–18.



the major thirds that descend across the strings. The bottom half of that network charts an expanded version of this descent (mm. 16–18), in which the entire diminished-triad gesture is changed into a major triad via ShiftUp. From this perspective, the central motif might be less about diminished versus major triads, and more about a fingered minor third somewhere above an open string. The repeated fifth at the midpoint emerges from this motif too: it is preceded by the (4, 6), which grounds a chromatically filled-in minor third between G#2 and B2. The underlying ((4, 6), (7, 6), (0, 6)) here is a rotated and flipped version of the pattern from the end of m. 18. The piece’s final section splits the minor third, where both notes are fingered, and the major third, where the lower note is an open string. The ringing major seventh that punctuates (and closes) the étude provides contrast. But the interval from the low open E to that seventh’s top note is a compound perfect fifth, E2–B4, and it again spans seven frets, (+7, –5). In that sense, this contrasting element again relates to the along-string fifth, (+7, 0).

In these études, Brouwer’s motifs combine both fingering patterns and sounding patterns. This can create a tension between performers’ and listeners’ experience, making the pieces sound more complex than they feel. Yet it also raises questions about performance and composition, which Brouwer discussed at the 2018 GFA Convention:

He talked about the importance of composing away from the guitar. He mimed picking up a guitar and fingering a chord: “It sounds marvelous!” Then he mimed sliding the chord shape higher up the fingerboard: “Marvelous again!” Then he mimed moving it again: “Still marvelous!” Then came the critique: “But who is composing? You or the guitar?”⁴⁴

44 Jonathan Leathwood, personal communication, October 26, 2020.

You *or* the guitar? Why not both? Of course, the guitar doesn't compose independently. But, in a sense, neither does the composer. Even when Brouwer composes on paper, he draws on lifelong experience with the instrument. On some level, he still thinks like a guitarist. This doesn't mean that Brouwer's creative work is determined by the instrument. Not at all! Rather, it suggests that composition is relational. His compositions reflect his embodied relationship with and knowledge of the instrument. As I wrote in *Music at Hand*, "The instrument might not be an autonomous agent—but, in a sense, neither am I. My own embodied agency is distributed; my actions respond to the instrument's call."⁴⁵

Conclusions

Amat's sixteenth-century musical circle shows how the guitar has influenced music theory. Yet the guitar and guitar playing have also emerged as topics for theoretical and scientific research in the twenty-first century. Psychological studies of guitar playing explore affordances, bodily skills, perception, and cognition. These topics have implications for our understanding of the brain, performance, and imagination. Meanwhile, music theorists have considered ways in which the structure of the guitar affects musical organization and players' experience. Drawing on transformational theory and other methods, they have analyzed hand shapes, fingerpicking patterns, and the fretboard as a musical space.

In both cognitive science and music theory, there is still much to be learned. For example, my colleagues and I are preparing an experiment that will compare responses to idiomatic chord voicings and voicings that are impossible to play on a guitar in standard tuning. MIDI guitar technology will also make it easier to adapt keyboard-based experiments, involving altered auditory feedback or other paradigms, to guitar research. To date, much of the music-theoretical research on the guitar has focused on rock and other popular genres. New insights will emerge from performance-based analysis of classical guitar repertoire but also of non-Western music for guitar and other fretted instruments. A recent contribution here is Toru Momii's analysis of contemporary music for shamisen, a three-stringed lute-like instrument from Japan.⁴⁶ While it draws on transformational theory, this work also engages with Japanese theoretical perspectives. For example, shamisen players' concept of *te* describes "recurring melodic patterns and their characteristic fingerings, hand positions, and performance techniques." As Momii shows, music theorists must work to overcome the discipline's traditional biases—and will benefit from greater dialogue with performers. Similarly, Daphne Leong's *Performing Knowledge*—which

45 De Souza, *Music at Hand*, 80–81. For a discussion of instrumental composition and Bach's lute music, see *ibid.*, chap. 5.

46 Toru Momii, "Performing *Te*: Gesture, Form, and Interculturality in Dai Fujikura's *neo* for Solo Shamisen" (presentation, Annual Meeting of the Society for Music Theory, November 7, 2020).

includes a chapter on Elliott Carter’s *Changes* (1983), cocreated with Jonathan Leathwood—points toward a more collaborative future for music-theoretical research.⁴⁷

This work could have practical implications too, informing pedagogy, the process of learning or memorizing new pieces, or composing for the guitar. For example, thinking in terms of fretboard transformations might be especially useful when alternate tunings disrupt the familiar mapping between fret locations and pitches. But this perspective is not new. As Amat’s tablature indicates, guitarists have understood this, implicitly or explicitly, for centuries.

Ultimately, music is not just sound. For any instrumentalist, music also involves physical actions, instrumental affordances, and visual patterns. For a guitarist, these are grounded in the two-dimensional matrix of the fretboard. Of course, this does not mean that all guitarists think the same way. Style matters. Classical, jazz, and rock guitarists focus on different instrumental possibilities and cultivate different techniques and habits. And many guitarists have other musical skills (related to composition, keyboard, singing, etc.), which offer other ways of experiencing and thinking about music. All the same, any guitarist has access to a kind of musical experience that is only made possible by the instrument. In my view, that’s what it means to be a guitarist—to know music in a way that is deeply embodied and deeply influenced by this incredible musical technology.



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⁴⁷ Leong, *Performing Knowledge*, chap. 8.

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“The Lutenist!”

Anxieties, Ambiguities, and Deviations in Julian Bream’s Discography

SIDNEY MOLINA

Translated by Diogo Alvarez

Poetic influence, to many critics, is just something that happens, a transmission of ideas and images, and whether or not influence causes anxiety in the later poet is regarded as a problem of temperament or circumstance. But the ephebe cannot be Adam early in the morning. There have been too many Adams, and they have named everything. The burden of unnamings prompts the true wars fought under the banner of poetic influence, wars waged by the perversity of the spirit against the wealth accumulated by the spirit, the wealth of tradition.

—Harold Bloom, *Yeats*¹

OCTOBER 14, 2019, saw the passing of the critic Harold Bloom (1930–2019), a central figure in literary studies from the 1970s onward. With a memory that evoked Borges’s Library of Babel, Bloom was known to spend parts of his classes quoting by heart entire scenes by Shakespeare or poems by Emily Dickinson. And yet, aware as he was of the several transmigrations of his (now famed) theory of influence to other art forms—music among them—he never dared pass judgment on the subject of composition or musical interpretation.

In my 2003 book *Mahler in Schoenberg: Anxiety of Influence in Chamber Symphony no. 1*,² I tested Bloom’s notions in the context of instrumental music, accepting the conceptual leap necessary to adapt them to a non-verbal language and its peculiarities. Taking this project further, my doctoral dissertation, “The Guitar in the Album Era: Interpretation and Misreading in the Art of Julian Bream” (2006),³ sought to broaden

1 Harold Bloom, *Yeats* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 4.

2 Sidney Molina, *Mahler em Schoenberg: Angústia da influência na Sinfonia de Câmara n.1* (São Paulo: Rondó, 2003); originally a master’s thesis from 2001.

3 “O violão na era do disco: Interpretação e desleitura na arte de Julian Bream” (doctoral diss., Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo, 2006).

the focus from composition to performance—in particular, to guitar performance and the question of Andrés Segovia’s influence on Julian Bream.

My one brief encounter with Bloom took place at his home near Yale University, in October 2012—more than eleven years after defending my master’s thesis and six years after my doctorate. To my amazement, Bloom told me that he had read the book *Mahler in Schoenberg* (in the original Portuguese), following keenly the arguments found in between the more technical musical analyses. On that occasion I gave him a bound copy of my doctoral dissertation, and on reading the title, he exclaimed, “Oh, Julian Bream...the lutenist!”

Bloom’s junior by three years, Julian Bream died ten months to the day after him, on August 14, 2020. Musician and critic belonged to the same generation; they lived in the same world.

I

ACCORDING TO BLOOM, “Poetry begins, always, when someone who is going to become a poet reads a poem.” Thus, “to see how fully he reads that poem we will have to see the poem that he himself will write,” which will thus be *his own* “reading.” Bloom further states that “if we are talking about two strong poets, then the reading we are talking about is necessarily a mis-reading or . . . a poetic misprision.” Since our two “strong poets,” Segovia and Bream, are musicians, it is the analogous activity of *listening* that will lead to interpretation. This reading-listening will necessarily be, in Bloom’s conception, a poetic misreading or misprision.⁴

In this context, *poetic embodiment*, that is, what makes a poet a poet—or a musician a musician—necessarily involves the artistic struggle of the younger artist with their immediate predecessor, their *poetic parent*.

Therefore—adapting Bloom’s terminology—an “ephebic instrumentalist” must misread their precursor, if their performance is not to be epigonic, idealized, weak. Yet this does not in the least imply that they will imitate their precursor’s style of playing, sound, choice of repertoire, or rhetoric. Quite the opposite, because for Bloom, “since poetic influence is necessarily misprision, a taking or doing amiss of one’s burden, it is to be expected that such a process of malformation and misinterpretation will, at the very least, produce deviations in style between strong poets.”⁵

Since this argument is not always fully grasped—even in other studies engaged in musical analysis based on Bloom’s theory⁶—it deserves special attention: strong

4 Harold Bloom, “The Necessity of Misreading,” *Georgia Review* 29, no. 2 (Summer 1975): 275. This first part of the article employs, rather freely, ideas and quotes found in chapters from two of my earlier writings: “A dialética pragmática de Harold Bloom” in *Mahler em Schoenberg*, 1–21; and “Performance musical como desleitura” in “O violão na era do disco,” 1–35.

5 Harold Bloom, *A Map of Misreading* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 20.

6 An attempt—distorted in my opinion—to apply Bloom’s theory to musical studies can be found in Joseph N. Straus, *Remaking the Past: Musical Modernism and the Influence of the Tonal Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).

influence, in the sense used by the American critic, is quite distinct from citation, from quotation, from the controlled, conscious incorporation of previous sources; it is a key element of an artist's art, the voice (or ghost) of another within a work (and not within a person). To be influenced, for Bloom, is to deviate from the precursor; it is to accept the cost of begetting one's own artistic self.

Seeking to inspire a more practical, less idealized form of criticism, Bloom proposed a map of *revisionary ratios*—a sixfold cycle that represents the main stages of poetic embodiment and the dialectics of influence.⁷ These stages (or categories) can help us understand the process by which a performer misreads the work of an earlier generation, as we shall see when we analyze Bream's discography in relation to Segovia's.

Bloom's stages are never to be applied literally; they are merely clues to help the critic dissect the pragmatic dialectics of influence. The whole cycle can be summed up in three key moments: (1) the initial ironic deviation from the precursor's work;⁸ (2) the emergence of a hyperbolic, creative imagination based on the precursor's work; and (3) the projection or introjection of the precursor. These three moments have a variety of possible applications. They may be used to identify landmarks in the lifelong development of the poet *qua* poet in relation to the poetic parent (who elected them as they once were elected)—characterizing movements of expansion and retraction along the artist's path, from its earliest to its last stages. And with equal validity, they may describe instances and tendencies within a poetic text itself—in this case, a musical interpretation.

In music, by focusing on discography, we of course take advantage of the fact that Bloom (here too recalling Borges) locates the problem of literary signification in the realm of reading: that is, he establishes a relationship between *reading* and *writing*:

The reader is to the poem what the poet is to his precursor—every reader is therefore an ephebe, every poem a forerunner, and every reading an act of “influencing,” that is, of being influenced by the poem and of influencing any other reader to whom your reading is communicated.⁹

7 [In this paragraph, *idealized* and *practical* are Bloom's terms: *idealized* describes a critical approach that attaches no significance to poetic influence, seeking rather to understand a single poem as an entity in itself; a *practical* approach, by contrast, interprets a poem as a reading of what came before it. See *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*, 2nd ed. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 43. For reference, here are the six revisionary ratios of poetic influence as they appear on the contents page of *The Anxiety of Influence* (p. x; see also the summary on pp. 14–16): (1) *clinamen* or poetic misprision; (2) *tessera* or completion and antithesis; (3) *kenosis* or repetition and discontinuity; (4) *daemonization* or the counter-sublime; (5) *askesis* or purgation and solipsism; (6) *apophrades* or the return of the dead.—Ed.]

8 [The word *ironic* may be surprising here. For Bloom, when the later poet deviates from the earlier poet, it is first in the form of a correction, as though to say, “Just here is the direction you should have taken.” But this correction necessarily depends on the later poet's misreading of the parent work. The act of writing a new poem, therefore, leads to both ambiguity and irony—the suggestion of rich and incongruous meanings beyond the literal words of the poem. Cf. Bloom's first stage of poetic influence, “*clinamen* or poetic misprision.”—Ed.]

9 Harold Bloom, “The Necessity of Misreading,” 268.

For our purposes, this can be parodied and turned into a relationship between *musical listening* and *performance*:

The listener is to the recording what the interpreter is to his precursor — every listener is therefore an ephebe, every musical recording a forerunner, and every listening an act of “influencing,” that is, of being influenced by the recording and of influencing any other listener to whom your listening is communicated.

II

OVER THE COURSE OF HIS CAREER, Julian Bream released some fifty albums: the first when he was twenty-two years old, the last when he was sixty-two. Of these fifty, seven are solo lute LPs — three dedicated solely to the music of John Dowland, and five with the tenor Peter Pears. This count excludes re-releases, compilations, and live concert recordings unearthed after Bream’s retirement.

In our classification of Bream’s discography — directly inspired by Bloom’s six categories¹⁰ — the first phase (ironic deviation from the predecessor) consists of his first six LPs, recorded between 1955 and 1958, when he was less than twenty-five years old.¹¹ These albums precede his contract with RCA, which encompasses the four later phases; therefore, none of these first six records is included in the RCA retrospective released in 2013 — a box of forty CDs and two DVDs.¹² Of the six discs that make up this first phase, three present Bream playing the lute, not the guitar; and two — including the first one of his career — were chamber projects in a voice-lute duo with Pears. In his second solo guitar LP, from 1956, Bream presents what seems to be the first complete recording of Villa-Lobos’s Five Preludes.

The second period (the period in which, in Bloomian terms, the younger artist complements, completes, or extends the work of the older artist)¹³ spans the period from when Bream was twenty-six to when he was thirty-one years old. It starts with his signing a contract with the record label RCA, to which Bream would be connected

10 For this brief summary of Bream’s discographic career through the lens of Harold Bloom’s categories, I am taking as a basis my article “Julian Bream: Interpretação musical como obra autoral” [Julian Bream: Musical Interpretation as Authorial Work], written and published on the day of the English guitarist’s death, August 14, 2020, in *Acervo Digital do Violão Brasileiro* (see <https://www.violaobrasileiro.com.br/blog/julian-bream-interpretacao-musical-como-obra-autoral/368>). [Since this work is not available in English, this section includes some editorial footnotes, approved by the author, whose purpose is to make the connection with Bloom’s six categories more explicit.—Ed.]

11 [In this paragraph, “the ironic deviation from the predecessor” refers to Bloom’s first revisionary ratio, “*clinamen* or poetic misprision.”—Ed.]

12 *Classical Guitar Anthology: Julian Bream; The Complete RCA Album Collection* (RCA/Sony, 2013).

13 [Bloom calls his second revisionary ratio “*tessera* or completion and antithesis.” The antithesis arises from the argument — made implicitly in the work of the younger artist — that the older artist was on the right track but did not go far enough, a failing that the younger artist seeks to remedy.—Ed.]

for over thirty years. There are nine albums in this period, spanning from 1959 to 1964: two more albums with tenor Peter Pears (one with lute — recorded live — and the other with guitar), two albums performing with orchestras, one with his own early music ensemble (the Julian Bream Consort), a solo lute album, and three solo guitar projects. This is when Bream records the first works that were dedicated to him by English composers, such as Lennox Berkeley's *Sonatina* and Malcolm Arnold's *Concerto*.

Included in the third period is a historic album tetralogy: *Baroque Guitar* (1965), *20th Century Guitar* (1966), *Classic Guitar* (1968), and *Romantic Guitar* (1970), interspersed by lute records and albums with the harpsichordist George Malcolm. In this tetralogy, Julian Bream seems to reverse Segovia's discographic concept — the "LP-recital" — moving towards a concept of themed albums and a rhetoric that one might call "instruction in sound" — the album as wordless essay. Among the new works presented here is Benjamin Britten's emblematic *Nocturnal*, acclaimed as one of the greatest compositions for guitar in all its history. In terms of Bloom's theory, the interpreter now minimizes the importance of interpretation itself — thus minimizing the role of the precursor.¹⁴

In the following period — marking a shift toward the counter-sublime, that is, a sublimity counter in nature to that of the precursor¹⁵ — there would be eleven more albums, recorded between 1971 and 1978, when the artist was between thirty-eight and forty-five years old. Only four of the albums in this span are solo guitar albums; indeed, two of them feature the participation of orchestras. Two of these four solo guitar albums are devoted entirely to Villa-Lobos: the first from 1971, including the famous recording of the *Concerto* with the London Symphony Orchestra, conducted by André Previn; and the second from 1977, containing the complete *Studies*. In two other albums, Bream performs as a soloist with the Monteverdi Orchestra, under Gardiner's baton. There are also two solo lute albums, one of them being — once again — entirely dedicated to Dowland. Finally, there are the three albums recorded with John Williams, of which the last was recorded live. In seven of the period's eleven records, there are other musicians, ensembles, or orchestras by Bream's side. Also included in this phase is the album *Julian Bream 70s*, a record with compositions written for him by William Walton — the first recording of the instantly famous *Five Bagatelles* — Richard Rodney Bennett, Alan Rawsthorne, and Lennox Berkeley. The 1974 album, meanwhile, restores to the repertoire Mauro Giuliani's seminal *Rossiniane*.

The fifth period spans twelve years of work, from 1979 to 1991: Bream, now in his full maturity, began this phase at the age of forty-six and ended it at fifty-eight. It is in this period that he faced — in his own way — the Spanish repertoire immortalized by Segovia. Out of the eleven albums released in this period, seven feature all-Spanish music, and one presents orchestral works by Brouwer and Rodrigo. The

14 [Bloom's third category, "kenosis or repetition and discontinuity," entails "a movement toward discontinuity with the precursor." — Ed.]

15 [In Bloom's terminology, "daemonization or the counter-sublime" (his fourth category). — Ed.]

others are *Dedication*, which inducted seminal works by Peter Maxwell Davies and Hans Werner Henze into the repertoire and included works by two other British composers; *Two Loves*, with music by Dowland interspersed with recited poems by Shakespeare; and the Julian Bream Consort's second album. This period can be linked to Bloom's fifth and sixth categories: it marks the moment of *askesis*, when the later poet at last addresses the work of the precursor; it also marks the point at which the later poet appropriates the earlier poet—what Bloom calls the “return” of the precursor, just as if the precursor were the ephebe, that is, as if Bream were the earlier artist and Segovia the later.¹⁶

This discography has a coda: four more albums, one with orchestra (featuring his fourth recording of *Concierto de Aranjuez*), one focusing on twentieth-century music, one entirely dedicated to Bach, and one containing three major sonatas for guitar. These albums present original works by Tōru Takemitsu and Leo Brouwer, while reviving works from the 1930s by Antonio José and by Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco—the latter a composer somewhat neglected in Segovia's repertoire. The albums of this last grouping, as with those of the first, are not included in the RCA box.¹⁷

III

BREAM'S CATALOGUE includes a large number of re-recordings, which attest not only to the importance of context—the concept of the album, the instrument used, and so on—but also to a serious pursuit of nuance and meaning in certain works. It is this latter topic that will be our focus.

In both classical and popular music, a long career as a recording artist entails making new recordings of certain songs or pieces from time to time, whether for artistic or commercial reasons. An example of an organic justification for re-recording can be found in Bream's history with Villa-Lobos's Twelve Studies. He had already recorded versions of the fifth, seventh, eighth, and eleventh studies in different LPs released between 1962 and 1971; when he came to record the whole cycle in 1977, it was only natural that he should record these previously released studies afresh, so as to present the complete set in a homogeneous version.

Beyond a certain point, however, re-recording a piece cannot be explained by reasons that are external to the music itself. From the perspective of Bloom's theory, an exaggerated, even unnatural emphasis on certain parts of the repertoire is a symptom of the anxiety of influence, a case of complex deviation from the predecessor.

16 [Bloom's fifth category, “*askesis* or purgation and solipsism,” is a stage in which the artist asserts freedom from all influence. His sixth, “*apophrades* or the return of the dead,” explores the paradox that occurs when an earlier work gives the impression of being influenced by a later one, that the younger artist is now the model and the older artist the young *ephebe* or artist-in-training.—Ed.]

17 For an abridged (27-minute) summary of Julian Bream's discography (posted three days after his death), see my video, “Julian Bream (1933–2020): Discografia,” August 17, 2020, <https://youtu.be/LsIq31ZPJ2o>.

In Bream's case, if we ignore the dozens of pieces recorded twice, sometimes in very distant stages of his career and often to meet the needs of an album with a specific repertoire, we are left with a smaller number of works to investigate: works that he recorded three, four, or even five times, always in commercial albums that were released as LPs or CDs.¹⁸

When considering the discography of such a responsible artist as Julian Bream, the pieces to which he persistently returned assume a special emphasis, either as a privileged site in the artist's search for meaning or as the object of some sort of dissatisfaction—of a continual inner struggle for a more satisfying performance. Whatever the case, there is something in Bream's relationship to these pieces that merits our scrutiny, some factor that mobilizes his creative energies.

What are these pieces?

Let us start with the lute, where there is an abundance of works in three, four, or even five versions.

Here are the pieces by John Dowland that Bream recorded three times—five in all: *The Frog Galliard*, *Can She Excuse*, *My Lady Hunsdon's Puffe*, *Melancholy Galliard*, and *Semper Dowland*, *semper dolens*.¹⁹

Two Dowland pieces received a total of four recordings: *Queen Elizabeth's Galliard* and *Tarleton's Resurrection*, the latter being—in a rather unexpected and bold move for a classical album—recorded twice on the same disc, *Two Loves* (1988), with the two versions separated only by the third scene in act four from Shakespeare's *Othello*, narrated by the actor Peggy Ashcroft. The second interpretation is ten seconds longer than the first.²⁰

Finally, the champion among re-recordings: *Lachrimae Pavan*, also by Dowland, which Bream recorded five times between 1957 and 1988.²¹

Among the guitar works with at least three recordings, we find Villa-Lobos's *Prelude no. 4*. Other works that received three phonograph recordings are the

18 I am referring here to different interpretations, of course: they are actual re-recordings, not re-releases of the same tracks in different formats or compilations.

19 *The Frog Galliard*: Recorded in a version for solo lute in the LP *The Dances of Dowland* (1967); in an ensemble version—attributed to Thomas Morley—in the LP *An Evening of Elizabethan Music* (1962); and again for solo lute in *Two Loves* (1988).

Can She Excuse: Recorded in an ensemble version in the LP *An Evening of Elizabethan Music* (1962); in a version for voice and lute in the LP *Elizabethan Lute Songs* (1970); and in a solo lute version in *Two Loves* (1988). There is also a lute version with a different title, "The Earl of Essex Galliard," recorded in *Dances of Dowland* (1967).

My Lady Hunsdon's Puffe, *Semper Dowland*, *semper dolens*, and *Melancholy Galliard*: Recorded together in the LPs *Julian Bream Plays Dowland* (1957); *The Dances of Dowland* (1967); and *Two Loves* (1988).

20 *Queen Elizabeth's Galliard*: Recorded in the LPs *Julian Bream Plays Dowland* (1957); *Julian Bream in Concert* (1963); *Lute Music of Royal Courts of Europe* (1966); and *Two Loves* (1988).

Tarleton's Resurrection: Recorded in a version for ensemble in the LP *An Evening of Elizabethan Music* (1962); in a solo lute version in the LP *Julian Bream in Concert* (1963); and, finally, played twice on the lute in *Two Loves* (1988).

21 *Lachrimae Pavan* appears in solo lute version in the LPs *Julian Bream Plays Dowland* (1957); *The Dances of Dowland* (1967); and *Two Loves* (1988); and in ensemble version in the LPs *An Evening of Elizabethan Music* (1962), and *Fantasies, Ayres and Dances* (1987).

Andante largo from Fernando Sor's *Fantaisie*, op. 7, Joaquín Turina's *Fandanguillo*, op. 36, Manuel de Falla's *Homenaje pour le tombeau de Claude Debussy* (1920), and the Sarabande and Bourrée from Bach's Suite BWV 996.²²

Finally, Bream recorded four complete versions of Joaquín Rodrigo's *Concierto de Aranjuez*.²³

Cross-referencing these works with Segovia's discography, some interesting conclusions emerge.²⁴

Segovia recorded a few works by Dowland (there are recordings of some of Bream's favorite works, such as *Melancholy Galliard* and *My Lady Hunsdon's Puffe*), but they were never highlighted in his discography. The same is true for the Sarabande and Bourrée from the Suite BWV 996, which Segovia performed on a 78-rpm disc from 1947, evidently to fill out the program.²⁵

Similarly, although he engaged with Sor's music from the time of his early 78-rpm records, going on to record dozens of his works (often more than once), Segovia did not record the Andante largo from Sor's opus 7 until he was eighty-six years old, in the LP *Recital íntimo* (1973). Nor did the Spanish maestro ever record Villa-Lobos's Prelude no. 4 (of the Five Preludes, he recorded only the first and the third).

IV

IF WE ARE TO COMPARE Segovia with Bream, then, the most significant pieces are Manuel de Falla's *Homenaje pour le tombeau de Claude Debussy* and—even more significant because it was dedicated to Segovia and one of his favorites—Joaquín Turina's *Fandanguillo*, op. 36.

Composed in 1920 at the urging of Miguel Llobet, the *Homenaje* is Falla's only

22 Villa-Lobos, Prelude no. 4: Bream made two complete recordings of the Five Preludes—one for the album *Villa-Lobos and Torroba* (1956) and one for the album *Julian Bream Plays Villa-Lobos* (1971), but he had recorded Prelude no. 4 separately for *Popular Classics for Spanish Guitar* in 1962.

Sor, Andante largo: Recorded in the LPs *Sor, Turina and Falla* (1956); *Baroque Guitar* (1965); and *Music of Spain*, vol. 4, *The Classical Heritage* (1980).

Turina, *Fandanguillo* and Falla, *Homenaje*: Both are found in the albums *Sor, Turina and Falla* (1956); *Popular Classics for Spanish Guitar* (1962); and *Music of Spain*, vol. 7, *A Celebration of Andrés Segovia* (1984).

Bach, Sarabande and Bourrée from BWV 996: Besides the complete recordings of the suite, found in *J. S. Bach: Lute Suites nos. 1 and 2* (1966) and in *J. S. Bach* (1994), they were also recorded in the LP *A Bach Recital for the Guitar* (1957).

23 Its versions can be found in: *Julian Bream: Rodrigo, Britten, Vivaldi* (1964; conducted by Colin Davis); *Julian Bream: Rodrigo and Berkeley Concertos* (1975); *Music of Spain*, vol. 8, *Rodrigo* (1984; both conducted by John Eliot Gardiner); and *To the Edge of Dream: Rodrigo, Takemitsu, Arnold* (1993; conducted by Simon Rattle).

24 Even today, Segovia's recordings are distributed in compilations of inconsistent quality. For an overview of his collection in 78-rpm records and LPs, see two videos on my YouTube channel about the topic: "Segovia: Discografía," part 1, "78 rpm," https://youtu.be/aGXW_28CJlM; and "Segovia: Discografía," part 2, "LPs," <https://youtu.be/HWwRhyy9HIo>.

25 The Bourrée also appears on a 1954 LP.

original work for guitar. Segovia recorded it in 1953 in the LP *An Andrés Segovia Concert*. Bream's first version, on his first solo guitar LP, from 1956, is serene and mournful, almost lute-like. It has nothing to do with the nervous Hispanicism found in Segovia's interpretation of a few years earlier.

Segovia recorded masterful interpretations of Turina's *Fandanguillo* in 1928 and 1949, on 78-rpm records. Bream's inaugural version, on the same 1956 album as the *Homenaje*, strikes one as an ironic primary defense mechanism, a respectful acceptance of the repertoire dedicated to Segovia.

Bream's second recordings of *Fandanguillo* and *Homenaje* appear together in the LP *Popular Classics for Spanish Guitar*, from 1962. The contrast is suggestive. In the first recording, everything seems a little too careful and worked out in advance; the performance is rather dry and metallic, and the Quine guitar lacks the resources of Bream's later instruments. In the second, Bream's mature fluency and Robert Bouchet's magnificent instruments are subjected to excessive reverberation. Everything is exaggerated, hyperbolic: here, surely, is one reason why Bream resolved to return to them later.

Thus, it is with freedom, courage, and a spirit of confrontation that Bream decides to open his 1984 LP—significantly titled *A Celebration of Andrés Segovia*—with his third and definitive recording of Turina's *Fandanguillo*. This is his most balanced recording of the piece: Bream seems to approach it with wisdom and simplicity; he no longer wants to compete with Segovia and especially not with the historic recording of 1928. Instead, Bream sounds like the older artist, the foundation, the reference, while Segovia sounds like the younger, impulsive artist who is trying to establish himself. Here, precedence is reversed.

This same album includes Bream's third performance of Falla's *Homenaje*. With each successive version, Bream distances himself further from Segovia. Bream's obsession with the work seems to have borne fruit: the ambience, sonority, and tempo are perfect, the funeral march merges with the habanera rhythm, and the theme from Debussy's "La soirée dans Grenade" emerges seamlessly.

TO BLOOM, every strong interpretation is necessarily inauthentic; it is really a *misinterpretation*: "Every poem is a misinterpretation of a parent poem. A poem is not an overcoming of anxiety, but is that anxiety. . . . There are no interpretations but only misinterpretations."²⁶ Bream never recorded Ponce, Segovia's most treasured composer, and Segovia, in turn, never recorded *Lachrimae* or *Aranjuez*. In listening to works such as *Fandanguillo* and *Homenaje*, one should keep in mind that the contents of the score are but a pretext for an auditory and artisanal game—a game of influence that is played in the concrete materiality of strings and wood amid instances of deviation, exaggeration, and ambivalence.



26 Bloom, *Anxiety of Influence*, 94–95.

Dedicated to the memory of Antônio Augusto—in reminiscence of our encounters in Belém, Pará.

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“For Andrés Segovia”

Francisco de Lacerda’s *Suite goivos* (1924)

PEDRO RODRIGUES

Translated by Diogo Alvarez

THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE WARS saw the flourishing of a new repertoire for the guitar by non-guitarist composers. It produced a number of gems that entered the guitar’s canon more or less from the moment of publication. That they did so is due to two factors: intrinsic musical value and the support of the commissioning performer, both during and after composition. Publication in some fixed medium, such as a score or recording, was critical, but this was largely at the discretion of the performer.

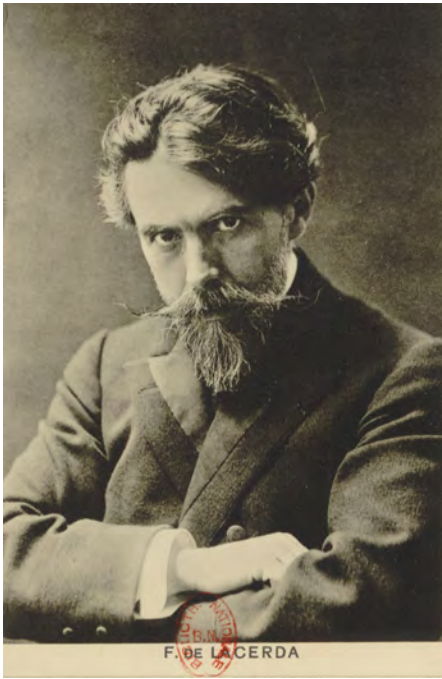
It is not surprising, then, that many pieces from this period have remained largely unknown. The past two decades have brought to light several of them, some by well-known composers—such as Rodrigo, whose Toccata of 1933 was published only in 2006—and others by composers whose names are less familiar to the guitar world but who crossed idiomatic barriers and wrote for the guitar of Andrés Segovia: these names include Pierre de Bréville, Raymond Petit, and others.

It is in this context that one finds *Suite goivos* by the Portuguese composer Francisco de Lacerda (1869–1934), written for Segovia in 1924 but published only in 2016. The following study presents both background and analysis for the suite, including a biography of the composer, an account of Lacerda’s association with Segovia, and commentary on the music.

1. Francisco de Lacerda: Biographical Sketch

Francisco Inácio da Silveira de Sousa Pereira Forjaz de Lacerda (more commonly known as Francisco de Lacerda), was born on May 11, 1869, in the parish of Ribeira Seca, São Jorge Island, Azores archipelago, Portugal.¹ His father, João Caetano de Sousa e Lacerda, was his first music teacher. Lacerda moved to Porto in 1886 to attend

¹ José Manuel Bettencourt da Câmara, “Lacerda, Francisco Inácio da Silveira de Sousa Pereira Forjaz de,” *Enciclopédia da música em Portugal no século XX*, vol. 2, 679–80 (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2010), 679.



Francisco de Lacerda (1869–1934).
Bibliothèque nationale de France,
<https://gallica.bnf.fr>.

medical school and continued his musical education with Antonio Soller, who convinced him to dedicate himself solely and professionally to music. Lacerda studied and taught in Lisbon from 1891 until 1895, when he received a scholarship from the Portuguese government to study music at the Schola Cantorum in Paris. His teachers at the Schola included Charles-Marie Widor, Henri Libert, and Vincent d'Indy. Lacerda himself joined the institution's faculty in 1901 and, encouraged by d'Indy to pursue a career in conducting, directed his first concerts in the years that followed. As a conductor, Lacerda led the Concerts Historiques de Nantes between 1905 and 1908; the Kursaal Orchestra in Montreux, Switzerland, from 1908 to 1912; and the Association Artistique de Marseille's orchestra in its 1912–13 season. In Montreux and Marseilles, he directed some of the greatest soloists of the time: Cortot, Ysaÿe, Schnabel, Nin, Kreisler, and Marguerite Long.

Lacerda returned to Azores in 1913, the year his father died, remaining there until 1921, in a period of virtually no artistic activity. In 1921 he returned to Lisbon, where he attempted to enliven the city's musical scene, but his initiatives proved unwelcome, and in 1924 he set off again for France. Between that year and 1928, he would conduct works such as Bach's passions and Wagner's *Parsifal* in France and Switzerland as a guest conductor. From 1928 onwards, he also dedicated himself to collecting traditional Portuguese melodies, which he arranged and added to his *Cancioneiro musical português*.²

² *Cancioneiro musical português*: collection of traditional Portuguese melodies arranged by the composer.— Trans.



Lacerda with the Schola Cantorum of Nantes in 1926 at a performance of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*. Bibliothèque national de France, <https://gallica.bnf.fr>.

As a composer, Lacerda passed from an early Romantic phase to a musical language influenced by the works of Debussy (his close friend), Satie, and Fauré. By the time of his death of pulmonary tuberculosis on July 18, 1934, Lacerda had become the first Portuguese musician to achieve renown in Europe as an orchestral conductor and one of the greatest names of “Portuguese musical symbolism.”

Works of particular interest include *Trovas* (voice and piano), *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste* (piano), the orchestral works *Almourol* and *Pantomima*, and the hitherto forgotten *Suite goivos* for guitar.

II. Lacerda, Debussy, and Symbolism

The term *impressionism* was first used in reference to music in 1876. The work so labeled was Debussy's *Printemps*, and it was not long before *impressionist* was being applied more generally to the works of Debussy and of other composers—in spite of his and their objections. In his 1971 study of Debussy, Stefan Jarociński advanced a different view: drawing a detailed comparison with the poetics of Mallarmé, he analyzed Debussy through the lens of *symbolism*. Jarociński's work was the first to explore the

composer's purely literary inspiration, challenging a long-standing clique who had focused almost entirely on the French composer's pictorial and impressionistic vein.³

Let us pause, then, to briefly define and contextualize the term *symbolism*, which will be used throughout this article. Jean Moréas's famous manifesto of 1886 offers a useful point of departure:

The enemy of didacticism, declamation, false sentiment, and objective description, symbolic poetry seeks to clothe the Idea with a tangible form which, nevertheless, would not be an end in itself, but which, while expressing the Idea, would yet remain its servant. The Idea, in its turn, must not be allowed to appear deprived of its sumptuous costume of external analogies; for the essential character of symbolic art lies in its never going so far as to present the Idea in literal form. In this art, then, no scene of nature, no human action, no concrete phenomenon of any kind should arise for its own sake; here such things are sensory appearances intended to depict their esoteric affinity with primordial Ideas. . . .

Rhythm: ancient meter revived; a skillfully ordered disorder; luminous [*illucescente*] rhymes, hammered like a shield of gold or bronze, beside rhymes of abstruse fluidity; multiple, mobile breaks in the alexandrine; the use of certain prime [*sic*] numbers — seven, nine, eleven, thirteen — resolved into the various rhythmic combinations of which they are the sum.⁴

This passage aptly describes facets of Debussy's work and, by association, that of Francisco de Lacerda. Both composers clothe their works in a tangible form that stops short of representing the Idea literally; and in both, the object to be suggested — as defined by an evocative title — merges with the sonorities of the music. As for metric fluctuation, or "skillfully ordered disorder," it is amply demonstrated in their works. For examples, one might cite the beginning of Debussy's *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un*

- 3 Stefan Jarociński, *Debussy: Impressionism and Symbolism*, trans. Rollo Myers (London: Eulenburg, 1976), 2. Originally published as *Debussy: Impressionnisme et symbolisme* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1971).
- 4 Jean Moréas, "Un manifeste littéraire," *Le Figaro* (Paris): *Supplément littéraire*, September 9, 1886, 50. Throughout this article, English versions of quotations are by the translator and editor unless otherwise stated. "Ennemie de l'enseignement, la déclamation, la fausse sensibilité, la description objective, la poésie symbolique cherche à vêtir l'Idée d'une forme sensible qui, néanmoins, ne serait pas son but à elle-même, mais qui, tout en servant à exprimer l'Idée, demeurerait sujette. L'Idée, à son tour, ne doit point se laisser voir privée des somptueuses simarres des analogies extérieures; car le caractère essentiel de l'art symbolique consiste à ne jamais aller jusqu'à la concentration de l'Idée en soi. Ainsi, dans cet art, les tableaux de la nature, les actions des humains, tous les phénomènes concrets ne sauraient se manifester eux-mêmes; ce sont là des apparences sensibles destinées à représenter leurs affinités ésotériques avec des Idées primordiales. . . .

"Le Rythme: l'ancienne métrique avivée; un désordre savamment ordonné; la rime illucescente et martelée comme un bouclier d'or et d'airain, auprès de la rime aux fluidités absconses; l'alexandrin à arrêts multiples et mobiles; l'emploi de certains nombres premiers – sept, neuf, onze, treize – résolu en les diverses combinaisons rythmiques dont ils sont les sommes."

faune or of Lacerda's *Suite goivos* (see **figure 11** on page 17). Such music, writes Jarociński in reference to Debussy,

ignores those long introductions, those endless finales so dear to romantic rhetoric. His music has no beginning and no end. It emerges from silence, imposes itself without any preliminaries, *in medias res*, then interrupting its course, continues to weave its pattern in our dreams.⁵

Although one can draw analogies between Debussy's circle and the impressionist painters, such as the use of evocative titles or the juxtaposition of colors, these analogies can lead to an analytical bias. Indeed, West argues that in the visual arts, symbolism and impressionism are diametric opposites: "Impressionist artists claimed to be looking at the world and reproducing the optical effects of light, colour and landscape; Symbolist artists, on the contrary, did not reproduce the phenomenal world, but looked at nature through the haze of their emotions and spirit."⁶ As for impressionism in relation to music, Jarociński writes: "Those who favored the label 'impressionist' as attached to the names of Debussy, Ravel and other composers, were soon reinforced by the general tendency to extend the meaning of the word ... and to apply the term to all forms of art."⁷

There are a number of technical and musical resources that are characteristic of symbolist musicians, and these will be examined in detail in the analysis of *Suite goivos* below. However, let me immediately side with Palmer and Câmara, who argue against a descent into reductive nomenclatures;⁸ there is more at stake here than taking *impressionism*, a term applied to painting, and replacing it with *symbolism*, a term applied to literature. The two terms are neither antonyms nor synonyms: there is a relationship between them in which technical and theoretical aspects are less relevant than the emotional quality that is distinctive of so many poets, painters, and musicians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. One can hardly do better than conclude with some words by the great symbolist writer Stéphane Mallarmé:

To *name* an object is to do away with three-quarters of the enjoyment of the poem, which is derived from one small guess after another; to *suggest* it, that is the dream. The perfect handling of the mystery is what constitutes the symbol: to evoke an object little by little in order to show a state of mind, or conversely, to choose an object and from it to extract a state of mind, through a series of decipherings.⁹

5 Jarociński, *Debussy: Impressionism and Symbolism*, 59.

6 Shearer West, *The Visual Arts in Germany 1890–1937: Utopia and Despair* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 60.

7 Jarociński, *Debussy: Impressionism and Symbolism*, 2.

8 Peter Palmer, "Lost Paradises: Music and the Aesthetics of Symbolism," *Musical Times* (London) 148, no. 1899 (Summer 2007): 48; João Manuel Pereira Bettencourt da Câmara, *The Piano Music of Francisco de Lacerda and the Influence of Claude Debussy* (Aveiro: University of Aveiro, 2017), 7, <http://hdl.handle.net/10773/23515>.

9 [Mallarmé:] "Nommer un objet, c'est supprimer les trois quarts de la jouissance du poème qui est faite de deviner peu à peu; le *suggérer*, voilà le rêve. C'est le parfait usage de ce mystère qui

III. Paris, 1924: Lacerda and Segovia

Francisco de Lacerda's return to Paris in 1924 was fortunately timed, for it coincided with Andrés Segovia's first concerts there. Prior to that date, Segovia's career had been limited to Spain and Latin America.¹⁰ On arriving in Paris in March 1924, he soon began to cultivate influential figures in the city: aristocrats such as the Countess of Boisrouvray, composers such as Roussel and Tansman, and critics such as Prunières and Pincherle. Segovia would perform a solo concert with guest artists in March 1924 at the Théâtre du Vieux Colombier. The success of this concert led to a further one on April 7, 1924, which took place in the Conservatory Hall with Segovia as the sole performer.¹¹ This concert was a milestone in Segovia's career, for in the audience were personalities such as Emma Debussy, Manuel de Falla, Miguel de Unamuno, Joaquín Nin, Albert Roussel, Jean Roger-Ducasse, and Marie-Louise de Heredia (who would write a highly laudatory review of the concert under the pen name Gérard d'Houville), as well as a number of musicians and critics of Paris's highest musical and social spheres who surrendered to Segovia's talent.¹² Segovia would give another public concert on May 7 for the Société Musicale Indépendante, again in the company of other musicians.¹³ There are also records of private concerts during his stay in Paris, including one at the studio of Maxa Nordau and another at the home of Marie-Louise de Heredia.¹⁴ In May he left Paris for Germany, where he would perform throughout May and June of 1924. Segovia's Parisian success invigorated his career and laid the foundations for his revitalizing of the repertoire.

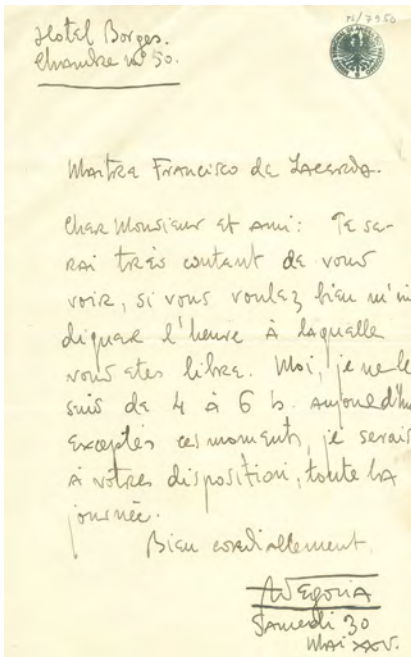
Even though there is no record of a meeting between Segovia and Lacerda during Segovia's 1924 visit to Paris, such a meeting must have occurred, since a new composition by Lacerda had appeared in Segovia's repertoire by October of that year. The assumption that they met in the spring is also strongly supported by the movements of both artists. During his 1924 sojourn in Paris, Lacerda conducted Bach's *St. John Passion* on May 15, a date very close to Segovia's concerts in the city. A work as long as the passion would of course have demanded considerable planning and rehearsal, so Lacerda would have been present in the city much earlier than the date of the concert. Furthermore, Lacerda was close friends with Manuel de Falla, Emma Debussy,¹⁵ and other musicians who attended Segovia's recitals.

The result of this presumptive Paris meeting was Lacerda's *Suite goivos*, and the two artists maintained a correspondence over the years that followed. Two of Segovia's

constitue le symbole: évoquer petit à petit un objet pour montrer un état d'âme, ou, inversement, choisir un objet et en dégager un état d'âme, par une série de déchiffrements." Jules Huret, *Enquête sur l'évolution littéraire* (Paris: Émile Colin, 1891), 60, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k49807k/f82.item.%2060>.

- 10 Allan Clive Jones, "The Judgement of Paris," part 1, "Segovia, Pujol, Paris and *La Revue Musicale*," *Classical Guitar* (August 1998): 24.
- 11 Alberto Lopez Poveda, *Andrés Segovia: Vida y obra* (Jaén: University of Jaén, 2009), 187.
- 12 Poveda, *Andrés Segovia*, 187.
- 13 Jones, "The Judgement of Paris," 26.
- 14 Poveda, *Andrés Segovia*, 191.
- 15 Càmara, *The Piano Music of Francisco de Lacerda*, 152.

Figure 1 Andrés Segovia's letter to Francisco de Lacerda, May 30, 1925.



letters to Lacerda (preserved at the Museu de Angra do Heroísmo in Azores) provide important clues as to how their collaboration unfolded. The first, dated 1925, is shown in **figure 1**. It places the pair in Paris once again, and shows that they had already become collaborators:

Hotel Borges
Room no. 50

Maitre Francisco de Lacerda:

Dear sir and friend: I would be very pleased to see you, if you would like to let me know when you will be available. I will not be free between 4 and 6 o'clock. Today, except at those times, I will be at your disposal throughout the day.

Cordially,
A Segovia

Saturday, 30 May 25.¹⁶

¹⁶ Segovia to Lacerda, May 30, 1925, Espólio de Francisco de Lacerda (Francisco de Lacerda Archive), Museu de Angra do Heroísmo, <http://www.culturacores.azores.gov.pt/ficheiros/espolio/201362510552.jpg>, shelf mark MAHFL7950. “Maitre Francisco de Lacerda. / Cher monsieur et ami: Je serais très content de vous voir, si vous voulez bien m’indiquer l’heure à laquelle vous etes libre. Moi je ne le suis de 4 à 6 h. Aujourd’hui exceptés ces moments, je serais à votre disposition, toute la journée. / Bien cordialement, / A Segovia / Samedi 30 / Mai xxv” (spelling as in original).

Figure 2 Undated postcard from Andrés Segovia to Francisco de Lacerda.



A second communication from Segovia to Lacerda (**figure 2**) is undated, but we can deduce that it dates from either 1928 or, less likely, 1934 (the year of Lacerda's death). On this postcard, addressed to Lacerda's home in Lisbon, Segovia mentions his return from South America and asks whether he can send Lacerda the revised music to complete the suite. We arrive at the 1928 date based on the dates of Segovia's early visits to South America: 1920, 1921, 1928, 1934, 1937, 1940. The first trips in 1920 and 1921 predate Segovia's 1924 meeting with Lacerda, while the trips of 1937 and 1940 were made after Lacerda's death. The postcard bears the marks of the German ship *Cap Arcona*, which connected Hamburg, Rio de Janeiro, and Buenos Aires in only fifteen days.¹⁷

Dear Friend: I am back from South America. I leave you this letter in Lisbon. Tell me if I can send you your music (according to your request) to complete the Suite. Send your reply to Geneva, Route de Florissant, 15.

Cordially,
A. Segovia¹⁸

This postcard, which points to a finished or nearly finished *Suite goivos* in 1928, will be discussed further in the final section of this article.

17 This imposing ship's demise did not match its luxurious purpose, because, as Gilbert recounts, after being requested by the Nazi army in 1940, *Cap Arcona* was sunk by the Allies' army in 1945. Martin Gilbert, *The Second World War: A Complete History* (New York: H. Holt, c. 1989), 693.

18 Segovia to Lacerda [1928?], Espólio de Francisco de Lacerda, Museu de Angra do Heroísmo, shelf mark MAHFL7244, <http://www.culturacores.azores.gov.pt/ficheiros/espolio/2013625103147.pdf>. "Cher Ami: / Me voici de retour de l'Amérique du Sud. Je vous laisse cette carte à Lisboa. Dites moi si je peux vous envoyer ici votre musique (d'accord avec ce que vous m'avez demandé) pour compléter la suite. Répondez moi à Genève, Route de Florissant, 15. / Cordialement à vous, / A. Segovia" (spelling as in original).

iv. Premiere and Performances of *Serenata a una muerta*¹⁹

Returning to 1924, the meeting between Lacerda and Segovia in Paris bore immediate fruit: Lacerda must have composed at least one movement of *Suite goivos* within a few months, as it appears on Segovia's concert programs between October 1924 and March 1925. This movement, a serenade, was the only part of the suite he ever performed. The earliest record of a public performance of the serenade is for October 3, 1924, at the *Rittersaal* in Graz, Austria.²⁰ The title of the work is given as *Serenade a une morte* [Sérénade à une morte], the choice of French testifying to the culture of composer and performer. At this concert, Segovia also premiered Carlos Pedrell's *Guitarreo* (incorrectly referred to as *Guitarra*), along with works by Visée, Sor, Llobet, Tárrega, Turina, Moreno Torroba, Granados, and Albéniz. He repeated this program on October 8 at the Musikvereinsaal in Innsbruck, Austria.

The first advertisement for the German tour was published on October 9, 1924, in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* and refers to a concert Segovia would perform the following day in the city of Munich (**figure 3**).

The advertisement reads:

Friday, October 10, 8pm at the Bayer. Hof, a single concert by the great Spanish guitarist Andres Segovia. The artist plays works by R. de Visee, Sor, Tarrega, J. S. Bach, F. de Lacerda, P.M. Torobba, C. Pedrell, T. Turina and Albeniz. Tickets for sale at Bauer, Halbreiter and Schmid.²¹

The concert took place at the Bayerischer Hof, a famous hotel in Munich that boasted a hall with a capacity of 570. A significant alteration to the Austrian program is the inclusion of works by Bach, replacing those by Llobet—a nod, presumably, to Bach's home country, as well as proof of Segovia's virtuosity.

On November 12, Segovia performed *Sérénade à une morte* in a concert at the Schützenhaus in Markneukirchen. The same program was then repeated for a concert on November 13, 1924, which took place at the Musikverein in Falkenstein (**figure 4**).

After the Falkenstein concert, Segovia traveled to Switzerland and performed at the Kaufleuten Grosser Saal in Zurich on November 19: I have been unable to locate the program for this recital. The last concert of this tour would happen at the Hans Huber-Saal in Zurich, on November 30, 1924, and it, too, included the serenade (**figure 5**).

In December 1924, Segovia performed nine concerts in Spain, and paid a brief though noteworthy visit to Paris, performing at the Salle Gaveau. Lacerda's Serenade was not included in these concerts.

19 "Serenade to a [woman,] deceased."—Trans.

20 Graham Wade and Gerard Garno, *A New Look at Segovia*, vol. 1 (Pacific: Mel Bay, 1997), 51.

21 *Allgemeine Zeitung* from October 9, 1924, https://digipress.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb00085861_00763_u001/3; errors in original. The corrected list of composers reads R. de Visée, Sor, Tárrega, J. S. Bach, F. de Lacerda, F. M. Torroba, C. Pedrell, J. Turina, and Albéniz.

Freitag, den 10. Oktober, abends 8 Uhr im
 Bayer. Hof einziges Konzert des großen
 spanischen Gitaristen Andrés Segovia. Der
 Künstler spielt Stücke von R. de Visée, Sor,
 Tárrega, J. S. Bach, F. de Lacerda, R. M.
 Torroba, G. Rodriéz, T. Turina und Albeniz.
 Karten bei Bauer, Salzbrücker und Schm. d.

Konzert
 des
 spanischen Gitarre-Virtuosen
ANDRES SEGOVIA

PROGRAMM:

I.

Sarabande	}	R. de Visée
Gavotte		(Instrumente am Hofe König Ludwig XIV.)
Mennett		
Gigue		
Andante und Rondo	}	F. Sorz (1760-1839)
Thema und Variationen		
Etude		Tárrega (1854-1909)

II.

Sérénade à une morte	F. de Lacerda
Improvisation	C. Pedrell
Sevillana	T. Turina
Sonatina	F. M. Torroba

Allegretto - Andante - Allegro
 Alle vier Werke dieses Programmteils sind
 Andrés Segovia gewidmet

III.

Danza en mi.	Granados	
Torre Bermeja	}	Albeniz
Sevilla		
Legenda		

II. Konzert
ANDRES SEGOVIA
 Hans Huber-Saal, Sonntag, 30. November, abends 8 Uhr
 Werke von Ponc. Giuliani, Sorz, Llobes
J. S. BACH.
NEUES PROGRAMM Originalkompositionen für Laute
 Malata, Granados, Torroba, Albeniz, Tárrega
 Konzertleitung: **MUSIKHAUS HUNI, Zürich**

Musikverein  Falkenstein

Donnerstag, den 13. November 1924
GITARRE-KONZERT
 von
Andrés Segovia
 (Granada)

Vortragsfolge:

I. a) Sarabande - Gavotte - Menuett - Gigue R. de Visée
 b) Andante et Allegretto Sor
 c) Scherzo et Gavotte Tárrega
 d) Etude Tárrega

II. Prélude - Allemande - Bourée - Menuett - Gavotte et Rondo J. S. Bach
 ——— Kurze Pause ———

III. a) Sérénade à une morte: A. Segovia gewidmet F. de Lacerda
 b) Nocturne F. M. Torroba
 c) Gitarreo C. Pedrell
 d) Sevillana T. Turina
 e) Torre Bermeja (Walter Turin) Albeniz
 f) Legende Albeniz

PROGRAMS FROM SEGOVIA'S RECITALS **Figure 3** The advertisement for Segovia's concert on 10/10/24 in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. **Figure 4** The program for Segovia's recital in Falkenstein, 11/13/24. Reproduced in Poveda, *Andrés Segovia: Vida y obra*, 196. **Figure 5** The program for Segovia's recital in Zurich, 11/30/24. Reproduced in Poveda, *Andrés Segovia: Vida y obra*, 197. **Figure 6** Programs for Segovia's two concerts in Vigo on 12/29 and 12/30, 1924, as advertised in *El Pueblo Gallego*, 12/28/24, 6. **Figure 7** The program for Segovia's concert in Granada on 3/12/25, as advertised in *El Defensor de Granada*, 3/11/25, 1.

SOCIEDAD FILARMÓNICA
CONCIERTOS SEGOVIA

He aquí los programas que dará a conocer el eminente guitarrista Andrés Segovia en los dos conciertos que se celebrarán en el teatro "Odeón" el lunes y martes próximos, a las siete en punto de la noche:

PRIMER CONCIERTO

I

Andante y Rondo, Sorz (1878-1480).
Sonatina, Giuliani (1780).
Serenata y canción popular, M. Poncra. (Dedicada a A. Segovia).
Estudio, Tárrega.

II

Préludio, *Allemande*, *Sarabande*, *Bourree*, *Minuetto* y *Gavotte*, Bach. (Se tocará sin interrupción).

III

Sevillana (Dedicada a Segovia), Turina.
Homenaje a Debussy, M. de Falla.
Sonatina (Dedicada a Segovia), Torroba.
Torre Bermeja, Albeniz.

SEGUNDO CONCIERTO

I

Sarabande, *Gavotte*, *Gigue*, R. de Visée. (Luthista de la Corte Luis XIV).
 (Sin interrupción).
Tema variado, Sor.
Sonatina, Carrulli (1800).
Estudio, Tárrega.

II

Préludio, *Siciliano*, *Bourree*, Bach. (Sin interrupción).
Minuetto, Mozart.
Canzonetta, Mendelssohn.

III

Serenade (Dedicada a A. Segovia). F. de Lacerda.
Fandanguillo, *Nocturno*, Torroba.
Sevillana, *Legenda*, Albeniz.
 El señor Segovia ruega al público el más absoluto silencio durante la ejecución de las obras.
 Es indispensable la presentación del recibo del mes corriente, a la entrada.

He aquí el programa del concierto a cargo de Andrés Segovia, que tendrá lugar el jueves en el teatro Cervantes:

Zarabanda	}	R. de Visée
Gavota		Lu lista de
Minuetto		la Corte de
Giga		Luis XIV

(Estas obras se ejecutan sin interrupción)

Tema variado	Sor
Estudio	Tárrega.

II

Préludio	Bach
Bourrée	Bach
Minuetto	Haydn
Pequeño vals	Grieg
Estudio	Wieniawsky

(Se ejecutan sin interrupción)

III

Serenade (a Segovia)	F. de Lacerda
Fandanguillo	M. Torroba
Nocturno	M. Torroba

On December 29 and 30, 1924, Segovia performed two concerts with somewhat contrasting programs at the Teatro Odeón in Vigo: the second program included the serenade (**figure 6**).

After these performances in Vigo, Segovia played in some fifteen concerts throughout January and February 1925 — without, however, performing Lacerda's work.²² The last recitals with the piece were on March 12 of the same year at the Teatro Cervantes in Granada (**figure 7**), March 18 in Jerez de la Frontera, and finally, on March 19 at the Gran Teatro in Cadiz. It is noteworthy that, during these concerts in Spain, the work is presented as simply *Serenade*, instead of the full title, *Sérénade à une morte*, as previously used in the concerts in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland.

Although March 19, 1925, was the last time Segovia performed Lacerda's Serenade, Segovia's letter of May 30 (**figure 1**) tells us that composer and performer kept in touch, and that they likely met during Segovia's 1925 stay in Paris.²³

v. Lacerda and the Wave of New Music Commissioned by Segovia

Although the first guitar works written by non-guitarist composers preceded Segovia's monumental campaign to promote and revitalize the instrument, his contribution to the creation of a new repertoire is undeniable. **Figure 8** lists the works dedicated to him between 1919 and 1925, the years surrounding the composition of Francisco de Lacerda's Serenade.²⁴

Figure 8 List of works dedicated to Segovia between 1919 and 1925.

- 1919 Federico Moreno Torroba, *Danza* (later becoming *Suite castellana*, iii)
Jaume Pahissa, *Cançò en el mar*
- 1920 Oscar Esplá, *Tempo di sonata*
- 1921 José Maria Franco, *Romanza*
Adolfo Salazar, *Romancillo*
- 1922 Gaspar Cassadó, *Catalanesca*
Ernesto Halffter, *Tres piezas infantiles* (later called *Peacock-Pie*)
- 1923 Carlos Chavéz, *Three Pieces*
Federico Moreno Torroba, (1) *Aire castellano*, (2) *Sonatina*
Manuel María Ponce, *Sonata 1*
Pedro Sanjuán, *Una leyenda*
Joaquín Turina, *Sevillana*, op. 29

22 Julio Gimeno, "Los conciertos de Andrés Segovia," Forum Guitarra (discussion board), Artepulsado, 2013, <http://guitarra.artepulsado.com/foros/showthread.php?21031-Los-conciertos-de-Andr%E9s-Segovia>.

23 Segovia performed concerts on May 6, 13, and 27 during this 1925 Paris visit.

24 This list has been compiled from the following works: Alberto Lopez Poveda, *Andrés Segovia: Vida y obra* (Jaén: University of Jaén, 2009); Luigi Attademo, "El repertorio de Andrés Segovia y las novedades de su archivo," *Roseta*, no. 1 (2008): 69–101; Angelo Gilardino, ed., *The Andrés Segovia Archive*, c. 25 scores (Bèrben, c. 2003–7).

- 1924 Vicente Arregui, *Canción lejana*
 Joaquín Cassadó, *Allegretto appassionatto* [sic]
 Francisco de Lacerda, *Suite goivos*
 Eduardo Lopéz Chavarri, *Sonatina*
 Georges Migot, *Hommage à Claude Debussy*
 Federico Moreno Torroba, *Nocturno*
 Manuel María Ponce, *Tres canciones populares mexicanas*
 Carlos Pedrell, (1) *Danza argentina*, (2) *Guitarreo*, (3) *Oración por las novias tristes*
 Albert Roussel, *Segovia*, op. 29
 Alexandre Tansman, *Mazurka*
 Joaquin Turina, *Fandanguillo*, op. 36
- 1925 Vicente Arregui, (1) *Piezas líricas*, (2) *Tonada de ronda: León*
 Alfonso Broqua, *Millongueos (Evocaciones criollas)*
 Jose António de Donostia, *Errimina / Nostalgia / Zortziko*
 Manuel María Ponce, *Preludio*
 Raymond Petit, *Suite*
 María Rodrigo, *Coplas de España*
 Adolfo Salazar, *Suite*
 Gustave Samazeuilh, *Sérénade*

In this list, which does not claim to be comprehensive, two features stand out: First, the absence of many of these works, including *Suite goivos*, from today's concert repertoire. Second, how several composers (e.g., Samazeuilh, Roussel, and even Lacerda) adopted the Spanish aesthetic to which Segovia was so attached. These two observations, as well as Lacerda's place in this first wave of non-guitarist composers who dedicated works to Segovia, will now be addressed.

Although it is clear that many of these early works are seldom performed, the reason for it is not. Unsurprisingly, some of these early works do not hold as much musical value as staples of the canon, thus explaining their lack of popularity among performers. Yet other works on the list certainly deserve to be performed more often: only rarely can one hear in concert works of the depth of Georges Migot's *Hommage à Claude Debussy*, Oscar Esplá's *Tempo di sonata*, or (extending the list to 1926) Pierre de Bréville's *Fantaisie*. The question arises, then, of whether Segovia's preferences determined the success of some of these works.

Much has been written about the aesthetics preferred by Segovia, a musician of neoromantic and neoclassical tendencies and a child of the Iberian musical tradition of the late nineteenth century.²⁵ It is often assumed that when offered a more modern-sounding work, Segovia would reject it out of hand. Yet as Gilardino explains, this is an oversimplification:

25 See Javier Suárez-Pajares, "Aquellos años plateados: La guitarra en el entorno del 27," in Eusebio Rioja, *La guitarra en la historia*, vol. 8 (Córdoba: Ediciones de la Posada, 1997), and Angelo Gilardino, "Andrés Segovia y el repertorio de la guitarra del siglo XX," *Roseta*, no. 1 (2008): 58–67.

One should not make the mistake of thinking that Segovia came to decisions regarding new works lightly or painlessly. There is documentary evidence of his efforts to come to terms with a work that he would later abandon, rather disheartened. The manuscript of Henri Collet's *Briviesca* is covered in the marks of Segovia's fruitless attempts to make it playable; the first fragment of Raymond Moulaert's monumental Suite is carefully fingered, proving that the guitarist did all he could to play it but was not able to obtain a result that convinced his ear. With Cyril Scott's much lauded Sonatina, however, Segovia overcame his doubts and performed the first movement (with a fanciful title, *Rêverie*) in London and Buenos Aires. But the discouraging critical reception confirmed what Segovia himself already knew — namely, that it would be impossible to convince the listeners of something that did not convince himself.²⁶

Gilardino, nonetheless, goes on to clarify that “one cannot . . . refrain from observing that, confronted with some scores, Segovia lacked the very desire to collaborate that he had offered the composers.”²⁷

On the tendency of composers of various nationalities to evoke the Spanish style, Emilio Pujol offers this opinion, in a 1927 article:

It [the guitar] is often thought to be incapable of evoking music other than that of Spain. . . [. . .] Modern composers whose nationality is not Spanish hardly ever wish to write for the guitar without feeling obligated to make Spanish music. [It is a] strange hypnotic power: the works that it creates are often of great value but necessarily rootless, with a Hispanism that can only be external. The result is often regret that composers should underestimate the guitar's expressive means. . . What might not be produced by the spirit of French music if appropriately adapted to this instrument!²⁸

26 This quotation and the next are taken from Gilardino, “Andrés Segovia,” 62–63. “No se debe caer en el error de pensar que las decisiones de Segovia respecto a las nuevas músicas fueran tomadas a la ligera y de manera indolora. Tenemos pruebas documentales de sus intentos de aclimatarse a un determinado trabajo, después abandonado con cierto abatimiento. El manuscrito de *Briviesca* de Henri Collet está cubierto de huellas de las infructuosas tentativas de Segovia de hacerlo interpretable; el primer fragmento de la monumental Suite de Raymond Moulaert está cuidadosamente digitado, y eso prueba que el guitarrista hizo todo lo posible para conseguir tocarlo, pero no logró dar un resultado creíble ante sus propios ojos; en cuanto a la apreciadísima Sonatina de Cyril Scott, Segovia fue más allá de sus dudas y presentó el primer tiempo (con un título de fantasía, *Rêverie*) en Londres y en Buenos Aires, pero el desalentador juicio de los críticos confirmó lo que él ya sabía, esto es, que le sería imposible convencer a los oyentes de lo que él mismo no conseguía convencerse.”

27 “No podemos sin embargo dejar de observar cómo, frente a ciertas páginas de música, a Segovia le faltó justo la voluntad de colaboración que había ofrecido a los compositores.”

28 Emilio Pujol, “La guitare,” in Albert Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du conservatoire*, part 2 (Paris: 1927), 2019, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k123724v> (ellipses not in brackets are in the original). “On la croit souvent incapable d'évoquer des musiques autres que celles d'Espagne. . . [. . .] Les compositeurs modernes dont la nationalité n'est pas espagnole ne veulent presque jamais écrire pour la guitare sans se croire obligés de faire de la musique espagnole. Étrange pouvoir d'hypnose qui crée des œuvres souvent d'une grande valeur, mais forcément déracinées, d'un hispanisme qui ne peut être qu'extérieur. Cela

Certainly, the rebirth of the Spanish guitar in the 1920s was a movement led by Spaniards²⁹—Segovia, of course, but also Llobet, Sainz de la Maza, Fortea, and Pujol. They had a pivotal role in defining an idiomatic and musical character for the guitar, a character that can still be observed today. Yet Pujol observes how this influence limits the creative freedom of non-Spanish composers, and he states, rather sorrowfully, that because of this stylistic conditioning the guitar’s expressive capabilities are not explored to the full.

Notwithstanding a certain element of fake Hispanism in certain works by non-Spanish composers, it should not be forgotten that the *goût de l’époque* was warm in its embrace of Spanish music and culture. Works such as Debussy’s *Ibéria*, Ravel’s *Rapsodie espagnole* and *L’heure espagnole*, Samazeuilh’s *Esquisse d’Espagne*, Gabriel Allier’s *Joyeuse Espagne*, Émile Waldteufel’s *España*, or Chabrier’s work of the same title are examples of the enthusiasm for Hispanic music—an enthusiasm that while not responsible for Segovia’s warm reception in Paris, surely did it no harm, even before taking into account his ability and charisma.

In the same article quoted above, Pujol discusses some of the works dedicated to Segovia and succinctly divides their composers into three groups: a first group of Spanish composers, a second group consisting of French (or foreign) composers who write in a Spanish style, and a third group who write works unrelated to Spain and prefer their own musical style:

Besides LLOBET, [Segovia] has decisive influence over the best modern composers, recently engaged with the guitar’s cause. His compatriots TURINA, CHAVARRI, MORENO TORROBA, SALAZAR, ARREGUI and the Spanish-Argentinean Carlos PEDRELL have dedicated works to him. Added to this Hispanic contribution are often successful attempts at music with Spanish character by the French [composers] ROUSSEL, SAMAZEUILH, COLLET, etc. Additionally, works of non-regional character were written by PONCE, MIGOT, PETIT, TANSMANN [sic] and others.³⁰

As will be seen below, although Lacerda’s *Serenata a una muerta*, places him in the second group of composers mentioned by Pujol, the second movement of *Suite goivos* reveals a different musical affiliation.

porte souvent à regretter que les compositeurs sous-estiment les moyens expressifs de la guitare. . . Que ne donnerai l’esprit de la musique française dûment adapté à cet instrument!”

29 Michael Christoforidis and Ruth Piquer Sancllemente. “Cubismo, neoclasicismo y el renacimiento de la guitarra española a principios del siglo XX,” *Roseta*, no. 6 (2011): 6.

30 Pujol, “La guitare,” 2016. “Ainsi que LLOBET, il possède un ascendant décisif sur les meilleurs compositeurs modernes, récemment acquis à la cause de la guitare. Ses compatriotes TURINA, CHAVARRI, MORENO TORROBA, SALAZAR, ARREGUI et l’Hispano-Argentin Carlos PEDRELL lui ont dédié des œuvres. A cet appoint hispanique s’ajoutent des essais, souvent réussis, de musique dans le caractère espagnol, des Français ROUSSEL, SAMAZEUILH, COLLET, etc. D’autres, œuvres de caractère non régional sont dues à PONCE, MIGOT, PETIT, TANSMANN et autres.”

VI. *Suite goivos*

There are five available sources for *Suite goivos*.³¹ My commentary will focus on manuscripts (a), (b), and (c), which are in the composer's hand.

- a "Sérénade à une morte." Incomplete manuscript by the composer. Museu de Angra do Heroísmo, Portugal.
- b "Serenata à [sic] una muerta." Manuscript by the composer. Includes title page. Museu de Angra do Heroísmo. Shelf mark MAHFL4740.
- c "Építaphe." Manuscript by the composer. Andrés Segovia Museum, Linares, Spain.
- d "Serenata à [sic] una muerta." Manuscript copy by Filipe de Sousa. Fundação Jorge Álvares, Lisbon.
- e "Serenata à [sic] una muerta." Second manuscript copy by Filipe de Sousa. Fundação Jorge Álvares, Lisbon.

Manuscript (a) appears to be a preliminary sketch of the first movement: it contains a large number of deletions and corrections, and unlike the other manuscripts, it is written at pitch in grand staff, suggesting that Lacerda was working at the piano. Its content is not yet fully developed: the introduction is missing, and musical ideas as well as non-musical indications (such as "d'outre-tombe," meaning "from beyond the grave") are more concentrated. Title and dedication are written in French: "Sérénade à une morte" and "Pour A. Segovia." There is not yet any indication that Lacerda was planning to incorporate this movement into a suite.

Manuscript (b) consists of a title page for the entire three-movement suite (**figure 9**), written and dated by the composer, and the first movement. It reads:

Para Andrés Segovia
"Goivos"
Suite
I. Serenata (Serenade)
II Epitaphio (Építaphe)
III. Visão (Vision)

Fr. de Lacerda
Paris, 1924

³¹ The flower of the stock plant or wallflower, the *goivo* is common in Portuguese-language literature; English translators sometimes choose "gillyflower" as an equivalent. An alternative, archaic meaning of *goivo* is "joy," but in Lacerda's title, as in the literature of his era, the flowers represent sorrow. For one example, see Machado de Assis's 1873 story, "Much Heat, Little Light," where the main character says, "Gillyflowers [Goivos] and Camellias ... It's as if one were saying: sadnesses and joys." *Collected Stories of Machado de Assis*, trans. Margaret Jull Costa and Robin Patterson (New York: Liveright, 2018), 269.—Trans.

Figure 9 Lacerda, *Suite goivos*, title page from manuscript (b)

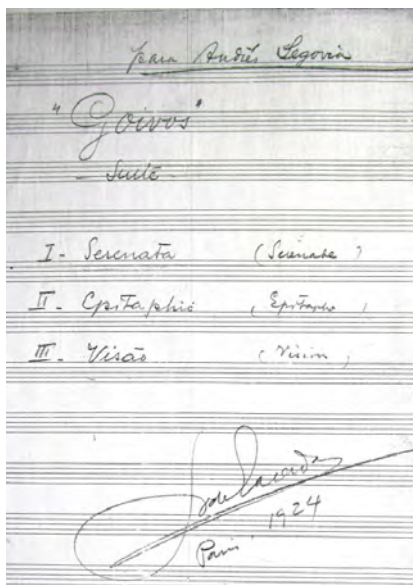


Figure 10 Lacerda, *Suite Goivos*, “Serenade”: form.

Section	Key	mm.
Introduction	(Ambiguous)	1–9
A	d	10–16
B	D	17–18
A' (development)	d	19–36
B' (coda)	D	37–43

As discussed above, the only movement that Segovia ever performed in concert was the serenade: there are no records of him performing the second or third movements (“Epitaph” and “Vision”). As a result, the work never emerged with the title proposed by the composer (“Goivos”).

Despite the title page, the remaining pages of this manuscript (b) contain only the first movement, with its own Spanish title: “Serenata a una muerta” (diacritic removed). It clearly aims at idiomatic guitar writing from its inception: it is written on a treble staff one octave higher than sounding pitch, and apart from rare passages, it is perfectly playable on the instrument.

The movement is forty-three measures long and divides into five sections (figure 10). In the introduction, Lacerda explores the open strings in an improvisatory style, reproduces this exploratory effect in harmonics, and then expands the open-string dialogue by introducing an expressive discourse that leads to the lower register. As we have seen, metric fluctuation as a symbol of abandoning rhythmic

Figure 11 Lacerda, *Suite Goivos*, “Serenata a una muerta,” mm. 1–3, from manuscript (b).



Figure 12 Lacerda, *Suite Goivos*, “Serenata,” mm. 8–9—indication of “descendre le mi en ré,” from manuscript (b)



Figure 13 Lacerda, *Suite Goivos*, performance notes from manuscript (b)

- Ⓐ – claro (bright)
- Ⓑ – surdo (muted/dull)
- Ⓒ – metalico [sic] (metallic)
- / gliss.

constraints is a technique in musical symbolism, and it has parallels in symbolist poetry (**figure 11**).

The end of the introduction deploys an innovative compositional element: Lacerda instructs the performer to lower the sixth string from E to D (“*descendre le mi en ré*”), changing the tuning *within the movement* (**figure 12**). This descent can be taken as a poetic gesture reflecting the seriousness of death, yet it is also an unexpected, disconcerting gesture that suggests the influence of Erik Satie (who, let us recall, was one of Lacerda’s close associates). This appears to be one of the first examples, if not the very first, of a mid-work scordatura in a guitar piece by a non-guitarist composer.

Additionally, Lacerda—no doubt inspired by Segovia’s timbral palette—defines the tone colors to be used in a performance of the work and indicates their use in the score with the letters A, B, and C. His brief performance notes for these idiomatic procedures, reproduced in **figure 13**, demonstrate his concern with illustrating the subtle qualities of the guitar. While differing from the terminology currently in use—*claro* and *surdo* would be expressed today as *normal* and *sul tasto*—the inclusion of a set of instructions dedicated to tone color is a strikingly forward-looking choice for a non-guitarist composer of this period.

These timbral elements serve to highlight the characteristics of different formal sections of the piece: the introduction (“*Improvvisando*”) and A section both employ

the color *claro*, while the B section uses *surdo*. The development section (A'), though primarily *claro*, calls for *surdo* at key moments. This first occurs when the *quasi-gruppetto* ornamentation of the theme's characteristic triplet appears, in an echo, an octave higher than in its initial appearance. The echoes that follow the triplet's introduction are presented in this order: *claro–surdo* (echo) / *surdo–claro* (echo). Lastly, the coda (B') indicates the color *surdo*. It is noteworthy that, in the first manuscript, the indication “d'outre-tombe” happens precisely in this final section of the piece, when the minor mode leads, grief-stricken and grave, to a moment of peace and acceptance, brought about by a transition to the major mode.

Although Lacerda defines a metallic color © in his performance indications, he does not use it in the first two movements. Perhaps it refers to the missing last movement, “Visão”—a hint, at least, that this movement progressed further than a title and was in fact composed.

Lacerda's careful selection of timbres is a device that reflects his admiration for Claude Debussy. Like Debussy, Lacerda privileges frequent tempo changes, as described by Martins in his work on the two composers:³² the serenade, short as it is, contains twelve tempo changes throughout its forty-three measures.

Another typically Debussian procedure, equally important in the symbolist aesthetic, is the focus on specific intervals such as the major second. Concerning this feature, Bettencourt da Câmara writes:

While acknowledging the importance of perfect fourth and fifth intervals to symbolist musicians, it can be said that the major second—the defiant exploration of major-second clashes—constitutes one of the biggest gains of symbolist harmony, while the taste for [minor] seconds and their inversions (major sevenths and minor ninths) would be reserved for the more overt modernity, so to speak, of expressionist styles that were to come later or were just emerging. In the case of Francisco de Lacerda, one can confirm that the major-second clash—dispensing, of course, with the preparation of common-practice harmony—is admitted without reservation.³³

In **figure 14**, taken from the 2016 published edition, we find the combination of major seconds and augmented chords, here with an added second.³⁴ The high degree of precision in terms of dynamics, articulation, and voice independence is also notable. Câmara ascribes the liberal use of minor seconds to a more expressionist style, and indeed Lacerda does not employ them gratuitously but at moments of particular intensity. As seen in **figure 15**, the half-step clashes in consecutive passages are repeated on three different pitches, expressing discomfort and anguish.

32 José Eduardo Martins, *Impressões sobre a música Portuguesa: Panorama, criação, interpretação, esperanças* (Coimbra: Coimbra University Press, 2011), 65.

33 José Manuel Bettencourt da Câmara, “A escala de tons na obra de Francisco de Lacerda,” *Revista Música* (São Paulo) 4, no. 1 (May 1996): 48.

34 The author's edition includes both an “Urtext,” based on manuscript (b), and a revised and fingered version for performance. The musical examples are taken from the Urtext.

Although the whole-tone scale is never used on its own, it informs important points of inflection within the movement, as it so often does in symbolist music. In the introduction, mm. 1–9, the B \sharp of the open-string chord changes to B \flat , and a whole-tone tetrachord is heard (refer back to **figures 11 and 12**). The striking switch from D minor to D major at mm. 17 is again achieved through a whole-tone tetrachord and the change from B \flat to B \sharp (**figure 16**). In mm. 17–18, note also the use of harmonic planing (chords moving in parallel).

To end this description of the form and devices utilized in the first movement of *Suite goivos*, I would like to add a brief and somewhat informal digression: in 2016, while visiting and performing in Rio de Janeiro, I had the opportunity to discuss this piece with Sérgio Abreu. Abreu pointed out its similarities to Andrés Segovia’s later *Estudio sin luz* (1954)—which does not, however, imply conscious imitation on Segovia’s part (**figure 17**).³⁵

For the suite’s second movement, we must turn to manuscript (c). This movement, a miniature of only twenty-three measures titled “Épitaphe,” is a transcription of a piano piece from two years earlier, “Le ramier blessé” (The Wounded Wood Pigeon). Only twenty-one measures in the original, this piece was evidently a favorite of Lacerda’s, as he also used it in his orchestral work *Pantomima*. The piano original is part of a collection titled *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d’un artiste* (36 Stories to Entertain the Children of an Artist), which Rocha identifies as the first instance of a Portuguese composer writing serious music for and about children—more such collections followed in its wake.³⁶ Along with four other movements, “Le ramier blessé” was published in 1922, in the magazine *Contemporânea* (**figure 18**).

Apart from an introduction that extends the original by two measures, the guitar version is a literal transcription of “Le ramier blessé.” It presents several symbolist-inspired techniques more clearly than the first movement of *Suite goivos*: a typical preference for soft dynamics (piano and pianissimo), the exploration of a sound’s sustain to its limit, the use of the whole-tone scale and augmented chords, octave doubling of the main melody, and again, the use of harmonic planing. Regarding the latter, the minor third that characterizes the melodic line creates contrast with the major third that descends in blocks from beginning to end. According to Bettencourt da Câmara, this harmonic ambivalence, foreshadowing the ensuing modernity, pervades this miniature, so that the tonic G can only be defined with certainty in the final measures.³⁷

As Martins argues in his study of Lacerda, such brevity was a fully worked-out aesthetic stance on the composer’s part, influenced by French ideals. In Lacerda’s own words, in a letter to his friend Henri Duparc: “Once more, it is demonstrated

35 Andrés Segovia, *Estudio sin luz* (Mainz: Schott, 1954).

36 José Eduardo Rocha, “14 Anotações sobre música contemporânea portuguesa,” in João de Freitas Branco, *História da música portuguesa* (Mem Martins: Publicações Europa-América, 2005), 370.

37 Câmara, “A escala de tons,” 56.

Figure 14 Lacerda, *Suite Goivos*, “Serenata,” mm. 14–15.



Figure 15 Lacerda, *Suite Goivos*, “Serenata,” mm. 22–24.



Figure 16 Lacerda, *Suite Goivos*, “Serenata,” mm. 16–18.



Figure 17 (a) Lacerda, *Suite Goivos*, “Serenata,” mm. 10–15; (b) Segovia, *Estudio sin luz*, mm. 49–57, transposed from E \flat minor to D minor, for the sake of comparison.

a)

b)

Figure 18 Lacerda, “Le ramier blessé” (piano), in the magazine *Contemporânea*, no. 3 (July, 1922), 139. The epigraph in French reads, “...et le Vent pleure, doucement, dans les pins maritimes...” (...and the Wind cries, softly, in the maritime pines...).

The image shows a page from a magazine with a drawing of three swans at the top left. The title "Le Ramier blessé" is written in large red letters. Below the title, the text "Triste et doux." is followed by the lyrics "...et le Vent pleure, doucement, dans les pins maritimes...". The musical score is handwritten and includes dynamic markings such as "pp" and "ppp", and the instruction "(en sourdine)". The page number "139" is visible at the bottom.

Figure 19 Lacerda, *Suite Goivos*, “Épitaphe,” mm. 6–9.

The image shows a single line of handwritten musical notation in treble clef, featuring a series of chords and melodic lines.

that in Art, it is quality and not quantity that affirms the supreme value that leads to posterity.”³⁸

In “Épitaphe,” Lacerda indicates another scordatura (fifth string to G and sixth string to D), but the movement is less idiomatic for the guitar than the first. This is unsurprising, given that this second movement is a literal transcription of a piano piece, while the first movement was intended for the guitar from the start. The octave doubling in “Épitaphe” makes it difficult to reconcile technical and musical concerns, especially when it is necessary to maintain the descending movement of major thirds in the inner voices, as in **figure 19**.

It has not been possible, so far, to find the third movement, “Visão,” and many questions arise from this fact: Was it ever composed, in fact, or only planned? Could it be the movement mentioned by Segovia in the postcard discussed above? Is it another transcription of a piano piece or an original work? Was it lost in the attacks that happened in Barcelona (where Segovia lived) during the Spanish Civil War? If it was indeed written, as the title page in **figure 9** suggests, let us hope that the third movement will be discovered in a collection or archive in the future. In the meantime, concert performance allows two possibilities: a diptych of “Serenata” and “Épitaphe” or, as was Segovia’s choice, “Serenata” alone.

In either form, *Suite goivos* is significant on a number of levels. First, there is its unique place in the guitar’s early twentieth-century history. Not only is the serenade the only work by a Portuguese composer to have been performed by Andrés Segovia, it is also (one can assert with confidence) the first guitar work to be written by a Portuguese non-guitarist composer. Of equal note is the work’s substance — an early and rare example of a guitar work in symbolist style, one whose vocabulary and gestures are innovative in a way that transcends purely national considerations. As a member of the first wave of composers whom Segovia commissioned to enrich the guitar’s repertoire, Lacerda stands alongside Torroba, Turina, Pedrell, Roussel, Ponce, and many others who presented an unpretentious instrument with pages of lasting beauty.

Why, in that case, did Segovia’s collaboration with Lacerda never result in a publication and recording? One might suggest that *Suite goivos* was simply not Segovia’s kind of music, but this is not clear from the evidence presented above: Segovia’s many performances of the serenade and his correspondence with Lacerda suggest that he found the music at least interesting — so interesting, indeed, that echoes of it appear in one of his own compositions. Still, other parts of the serenade and the entire “Épitaphe” may have been less to Segovia’s taste. Purely practical, instrumental difficulties in the “Épitaphe” could also have been enough to put the project on indefinite hold. None of this should prevent us from adding *Suite goivos* to the repertoire, placing Lacerda in the ranks of such composers as Esplá, Petit, Bréville, Migot, and others whose guitar works are finally receiving their due.



38 Martins, *Impressões sobre a música portuguesa*, 54.

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Spanish Guitarists in Nineteenth-Century São Paulo

FLAVIA PRANDO

Translated by Diogo Alvarez

IN THE HISTORY OF THE GUITAR IN BRAZIL, the nineteenth century still awaits a fuller exploration. Apart from studies of Villa-Lobos (1887–1959), there is little scholarship dedicated to guitar works written before the mid-twentieth century, whether by native-born composers or composers who were born abroad and immigrated to Brazil.¹ If this is the case for Brazil’s former capital of Rio de Janeiro—where politics, geography, and tradition favored the development and documentation of artistic practices—it is even more so for other regions. In recent years, however, information about the nineteenth-century guitar scene in Brazil has become more accessible, thanks to the digitization of historical newspapers and magazines. These resources have brought to light musical practices previously believed to have emerged only in the first decades of the twentieth century. In the last two decades, moreover, some important private collections—such as the *Coleção Ronoel Simões*²—have become publicly available, making it possible for researchers to trace sources mentioned in nineteenth-century magazines. Collections such as this will inevitably be digitized, catalogued, and made available online, and researchers into the history of the Brazilian guitar will gain more tools to reconstruct this scattered mosaic of

1 Humberto Amorim, “Idiomatismos na produção para violão de Melchior Cortez (1882–1947),” *Debates: Cadernos do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Música* (Rio de Janeiro), no. 21 (November 2018): 43.

2 Ronoel Simões (1919–2010) was a guitarist, researcher, and collector from the State of São Paulo. His collection, gathered over a sixty-year period and acquired by the São Paulo City Council in 2010, is one of the largest collections of scores and recordings of plucked guitar in the world. In 2016, the Discoteca Oneyda Alvarenga, located at the Centro Cultural São Paulo, made his collection available to the public. Among its items, there are recordings, pictures, newspaper clippings, letters, manuscripts, and edited scores. Both major and minor guitarists are represented, for Simões did not pass judgment on the items, but collected anything related to the plucked guitar. Because of that, his collection displays a comprehensive view of the instrument, not one restricted to the canon. Therefore, the collection is an invaluable source for a reconstruction of the guitar practices, repertoires, and trajectories in several periods and locations.

sounds. A new era of guitar scholarship has arrived and with it an opportunity to reconstruct the instrument's history.

There is already a significant body of research on guitar activity in São Paulo that predates the appearance of these digital resources, thanks to the work of several scholars. Giacomo Bartoloni's 1995 survey of specialized newspapers and magazines includes a list of significant works from the period in question.³ Bartoloni's later doctoral research focuses on the social history of the instrument in São Paulo, examining the ways in which piano literature influenced compositional techniques for the guitar and vice versa.⁴ Of equal note is Gilson Antunes's 2002 master's thesis on the guitarist Américo Jacomino, or "Canhoto" (Lefty), as he is better known.⁵ More than a study of a single figure, Antunes's work constitutes a major reference for the guitar scene in the city of São Paulo in the first two decades of the twentieth century, including as it does data on the repertoire circulating in the city and sound recordings being made at the time. In the early 1990s, Paulo Castagna, Gilson Antunes, and Eduardo Fleury conducted a highly influential study of the guitar in São Paulo.⁶ Unpublished, but widely available due to the generosity of its authors, this comprehensive three-volume work focuses on guitar-related news articles from the first three decades of the twentieth century, laying the foundations for subsequent research. Lastly, the contributions of Maurício Orosco and of Paola Picherzky deserve mention for the light they shed on the contributions of guitarists Isaías Sávio and Armando Neves, respectively.⁷ All these studies underpin the present inquiry and help contextualize emerging data on nineteenth-century Brazilian guitar culture.

Newly uncovered primary sources—for example, Humberto Amorim's 2019 discovery of the earliest known Brazilian guitar periodical,⁸ dating from 1857—tell us that the guitar was used in soirées and in public performances during this time, and that much of its repertoire consisted of transcriptions of opera extracts and stylized ballroom dances (waltzes, mazurkas, and gavottes), music that was also widely performed on other instruments such as the flute, violin, and piano. Hence, the guitar was a familiar sight among the bourgeoisie and aristocracy. Indeed, the evidence places the guitar (in one form or another) in a range of cultural settings, pointing to a diffusion of the instrument throughout nineteenth-century Brazilian society. It becomes clear that playing the guitar from notated music, rather than by

- 3 Giacomo Bartoloni, "O violão na cidade de São Paulo no período de 1900 a 1950" (master's thesis), São Paulo State University, 1995.
- 4 Giacomo Bartoloni, "Violão: A imagem que fez escola; São Paulo 1900–1960" (doctoral diss., São Paulo State University, 2000).
- 5 Gilson Uehara Antunes, "Américo Jacomino Canhoto e o desenvolvimento da arte solística do violão em São Paulo" (master's thesis, University of São Paulo, 2002).
- 6 Paulo Castagna, Gilson Antunes, and Eduardo Fleury, "O violão em São Paulo (1900–1930)" (unpublished, 1993).
- 7 Maurício T. S. Orosco, "O compositor Isaías Sávio e sua obra para violão" (master's thesis, University of São Paulo, 2001); Andrea Paula Picherzky, "Armando Neves: Choro no violão paulista" (master's thesis, São Paulo State University, 2004).
- 8 *O Guitarrista Moderno*, 1857. Amorim has also discovered several nineteenth-century compositions for guitar by guitarists such as Alfredo Imenes and Melchior Cortez.

ear alone, was not unheard of at the time, as was previously believed. Although Brazil did not (and still does not) have a consolidated market of printed music for guitar, the number of manuscripts recently found in collections proves that guitar works circulated widely. In the case of São Paulo, the main focus of this article, evidence indicates that the guitar was already making headway as a concert instrument as early as the nineteenth century.

The aim of the present article is to deepen our understanding of the guitar culture of nineteenth-century São Paulo by examining the activities of two Spanish guitarists who arrived on the scene during this period: José Martínez Toboso and Praxedes Gil-Orozco. Reports of guitar performances in the São Paulo press date from as early as the mid-nineteenth century; but these two Valencians, performing in duo, seem to have been the first to play more formal concerts in the city. Composer Alexandre Levy reported the guitarists' 1890 performance in two reviews published in the newspaper *Correio Paulistano*. Most likely, these were the first reviews of guitar concerts published in the São Paulo press. Gil-Orozco went on to live in the city for the next seventeen years (1890–1907) and became a fundamental presence in the guitar scene in São Paulo — his activities will thus be further examined below.

1. José Martínez Toboso and Praxedes Gil-Orozco

José Martínez Toboso was one of a group of guitarists directly connected to Julián Arcas (1832–82),⁹ an Andalusian composer and teacher who influenced Francisco Tárrega (1852–1909) and Antonio Torres (1817–92).¹⁰ A few details of Toboso's career paint the picture of his role within this group:¹¹ In 1876, he played a concert dedicated to Arcas's works in Seville. In that same year, Antonio Torres built him the

9 Arcas was a student of José Asencio, who in turn was a student of the legendary Spanish guitarist Dionisio Aguado (1784–1849). Aguado's nineteenth-century method was often used in Brazil, especially in the first half of the twentieth century. It is believed that Antonio Torres enlarged the body of the guitar at Arcas's suggestion. See Domingo Prat, *Diccionario de guitaristas* (Buenos Aires: Romero y Fernández, 1934), 33.

10 With the development of the piano and concert halls in the Romantic period, the guitar found itself relegated to a secondary role, mainly because of its quiet sound. The Spanish guitarist and composer Francisco de Assis Tárrega Eixea was a key figure in the guitar revival of the twentieth century and is considered one of the founders of the modern guitar. Even though Tárrega left no published method, his numerous students have spread his principles throughout the world, several of them having written methods based on his teachings, which would come to be called the "School of Tárrega." Tárrega transcribed piano works for the guitar, composed for the instrument, performed in recitals, taught, and advocated for the modern guitar, whose most emblematic maker was the Spanish luthier Antonio Torres. The *modern guitar* has a larger body than the *romantic guitar* and an internal system using fan bracing that allowed for a better sound projection, making it possible for the instrument to be performed in larger halls.

11 Martínez Toboso's biographical information is gathered from the following sources: Francisco Herrera, *Enciclopedia de la guitarra*, rev. ed. (Valencia: Editorial Piles, 2011); Norberto Torres, "La guitarra en la prensa de Sevilla y Almería en las dos épocas de Julián Arcas y Antonio de Torres," *Sinfonía Virtual: Revista de Música Clásica y Reflexión Musical*, no. 36 (2019): 1–43.

eleven-string guitar that he would play for the rest of life. In 1878, Toboso performed in a duo with another student of Arcas, Juan Parga, and in 1882 he toured Spain and Portugal with a fifteen-year-old student of Parga named José Rojo.¹² Two years later, he partnered with another one of Arcas's students, Luis Soria (1851–1935). Through such activities, Toboso took his place among those instrumentalists, guitar makers, and teachers who were interested in restoring the guitar to its former prominence through the expansion of its sonority, repertoire, and technique.

It was at the beginning of 1888 that Toboso began performing with Praxedes Gil-Orozco (1857–1916): as a duo they presented a number of concerts throughout Latin America. The pair began their tour of Latin America in 1889, visiting such countries as Venezuela, Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago.¹³ By the middle of 1889 they had reached Brazil: periodicals of the time record the duo's presence in Rio de Janeiro, Pará, Maranhão, Fortaleza, Recife, São Paulo, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul, Bahia, and Minas Gerais. In São Paulo, they performed two concert series, the first in June 1890 (as reported by Alexander Levy: see below), and the second in November and December of that same year,¹⁴ including a trio performance in November with the young Italian violinist Giulietta Dionesi.¹⁵

In late 1890, the duo parted ways: Gil-Orozco decided to remain permanently in São Paulo,¹⁶ and Toboso left for Argentina to continue a solo tour of the American continent, returning to Spain soon afterward. This would not be their final collaboration, however; between 1899 and 1901, Gil-Orozco returned to Spain on family

12 Prat, *Diccionario*, 196.

13 Luis Gil-Orozco Roda, *El guitarrista Gil-Orozco: El artista, el hombre y su tiempo* (Requena: self-published, 2011), 81–93.

14 Alexandre Levy also wrote about this concert. He discussed the performance of each member of the trio, their repertoire, and the participation of a pianist, Miss Imbert, whose choice of repertoire did not altogether please him. *Correio Paulistano* (São Paulo) 37, no. 10,260 (November 18, 1890): 1.

15 Dionesi performed at the age of eleven at the Teatro Sant'Anna, in Rio de Janeiro (1889). It was immediately after Dionesi's concert, as he was leaving the theater, that Dom Pedro II, Brazil's second and last emperor, was attacked by a radical republican—four months before the proclamation of the Republic in Brazil. Dionesi was born in Livorno, Italy (ca. 1877), and died in Ouro Preto, Brazil (1911). The Brazilian poet João da Cruz e Sousa dedicated the poem "Giulietta Dionesi" to her (it was published in the posthumous book *O derradeiro*). Karla Armani Medeiros has written about Dionesi on her blog: see <http://karlaarmani.blogspot.com/2019/01/giulietta-dionesi-jovem-violinista.html>.

16 Sources date Gil-Orozco's arrival in the city between 1901 and 1903, mostly based on the accounts of Isaías Sávio and Ronoel Simões in the magazine *Violão e Mestres* (published by the guitar factory Tranquilo Giannini between 1964 and 1967). As we have seen, Gil-Orozco's arrival, which on the evidence adduced in this article can be dated to 1901, was actually a return. Nevertheless, *Violão e Mestres* remains a vital document of the guitar scene in the 1960s, as well as the history of the guitar in general. The instrument's local history must have reached Sávio and Simões by oral accounts, given that the former arrived in Brazil only in the 1930s and the latter became involved with the guitar in the 1940s. The relation between history and memory in the development of historiography is a theoretical challenge that must be faced constantly. For further information, see Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

matters,¹⁷ and a concert program reveals that the pair performed alongside Francisco Tárrega in two concerts in Gil-Orozco's birthplace of Requena, Valencia, in late November 1900 (**figure 1**).

Toboso made a second trip to Brazil in 1904, when he performed in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo as a member of the Terceto Espanhol (Spanish Trio), together with the bandurria player Primo Campos and the lutenist Daniel Avillar. A São Paulo newspaper records the occasion, testifying to the acclaim Toboso had won on his earlier tour: "Unfortunately, the notable guitarist, who achieved high prestige before going away, is currently, due to illness, limited to accompanying [his two colleagues]."¹⁸ It is clear that the reputation Toboso achieved with his first tour still echoed in the São Paulo press of the early twentieth century. This late phase of Toboso's career saw the publication of his only known composition, *Viva la Pilarica: Gran jota aragonesa*, in Madrid in 1911.

Weighing the evidence presented in this timeline, I suspect that Toboso and Gil-Orozco were the first guitarists to bring the principles of the School of Tárrega to São Paulo, nearly three decades before the arrival of Josefina Robledo.¹⁹ And they were well-equipped to do so: Their proximity to the social circle around Julián Arcas (Parga, Rojo, Soria, and others) and to Antonio Torres and Francisco Tárrega suggests that they were immersed in the development of the modern guitar and its associated techniques.

II. Gil-Orozco and the Guitar in São Paulo

Let us return to Gil-Orozco in the period immediately following his 1890 split from Toboso. We now find him immersed in São Paulo's Spanish immigrant community. In 1892, Gil-Orozco cofounded the daily newspaper *La Iberia*, a periodical in Spanish directed to the community of immigrants living in the city. He was a founding member of two São Paulo associations dedicated to the welfare of Spanish immigrants, Orfeón español in 1896 and the Sociedade espanhola de socorros mútuos São Paulo in 1898.²⁰ He also became involved in collecting funds for the Spanish-American War

¹⁷ Roda, *El guitarrista Gil-Orozco*, 165.

¹⁸ *O Commercio de S. Paulo* (São Paulo) 12, no. 3,649 (May 1, 1904): 2.

¹⁹ Josefina Robledo (1892–1972) was a student of Francisco Tárrega. In 1914, she started a concert tour through Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Brazil. She lived in South America for a decade, first in Argentina and later in Brazil. Although I could not find the exact dates of Robledo's residence in São Paulo, news reports in periodicals indicate that she lived there between 1917 and 1919. In 1924, she returned to Spain. Josefina Robledo's most famous student in São Paulo was Oswaldo Soares, a native of the city who published the guitar method *A Escola de Tárrega: Método completo de violão* (The School of Tárrega: Complete Guitar Method, 1932). For further information about Robledo, see Leandro Márcio Gonçalves, "O processo de difusão do violão clássico no Brasil através da 'Escola de Tárrega' entre 1916 e 1960" (master's thesis, University of Évora, 2015).

²⁰ Roda, *El guitarrista Gil-Orozco*, 143–44.

Figure 1 The cover and program for two concerts performed by Tárrega, Toboso, and Gil-Orozco in the small town of Requena, Valencia, November 24–25, 1900. Roda, *El guitarrista Gil-Orozco*, 171.



SÁBADO, 24		DOMINGO, 25	
CONCIERTO TÁRREGA		CONCIERTO DE BENEFICIO	
CON LA COOPERACIÓN DE LOS SEÑORES		en favor de las obras de la Plaza de Toros de Requena, en construcción, ofrecido á esta ciudad por el	
TOBOSO Y GIL-OROZCO		SR. GIL-OROZCO con la galante cooperación de sus eminentes colegas	
PROGRAMA		TÁRREGA Y TOBOSO	
1.ª PARTE		PROGRAMA	
1.º L. GASNE.	Marcha Lorraine.	Toboso G.-Orozco.	
2.º K. BELA.	Retreta Austriaca.	Id.	
3.º SCHIDMAN.	a. Melodía.	Tárrega.	
	b. Romanza.	Tárrega.	
4.º ARRIETA.	Miscelánea de Marina.	Tárrega.	
2.ª PARTE		1.ª PARTE	
1.º ESTELLES.	Gabota de «Las Escopetas».	Toboso G.-Orozco.	
2.º ALBENZ.	Serenata Española.	Tárrega.	
3.º CHOPIN.	Nocturno número 2.	Id.	
4.º TÁRREGA.	Motivos españoles.	Id.	
3.ª PARTE		2.ª PARTE	
1.º F. CABALLERO.	Alborada del «Señor Joaquín».	Toboso G.-Orozco.	
2.º ALBENZ.	Seguidillas Sevillanas.	Id.	
3.º TÁRREGA.	Fantasia Española.	Id.	
4.º TÁRREGA.	Variaciones sobre el carnaval de Venecia.	Id.	
		Id.	
		Id.	
		Id.	
A las 8 y media en punto.		PROGRAMA	
		1.ª PARTE	
		1.º R. CHAPÉ.	Duo de «La Revoltosa»
		Toboso G.-Orozco.	
		Id.	
		2.º ESTELLES.	Gavota de «Las Escopetas»
		Id.	
		3.º ALBENZ.	Serenata «Granada»
		Tárrega.	
		Id.	
		4.º CHURCA.	Seguidillas del «Chaleco Blanco»
		Id.	
		2.ª PARTE	
		1.º HUMMEL.	Tema alemán con variaciones.
		Toboso G.-Orozco.	
		Id.	
		2.º TÁRREGA.	Capricho árabe.
		Tárrega.	
		Id.	
		3.º SCHUBERT.	Momentos musicales.
		Id.	
		4.º MALATS.	Tema.
		Id.	
		3.ª PARTE	
		1.º GILEY.	Wals. «Loín du Bal»
		Toboso G.-Orozco.	
		Id.	
		2.º MOZART.	Miscelánea.
		Tárrega.	
		Id.	
		3.º VALVERDE.	Gavota de «Marcha de Cádiz»
		Id.	
		4.º TÁRREGA.	Gran Jota Aragonesa.
		Id.	
A las 8 y media en punto.		A las 8 y media en punto	

in Cuba.²¹ This last fact may explain why some Brazilian historical records incorrectly identify the Spanish guitarist as Cuban.²²

Records of Gil-Orozco's commercial, pedagogical, and artistic endeavors establish him as a fundamental figure in the history of the guitar in São Paulo. Beginning in 1901, he represented the guitar factory Pascual Roch & Co. (headquartered in Valencia, Spain) as an instrument importer, displaying the company's instruments at Casa Bevilacqua.²³ Given this association with Pascual Roch, he may also have been responsible for disseminating Roch's *Método moderno para guitarra*, a method inspired by Francisco Tárrega, who was Roch's teacher. If this surmise is correct, this would be yet another indication that Tárrega's teachings were introduced into Brazil toward the end of the nineteenth century, and not later as previously supposed.

In 1903, Gil-Orozco became co-owner of a string factory — A Torcedora Valenciana de Orosco & Blanes — in the Mooca neighborhood in São Paulo.²⁴ The factory manufactured strings of all types, diameters, and gauges, plaited and with extra fibers, using the materials hemp,²⁵ flax, and jute. These strings were sold in the city and the countryside and exported to the states of Rio de Janeiro, Espírito Santo, Bahia, Paraná, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul, and Minas Gerais.²⁶ Certainly, both Gil-Orozco and Toboso would have faced difficulties in finding strings for their guitars while touring Brazil, and this may have provided the impetus for Gil-Orozco to open a string factory. The strings produced by Orosco & Blanes were made for a variety of purposes and were exported to the places where the duo had performed in concerts, showing that one benefit of these performances for Gil-Orozco was the commercial network it established, raising the odds of success for his enterprises in São Paulo.²⁷

Turning to Gil-Orozco's activities as a performer, he is thought to have been the first guitarist to perform solo guitar concerts in the city, back in 1904 — supposedly playing “classical works, Spanish zarzuelas, and a *Fantasia Original*, of his own composition” at the Teatro Santana. This claim, which comes from a 1967 issue of *Violão e Mestres*, is not corroborated by any of the periodicals circulating São Paulo in 1904.²⁸ Gil-Orozco did, however, perform in charitable events in São Paulo — perhaps a

21 The Spanish-American war took place from April 21 to August 13, 1898, following the United States' intervention in the Cuban War of Independence.

22 The earliest reference to Gil-Orozco's nationality that has been found comes from the Uruguayan guitarist Isaías Sávio in *Violão e Mestres* (São Paulo) 2, no. 9 (1968): 51. The spelling of his family name is also noteworthy: Gil-Orozco was often referred to in periodicals as simply Orosco or Orozco.

23 *O Commercio de São Paulo* (São Paulo) 9, no. 2,310 (August 24, 1901): 1.

24 Roda, *El guitarrista Gil-Orozco*, 145.

25 For further information, see Patrizio Barbieri, “Roman and Neapolitan Gut Strings 1550–1950,” *Galpin Society Journal*, no. 59 (2006): 147–81. Barbieri discusses material used for strings in Europe and mentions the use of hemp to make strings for musical instruments in eighteenth-century France.

26 *Correio Paulistano* (São Paulo), no. 14,284 (May 25, 1903): 2.

27 Marília Dalva Klaumann Canovas, *Imigrantes espanhóis na Pauliceia: Trabalho e sociabilidade urbana, 1890–1922* (São Paulo: Edusp, 2009), 289.

28 *Violão e Mestres* (São Paulo) 2, no. 7 (1967): 25.

further indication that he intentionally cultivated a network of relationships to support his many endeavors in the city.

In 1906, Gil-Orozco performed in the prestigious Salão Steinway (Steinway Hall)²⁹ alongside several influential teachers and musicians, as reported in the newspaper *Correio Paulistano* (roughly, the São Paulo Mail):

In Salão Steinway, a concert was held by the experienced Spanish guitarist Gil-Orozco, valuably assisted by the distinguished pianist and illustrious lady Mrs. Elvira Guimarães da Fonseca, by Mr. Alberto Baltar, and by the distinguished teachers Chiafarelli, G. Bastiani, and G. Rochi. . . . To Mr. Gil-Orozco were given, naturally, the evening's honors. He played all his parts in the program with wonderful clarity and fine taste. At times, he enraptured the hall, who warmly applauded him, especially during Arcas's *Cantos da Andaluzia* and Tárrega's Prelude and Menuett, the latter movement also being performed as an encore.³⁰

Certainly, Gil-Orozco's participation in these concerts show how active he was in the cultural life of the city, but it also shows how diverse the guitar's social role really was — despite its being perceived as a marginalized instrument, unsuited for the upper echelons of society.

Three of Gil-Orozco's compositions are currently known: *Recuerdo de Pernambuco*, *Gavota*, and *Maria* (Mazurka). A 1931 manuscript of *Gavota* is present in the Coleção Ronoel Simões, and all three works were published by the Biblioteca Daniel Fortea, in Madrid.³¹

According to Ronoel Simões, Gil-Orozco taught in São Paulo between 1901 and 1908.³² This again reinforces the hypothesis that he introduced the teachings of the Tárrega School. Importantly, a 1907 article about the city of Campinas includes the name of the Spanish guitarist as one of the teachers in the city of São Paulo, corroborating Simões's information:

CAMPINAS – A committee consisting of the conductor Mr. Sant'Anna Gomes, Mr. Alvaro Ribeiro, Mr. Lafayette Egidio, and Mr. Henrique de Barcellos is producing a grand vocal and instrumental concert at S. Carlos theater, for the next period of Carnival. Invited to this artistic contest are ladies of this city; artists who have been working here, such as Ladies Elisa Monteiro, Olga Massucci, Romelia Catelli, Malvina Pereira Cauli, Guiomar Novaes; professors Luiz de Padua Machado, the baritone

29 Salão Steinway was absorbed by the Conservatory of Music and Drama, which started its activities in 1906; it became the conservatory's concert hall.

30 *Correio Paulistano* (São Paulo), no. 15,536 (November 18, 1906): 3.

31 The library's catalogue can be consulted at: <https://bibliotecafortea.com/>.

32 *Violão e Mestres* (São Paulo) 2, no. 7 (1967): 25. However, the later date would have to have been 1907, not 1908, since Gil-Orozco returned permanently to Spain in 1907. See Roda, *El guitarrista Gil-Orozco*, 197.

C. Silva, Virgilio Angelo, Guido Rocchi, Pattapio Silva, Gil Orosco, etc., and the conductors de Rimini and Antonio Leal.³³

Even though no news articles have been found regarding his work as a teacher, one cannot dismiss the possibility that Gil-Orozco also taught guitar in São Paulo between 1890 and 1899. Notice again how he is named alongside the most prestigious Brazilian artists of the time: among the names listed in the article are the flutist Patápio Silva (1880–1907), who hailed from Santa Catarina, the pianist Guiomar Novaes (1894–1979), and the Italian cellist Guido Rocchi, who took part in the founding of the São Paulo Conservatory of Music and Drama.³⁴

III. The Guitar and the Press in Nineteenth-Century São Paulo

In the state of São Paulo in the first half of the nineteenth century, accounts in periodicals indicate that the guitar was cultivated among enslaved populations, especially in the countryside.³⁵ Several notices describing “runaway slaves” offer such descriptions as “[is] very keen on revelries, sings, and plays the guitar,”³⁶ “knows how to read and write and play the guitar,”³⁷ “plays the guitar with the left hand,”³⁸ and “is a left-handed guitar player.”³⁹

Starting in the 1830s, one finds the first mentions of the selling and buying of guitars between private individuals, as in an 1841 advertisement for “a French guitar with a case, a music stand of very modern taste, with two elastic candlesticks that you can disassemble completely.”⁴⁰ The inclusion of the latter items (a music stand and portable candlesticks) suggests that the seller knew how to read music.

The establishment of the São Francisco Law School in 1827 was crucial to the cultural and musical development of the city of São Paulo. A newspaper from Rio de Janeiro reported the first jury trial to take place in São Paulo; it describes how the students, who had arrived one year before, organized an impromptu serenade after the conclusion of the trial:

33 *Correio Paulistano* (São Paulo), no. 15,594 (January 16, 1907): 3.

34 Antonio Candido, *Teresina etc.* (São Paulo: Cosac Naif, 2007), 20.

35 This information was found in a search of nineteenth-century periodicals in the Brazilian National Library’s digital newspaper archive, available at: <http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/>. The data forms part of my doctoral research about the consolidation of the guitar scene in the city of São Paulo: see Flavia Prando, “O mundo do violão em São Paulo: Processos de consolidação do circuito do instrumento na cidade (1890–1932)” (doctoral diss., University of São Paulo, 2021).

36 *O Novo Farol Paulistano* (São Paulo), no. 454 (August 10, 1836): 4.

37 *O Farol Paulistano* (São Paulo), no. 224 (June 27, 1829): 4.

38 *O Farol Paulistano* (São Paulo), no. 262 (October 24, 1829): 4.

39 *O Farol Paulistano* (São Paulo), no. 367 (July 22, 1830): 4.

40 *A Phenix* (São Paulo), no. 364 (October 9, 1841): 4.

On the street, seeing the festive illuminations that were put in place for various happy reasons, it occurred to students and non-students alike that they ought to find a regimental band to sing an anthem. This, however, could not be arranged. The students then formed their own band, with flutes, fiddles, and guitars, going first to someone's house, where tea was served, which, despite being prepared in a hurry and for so many people, one can say was splendid. There followed dances, waltzes...⁴¹

The first reference to any guitar method circulating in the city of São Paulo occurs in 1854, in the form of an advertisement for a method by the Italian Francesco Molino (1768–1847).⁴² In 1860, *Revista Dramatica* mentions a guitarist called Giovanni Scioppio, “who performs, on the guitar, the most difficult parts that are asked of him.”⁴³ Another reference to a guitarist performing in the city names Clementino Lisboa, an engineer and amateur guitarist who lived in Rio de Janeiro.⁴⁴ Here he is in an account of a soirée in São Paulo, in 1864, at the home of a Mr. Sizenando Nabuco:⁴⁵

The skilled artist Mr. Lisboa was the king of the party: extracting from the strings of his guitar such sweet and harmonious sounds that no guitar will ever be able to imitate, the eminent artist displayed an elevated soul and superior talent. *Norma* and *La Traviata*, two supreme sighs of music's splendid goddess, were interpreted and performed with a feeling that went straight to the soul of the artists, wrapping one and all in a single net of vaporous passions.⁴⁶

The magazine *O Violão* was later to call Lisboa the first hero of the concert guitar in Brazil, who had “the courage to face the audience” when others did not.⁴⁷

In 1878, press coverage of a charitable performance at the Escola Americana (American School)⁴⁸ mentions the appearance of a guitar duo. The concert, held

41 *Astréa* (Rio de Janeiro), no. 383 (January 27, 1829): 4.

42 *Correio Paulistano* (São Paulo) 1, no. 82 (October 2, 1854): 4. It is noteworthy that 1854 was also the year of foundation of this newspaper, which was the first daily newspaper of the province. It is possible, therefore, that the method was already in circulation in the city and that it started being advertised in the press only with the appearance of this periodical.

43 *Revista Dramatica* (São Paulo), no. 5 (June 3, 1860): 42.

44 *Amateur* in this sentence does not refer to Lisboa's technical and musical skills but to the fact that he had a different profession as his livelihood.

45 Sizenando, brother to the politician and diplomat Joaquim Nabuco, was a student at the Academy of Law. At its opening on September 7, 1964, the São José Theater staged his play *A Túnica de Nessus*. See Roberto Pompeu Toledo, *A capital de solidão: Uma história de São Paulo das origens a 1900* (São Paulo: Objectiva, 2012), 341. More information about the soirée and Sizenando Barreto Nabuco de Araújo can be found in Carlos Penteado de Rezende, *Tradições musicais da Faculdade de Direito de São Paulo*, commemorative edition for São Paulo's fourth centennial (São Paulo: Saraiva, 1954), 205.

46 *Correio Paulistano* (São Paulo) 11, no. 2,393 (May 11, 1864): 2.

47 *O Violão* (Rio de Janeiro) 1, no. 1 (December 1928): 9.

48 The school was founded in 1870 by Reverend Chamberlain's wife, Mary Annesley Chamberlain, to care for non-Catholic children. Initially operating in the Chamberlains' residence, the school moved in 1876 to number 70 in São João Street, on the corner with Ipiranga

in the school building by its directors, was organized “for the benefit of drought victims in the north of the Empire.”⁴⁹ Among the numbers performed was “O canto da coruja, [played] on two guitars by the amateurs Theotônio Gonçalves Corrêa and Manoel Maximiano de Toledo.”⁵⁰

One of these “amateurs,” Theotônio Gonçalves Corrêa (c. 1860–c. 1935), performed on the radio and made phonograph recordings at the end of the 1920s.⁵¹ An 1882 article suggests he may have been the first guitarist to publish music in São Paulo:

PERY. Yesterday, Mr. Theotônio Gonçalves Corrêa published a musical composition with this title. *Pery* is a tango paulista of rare beauty; we heard it performed on the piano and on the guitar, and especially on the latter instrument, we found Mr. Theotônio’s music delightful. Besides being the inspired composer he now reveals himself to be, he is also, in the opinion of those who listened to him, not only São Paulo’s first guitarist, but an excellent one.⁵²

Although the score for this “tango paulista” has not yet been found,⁵³ another piece has been located—namely *Recordação saudosa*,⁵⁴ published by L. Levy & Irmão (n.d.) and subtitled “sentimental mazurka.” This score is for piano and bears the text “by the same author as *Pery*, Tango, and *Dodoquinha*, Polka.” Those earlier pieces must have been successful, since they are used to promote this one.

Street, where it ran for forty-two years and received a visit by the Emperor Dom Pedro II in 1878. Antônio Barreto do Amaral, *Dicionário de história de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial, 2006).

- 49 The Great Drought (Grande Seca) lasted for three years, 1877–79, affecting northeastern Brazil and most of all the Ceará province. It marked the most devastating event of drought in Brazil’s history, causing the death of over four hundred thousand people. Over 180 thousand people migrated from the Northeast to various parts of the country. See Denise Ap. Soares de Moura, “Andantes de novos rumos: A vinda de migrantes cearenses para fazendas de café Paulistas em 1878,” *Revista Brasileira de História* 17, no. 34 (1997): 119–32.
- 50 *Diário de S. Paulo* (São Paulo) 13, no. 3,631 (January 27, 1878): 2. *O canto da coruja* is a well-known polka by Emílio do Lago. Highly skilled in the art of guitar playing, Toledo (c. 1833–c. 1890) was a well-known tachygrapher who led this service for many years in provincial legislative assemblies in São Paulo. See the website *Petroucic genealogy*, <https://www.genealogieonline.nl/petroucic-genealogy/156579.php>.
- 51 These performances by Theotônio Corrêa were in trio with João Avelino Camargo and José Martins Duarte de Melo. This is the earliest Brazilian guitar trio we know of. They recorded five tracks for the Brunswick label: the gavotte *Iole* and the choro *Sabãozinho*, by Avelino Camargo (1930); the choros *Cadê o Cruzeiro* and *Bancando o Nazareth*, by Theotônio Corrêa; and the choro *Negrinha de filó*, by Avelino Camargo (1929). *Cadê o Cruzeiro* (titled *Cruzeiro* in the score and identified as a *maxixe*) and *Iole* were published for solo guitar but were arranged for guitar trio especially for the recordings and performances on radio, as well as for live performance in public.
- 52 *Correio Paulistano* (São Paulo) 29, no. 7,850 (December 2, 1882): 2.
- 53 *Paulista* means “native of or relating to the state of São Paulo” (not to be confused with *paulistano*, which relates to the city of São Paulo, capital of that state).—Trans.
- 54 The piano score [c. 1885?] was obtained through the e-commerce website *Mercado Livre* in 2018.

Toward the end of the 1910s, again in the *Correio Paulistano*, an anonymous author reminisced nostalgically about the guitar as it was cultivated in late-nineteenth-century São Paulo, again mentioning Theotônio Corrêa and corroborating the impression that there was a “premodern” tradition.⁵⁵ According to the author, this tradition even had an heir in Américo Jacomino:

Certainly, the reader will not be familiar with Venâncio, the Pauliceia’s ultra-guitarist of the time:⁵⁶ but he was a master of the instrument who, when playing his favorite—the Lasquet [sic]—forgot himself and others and lost his grip on reality, making the metallic basses roar or the trebles cackle, in a shrill laughter of nervous commotion. Perhaps they never even got to hear Theotônio, another worthy guitarist who made his name in the São Paulo of the old days. He was particularly extraordinary in the “Canto da Coruja” [Call of the Owl], which would give the hearer the aural illusion of hearing that ominous nocturnal bird, late into the night, and make the superstitious shiver with its mournful moan.

Where [is] the guitar of those days? Nowadays we only know of Americo Jacomino, nicknamed “Canhoto,” who still maintains some of those guitarists’ ways.⁵⁷

These glimpses of Theotônio Corrêa’s work—his three publications with Levy, his duo with Maximiano, and these accounts of his playing in the *Correio Paulistano*—offer just a few traces of guitar activity from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and they certainly deserve more attention.

IV. The Toboso–Gil-Orozco Duo in the São Paulo Press: Alexandre Levy’s Reviews

Alexandre Levy (1864–92) was a composer, pianist, conductor, and music critic from São Paulo. His parents—the French clarinetist Henrique Luís Levy and his wife Anne Marie Teodoreth—were the founders of Casa Levy, a piano and music store that remained an important meeting place for São Paulo’s musicians throughout the nineteenth century. In 1887, Alexandre Levy left to study in Europe. He met professors Cesare Dominicetti (1821–88) and Alberto Giannini (1842–1903) in Milan, and in Paris he took lessons in harmony and counterpoint with Vincenzo Ferroni (1858–1934) and with Debussy’s teacher Émile Durand (1830–1903). Upon his return to Brazil, he resumed his artistic activities: he organized concerts and began writing music reviews in the newspaper *Correio Paulistano* under the pseudonym “Figarote.”⁵⁸

⁵⁵ *Premodern*, that is, in relation to the previously mentioned *modern* guitar represented by Arcas, Tárrega, and Torres.

⁵⁶ *Pauliceia* refers to the city of São Paulo.—Trans.

⁵⁷ *Correio Paulistano* (São Paulo), no. 20,092 (June 12, 1919): 3.

⁵⁸ This biographical information is taken from the Enciclopédia do Itaú Cultural, <http://enciclopedia.itaucultural.org.br/pessoa593911/alexandre-levy>.

Said Tuma characterizes Alexandre Levy the critic as a discreet voice for change:

Here, too, one can find evidence of his modernity. By frequently adopting an attitude of moderation toward musical matters — often taking a comic tone in his writings — as well as regularly focusing his commentaries on technical aspects of musical performance, Levy set himself apart from other newspaper writers in the [state] capital. Although, at times, his articles promulgated something of the civilizing point of view current among the São Paulo elite, with its forward-looking notions, Levy managed to soften his message with moderation and humor, presenting himself as a more discreet and yes, more modern writer.⁵⁹

Thus, Levy’s reviews for the *Correio Paulistano* should be understood within the context of the Brazilian elite’s civilizing agenda; they also coincide with a modernizing process initiated by the advent of the Republic (1889).

Levy used the halls of Casa Levy to host “concerts for the press”: here, musicians would perform private recitals for the local press a few days before a public concert (a practice that remained customary in Brazil throughout the twentieth century). By performing in these recitals, musicians provided material for journalists; they, in turn, prompted the public to attend a concert that had already won the endorsement of influential people in the city. “Figarote”—that is to say, Levy himself—likewise penned reviews, in which he thanked Casa Levy for hosting the private event and urged readers to attend the public concert. Afterwards, he would write one more article — this time, the review of the public performance.

All of this sleight of hand notwithstanding, Levy’s behavior reflected the modernizing project highlighted by Tuma. In tune with the principles of the so-called “generation of 1870,”⁶⁰ he set himself the task of moving Brazil along with the times, of placing it in “the concert of nations,” and thus integrating it into an international modernity. In order to modernize the country, it was necessary to encourage, through direct action of intellectuals, an “increase in the cultural level of the populace.”

This intention may explain why, in contrast with early twentieth-century critics, Levy did not belittle the guitar when he complimented the performances of the two

59 Said Tuma, “O nacional e o popular na música de Alexandre Levy: Bases de um projeto de modernidade” (master’s thesis, University of São Paulo, 2008), 137.

60 The latter half of the nineteenth century marked a period of major upheaval for the Empire of Brazil. Inspired by contemporaneous events in Europe, various parties and social actors began to elaborate a project of renewal, founded on notions of progress and “civilization.” They worked both consciously and unconsciously, directly and indirectly, from contrasting perspectives, and via an array of conversations and practices. An intellectual movement — the so-called Generation of 1870 — emerged, with the mission of analyzing Brazilian society and outlining a path that would remake Brazil as a more modern, “civilized” nation. See Bruno Gontyo do Couto, “O debate sobre meio e raça na geração intelectual de 1870: A construção de um projeto de civilização para o Brasil,” *Em Tese* 13, no. 1 (January/June 2016): 94–95.

Spaniards, Toboso and Gil-Orozco. On the contrary, he displayed a fair knowledge of the instrument's real capabilities in such passages as this:⁶¹

The compliments the two artists received from the press in Rio de Janeiro and in Santos are not undeserved, for they are top-notch guitarists, [who] can draw out from their instruments, especially built according to their plans, . . . the most perfect effects that are possible for a guitarist to produce from their instrument. . . . Mr. Toboso played solo and with great mastery a potpourri of Spanish national arias where we could listen to the jota, the seguidilla, and other characteristic dances from the country of las niñas guapas. (June 1)

. . .duly noting the correctness with which they modulate the keys, their precision, and the impeccable tuning of the instruments. (June 9)

Regarding the audience's reception, the critic stated: "It was another triumph for the charismatic and guapos muchachos, who knew how to keep the audience quiet and attentive throughout the works they played and were always, at the end of each work, warmly and enthusiastically applauded" (June 9). Noting how large their audience was, Levy recommended that the duo perform more concerts in the state capital:

Given the high demand they had the night before last and because a large part of our capital has not yet heard these two *sui generis* artists, it will be the right choice if they decide to give one or even two other concerts, so that the people from São Paulo know the worth of a Jota and a Zapateado performed by Messrs. Toboso and Orozco's magical guitars. (June 9)

About the eleven-string guitar, the critic commented: "In form, these instruments are much larger and rounder than the ones we know: they have eleven strings, eight of them over the fretboard and three of them floating, thus displaying a range of three or four octaves, if I am not mistaken" (June 1). Both reviews describe the duo's repertoire:

We would highlight the waltz *Les Sirenes*, by Thomé; Balzoni's Menuet; the Waltz in A minor, by Chopin; a fantasia on passages from the opera *A Masked Ball*. . . (June 1)

61 All quotations to the end of this section are from Levy's two reviews of the Toboso–Gil-Orozco duo in the *Correio Paulistano* (São Paulo). His first review appears in CP 36, no. 10,119 (June 1, 1890): 2; the second appears in CP 36, no. 10,125 (June 9, 1890): 2. To distinguish the two sources, dates are given in line. Researchers using the website <http://bndigital.bn.br/acer-vo-digital/correio-paulistano/090972> will need the issue numbers given in this note.

We also highlight Capucho Hespagnol Moraima, Tescette de las Ratas from Gran Via, which was played as an encore, and several fantasias on the operas *A Masked Ball*, *The Troubadour*, *Poliuto*. (June 9)⁶²

v. Conclusion

Although we are only beginning to unveil the cultural life of the guitar in nineteenth-century Brazil, the information found so far reveals that the common conception of a marginalized instrument, one with few resources except when handled by an extraordinary virtuoso, is a twentieth-century construct representing just one possible narrative of an instrument that was ubiquitous in multiple sectors of Brazilian society.

We learn from nineteenth-century periodicals that the guitar shared repertoire and musical practices with other instruments. In the publications quoted, it is notable that they contain statements denoting familiarity with the guitar, not surprise: “We heard it performed on the piano and on the guitar, and especially on the latter instrument”; “The two artists draw out the most perfect effects that are possible for a guitarist to produce from their instrument”; “In form, these instruments are much larger and rounder than the ones we know.” Early twentieth-century foreign guitarists, on the other hand, did surprise the press, as exemplified in a statement by the poet Manuel Bandeira:⁶³ “It [the guitar] was, however, rehabilitated by the visit we received of two foreigners, who came to reveal to our amateurs all the resources and the true school of Spain’s great virtuosos. I am referring to Agostinho Barrios⁶⁴ and Josefina Robledo.” Mário de Andrade provides another example: “As for instruments like the guitar, [which were] left to the common folk for a while, when a virtuoso emerges, it is the product of sheer luck.”⁶⁵

These nineteenth-century guitarists followed the common trend (imported to São Paulo from Europe) of performing theatrical repertoire — alternating opera extracts, ballads from comedies of manners, folk songs, and ballroom dances. Therefore, the guitar was part of the broader context of the city’s musical life.

62 *Les sirènes* is presumably the waltz for piano *La sirène*, by Francis Thomé (1850–1909); “Balzoni” must be Giovanni Bolzoni (1841–1919); *A Masked Ball* (*Un ballo in maschera*) is Verdi’s opera; *Capucho hespanhol Moraima* likely refers to Morayma, the last Moorish queen of the Kingdom of Granada, who was wife to King Boabdil (c. 1460–c. 1533) and a source of inspiration for several writers and poets; the zarzuela *La gran vía* is by Federico Chueca (1846–1908); *The Troubadour* (*Il trovatore*) is Verdi’s opera; *Poliuto* is Donizetti’s opera.

63 Manoel Bandeira, “A literatura do violão,” *Ariel Revista de Cultura Musical* (São Paulo), no. 13 (1924): 463–68.

64 The Paraguayan guitarist Agustín Barrios played a crucial role in disseminating the guitar in South America. Cyro Delvizio discusses Barrios’s activity in Brazil in *Agustín Barrios in Dreamland: The Amazing Journey of a Paraguayan Guitarist across Brazil*, trans. Théo Amon (Rio de Janeiro: Funarte, 2016).

65 *Diário Nacional* (São Paulo) 3, no. 703 (October 15, 1929): 7.

New technologies have provided us with more tools for improving our knowledge of the past, allowing us to search deeper for information on the sonorities and musical practices of yore. Thus, the digitization of periodicals, the development of ever-finer search engines, and the democratization of access via the worldwide web have revealed the guitar's presence in contexts that were previously unknown. Drawing on this emerging information as our guide, we are able to track down documentation about the guitar in the nineteenth century in public and private collections and to reappraise the instrument's popularity. Quite apart from the substantial increase in available repertoire, this is a new moment for guitar historiography; a sea of opportunity for research that will reshape the history of the instrument, thus moving back half a century, at the least, what we thought was the beginning of solo guitar tradition in Brazil.⁶⁶



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The Flight of the Maiden

Representations of Women & the Guitar in Brazilian Culture

CLÁUDIA ARAÚJO GARCIA

Translated by Diogo Alvarez

TO THINK ABOUT WOMEN AND THE GUITAR is to raise questions — contentious questions, at times — about discourse and its constructs. Women have made a profound and indelible imprint on the history of the guitar, and yet in Brazil, settings and records in which the guitar is depicted in female hands are significantly lacking. In the wider culture, certainly, the guitar is generally associated with the realm of men, but this does not imply an innate hierarchy or discrepancy in worth: on the contrary, it raises important concerns about failures of documentation and about the manner in which women and the guitar are depicted in relation to one another.

The problem of gender representation and the guitar is not an isolated case but the reflection of a bigger picture — that of a systemically sexist society. This is widely discussed in the literature: Tedeschi suggests that because of gender inequality and the way in which patriarchal ideology molds social roles and identities, “marginalized groups, such as women, have played an active role in history but have been consigned to anonymity.”¹ Lord goes further:

Indeed, male dominance is a historical process; it is at once both product and cause of social relationships. As Bourdieu has observed, there is a long and continuous creation of processes through which the historical structures that enabled and consolidated male dominance have been made unconscious.²

Rather than a natural condition, then, male dominance is a construct of historical forces whose mechanisms of power and privation act to suppress female memory. For Tedeschi, memory is “affected, culturally and collectively, by representations of

1 Losandro Antonio Tedeschi, “Os lugares da história oral e da memória nos estudos de gênero,” *OPIS* 15, no. 2 (2015): 333, <https://doi.org/10.5216/o.v15i2.33931>. [Throughout this article, all translations of quoted material are my own.— Trans.]

2 Lúcio José Dutra Lord, “Desigualdade de gênero e literatura brasileira: Um olhar a partir da sociologia,” *Revista Entrelaces* 1, no. 14 (October–December 2018): 131, <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-7552-3637>.

gender,” produced as it is by “individuals who determine what is and what is not true in culture,” so that “whatever does not find meaning in this frame is either forgotten or silenced.”³

The mechanisms that establish and strengthen dynamics of societal constraint—often imperceptible in everyday life or made to seem natural through the passage of time—operate by means of language and discourse.⁴ Thus, concrete instances of male oppression can be found in Brazilian literature, as in many other fields. According to Lord, “these world views, which ultimately defer to male power, are recorded in works of literature, both in the construction of characters and in the way that female authorship is permitted or prohibited.”⁵

It is no different in the music world: in academic circles, concert programs, historical records, in the repertoire that is produced and performed, and in institutions of music, one can observe what Rosa and Nogueira call “the mechanisms of validation that exclude women’s works and ways of producing,”⁶ mechanisms with which we must deal on a daily basis. Women instrumentalists, improvisers, composers, and intellectuals are kept out of the public eye—as opposed to teachers or singers, whose professions are deemed a better fit for an idealized concept of feminine nature. This gap occurs because

activities that bring together feminine work and intellectual work are considered transgressive to this model and suffer both veiled and explicit punishment, based on a tacit and presumptive conception of the work being unworthy, in which the [musical work’s] link to a gender determines its perceived value.⁷

In this study of women and the guitar in Brazilian culture, I will explore some of the possible manifestations of the “broad network of metaphors and cultural practices associated with masculinity or femininity” that underpin the system of gender relations. In reviewing the accepted discourses and values of this system, I shall examine the absence of female agency—which “is so ubiquitous that it comes to seem normal”—as well as some of the narratives that have been normalized, perpetuated, and institutionalized.

Also discussed is the recurring association of the guitar with the female body, an objectifying discourse that reinforces certain stereotypes and behaviors. At the same time that the charming and seductive guitar is used as a representation of the

3 Tedeschi, “Os lugares da história oral,” 335.

4 See Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); translated into Spanish by Consol Vilà I. Boadas as *Género y Historia* (Mexico City: FCE, Universidad Autónoma de la Ciudad de México, 2008).

5 Lord, “Desigualdade de gênero e literatura brasileira,” 133.

6 Laila Rosa and Isabel Nogueira, “O que nos move, o que nos dobra, o que nos instiga: Notas sobre epistemologias feministas, processos criativos, educação e possibilidades transgressoras em música,” *Revista Vórtex* 3, no. 2 (2015): 48.

7 Rosa and Nogueira, 50–51. Both quotations in the following paragraph are from the same source, p. 48.

woman, as is commonplace, in feminine discourse it acquires connotations of violation, spoliation, and abandonment. Ultimately, one can observe that these dominant narratives continue to be replicated in Brazilian literature while depictions of women playing guitars are underrepresented or even erased altogether. Women guitarists, despite their significance, too often reside on the margins.

I

“Listen not, daughter, to the melancholy song! Shut the window and flee!”

In the field of comparative studies, an investigation of references to the guitar (and related instruments) in Brazilian poetry will reveal how associations with the male sphere predominate, while settings in which a woman is playing the instrument are sparse.⁸

In his 1870 poetic scene “Uma página de Escola Realista: Drama cômico em quatro palavras” (A Page in Realist Style: Comic Drama in Four Words),⁹ Castro Alves places the guitar in the feminine hands of Sílvia. In a small alcove, at the deathbed of Mário, she cries “in an undertone, accompanying herself on the guitar.” The author’s stage direction indicates that “upon her last arpeggios, she sheds a tear,” and Mário, “seeing her cry,” declares:

Sílvia! Deixa rolar sobre a guitarra,	Sílvia! Let the pilgrim harmony
Da lágrima a harmonia peregrina!	of your tear roll over your guitar!
Sílvia! Cantando — és a mulher formosa!	Sílvia! Singing — you are woman’s loveliness!
Sílvia! Chorando — és a mulher divina!	Sílvia! Weeping — you are woman’s divinity!

In this passage, three elements stand out: first, the arpeggios, which foreshadow in metaphor the tears that roll down Sílvia’s face as she weeps “over the guitar”—the instrument becomes her support, her pillow. The second element is the fascination stirred by Sílvia’s singing and playing, enchanting her listener-lover. The third and last aspect refers to the “pilgrim harmony,” which marks, in historical, musical, and symbolic terms, the various roads along which the instrument has traveled. As companion to so many wandering figures (such as *seresteiros*, troubadours, *tropeiros*, soldiers, and *ciganos*),¹⁰ the guitar reveals its devotional aspect and its ability to

8 See Cláudia A. Garcia, “Amores, volúpias e memórias: Um retrato do violão na poesia brasileira,” doctoral thesis, Pontifical Catholic University of Minas Gerais, 2019.

9 In Castro Alves, *Espumas flutuantes* (Bahia: Camilo de Lellis Masson, 1870; Cotia, São Paulo: Ateliê, 2005), 241–47. Citations refer to the Cotia edition. All ellipses are in the original text.

10 *Seresteiro* is a Brazilian term for an artist in the style of *seresta*, a traditional Brazilian serenade; a *tropeiro* is a driver of horses or cattle in Brazil, especially during the eighteenth century but still present in Brazil nowadays; *cigano* is an exonym for the Romani people in Portuguese, used also to refer to nomadic people and activities.—Trans.

journey through distant lands. This portability allows for — and partly explains — its extensive spread, its democratic use, and its inclusion in the instrumentation of such contrasting musical styles as, say, the *modinha* and *lundu*.

Though bound by the “cold padlocks” of Mário’s “white fingers,” Sílvia begins to write a note: it reveals her longing for freedom, her overflowing desire — and the name of her true beloved:

“Paulo! Vem à meia-noite. . .	“Paulo! Come at midnight. . .
Mário morre! Mário expira!	Mário dies! Mário fades!
Vem que minha alma delira	Come, because my soul raves
E embalde cativa estou. . .”	and I am captive in vain. . .”

In this mixture of tragedy and comedy — two elements that surround complicated romantic relationships — the tension created by the love triangle is released with Mário’s death. Having surreptitiously read the “captive” woman’s confession, he “frees” her to follow her path:

Sílvia! a morte abre-me os dedos,	Sílvia! death opens my fingers,
És livre, Sílvia. . . caminha!	You are free, Sílvia. . . walk!

For Sílvia, freedom comes only through loss.

Although, in this example, the guitar is pictured in female hands, this is not the case for most of the material collected for this study. This point, however, must be understood in a broader context than that of literary discourse, which merely gives substance to shared cultural perceptions of the instrument. Given the structure of gender roles in Brazilian culture, the guitar’s placement in the realm of men becomes a distinctive and recurring feature of Brazilian literature, relegating women to a passive, remote role as inspirer or recipient of the poetic-musical expression.

In literary portrayals of this type, which evoke the image of the *seresta* (the traditional serenade), the muse in her purity (associated with a rose or a flower bud) is usually described as being asleep.¹¹ From this sleep (the stuff of myth and fable) — a sleep of enchantment that numbs her desire — the woman is awakened by the sound of the enamored man’s arrival.

The serenader or *seresteiro* personifies the guitar’s alleged link to bohemia and vagabondage. This character, inclined to nightlife, is seen as belonging to the streets, bars, and *botecos*,¹² places considered inappropriate for a lady. But he is also a marginal figure, living freely — something considered dangerous or even reprehensible for a

11 Note that an *image*, as the word is used here, may be vague and half-formed, conditioned as it is by both personal experience and sociocultural context. When an image is evoked, historical considerations come into play, as do the meanings assigned to it by collective culture and the reader’s acceptance of such meanings.

12 A *boteco* is a small, simple-looking bar, where customers can get cheap drinks and finger food.— Trans.

woman—because he escapes social conventions and confounds the expectations of others.

The image of the serenade also evokes the predestination-prohibition duality (as in the Shakespearean balcony and Romeo and Juliet’s archetypal youthful love), marked by physical and social distance between the muse on the balcony, protected—curbed—by the house, tradition, and the patriarchy, and the lover beneath, with his contemptible guitar and way of life.

The danger represented by the guitar and the guitarist is that the sound of the instrument passes through all barriers and acts directly on the woman in her dilemma—to open the window or not? On this subject, Carlos Drummond de Andrade, in the poem “A serenata” (The Serenade), is emphatic:

Não há garrucha que impeça:	No weapon can interfere:
A música viola o domicílio	Music violates the dwelling
e põe rosas no leito da donzela.	and lays roses on the maiden’s bed. ¹³

It is not only the threshold of place or dream that is crossed: the violation extends to the woman herself. For the vagrant guitar—harbinger of the *malandro* or rogue¹⁴—is associated with another important character: the seducer. As in the archetypal Don Juan, this hedonist and womanizer, along with his “scandalous” guitar influences his female audience, arousing desire at the same time as inflicting pain and disenchantment. If she surrenders to the seducer—to his call and his guitar—the woman will suffer disillusion, violation—of her life and body—and ruin.

Because of these risks, a censorious cultural discourse bids the woman close the window and escape from the fascination exerted by the seducer, as in this 1887 sonnet by Raimundo Correia:

ÁRIA NOTURNA	NIGHT ARIA
Da janela em que olhando para fora, Bebes da noite o incenso a longos tragos, Claro escorre o luar. . . Em sonhos vagos, Atrás da sombra espreita, rindo, a aurora. . .	Through the window where you, gazing out, drink the perfume of the night in long drafts, the moonlight streams clear. . . In vague dreams, daybreak lurks in the shadows, laughing. . .
Longe uns dolentes, músicos afagos, Sentese? . . . Não é o rouxinol que chora Nas balsas, nem o vento que desflora A toalha friússima dos lagos. . .	Do you feel doleful, musical caresses from afar? . . . It is not the nightingale that sings on the balsas, nor the wind that plucks the frigid, misty veil of the lakes like a flower. . .

13 In Carlos Drummond de Andrade, *Boitempo e A falta que ama* (Rio de Janeiro: Sabiá, 1968), 24.

14 *Malandro* is a term for a man who uses cunning, malice, and often unethical or illegal ways to gain advantage (similar to *rascal*, *rogue*, or *scoundrel*). The character of the *malandro* is commonly found in Brazilian culture and especially (though not exclusively) linked to the state of Rio de Janeiro.—Trans.

É ele; e vaga toda a noite, enquanto
O luar macilento e o campo flóreo
Tressuam mole e pérfido quebranto. . .

Não lhe ouças, filha, o canto merencóreo!
Fecha a janela e foge, que esse canto
Vem da guitarra de D. Juan Tenório!

It is him; and he wanders all night long, while
the feeble moonlight and the flowery field
wafts soft and perfidious bewitchment. . .

Listen not, daughter, to the melancholy song!
Shut the window and flee, for that song
comes from the guitar of Don Juan Tenório!¹⁵

But locks and latches can prevent neither enchantment nor dishonor (from a rosebud to a flower torn to pieces), leading the woman who surrenders to endure heartbreak, violation, and abandonment. Let us see what is revealed about this topic when the guitar is placed in female hands, as in this poem by Cecília Meireles — poet, folklorist, and writer:

O VIOLÃO E O VILÃO

Havia a viola da vila.
A viola e o violão.
Do vilão era a viola.
E da Olívia o violão.

O violão da Olívia dava
vida à vila, à vila dela.
O violão duvidava
da vida, da viola e dela.

Não vive Olívia na vila.
Na vila nem na viola.
O vilão levou-lhe a vida,
levando o violão dela.

No vale, a vila de Olívia
vela a vida
no seu violão vivida
e por um vilão levada.

Vida de Olívia — levada
por um vilão violento.
Violeta violada
pela viola do vento.

THE VIOLÃO¹⁶ AND THE VILLAIN

The village had a *viola*.
A viola and a *violão*.
The viola was the villain's.
And the *violão* was Olívia's.

Olívia's *violão* enlivened
the village, her village.
The *violão* lacked confidence
in life, the viola, and Olivia.

Olívia doesn't live in the village.
Not in the village and not in the viola.
The villain took her life,
taking away her *violão*.

In the valley, Olívia's village
holds a vigil for a life
lived in her *violão*
and taken by a villain.

Olívia's life — taken
by a violent villain.
A violet violated
by the viola of wind.¹⁷

15 Raimundo Correia, "Ária noturna" (Night Aria), *Versos e versões* (Rio de Janeiro: Moreira Maximino, 1887), 38, <https://digital.bbm.usp.br/handle/bbm/5032>. Ellipses in original.

16 *Violão* (pronounced /vɨoˈlẽõ/) is the Portuguese term for an acoustic or classical guitar. In the translation of this poem, translating the word to English would severely weaken alliterations and assonances in the text, so it has been retained in Portuguese. *Viola* probably refers to the *viola caipira*, a Brazilian guitar-like instrument with five double-string courses. — Trans.

17 Cecília Meireles, *Ou isto ou aquilo*, illustrated by Odilon Moraes, 7th ed. (São Paulo: Global, 2012), 41.

Although it is taken from a children’s book, *Ou isto ou aquilo* (Either This or That)—Meireles’s last work, published in 1964, the year of her death—this poem invites multiple interpretations.¹⁸

“The *Violão* and the Villain” deploys simple, everyday vocabulary, with short words and sentences, brief, recurring rhythms, alliterations, assonances, and rhymes that create a phonetic play by their constant repetition. The entangled phonemes make the poem challenging to recite, resulting in the sort of tongue twister that is so apt for the world of children.

Thus the guitar lends rhythmic and thematic impulse to the poem and determines its sonorities and meaning. But it is not my intention here to provide in-depth structural analysis or to dwell on the poem’s childlike aspects; let us rather focus on its meaning to adults and the profound feeling it communicates.

This backwards “fairy tale” does not identify the male character: he is loosely referred to as the “villain.” Named or not, his symbolic significance is clear. The woman, on the other hand, assumes her individuality undisguised; her name—Olívia—is divulged along with her story-poem, her uncertainties, disillusion, and painful violation.

Through lexical play, important oppositions are identified as references to—and attributes of—each character:

Olívia ↔ *vilão* (villain)
violão ↔ *viola*
dar (give) ↔ *levar* (take)
violeta (violet) ↔ *violento* (violent)

The distinction between the two instruments—the *violão* (guitar) and the *viola* [*caipira*]¹⁹—is essential to the game; they cannot be taken as synonyms, as that would negate the contest, the antithesis, and its implicit violence.

Although the names of the instruments are nouns with concrete definitions, it is possible to find other meanings in them. *Viola*, in Portuguese, can refer to the instrument but can also be a verb: it is a conjugated form of *violar*, “to violate.”¹⁹ Through this lens, the act of violating (*violar*), which is attributed to the villain, lends a deeper meaning to the word “guitar” (*violão*), which now represents the woman’s body and life.

If on the one hand the guitar gives life to the village and to Olívia, on the other it holds back: it lacks confidence in “life, the viola, and Olívia,” revealing a creeping insecurity and foreshadowing the woman’s destiny. The pain that the hands and sounds

18 On the possibility of reading this book in various ways, Carlos Drummond de Andrade states in *Correio da Manhã*, on July 10, 1964: “Just for children? I believe that adults are delighted by this new book that is not meant for them.” He then concludes, “A meeting of the little ones with poetry: lucky are those kids who stumble upon this box of surprises. . . . I can’t decide if I should pass the book along to the tiny people in my circles or keep it to myself.” “Imagens de flautinha: *Ou isto ou aquilo*,” 6.

19 *Violar* can and has been used as an informal neologism as well, meaning “to play the viola.”—Trans.

of the villain-*viola* inflicts on Olivia-*violão* takes away her “touch”—her connection with her music and her body.

In the final stanza, a change in the poem’s flow and accentuation marks the symbolic annihilation that the woman is forced to endure. Intensifying the ending of the story, the phonetic reiteration is broken by the first appearance of the consonant [t]; as it repeats, its unvoiced and explosive pronunciation reinforces the semantics of words such as *violento* (“violent”) and *vento* (“wind”). These words, which communicate the violence of the villain’s acts, also convey the fricative [v], which permeates the poem with its continuous outflow of air. Thus, both the villain (associated with the blowing wind) and the *violão* have their sounds and meaning amplified by the phonetic effect.

In “The *Violão* and the Villain,” the experience of loss cannot be ignored, only made tolerable. As she endures the pain of life, disillusion, and ruin without prospect of relief, the woman is left with nothing but violation and abandonment. These sentiments connect us to collective and universal perceptions, which are marked by the rules of the game, by disenchantment, and by the impermanence of life. Through Olívia’s guitar—her instrument and a metaphor for her body, by means of shape and association—we see the representation of the silenced woman. Only pain and hollowness remain at the core of this “violated violet.”

II

*“Harvesting moonbeams, he made silver ropes, which, when stretched,
vibrated the woman’s naked body”*

In female discourse, then, the guitar as a metaphor for a woman betokens her desire for freedom and the shattering effects of violation: this is Olivia’s story. But there is another side: even now, and with society’s blessing, a comparison between the shape of the instrument and the female body continues to be perpetuated in stereotyped and hypersexualized imagery.

In the song *Violão* (Guitar), by the songwriter and poet Paulo César Pinheiro (born 1949 in Rio de Janeiro), the instrument comes from the sculpted body of a woman, made of pine wood, by the hands of a craftsman:

VIOLÃO

Um dia eu vi numa estrada
Um arvoredo caído
Não era um tronco qualquer
Era madeira de pinho
E um artesão esculpia
O corpo de uma mulher

GUITAR

Once I saw by the road
A fallen tree
It was no ordinary wood
It was the wood of a pine tree
And a craftsman was carving
The body of a woman

Depois eu vi pela noite	Then I saw in the night
O artesão nos caminhos	The craftsman on the paths
Colhendo raios de lua	Harvesting moonbeams
Fazia cordas de prata	He made silver ropes
Que, se esticadas, vibravam	Which, when stretched, vibrated
O corpo da mulher nua	The woman's naked body
E o artesão, finalmente,	And into this wooden woman
Nesta mulher de madeira,	The craftsman, at last,
Botou o seu coração	Put his heart
E lhe apertou contra o peito	And he pressed her to his breast
E deu-lhe nome bonito	And gave her a beautiful name
E assim nasceu o violão.	And so the guitar was born. ²⁰

Pinheiro's male character, who carves and collects, is the one who gives—from himself—a heart and a name to his creation (invoking the power of language). In a parallel with the narrative of Genesis,²¹ the guitar comes into being when, into this wooden woman, he inserts not a rib, but his heart.

In the song, the craftsman plays a fundamental role in the conception of woman and guitar, while the woman is embedded in the sequence of creation (tree → woman → guitar). The image of a woman is therefore superposed to that of a guitar to such an extent that they blend together. This perspective, for all its poetic force, tends to objectify women and to reinforce certain patterns—creating stereotypes that can be found throughout history and in media of all sorts.

This blending together is made explicit in “A Woman Called Guitar,” a descriptive piece by “Poetinha” (Little Poet)—nickname of the Brazilian poet and diplomat (and guitar player) Vinícius de Moraes:

A WOMAN CALLED GUITAR

One day, I casually told a friend that the guitar, or *violão*, was “music in the shape of a woman.” The phrase delighted him, and he has been spreading it as if it were what the French call *un mot d’esprit*. I must argue that it is no such thing; it is rather the truest of facts.

The guitar is not only music (with all its potential orchestral possibilities) in the shape of a woman, but it is also, of all the musical instruments that draw inspiration from the female form—viola, violin, mandolin, cello, double bass—the only one that represents the ideal woman: neither too big nor too small, with slender neck, round, smooth shoulders, small waist, and broad hips; cultured but not arrogant; reluctant to flaunt herself, unless by the hand of the one she loves; attentive and obedient to her

20 Sueli Costa and Paulo César Pinheiro, *Violão*, in Fátima Guedes, *Pra bom entendedor*, Rio de Janeiro, Velas, 1993, compact disc.

21 “And the rib that the LORD God had taken from the man he made into a woman and brought her to the man.” Gen. 2:22 (New Revised Standard Version).

loved one but without losing her character and dignity; and, in the couple's intimacy, tender, wise, and passionate.

There are violin-women, cello-women, and even double-bass-women. But because they refuse to establish that intimate relationship that the guitar offers; because they refuse to be made to sing and would rather become the object of solos or orchestral parts; because they respond poorly to the finger's touch when one tries to vibrate them, instead preferring such implements as bows and picks, they will in the end always be rejected in favor of a guitar-woman, whom a man can, whenever he wants, hold tenderly in his arms, and with whom he can spend hours in wonderful isolation, without the need to hold her in an unchristian position, as happens with a cello, or to stand in front of her, as with a double bass.

Even a mandolin-woman (that is, a mandolin) is out of luck, if she does not find a Jacob of her own.²² Her voice is too shrill to be tolerated for over half an hour. And that is why the guitar, or violão (that is, the violão-woman), has all the advantages. In the hands of a Segovia, a Barrios, a Sainz de la Maza, a Bonfá, a Baden Powell,²³ it can shine in society as brightly as a violin in the hands of an Oistrakh or a cello in the hands of a Casals. Those instruments, on the other hand, can hardly achieve the peculiar pungency and swing that a guitar can, let it be played modestly by someone like Jayme Ovalle or Manuel Bandeira, or adroitly by the likes of João Gilberto or even the *crioulo* Zé-com-Fome, from Favela do Esqueleto.²⁴

Divine, delicious instrument that marries so well with love and everything that, in the fairest moments of nature, induces wonderful abandon! Not for nothing is one of its most ancient ancestors called the viola d'amore, as if it foretells the sweet phenomenon of so many hearts stricken daily by the melodious timbre of its strings... Even the way it is played—against the chest—recalls a woman who nests in her loved one's arms and, saying nothing, seems to beg with kisses and caresses for him to take her completely, make her vibrate to her core, and love her above all else, because otherwise she can never be truly his.

Set in the high sky a quiet moon. Does it ask for a double bass? Never! A cello? Perhaps, but only if a Casals is behind it. A mandolin? Not in a million years! A mandolin, with its tremolos, would disturb its luminous rapture. Then, what does one need (thou might ask) under a quiet moon high up in the sky? And I shall answer thee: a guitar. For only the guitar, of all musical instruments created by the hands of men, is capable of hearing and understanding the moon.²⁵

22 Jacob do Bandolim (1918–69) was a Brazilian composer, musician, and mandolin virtuoso.— Trans.

23 Luiz Bonfá (1922–2001) was a Brazilian guitarist, singer, arranger, and composer. Baden Powell de Aquino (1937–2000) was a Brazilian composer and guitar virtuoso.— Trans.

24 *Crioulo* is a term that originally referred either to a Black man born in colonial Brazil of African parents or to a Caucasian man born in Brazil from European parents. Nowadays, the term usually refers to Black people in general and is widely considered offensive. José Gonçalves (1908–54), also known as “Zé da Zilda” and “Zé-com-Fome,” was a Brazilian composer and singer.— Trans.

25 Vinícius de Moraes, “Uma mulher chamada guitarra,” in *Para viver um grande amor: Crônicas e poemas* (Rio de Janeiro: Self-published, 1962), 7–8 (ellipsis in original).

In his desire “for a guitar-woman, whom a man can, whenever he wants, hold tenderly in his arms,” Moraes creates a connection between the woman and the instrument that, for all its lyricism, borders on objectification. This objectification is implied by both the masculine imperative (when Moraes endorses the submissive attitude of a woman who is “attentive and obedient to her loved one”) and the association of forms, where the shape of the guitar is “the only one that represents the ideal woman: neither too big, nor too small; of elongated neck; round, smooth shoulders; small waist and broad hips. . .”

This gluing together of concepts is also found in the metaphorical images of the body and the effects of the male touch on the guitar and the woman — both nested “in her loved one’s arms.” When he touches the guitar, the man also touches, by symbolic extension, the female body.²⁶

All these elements expose the way in which standards of beauty and behavior are dictated to women, reinforcing old structures that expect the woman to maintain “character and dignity” in the eyes of society but subservience “in the couple’s intimacy,” where she is to be “tender, wise, and passionate.”

The ambivalent femininity that unites a supposed spiritual superiority of women with submission and passivity toward the wishes of men is contaminated with a controlled, socially sanctioned code of conduct. Thus, an ideal standard is sought after, defined by Rosa and Nogueira as a “woman, mother, wife, lover, and successful professional, and the bearer — but not owner — of a body cultivated under standards that are dictated daily.” In this model, a woman’s validation depends on the approval of a man, “whether the father, husband, teacher, or colleague”; yet all the while, she must act so as not to “pose a threat to the feminine community.” Still, according to Rosa and Nogueira,

this desire for approval with which the construction of feminine identity deals, explicitly and at the same time subliminally, disguises itself, in Western culture, with an aura of “just the way it should be,” coated with a dictatorial cruelty that affects the very existence of the majority of women.²⁷

26 Figures of speech related to sensuality and sexuality occur in several works from different historical periods, such as Castro Alves’s Don Juan, who in the poem “Os três amores,” addresses all the women he has seduced by exclaiming: “Loving maidens / You know me in the laments of the guitar!” (“Donzelas amorosas / Vós conheceis-me os trenos na viola!”). (The Portuguese term used here is *viola [caipira]* or Brazilian guitar.) Besides the sexual fulfillment suggested by the verse, the guitar can represent a woman’s body both in a broader perspective — after all, the maidens are familiar with the seducer’s abilities — and suggestively, as in the touching of intimate parts. This erotic connotation, representing not only the sexual act but also the female body, can also be found in Gregório de Matos (1636–96): talking about “Anica” and — with no romantic pretenses — “shattering the guitar,” he brings out the sexual connotation of the encounter, “for I had fallen so low / that I fiddled with the peg / and played around the hole” (“já que fui tão desgraçado, / que buli co’a escarvelha, / e toquei sobre o buraco”). See Gregório de Matos, *Obra poética* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Record, 1992).

27 This and the previous quotations from Rosa and Nogueira are taken from “O que nos move,” 50.

Returning to Vinícius de Moraes, it is striking that the text refers not only to important guitarists in classical music (such as Segovia, Barrios, and Sainz de la Maza), but also to those of the popular realm (Bonfá, Baden Powell, João Gilberto, Jaime Ovalle). Also included are admirers of the instrument and marginal characters (such as “the *crioulo* Zé-com-Fome, from Favela do Esqueleto”). Besides their passion for the guitar, what they have in common is the fact that they are all men.

Although this passage reveals the instrument’s ability to cross boundaries and accommodate several different musical genres, and to be played by both expert and inexpert hands, and even though it names essential characters of guitar history, the focus on men underscores the lack of any reference to women.

Of course, I recognize that all these characteristics and names serve the text: one can respect the author’s expressive liberty without demanding historical or musicological accuracy. And yet when literary or cultural discourse treats the guitar’s actual history so ambiguously, broader questions arise. In this perspective, the prevailing narrative fails to address the broad reach that the guitar has historically achieved among women, in the home and in *estudantinas*,²⁸ as well as in the work of important performers. Given traditional stigmas associated with the guitar, it is no accident that women’s hands have done so much to reevaluate and mitigate them.

III

“Fairy hands, indeed”

Throughout the guitar’s history in Brazil, several women have played a role in popularizing the instrument, playing significant roles in performance, teaching, recording, composing, and in heightening its reputation. While acknowledging the importance—but also the impossibility—of covering the power, achievements, and influence of these women, let us cite only a few names before focusing on the shifting discourse around the instrument and its symbolism.

In the first few decades of the twentieth century, extensive social segregation in Brazil and negative perceptions of the guitar presented major obstacles to the instrument’s acceptance in classical music circles. The newspaper *Jornal do Commercio* (1916) mentioned that attempts to increase acceptance had been in vain up until that point, because even “when a virtuoso tries to extract from [the guitar] more elevated effects in the art of sound, they can never achieve either their goal or even a seriously appreciated result.”²⁹

28 An *estudantina* is a group of students dedicated to playing music, either vocal or instrumental.—Trans.

29 Quoted in Márcia Ermelindo Taborda, “Violão e identidade nacional: Rio de Janeiro 1830/1930” (doctoral thesis, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2004), 63.

Change in the guitar's status in Brazil—especially as a solo instrument—would depend on the quiet contributions and pioneering spirit of some Brazilian guitarists and the arrival of concert artists from abroad: chief among the latter were the Paraguayan Agustín Barrios (1885–1944) and the Spaniard Josefina Robledo (1892–1972).³⁰ This process is described in a 1917 review in the newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo*, which relates that “currently, [the guitar] is starting to rehabilitate its reputation: it is already sparking interest in artistic circles and proving its qualities as an aristocratic instrument in the great halls.”³¹

In this process of rehabilitation, Robledo would play a crucial role. The narrative built from the picture of the guitar in a woman's hands would be surrounded by a fable-like charm, a charm of the moon and the heart, of sweetness and daintiness, as exemplified in this 1918 article from the newspaper *O Rebate*:

Fairy hands, indeed, for only a fairy's can be the hands that hold the frailty of that magnificent guitar, and dig to the depths of its soul, and from it unearth moonlight-made sonority, and make that sonority spread across the room, now embalmed with the gentlest poetry, and penetrate the hearts of those who listen, elating them in the sweetest caress. It is clear that the artist who can achieve that much is a perfect artist. And so is Josefina Robledo, for her infatuating technique that allows her to master this instrument, which is among the hardest ones there are.³²

As one might imagine, this new set of metaphors and associations helped to dislodge or at least weaken all the masculine meanings given to the guitar—a tool with which to seduce and “corrupt” muses in serenades, an instrument found in streets and bars.

By revising these meanings and working to balance the two poles—feminine elegance and delicacy versus contempt for guitars and guitarists—Robledo prompted people to think about the guitar in new ways: “Thus, one can see that the slender fingers of her aristocratic hand resemble wings that rustle and flutter, conveying a

30 Robledo studied with the composer and guitarist Francisco Tárrega (1852–1909), generally considered the founder of the modern school of guitar. She lived in Brazil, and her work as a teacher not only influenced the outlook and education of Brazilian guitarists but also broadened the musical and technical possibilities of the time, “lavishing valuable teachings on upper-class ladies and young men of true merit.” Through her, “the guitar has infiltrated São Paulo's upper classes and is affectionately cultivated.” Aristodemo Pistoressi, Francisco Pistoressi, Oswaldo Soares, and Yvonne Daumerie, “O violão em S. Paulo,” *O Violão* (São Paulo) 1, no. 2 (1929): 24.

31 Quoted in Gilson Antunes, “Américo Jacomino ‘Canhoto’ e o desenvolvimento da arte solística do violão em São Paulo” (master's thesis, University of São Paulo, 2002), 43.

32 *O Rebate*, 1918, quoted in Patrícia Pereira Porto and Isabel Porto Nogueira, “Imagem e representação em mulheres violonistas: Algumas reflexões sobre Josefina Robledo,” in *Congresso da Associação Nacional de Pesquisa e Pós-Graduação em Música (ANPPOM)* (São Paulo and Anais: ANPPOM, 2007), 17:7. https://antigo.anppom.com.br/anais/anaiscongresso_anppom_2007/musicologia/musicol_PPPorto_IPNogueira.pdf

hymn of love and of life's emotions, on the strings of a vulgar instrument that she makes noble."³³

To be sure, for the guitar to be redefined and accepted into the classical music world much else would be required: an expanded solo repertoire, transcriptions of celebrated works, the spread of modern technique, and performances in concert halls (in particular in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo). And yet when we consider that in Robledo's hands, the guitar "is no longer a subordinate instrument, casts off its role as a simple accompaniment to *modinhas*, and appears transformed, speaking to our sensibilities and our emotions,"³⁴ we realize what ambassadorial power she wielded in the instrument's intricate journey toward equality. Despite the prejudice that was still firmly attached to the instrument, the newspaper review insists that

Ms. Robledo's guitar looks nothing like the popular guitar, of serenades and vagabonds, of *bailaricos* and improvised familiar dances.³⁵ There is a hierarchy for everything in this world, and one can find it everywhere. As for the musical world, it suffices to say that "virtuosity" has found, in the guitar, a soul, and it has managed to elevate that soul to the same level as those of the noblest instruments. And the very limited number of its interpreters is compelling proof that absolute mastery of this instrument is as hard as or even harder than that of the piano, violin, or cello.³⁶

Whether an "ungrateful" instrument of "noctambulists and serenaders" (from the turn of the century) or something "affectionately cultivated," the guitar finds great popularity in the hands of women, being "present in the social and family groups of *estudantinas*, where young men and women of society played the guitar, along with mandolins and mandolas."³⁷

The instrument would also become a key part of the everyday life of ladies from "good families," enlivening the cultural ambience of Rio de Janeiro. "In the late 1920s," Taborda recounts,

there was novelty in Rio de Janeiro's guitar scene, which echoed across Brazil's principal capitals: young ladies of society dedicated themselves to the instrument, bringing to the public a repertoire of typical Brazilian songs. Further celebrated by the founding of clubs and guitar societies, the movement would unite two trends that strongly characterized Brazilian modernism: on the one hand, it represented the return of the regionalist and nationalist approach, which was reflected in the careful selection of

33 *O Rebate*, 1918, quoted in Porto and Nogueira, "Imagem e representação em mulheres violonistas," 7.

34 *Jornal do Commercio*, 1917, quoted in Taborda, *Violão e identidade nacional*, 68.

35 A *bailarico* is a popular gathering for dancing or a Portuguese folk dance.—Trans.

36 *O Estado de São Paulo*, 1917, quoted in Antunes, "Américo Jacomino 'Canhoto,'" 46.

37 Porto and Nogueira, "Imagem e representação em mulheres violonistas," 4.

repertoire; on the other, it crowned the manifestation of cosmopolitanism that was symbolized by the presence of young, beautiful, and independent women.³⁸

According to Taborda, this was more than a return of mere “regionalism”: “these women’s involvement reflected their legitimate desire for civil rights and above all, the feelings and innovations nourished by ‘modern life.’”

Taborda also points to the vogue for singing with simple guitar accompaniment. Although these details of repertoire sound unexceptional, she argues that playing the guitar would have been innovative and daring at the time, given that the activities considered proper to women were teaching and housework: “In this context, learning the guitar meant more than just studying music, it meant taking action. Performing it publicly, reaching beyond the boundaries of domestic life, and possibly even starting a career meant even more: an affront, a defiance.”

It should be remembered, however, that the spread of plucked-string instruments in female circles dated from much earlier, representing, from the early nineteenth century, not a movement towards independence and transgression, but an affirmation of the social role assigned to women. In this context, the ability to play the guitar would be one of the “endowments” required of a lady, through which she could stand out culturally and socially, especially in situations approved for socializing, such as soirées.

Rarely did such musical activities become a professional career. Regardless of her aptitude or desire, music education was an obligatory part of a lady’s upbringing. Even if she had no intention of becoming a musician, playing an instrument could be of use as a form of entertainment, as an embellishment to social occasions, or as an accessory to “the short time period between a girl’s and a woman’s life”—a period when “the lady dedicated herself to learning music and manners and took an interest in dresses while awaiting the arrival of a husband.”³⁹

Alternatively, it is possible to think of choosing the guitar as a kind of transgression, owing to the instrument’s notorious reputation, especially in comparison to the piano, which was at the time a symbol of social status and cultural sophistication and thus the preferred instrument for a lady’s education. Porto and Nogueira underscore this possibility:

The association of women with an instrument that was still reasonably uncelebrated, less socially distinguished than the piano, and at the same time subversive, modern, and revolutionary might signify a wish to be associated with the image of a reviled instrument. However, it might also indicate a wish to redeem the instrument through its practice—a feminine practice, sanctioned by society, that would bring new meanings to the instrument through their association.⁴⁰

38 These quotations from Taborda are taken from *Violão e identidade nacional*, 154–57.

39 Gilda de Mello e Souza, *O espírito das roupas: Moda no século dezenove* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1987), quoted in Dalila Vasconcellos de Carvalho, *O gênero da música: A construção social da vocação* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2012), 39.

40 Porto and Nogueira, “Imagem e representação em mulheres violonistas,” 4.

Figure 1 “The princesses at a gala.” The Brazilian group Princesses of the Guitar. *Violão e Mestres*, no. 5 (1966): 23.



Apart from a few documented exceptions, such as Josefina Robledo (who was foreign), Nair de Teffé, and Maristela Kubitschek, the overwhelming majority of these women — Paqueta Baylina, for example — ended their musical careers when they married.⁴¹

Women did not enter the Brazilian guitar scene in a straightforward way: research on the subject continues to develop. In this story, several names stand out, such as Olga Pragner Coelho (1909–2008), a leading figure between the decades of 1930 and 1960; Monina Távora (1921–2011), who, despite being foreign, lived in Brazil for over thirty years and taught important Brazilian guitarists; and Maria Lívia São Marcos (b. 1942), daughter to guitarist Manoel São Marcos, who began her musical education at a young age, performed in countless recitals in Brazil, and established her international career in the 1960s.

The second half of the twentieth century was also characterized by a large number of women playing the guitar, as shown by the magazine *Violão e Mestres* in its fifth issue, published in 1966. This periodical mentions the success of an all-women music group called *As Princesas do Violão* (Princesses of the Guitar), directed by Prof. Julieta Corrêa Antunes.⁴² The group’s name has romantic connotations; a photograph of them (**figure 1**) offers a historical record of women playing the guitar, reaching beyond the limits of domestic life, and establishing themselves on stage.

- 41 Nair de Teffé—the First Lady, married to Brazilian president Hermes da Fonseca—not only studied the guitar but also maintained contact with popular composers, such as Catulo da Paixão Cearense. Maristela Kubitschek, daughter to then-president Juscelino Kubitschek, studied under the guitarist Dilermando Reis. Paqueta Baylina, musician from the state of Rio Grande do Sul, studied under the blind guitarist Levino Albano da Conceição but interrupted her musical activities when she got married in 1923.
- 42 As seen in her interview for the magazine, Prof. Julieta not only thinks that “the guitar was meant for women and has dedicated herself to it from an early age” but is also “one of the people who believe that knowing how to accompany a singer is essential to a good guitarist’s education.” “Julieta Córrea Antunes e as ‘Princesas do Violão,’” *Violão e Mestres*, no. 5 (1964): 22.

Many other women played decisive roles in the history of the guitar in Brazil. This female strength in the guitar world is much more widespread, of course: it extends throughout Latin America, Europe, and all over the world. It emerges and renews itself, breaking through the mechanisms (veiled or not) of historical erasure.

From the perspective proposed in this paper, one can see that, notwithstanding the predominance of the male voice, women — despite being silenced — are very much present, and not in exclusively passive roles — as inspirations, themes, or objects of conquest and desire — but as active participants in the guitar scene.

IV

This study of the relationship between women and the guitar through the lens of Brazilian literary and cultural discourse has revealed the coexistence of polarities, characterized on the one hand by representations of femininity — of delicacy, charm, and purity — and on the other by cultural notions of the female body — of voluptuousness, sexuality, and sensuality.

Combining themes of exaltation and seduction, this discourse portrays women as inspirers and dedicatees of poetic and musical gesture. But the guitar whose arpeggios depict *Silvia's* feelings and desires, the guitar that expresses *Olívia's* sorrow and disenchantment, and the guitar that can be found in the hands of so many great female interpreters in the instrument's history escapes all stereotyped expectations of frailty, revealing a strength that is all too often stifled by that discourse and by the impositions of culture.

In the literary material collected for this paper, one is struck by the significantly smaller number of works that are written by women or that represent women playing the instrument. Regarding this observation, it is necessary to highlight two main points, starting with female authorship, given that in the literary canon, so few women writers mention the guitar in their work.

Regarding this aspect, Lord reminds us that in quantitative terms, gender inequality is a feature of literary production itself, “regardless of the time period analyzed.” Because “men had the right to produce literary narratives” ever since writing began, “then it was by exclusion that women were silenced or denied that right.”⁴³ To reproduce these discrepancies is to legitimize this male dominance, to reinforce the choices made by those creating and giving meaning to the narrative, and to presuppose the exclusion of female authorship and modes of production.

And yet the works of female authors, while scarce, are not apathetic. On the contrary, they manifest the restlessness, the drive to be free, and the subterfuges that women adopt to fulfill their wishes. When they appropriate writing (and the guitar), women challenge the process that weakens their subjectivity and wastes their expression. Time and again, women break through boundaries and escape the roles expected of them.

43 Lord, “Desigualdade de gênero e literatura brasileira,” 132.

The second important point concerns the paucity of records of the guitar or related instruments in female hands throughout Brazilian literature. Whether in fictional or nonfictional literature, the prevailing images of literary discourse reinforce the notion of masculinity with which the guitar is imbued and fail to reflect the strength and importance of women for the instrument—who are still underrepresented in guitar history itself. This is a relevant observation because the activities of women guitarists (including troubadours as well as young women who dedicated themselves to the instrument and all the many female concert guitarists throughout history) are rarely reproduced in literary expression and cultural discourses.

Therefore, this very lack of records reveals the importance of the active and restless female voice. At the same time, it shows how female expression is silenced or limited, and it exposes the mechanisms by which women's freedoms are restricted.

To paraphrase Adélia Prado: amid conflicts, dualities, and impositions, “this species, still ashamed,”⁴⁴ goes beyond the cold and pure image of a maiden in order to “carry the flag” and pursue her desires. The woman opens the window, composes verses, and in accepting “the subterfuges that are my due, with no need to lie,” escapes the confines of society and culture. Once the protected and idealized muse of serenades, she is now the one expressing herself and her freedom through the guitar, whether at home or on stage.

As we follow this path, we must “listen from the margins,” reassess boundaries, open the frontiers to acknowledge difference and otherness, dislodge traditions of dominance, and make amends for historical silencing. Given the alienation of women from the canon—guitaristic, musical, literary—it becomes necessary to refute what Rosa and Nogueira characterize as the “hegemony that does not take us into account, does not contemplate us, does not represent us, . . . that denies and excludes the existence of women as creators, thinkers, people—that which is a direct attempt to blot out their accomplishments and their existence.”⁴⁵

In spite of this “burden that is too heavy for a woman” (Prado), it is necessary to realize that to be a guitarist is not a “gift,” an attribute, or even a concession. It is rather an active form of expression, vibrant and defiant throughout a long period of erasure. It is crucial, then, to allow the female voice and the female sound to reverberate, drawing attention to the many women in the guitar scene who are as yet anonymous.

Let us support historical research and initiatives to publicize and encourage the work of women guitarists; but let us also engage in a sustained discussion of stereotyped views of femininity. This entails shifting readings and interpretations, rewriting history, reformulating historical analyses, revising existing material, breaking free from old structures and impositions, “and returning to instances of marginal knowledge, of

44 This paragraph weaves into the text extracts from Adélia Prado's well-known poem, “Com licença poética” (With Poetic License), *Poesia reunida*, 7th ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2021), 17, my translation. “This species” refers to women. For a complete translation, see *Alphabet in the Park: Selected Poems of Adélia Prado*, trans. Ellen Watson (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press), 6.—Trans.

45 Rosa and Nogueira, “O que nos move,” 26.

forgotten knowledge, the knowledge of women, [who are] both present and absent from the plan of historical subjectivity and from the process of their humanization.”⁴⁶

I argue, therefore, that it is essential to uproot limiting customs and to unsettle collective assumptions, so that these images, solidified by time and culture, can be revised and reshaped.



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How I Got into This

Toward a Social History of the Guitar in America

PETER DANNER

In this article, Peter Danner provides a new introduction to his articles on the American “parlor guitar,” published in *Soundboard* between 1977 and 1991 and republished with minor revisions in this issue. Links to each article are provided in the notes.



THE FIRST GUITAR I ever had was a Roy Rogers Special sent to me by a favorite aunt. It really wasn't playable, but I was only seven at the time, and it went well with my cap gun and cowboy hat. This only enhanced my image of the singing cowboy and his trusty guitar as actual symbols of the frontier West, not the fantasy world of Hollywood westerns. I pictured the guitar much the same way clear through high school, while I was going through my Burl Ives and Woody Guthrie phase, as others related more to the Bing Crosbys and Frank Sinatras of those pre-rock-'n'-roll days.

I entered college in 1953 as a history major with a year of classical guitar under my belt. I blame George Frideric Handel for making me change my major after hearing the power of his music, when my roommate dragged me to a *Messiah* rehearsal. I came to musical academia quite the musical outsider, but I applied myself. I learned to read bass clef (*All Cows Eat Grass*) while my classmates were learning to transpose their C clefs. I took beginning piano while they practiced their Chopin études. Josquin, Bartók, Schoenberg, the entire field of classical music was mine to explore! Since I played the guitar a little, they told me to learn about lutes.

A first-rate performer I would never be, but eventually I was able to link the guitar to my twin interests of music and history. I find innovators to be the ones who look to the future and imagine what we can achieve. Historians, on the other hand, tend to look to the past to see how it is we got to where we are. This looking requires source material, and it is here where music historians often work at a disadvantage.

Music implies sound. Yet any sound source created before the advent of recorded reproduction is lost forever, unless it has been passed down through oral tradition or preserved in some form of musical notation. From my guitar lessons, I learned there had been European guitar composers like Sor and Carcassi who actually wrote their notes down just as piano composers had done, so that, though their performances died with them, musical notation was able to preserve what they and their students had played.

Fast forward to 1975, the year America was getting ready to celebrate its bicentennial. As part of the festivities, publishers and record labels were coming out with albums of early Americana, rediscovering composers from America's past like Foote, Gottschalk, Falwell, and Joplin. I remember thinking, Too bad the US doesn't have any guitar music like this, so we guitarists could take part in the fun. I had just been through Frederic Grunfeld's widely read *The Art and Times of the Guitar* (1969),¹ and he was still focusing on the American guitar of oral tradition: the open range, the blues, and jazz. Lovely and certainly meaningful—these sounds would eventually conquer the world—but the sources they spring from have been lost in time and I sensed they were only part of the story. Even a few years later, Tom and Mary Anne Evans were still reducing the history of the guitar in the United States as played from notation (i.e., the classical guitar) to a single sentence, to focus on sound recordings of the earliest blues greats (Charley Patton, Son House).² The guitar of America's past had become a cultural icon, but it must surely also have an earlier, more tangible paper trail.

And then, in October that year, I found myself in Cleveland at an ASTA convention. Paul Cox was there, and we were tipped off that piles of discarded sheet music were buried in the basement of an old music store on Euclid Ave.—maybe even some guitar stuff. It was dusty down there. The ceiling sagged under the weight of tarnished cornets and euphoniums, silent relics of earlier days when every town and hamlet prided itself on having its own brass band. Old accordion and ukulele music lay under piles of forgotten foxtrot hits from the thirties. Then, under a Roy Smeck ukulele method, I spotted what was clearly a guitar piece, because it was part of a series called *Popular Selections for the Guitar*: “Forever Thine Gavotte” by Charles Henlein, copyright 1889. No enduring masterpiece, but here at least was American guitar music preserved from before the age of recorded sound.

Unfortunately, Paul and I didn't find any American guitar masterpieces that day. Frankly, neither did I later, when I discovered there was lots more of this sort of thing out there. (Vahdah Olcott-Bickford turned out to have rooms full of it.) From these humble beginnings, I was able to gather together a collection of (I hoped)

1 Frederic V. Grunfeld, *The Art and Times of the Guitar: An Illustrated History of Guitars and Guitarists* (London: Macmillan, 1969).

2 Tom Evans and Mary Anne Evans, *Guitars: Music, History, Construction and Players from the Renaissance to Rock* (New York & London: Paddington Press, 1977). On page 286, under the heading “The birth of the American guitar,” we read: “The sweet-toned gut-strung guitar remained in the drawing rooms of the city. For those who were moving westward the sturdier steel-string guitar was more suitable.”



Myra Marie Cobb (1845–1900) ran a successful studio in Boston and later in Cleveland, where she moved in the early 1890s. See Meredith, “With a Banjo on Her Knee,” 195.

being discussed, not to unearthing sheet music from a Victorian parlor. Following the trail of notated music led to a musical world sometimes quaint, but more often stale and hopelessly out of date. It lacked relevance and occasionally was guilty of racial stereotyping, a reflection of the fact that it was intended for racially privileged segments of society.

I close with a few thoughts I had while rereading these articles some forty years after writing them and while selecting music facsimiles to accompany them.

The Articles

Notes on Some Early-American Guitar Concerts [1977]

My first *Soundboard* article in 1977 explored the subject of the guitar on the early American concert stage.⁵ It’s hard to research such an under-explored area when primary sources are unavailable. For this article I relied heavily, perhaps too heavily, on Oscar Sonneck, the one scholar then known to have studied early-American concert programs. Today, online searches of early American newspapers might be rewarding, although finding titles for the specific pieces played may prove sketchy. The only similar study I know is Douglas Back’s “Guitar on the New York Concert Stage, 1816–1890, as Chronicled by George C. D. Odell and George Templeton Strong.”⁶

A Noteworthy Early-American Guitar Treatise: James Ballard’s Elements of 1838 [1981]

In 1981, I was tipped off by Eric Van Voorheis, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude, that a copy of an unusual guitar method was for sale at a modest price from a used bookstore in Berkeley, California. James Ballard’s *Elements* turned out “unusual”

5 “Notes on Some Early-American Guitar Concerts,” *Soundboard* 4, no. 1 (February 1977): 8–9, 21; reprinted with minor revisions in *Soundboard Scholar*, no. 7 (2021), <https://digitalcommons.du.edu/sbs/vol7/iss1/8>.

6 Douglas Back, “Guitar on the New York Concert Stage, 1816–1890, as Chronicled by George C. D. Odell and George Templeton Strong,” *Soundboard* 25, no. 4 (Spring 1999): 11–18.

enough to warrant an article.⁷ This eventually earned Ballard an entry in *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*. Even today in 2021 biographical information on Ballard has failed to materialize, although I should mention the short work with the promising title he devised in 1855: *History of the Guitar from the Earliest Antiquity to the Present Time*. This, unfortunately, turns out to be basically an advertising brochure for William Tilton guitars, whose instruments he likely sold to his students.

It's amazing how much hit-and-miss was involved doing historic research when you mainly had the LOC catalogue system working for you, not search engines. Oscar Sonneck, for years head music librarian at the Library of Congress, was fond of saying, "What's hit is history, what's missed stays mystery." Isn't that the truth? Consider those 1845 ads in the Ballard article. I was in the Stanford stacks looking through old New York newspapers for any Ballard reference, when I found a run of Poe's short-lived *Broadway Journal* and there he was!

The Guitar in Nineteenth-Century America: A Lost Social Tradition [1985]

In 1985, I tried to come to terms with the people this music was written for.⁸ A piece titled "Forever Thine Gavotte" doesn't sound much like something intended for singing cowboys on the trail or any of the other standard American stereotypes. Music is the most social of the arts. For me, one of its greatest appeals is trying to picture the audience it was originally intended for, be it a royal wedding, a cozy fireside serenade, or a Burning Man festival. Yet even today, most American guitar studies focus on the instruments rather than on the people who played them. Because this music was meant mainly for domestic consumption by young ladies, the term "parlor guitar" has grown up around this repertoire, although the term wasn't used at the time. But neither was it called "classical," a word I find far more ambiguous.

The Guitar in America as Mirrored in Cadenza (1894–1924) [1991]

It is thanks to John Stropes of Milwaukee that I was able to obtain a complete thirty-year run of *Cadenza* on microfilm for the 1991 article.⁹ It was then largely a matter of rolling the reels through a viewer while taking notes. I focused on the annual concerts of the American Guild, where the guitar wasn't always center stage, to give my report some sense of cohesion. Other approaches would have been equally valid. Today, *Cadenza*, *Crescendo*, and numerous others like them can be found online

7 "A Noteworthy Early-American Guitar Treatise: James Ballard's *Elements* of 1838," *Soundboard* 8, no. 4 (November 1981): 270–76; reprinted with minor revisions in *Soundboard Scholar*, no. 7 (2021), <https://digitalcommons.du.edu/sbs/vol7/iss1/9>.

8 "The Guitar in Nineteenth-Century America: A Lost Social Tradition," *Soundboard* 12, no. 3 (Fall 1985): 292–98; reprinted with minor revisions in *Soundboard Scholar*, no. 7 (2021), <https://digitalcommons.du.edu/sbs/vol7/iss1/10>.

9 "The Guitar in America as Mirrored in *Cadenza* (1894–1924)," *Soundboard* 18, no. 3 (Fall 1991): 10–19; reprinted with minor revisions in *Soundboard Scholar*, no. 7 (2021), <https://digitalcommons.du.edu/sbs/vol7/iss1/11>.

due to the efforts of such people as Robert Coldwell. Because of its length, it was felt desirable to divide this article into sections, something that wasn't done on its original publication

Modern technology has allowed us to add death dates to several individuals mentioned in the *Cadenza* article:

- Johnson C. Bane died in 1934 and was buried in his hometown of Waynesburg, Philadelphia.
- Carl W.F. Janson was born in Norway of Swedish parents and died in 1938.
- C.D. (Cornelius Daniel) Schettler died in Salt Lake City in 1931. He seems the lone American guitarist of the time to have lived in Europe, but he was there primarily as a missionary, not a musician.
- Jennie Durkee Olander died in Los Angeles in 1941.
- Elsie Tooker Howard died in 1934 in San Francisco.

Since these articles were originally published, several relevant articles have appeared in *Soundboard*:

- For insight into Vahdah Olcott-Bickford, see “Vahdah Olcott-Bickford as Seen Through the Eyes of *The Cadenza*,” *Soundboard* 25, no. 1 (Summer 1998): 20–23; as well as “Vahdah the Letter Writer” in the same issue, pp. 23–26. These were both compiled by Peter Danner.
- An autobiographical sketch “Looking Backwards,” by William Foden, from *The Crescendo*, 1917–18, will be found in “William Foden in His Own Words,” annotated by Peter Danner, *Soundboard* 23, no. 1 (Summer 1996): 35–38.
- For a broader context of the subject see Jeffrey Noonan, “Culture, Commerce, and Aesthetics in Late Nineteenth-Century America: The Guitar in America’s BMG Movement,” *Soundboard* 31, no. 1 (2005): 47–53.

Return with Us Now

The five facsimiles presented here also ran in *Soundboard* and are intended to give a taste of the music discussed in the articles.¹⁰ For those too young to remember, the overall title of the series, *Return with Us Now*, was lifted from a once-famous radio

¹⁰ “Return with Us Now: Featured Facsimiles from the *Soundboard* Archive,” *Soundboard Scholar*, no. 7 (2021), <https://digitalcommons.du.edu/sbs/vol7/iss1/12>. The original facsimiles and introductions appeared in *Soundboard* from 1978 to 1994: Reissinger/Meignen, *Weber’s Last Waltz*, *Soundboard* 5, no. 2 (May 1978): 48–49; Blantchor, *Admired Cotillions*, *Soundboard* 7, no. 3 (August 1980): 121–23; Coupa, *Waltzes 1 and 2*, *Soundboard* 12, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 53–57; Bateman, *Shaker’s Dance*, *Soundboard* 17, no. 4 (Winter 1991): 50–53; Mack/Holland, *Weston’s March to Chicago*, *Soundboard* 20, no. 3 (Winter 1994): 50–54.

(later television) Western adventure program, *The Lone Ranger*. At one time, seemingly every schoolchild in America could intone (and parody) its elaborate introduction, which to the stirring strains of Rossini's "William Tell" Overture, concluded:

Return with us now to those thrilling days of yesteryear. From out of the past come the thundering hoofbeats of the great horse Silver! The Lone Ranger rides again!!!

I ran this feature in *Soundboard* for over twelve years. Pieces were selected for suitability, legibility, and (frankly) finding something with a story. No doubt I would express things differently today and perhaps have more selections to choose from. Concocting guitar settings for familiar tunes of the day was a common practice. It is sometimes difficult to tell if a piece is an original composition or an arrangement. I have taken the phrase "composed and arranged by" to mean the composer first wrote it at a piano keyboard and later adapted it for guitar. There were few copyright laws in those days and music teachers looked for sellable music everywhere. James Ballard, for example, had a guitar version of Balfe's "I Dreamt I Dwelt in Marble Halls" out within weeks of *Bohemian Girl* first hitting the New York stage.

A few remarks on my original commentary:

Reissinger/Meignen, Weber's Last Waltz

To lump Leopold Meignen together with such names of the time as Blantchor, Weiland, and Lhulier is perhaps doing him a bit of a disservice. Evidence shows that Meignen grew in stature to become a major figure in Philadelphia music. He became conductor of the Philadelphia Orchestra's predecessor, the Music Fund Society. His obituary in the *New York Times* of June 6, 1873, describes him as "a musician of distinction, whose name has been familiar to two generations of Philadelphia." While *Weber's Last Thought* may make for an interesting story, I would have preferred presenting one of Meignen's original guitar compositions, pieces that, together with those of J. B. Coupa, I consider superior to most of the rest. Unfortunately, I couldn't find a suitably presentable print.

Blantchor, Admired Cotillions

Francis Blantchor is a name found on many of the guitar sheets published in Philadelphia around the time Andrew Jackson was in the White House. M'Elroy's Philadelphia Dictionary for the Year 1839 lists him as "prof. of guitar and singing, 31 Carter al[ley]." In writing about his set of cotillions, I relied heavily on a dance treatise first published in 1802, for the simple reason that it was the one such book at hand. Its anonymous author used "Saltator" as a pen name. In her study of nineteenth-century dance, Elizabeth Aldrich points out that this was the first book on dance ever

published in the United States and that it continued “to reflect eighteenth-century attitudes.” She specifically mentions Saltator’s description of cotillions as “significant.”¹¹

Coupa, Waltzes 1 and 2

Philip Gura has shed new light on both Coupa himself and on his relationship with C. F. Martin, with whom Coupa had a long-term business relationship. Gura identifies Coupa as a native of Spain who may have settled in Boston before moving to New York, since he published a method in the former city.¹² An illustration from this method is on the cover of the Spring 1985 *Soundboard*. Public concerts in New York in the early 1840s, mentioned by G. T. Strong in his diary, only enhanced his reputation as a teacher. Letters between Coupa and Martin cease in February of 1850. By 1852, Coupa had died: in that year, Martin received a letter from Coupa’s widow, Susan, in which she declares her intention to leave for England.

Bateman, Shaker’s Dance

In retrospect, I now suspect Bateman’s *Shaker’s Dance* might be an original theme meant to invoke the spirit of the Shaker movement. The title page shows how difficult it often is to distinguish original works from arrangements: “Beethoven’s Dream” turns out to be by neither Beethoven or Bateman, but a waltz by one E. Revere. And here on this same page is *Weber’s Last Waltz* recycled yet again. *Evening Star* is undoubtedly lifted from Wagner, but the audience this music was designed for (largely middle-class women) would not have cared.

Mack/Holland, Weston’s March to Chicago

Why did the publisher go to the expense of providing such an elaborate cover to such a seemingly inconsequential piece as this little march by a minor composer like Mack (whose name doesn’t even appear on the title page)? The titular Weston was a master self promoter who would win a ten thousand dollar bet if he completed the walk in thirty days (excluding Sundays). His progress was followed avidly in the popular press. He received death threats from gamblers who bet he’d lose. He gave public lectures to large crowds along the way on the health benefits of walking. His route took him right through Cleveland, the home of both publisher S. Brainard & Sons and Justin Holland, who earned much of his living providing Brainard with guitar arrangements. Is it possible Brainard commissioned Mack to write this piece and sold it as a souvenir on the big day Weston came through town?

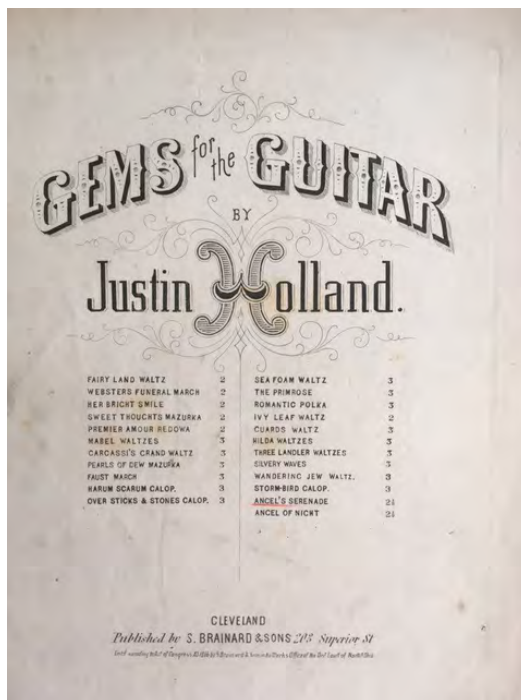
- 11 Elizabeth Aldrich, *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1991), 207.
- 12 Philip F. Gura, *C. F. Martin and His Guitars, 1796–1873* (Anaheim Hills, CA: Centerstream, 2012), 67. For Coupa’s correspondence with Martin see p. 77.



LEFT This illustration is taken from Coupa's *Instruction Book of the Guitar*, published in Boston in the 1820s by Coupa himself, probably for the use of his own students. A copy (probably incomplete) is in the Boston Public Library. In spite of the lettering on the book on the stand opposite the young lady (*Sequel to the Instruction Book by J. B. Coupa*), there is no evidence a sequel was ever published.



ABOVE Highway marker VA-WP13 in Chesapeake, Virginia, commemorating Justin Holland, placed by the Department of Historic Resources in 2012.



RIGHT The cover for Holland's series *Gems for the Guitar*, showing his typical output.

Holland's notable life was summed up on a marker (WP13) placed on US Highway 17 near his Virginia birthplace.

Justin Holland was a 19th-century pioneer African American of the classical guitar, community leader, and abolitionist. Born in Norfolk County about 1819, he left for Massachusetts in 1833. There he took music lessons and learned to play the guitar. He moved to Cleveland, Ohio, in the 1840s, became a music teacher, and arranged several hundred pieces of music for the guitar. He also played an active role in the movement to secure equal rights for African Americans and attended the first National Negro Convention in Philadelphia in 1830. He died at his son's home in New Orleans on 24 Mar. 1887.



The articles and facsimiles discussed in this narrative are reprinted online in *Soundboard Scholar*, no. 7, in the section “From the Soundboard Archive”: to see all issues of *Soundboard Scholar*, visit <http://soundboardscholar.org>.

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PETER DANNER attended the first meeting of the Guitar Foundation of America in Santa Barbara (1973), at which time he was representing the Lute Society of America. He edited that society’s journal between 1975 and 1982 and served as its president between 1977 and 1982. He was elected to the GFA board of directors in 1975 and served as its chairman between 1977 and 1985, at which point he stepped down from the chairmanship to take over as chief editor of *Soundboard* from Jim Forrest. He continued as *Soundboard* editor until 2001, when he resigned the post for personal reasons. Peter was thus an eyewitness to the Guitar Foundation through its formative years and contributed as a lecturer, coordinator, and adjudicator at many of the Foundation’s events.

Peter is a graduate of the University of California, Santa Barbara, and holds a PhD in music history from Stanford University (1967). He pursued an active performing

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FROM THE SOUNDBOARD ARCHIVE

Notes on Some Early-American Guitar Concerts

PETER DANNER (1977)

IN STUDYING THE MUSIC OF THE PAST, it is often valuable to understand something about the occasion for which a specific work was composed or about the environment in which it was first heard.¹ Far too little information is currently available concerning the programs and activities of most nineteenth century guitarists.² This is particularly true in regard to concert life in the United States. Indeed, the contributions of nineteenth century American guitar composers have never been adequately evaluated. In the following article, several random scraps of information are offered in the hope that they will stimulate guitarists to search out, not only music from the past worth saving, but material dealing with musical activities as well.

Before the 1880s, solo recitals were almost never heard of. Even celebrated performers such as Liszt were expected to share the bill with other instrumentalists, vocalists, and entire symphony orchestras. Guitarists appeared at public concerts in the United States at least as early as the 1770s. Accounts of such performances, however, are usually very sketchy. Most of what we know about eighteenth century concert life in America is the result of Oscar Sonneck's pioneering research. Much of the following information is based directly on his findings.

Formal concerts were uncommon in the colonies. Much more typical were *soirées* such as the one advertised in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of June 15, 1774:

GRAND CONCERT & BALL, at the Assembly Room in Lodge Alley, on Friday the 17th of June, 1774, for the benefit of Signier *Sodi*, first dancing master of the Opera in Paris and London, in which Mr. Vidal who has been a musician of the Chambers of the King of Portugal will play on divers instruments of music.

- 1 Some of the information in this article appears in a different form in an article on American guitar music to be published in *Il Fronimo*, Milan. [See Peter Danner, "Breve storia della musica per chitarra in America," *Il Fronimo*, no. 80 (1977): 18–25.]
- 2 Two notable exceptions are Thomas Heck's research on Giuliani and Brian Jeffery's forthcoming work on Fernando Sor.

FIRST ACT.

1. A Symphony. 2. Mr. Vidal will play a Sonatta on the Guitare Italian, with the violin. 3. A Symphony. 4. Mr. Vidal will play a duette on the mandoline, accompanied with violin. 5. First Act will finish with a march composed by Mr. Vidal.

SECOND ACT.

1. A Symphony. 2. Mr. Vidal will play a capriccio on the guitar. 3. A Symphony. 4. Mr. Vidal will play a duette on the psaltery, and a minuet imitating the echo. 5. Second act will end with another march composed by Mr. Vidal.

After the concert, Signier Sodi will dance a louvre and a minuet with Miss Sodi; then a new Philadelphia cotillion composed by Signior Sodi. Miss Sodi will also dance a rigadon and minuet with Mr. Hulett. A new cotillion; then the allemande by Miss Sodi and Mr. Hulett; also Signior Sodi will danse [sic] a jigge, afterwards Mr. Hulett will dance a hornpipe and to finish with a ball for the company.³

The multifaceted Mr. Vidal was probably identical with the guitarist B. Vidal mentioned by both Fétis and Eitner. No other American appearance by Vidal is known. Is the reference to “Guitar Italian” an indication of the six-string guitar’s origin?

One of the most intriguing early guitarists was Henri Capron, who, like Vidal, performed on “divers” instruments. Fétis mentions him as an “able violinist and one of the best pupils of Gaviniés,” who performed at the Concert Spirituel in Paris in 1768. He later came to Philadelphia where he set himself up as an impresario, performer, and teacher. In his announcement of a concert to be held at the City Tavern in Philadelphia on March 6, 1787, Capron was not above advertising himself as a guitar teacher in the true spirit of free capitalism.

PLAN OF THE CONCERT

ACT I

Symphonie.Stamitz
Song. Reinagle
Concerto VioloncelloCapron

ACT II

Grand SymphonieVanhall
Concerto ViolinCramer
Sonata GuitarreCapron
Overture, Rose et Colas

3 O. G. Sonneck, *Early Concert-life in America, 1731–1800* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907), 76.

ACT III

Concerto Flute Fiolla
Sonata Piano Forte Reinagle
Overture Stamitz.

Mr. Capron respectfully informs the public that he instructs ladies and gentlemen in the art of singing and of playing on the Spanish and English guitars, recording the most approved method of the first masters in Europe. . . .

The guitar, from the late improvement which it has received, being so portable and so easily kept in order, is now considered not only as a desirable but as a fashionable instrument.⁴

Capron’s remark about the guitar’s “late improvement” is of particular interest. Undoubtedly, this is a reference to the six-string guitar which was just evolving in Europe. During the entire period from 1770 to 1820, it is often difficult to judge just what is meant by “guitar.” The word applied just as easily to the cittern or to the English guitar as it did to the six-string or “Spanish” guitar. The former instruments were both strung with wire strings and played with a plectrum. The English guitar was tuned to an open C major chord: C, E, G, c, e, g, and was extremely popular at the end of the eighteenth century. Even after the decline of the English guitar in the 1820s, pieces written in open tunings continued to be popular in both England and America.⁵

Capron either made mileage out of his “Sonata Guittare” or else it met with considerable audience approval. It appears to have been performed again on May 29, 1787, at a benefit concert held by one “Mr. Juhan.” This concert is of interest as it was attended by none other than George Washington, as is known from his diary: “accompanied Mrs. Morris to the benefit concert of a Mr. Juhan.”⁶ A third reference to a “Sonata Guitar” by Capron occurred during a concert given January 31, 1788, at the fortnightly City Concert given in the City Tavern.⁷ During this performance, Capron performed not only on the guitar but the cello as well. Unfortunately, Capron’s guitar music does not appear to have survived.

Another Philadelphia guitarist of some interest was one “Mr. Cassignard, amateur.” An announcement in the *Philadelphia Ledger* stated that he would perform “several pieces of his composition on the guitar” at a concert in the College Hall on May 29, 1792.⁸ Also appearing on the bill were a French horn player and an amateur harpist.

4 Sonneck, 130.

5 Among numerous examples, see Henry Worrall’s piece *Sebastopol*, the first page of which is reproduced in the *Soundboard*, 2, no. 2 (May 1975): 28. [The entire work is reproduced on the website of the Kansas Historical Society, <https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/208635>. For a thorough discussion of Worrall’s life and work, see Robert Ferguson, “Henry Worrall (1825–1902): Anglo-American Guitarist,” *Soundboard Scholar*, no. 2 (2016): 4–19.]

6 Sonneck, *Early Concert-life*, 131.

7 Sonneck, 86.

8 Oscar Sonneck and William Upton, *A Bibliography of Early Secular American Music* (Washington, DC: The Library of Congress, 1945), 170.

On June 16th of the same year “Monsieur Cassignard, Professor of guitar” appeared during a concert “at Mr. O’Eillers Hotel.”

A quaint announcement of an “orchestry” concert held in New York in May 1774 includes music for both guitar and mandolin. The announcement originally appeared in the *New York Mercury* for May 9, 1774:

MUSIC. On Tuesday Evening the 17th instant will be performed at Mr. Hull’s Tavern, for the use of Mr. Caze, an extraordinary instrumental and vocal *Concert* in two acts, consisting of different solos, upon various instruments, unknown in this country, to be executed by the gentlemen of the Harmonic Society, who have been pleased to promise their assistance.

1ST ACT.

A Grand Orchestry’s Symphony
A French Ariette will be sung accompanied with the guitar and violin
Mr. Caze will play his own composed music, on the violin with Mr. Zedtwitz.
A Concert on the Flute
A Sonada [sic] on the Spanish Guitar
The first Act to end with a March.

IID ACT.

A Grand Orchestry’s Symphonie
A French Ariette accompany’d with the Mandolin and Violin
A Solo on the Violin
A Duo on Mandolin and Violin
A Sonada of the Salterio; and d’Exaudet’s Minuet with echos.
The Concert to finish with a March of the grand Orchestry.
After the Concert there will be a ball.⁹

In the *City Gazette* of Charleston, South Carolina, for December 16, 1795, an advertisement was placed for a concert at William’s coffee-house to be held the next day by Mr. Le Roy. At the foot of the program is the following statement:

N.B. Between the acts, Mr. Le Roy will perform several pieces on the Spanish guitar. . . .
Silence is requested during the performance.¹⁰

During the concert itself, Le Roy performed a “Concerto on the basse” by Pleyel. Typical of early nineteenth century concerts featuring the guitar was one given May 21, 1823, at the Eagle Hotel in Richmond, Virginia. Among the five performers was Mr. S. Milon, who taught piano, guitar, and voice in Richmond, “being himself,

⁹ Sonneck, *Early Concert-life*, 175.

¹⁰ Sonneck, 32.

an Italian and pupil of the celebrated Conservatory in Naples.” The program is quoted here in its entirety.¹¹

Mrs. Sully’s vocal and instrumental concert at the Eagle Hotel, 1823.

PART 1ST.

Symphony	<i>Haydn.</i>
Song, Flow, flow Cubanna,	Mr. Milon.
Favorite Scotch Airs on the piano forte	Mrs. Sully
Romance, La Rose a lagonic, accompanied on the guitar	Mr. Milon.
Favorite Air, “Huntsman Rest,” Piano, Harp and Flute	Mrs., Miss and Mr. Sully
Variations on the Violin Friend of my soul	Mr. Milon.
Concertante, Piano Forte with accompaniments	<i>Kalkbrenner.</i>

PART 2ND.

Symphony	<i>Haydn.</i>
Sonata, Harp with Violin accompaniment,	<i>Naderman.</i>
Italian Cavatina, composed by the celebrated Mr. Milon.	Miss Sully and Mr. Berg.
Favorite Tyrolese, Song of Liberty, arranged as a duet for Piano Forte	<i>Rossini.</i>
Fantasia and Variation for the Guitar	Mr. and Miss Sully.
Favorite Airs of Mrs. McDonald and Ye banks and Braes,	Mr. Milon.
The Whole to conclude with a grand Concerto for two Piano Fortes, with accompaniments, composed by <i>Mozart.</i>	Mrs. Sully.
	Mr. and Miss Sully.

The entire program has an informal flavor to it, with much of the music seemingly improvised or arranged for the occasion. As with most early nineteenth-century American concerts, the vast majority of the music was European in origin; Rossini was a great favorite, as were songs invoking a Scottish flavor.

Guitarists continued to be heard occasionally at the Eagle Hotel concerts. An announcement in the *Richmond Compiler* of March 6, 1829, lists “Miss George’s concert of vocal and instrumental music,” during which the audience heard a “Ballad

¹¹ Albert Stoutamire, *Music of the Old South* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1972), 267–68.

by Barnett” with “Mrs. Gill, Light Guitar, accompanied on the Spanish Guitar by Mr. Andre.” The “Light” guitar referred to, of course, was one of the various harp-guitars popularized in England by Edward Light about 1800. Later in the same program, Mr. Andre teamed up with one “Mr. Parnell” to play a Fantasia for Violin and Guitar by Kuffner.¹²

Perhaps the first European concert guitarist to perform in the United States was the Spanish guitarist and vocalist A. F. Huerta y Katuria (1804–75), author of the famous Spanish national hymn *Himno de Riego* (or *March of Riego*, as it is sometimes titled). Huerta visited the United States at the age of twenty and appeared in New York with the orchestra of the old Philharmonic Society in the spring of 1824. The concert was held in the City Hotel, and the entire program was announced in the *National Advocate* of May 15, 1824:¹³

Mr. Huerta’s Concert, under the Patronage of the Philharmonic Society, this evening,
at 8 o’clock.

1ST PART.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| 1. Overture, full Orchestra | Rossini. |
| 2. Concerto, Guitar, Huerta, | Huerta. |
| 3. Song, by Mr. Milon. | |
| 4. Solo on the Flute, Amon. | Mr. Kinsela. |
| 5. Variations on the Guitar, Sor. | Huerta |

2D PART.

- | | |
|---|-------------|
| 1. Overture full orchestra. | |
| 2. Spanish March, with variations, Huerta | Mr. Huerta. |
| 3. Song by Mr. Milon, | |
| 4. Solo on the Violin, by Mr. Gillingham. | |
| 5. Divertimento on the Guitar, Huerta | Mr. Huerta. |

A reviewer in the *National Advocate* of May 18, 1824, wrote that he had “listened with great surprise and gratification to the execution and effect produced by Signor Huerta.”¹⁴ The “Spanish March” was probably Huerta’s Riego; what, one wonders, was the Sor piece? Might it have been the American debut of the famous “Mozart Variations”? The “Mr. Milon” who appeared as vocal soloist was doubtless the same musician who appeared in the Richmond concert cited above. Indeed, it may have been Milon who arranged Huerta’s performances in New York. As most soloists did,

¹² Stoutamire, 271.

¹³ Delmer D. Rogers, “Public Music Performances in New York City from 1800 to 1850,” *Anuario Interamericano de Investigación Musical* 6 (1970): 15, <https://doi.org/10.2307/779924>.

¹⁴ Rogers, 15.

Huerta announced that he would teach during his stay in the city. He is known to have remained in New York until at least October 6, 1824.

Among other well-known European guitarists to visit the United States was Marc Aurelio Zani de Ferranti, who gave a successful American tour in 1846 with Paganini's celebrated violin pupil Ernesto Camillo Sivori. Paganini himself had toured with Sivori, giving violin and guitar concerts, and it is more than likely that Paganini compositions appeared on their programs.

Surprisingly, it is more difficult to obtain information about concerts held after 1840 than before. The principal reason is that newspapers (or their advertisers) ceased to run details of the programs in the daily press. Perhaps by 1840 American concert life had become so active with the founding of numerous orchestras and societies that there was no longer room to print details of any but the most important performances. Nevertheless, it is likely that a study of period newspapers would reward the patient researcher with numerous details of nineteenth century concert life. A cursory examination of San Francisco records, for example, has yielded the information that the great San Francisco guitarist Manuel Y. Ferrer appeared there at least as early as September 18, 1854, when he gave a concert at the Metropolitan Theater in that city.¹⁵ Further study, perhaps, would unearth more details.



“Notes on Some Early American Guitar Concerts” was first published in *Soundboard* 4, no. 1 (1977): 8–9, 21. The text is unchanged except for minor typographical corrections.

This article is part of a series, “From the *Soundboard* Archive,” featuring reprints of articles by Peter Danner on the guitar in the United States, c. 1770–c. 1924. For an introduction to the series, including links to each of the reprints, see <https://digitalcommons.du.edu/sbs/vol7/iss1/7>.

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¹⁵ Cornel Longyel, ed., *Celebrities in El Dorado 1850–1906*, History of Music in San Francisco Series, vol. 4 (San Francisco: Work Projects Administration, 1940), 162.

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About the Author

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A Noteworthy Early-American Guitar Treatise

James Ballard's *Elements* of 1838

PETER DANNER (1981)

THE AUGUST 1977 ISSUE of *Soundboard* featured the facsimile of a guitar arrangement of the famous nineteenth-century song “I Dreamt I Dwelt in Marble Halls” from M.W. Balfé’s opera *The Bohemian Girl*. The music in this facsimile was arranged by the little-known American guitarist James Ballard and appears to be a presentation copy, since it carries the inscription, presumably in the arranger’s own hand, “Presented by the author Ja^s Ballard Esqr. 1845” (**figure 1**). Ballard adapted a number of popular pieces for the guitar between 1835 and 1850, including “Then You’ll Remember Me” (also from *The Bohemian Girl*), Henry Russell’s once celebrated song “Woodman Spare That Tree,” and “The Cha Chiecha—As danced by Mdmllle Fanny Essler” (cf. *Soundboard* of May, 1980). There is nothing in any of these arrangements that would seem to set Ballard apart from the several dozen arrangers doing similar work in the United States at the same time, among them Francis Weiland, Otto Torp, Leopold Meignen, and Adolf Schmitz. However, as this article will attempt to prove, Ballard was an important figure in early American guitar history and the author of a major book on guitar pedagogy: *The Elements of Guitar-Playing*.¹

Little is known about James Ballard himself except that he was a music teacher in New York City.² In 1845 and 1846 he placed a series of advertisements in the *Broadway Journal*, at that time under the editorship of Edgar Allan Poe, where he describes himself as a “professor of the guitar, singing and the flute.” His address in 1845 is given as “135 Spring Street” (**figure 2**) and the following year as “15 Spring Street.”

- 1 James Ballard, *The Elements of Guitar-Playing: Including a Complete System of Fingering, Founded on Chord Positions; Together with a General View of the Rudiments of Harmony, adapted to the Formation of Guitar Accompaniments*, 3rd ed. (New York: Geib and Walker, 1838).
- 2 For a brief sketch of Ballard’s life, see Peter Danner, “Ballard, James,” in *The Grove Dictionary of American Music*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 301, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195314281.001.0001/acref-9780195314281-e-542>.

Figure 1 Ballard's autograph, from a presentation copy of Balfe's "I Dreamt That I Dwelt in Marble Halls," 1845. The song's original title is "I Dreamt I Dwelt in Marble Halls."



Figure 2 Advertisements from *The Broadway Journal*, November, 1845, including one for Ballard.

<p>G. H. DERWORT, PROFESSOR OF SINGING, GUITAR AND PIANO Forte, has opened a class for Young Ladies, from 7 to 10 years of age, among whom are three of his own daughters, whom he proposes to instruct thoroughly in the art of Singing. Mr. Derwort's system is the result of many years' observation and experience, during which he has successfully taught in Germany, London and New-York. His method cannot fail to impart to his pupil a clear perception and a thorough knowledge of the gramatical principles of music with the ability to harmonize any simple given melody. Parents and guardians are invited to call at his Rooms, 427 Broadway, when every enquiry will be answered. Terms \$20 per annum, payable quarterly in advance. Lessons three times per week. Private instruction as heretofore.</p>
<p>JAMES PIRSSON, PIANO FORTE MANUFACTURER, 88, 90, and 92 Walker street, near Elm. A large stock of the finest instruments always on hand. Terms moderate. For Sale—A splendid Harp, nearly new—to be sold at a great bargain for cash.</p>
<p>J. BALLARD, PROFESSOR OF THE GUITAR, SINGING AND FLUTE. No. 135 SPRING-STREET.</p>
<p>JOHN BURFORD, PORTRAIT AND LANDSCAPE PAINTER, 27 Dey Street.</p>

Like many “professors” of music, Ballard wrote a method for his instrument. In fact, it would appear at first glance that Ballard actually wrote two guitar methods. One was *Ballard's Guitar Preceptor*, the third edition of which appeared in 1838. A copy of this book can be found in the archive of the GFA. No information concerning earlier editions has been found, but the appearance of a third edition suggests that it must have met with some approval. It contains thirty-one pages, the first eight of which provide a sketchy and uninspired set of “preliminary explanations.” The music found in the second part of the *Preceptor* is fairly typical of American methods of

the time, although Ballard includes more pieces by such European masters as Sor, Carulli, Aguado, and Giuliani than did Otto Torp or J. B. Coupa, the authors of two of the more significant contemporaneous American methods. Along with études by the author and the European guitar composers mentioned above, Ballard includes simple arrangements of such popular melodies of the period as “Love’s Ritornella” and “The Bride’s Farewell”—and the earliest appearance I have discovered of that hardy American perennial “The Spanish Fandango” (here simply entitled “Fandango”).

Ballard’s Guitar Preceptor is described on the title page as being “intended for the use of commencing students” and as “abridged from the enlarged and improved edition of his ‘Elements of Guitar-Playing.’” Indeed, the appearance of two sets of numbers on many of the pages shows that the same music plates were used in both books. Both the *Preceptor* and the *Elements* are listed in Appendix I of Paul Cox’s dissertation on early guitar method books, although Cox says nothing further about either.³ This is not surprising, if one were to base a judgment of Ballard on his *Preceptor* alone, which contains little of interest from a modern standpoint.

With the help of Eric Van Voorheis of Berkeley, California, I recently was successful in tracking down a copy of *The Elements of Guitar-Playing*. This was a copy of the third edition, which like the third edition of the *Preceptor*, also appeared in 1838 (figure 3).⁴ Unlike the *Preceptor*, however, the *Elements* turned out to be an important example of American guitar pedagogy and probably the most significant method to be produced on this side of the Atlantic before the Civil War.

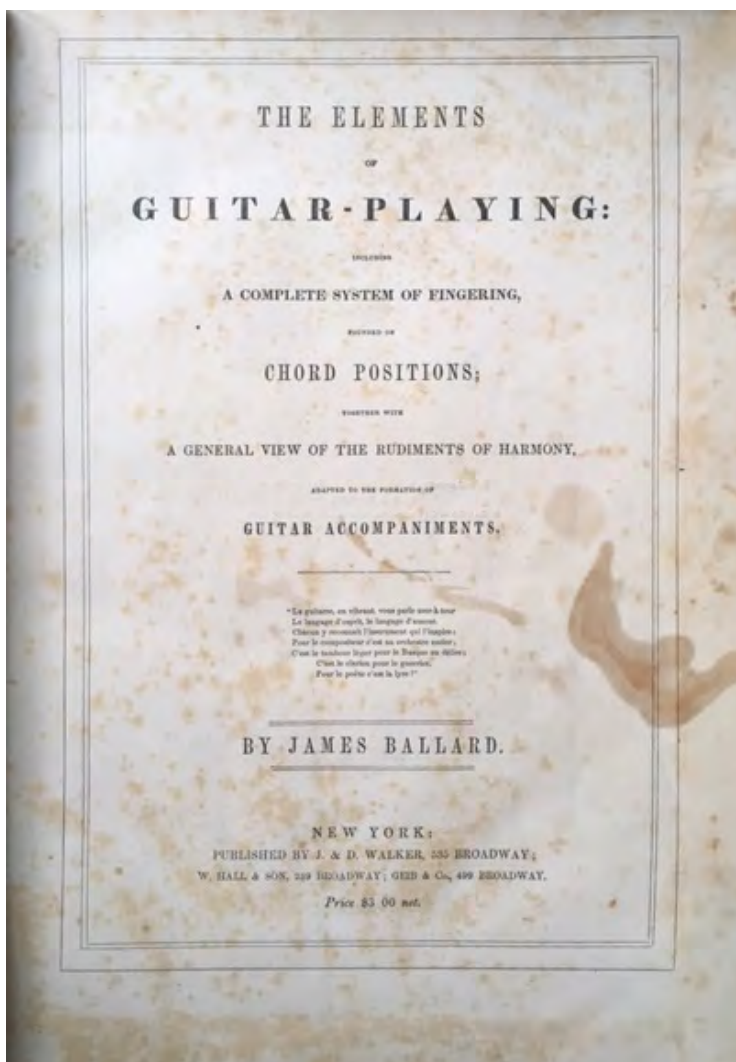
Nothing is known about the first two editions of the *Elements*, which may have been issued simultaneously with earlier editions of the *Preceptor*, but Ballard himself tells us that the third edition “has been enlarged by the insertion of twenty-two additional pages,” all of which appear among the musical examples in the second half of the book. This additional material also includes an article entitled “Rules for right hand fingering” and another on “Barring.” The material discussed below, however, seems to have appeared in the earlier editions of the *Elements* and may date back to 1836 or even earlier.

The third edition of *The Elements of Guitar-Playing* contains eighty-eight folio-size pages. The second section includes all the music found in the *Preceptor* as well as a number of more advanced pieces, including Sor’s op. 32 no.2, and op. 35 no.7. It is in the first forty-four pages, however, that the principal interest lies. This consists entirely of text (quite different from the elementary instructions supposedly “abridged” in the *Preceptor*), and it offers the modern reader one of the most detailed accounts we have about early nineteenth-century guitar pedagogy. The *Elements* is, in fact, a complete treatise on guitar playing surpassed in length only by Sor’s *Method for the Spanish Guitar* (published in an English translation some six years earlier) and by

3 Paul W. Cox, “Classic Guitar Technique and Its Evolution as Reflected in the Method Books ca. 1770–1850” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1978), 187.

4 This dating is based on the copyright notice on the reverse of the title page: “Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1838 by GEIB & WALKER, in the Office of the Clerk of the Southern District of New York.” Based on the publishers cited on the title page, however, the actual print used for the present study probably dates somewhat later.

Figure 3 Ballard, *The Elements of Guitar-Playing* (1838), cover.



Aguado's methods of 1825 and c. 1834. As such it provides valuable insight into the musical thinking of its time. In his preface, Ballard refers to his extensive text and defends it by stating:

Another point of departure in this work from ordinary usage is, that it contains a larger portion of descriptive matter than of musical examples. Upon this subject, it is pertinently observed by SOR "I never could conceive how any one could write a Method with a far greater quantity of examples than of text. Musical examples tell me clearly enough *what* I am doing; but the text should tell me how I am to do it."

It may possibly be imagined by some that too much space has been given to theoretical details; but in a country where scientific knowledge is brought within the reach of all, it is thought that the objectors on this score will not be many.

From the frequent necessity the author has been under of giving manuscript lessons in the course of his teaching, arising from the want of a proper instruction book, he is not without hope that his work may be useful to those of his brethren in the profession who may be similarly circumstanced.

While America may have been “a country where scientific knowledge is brought within the reach of all,” Ballard suggests that it might also have been a land where good teaching material is hard to come by. Nevertheless, Ballard knew at least one good source. Much of the *Elements* is directly based on Sor, an author whom Ballard acknowledges, quotes, and obviously admires. There is no evidence that Ballard knew Sor’s *Method* in any but the Merrick translation or that he was acquainted with Aguado’s *Escuela de guitarra*. Indeed, it is quite likely that Ballard knew neither Spanish nor French. The text of Ballard’s *Elements* proceeds in the same order as Sor’s *Method*, and several of the section titles (“Of Setting the Strings in Vibration,” for instance) are taken directly from the Merrick translation of the Spanish master. Although Ballard is willing to acknowledge his debt to Sor-Merrick, it is interesting to note that at least some of the American press was not so flattering. In a review of an earlier edition of the *Elements*, published as an advertisement to the present book, the critic for the *New York Mirror* is quoted as saying, “In England, indeed, a translation of Sor’s large work is to be had, but it is miserably executed.” Ballard himself has this to say about Sor’s *Method*:

In preparing the materials for this work, many of the opinions contained in the elaborate *Method* of the celebrated SOR have been adopted. But as that writer intentionally omits saying anything concerning the first principles of harmony as connected with the Guitar, reserving that subject for a separate work which has not yet been published,⁵—the author of the present treatise, wishing to supply a desideratum of such importance to a guitar-player, (who, above all other performers, ought to possess some knowledge of harmony, in consequence of the frequent use of the instrument for extemporary accompaniments,) has endeavored by the manner in which he has arranged and applied the Positions to practice, to add an entirely new feature to his ELEMENTS.

By “Positions,” Ballard is referring to the “Chord Positions,” which are a unique feature of the *Elements* and lie at the center of his approach to teaching harmony and fingering on the guitar. Ballard has classified all major, minor, and dominant-seventh chords into “positions.” A position is determined, not by fret, but by the note that appears as its top voice. A “first-position” chord is one in which the upper voice is an octave (or double octave) above the root or “fundamental note.” In the “second

5 On page 36 of the Merrick translation of his *Method*, Sor refers to “the treatise which I intend to publish, *On Harmony applied to the Guitar*.” Unfortunately, this treatise seems never to have been published. All references to the Sor *Method* in this study refer to the Da Capo reprint (New York: 1971) of Ferdinand Sor, *Method for the Spanish Guitar*, trans. A. Merrick (London: Cocks, [1832?]).

position,” the third of the chord is in the treble, and in the “third,” the fifth. Note that this has nothing to do with chord inversion; it is the note on top that determines the “position,” not the bass. In all, Ballard has distinguished eleven possible combinations of chords and positions within any given key or on any given fret. **Figure 4**, for example, shows the eleven combinations for the top three strings at the fifth fret.

The first three chords (*a, b, h*) are the major, minor, and dominant-seventh chords that have the first string, fifth fret in a first position (by definition they must all be A chords). These are followed by the major, minor, and dominant seventh chords in the second (*c, d, i*) and third positions (*e, f, k*). The final two chords are the major chord in what Ballard calls “extended position” (*g*) and the fourth position of the dominant seventh chord (*l*), which has the seventh as its highest interval. Ballard notes that the roots are easy to identify and goes on to discuss adding the bass notes:

It will be observed that in the first position of a major or minor chord (*a, b*) the octave of the fundamental note, which is always its name, is on the first string—in a second position (*c, d*) it is on the second string—in a third position (*e, f*) it is on the third. . . . The dominant discord being only a major chord with a seventh added to it, its position follows the same plan (*h, i, k*) . . .

In finding any chord, it will always be the shortest way to consider its position as confined entirely to the upper note. This will prevent any confusion that might otherwise happen; for although each of the intervals in a chord may be taken for a bass, thus changing the inversion, yet, if the upper note should not be altered, the position will continue the same. The fundamental or inverted bass, which remains to be added to these positions, will always be found on an open string or on some fret within reach of the fingers:—it is expressed in the above example by the small notes.

Each of the eleven “chord positions” (*a* through *l*) has a distinctive fingering pattern and can be constructed on any fret or in any key. When they are played on the same fret, the chords will belong to different keys. However, if the chords “are confined to one major or minor key, they have to be played on different frets in the following manner” (**figure 5**):

At whatever fret a major first position may be formed, the second position will be a major third (or four frets) distant,—the third position, a perfect fifth (or seven frets)—and the extended position, an octave (or twelve frets) distant from the first position.

Since all the keys are mere imitations of the original major and minor key, when the positions of the harmonies of one are properly understood, the pupil, by following the same rule, will be able to form the corresponding position of any other that may be required.

Ballard observes that the positions “described on the first three strings may also be played on the deeper ones,” but because of the guitar’s tuning, “the fingerings will

Figure 4 Ballard, *Elements*, p.27: eleven positions at fret V.

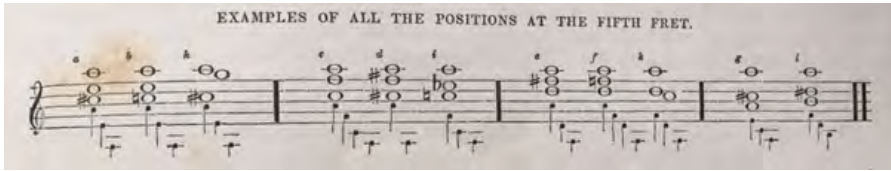


Figure 5 Ballard, *Elements*, p.27: shifting positions within a single key.



be different.” The first position of the C-major chord, for example, is “usually taken with its upper note on the second string [first fret]” so it can sound down an octave. Ballard gives a complete table of all eleven “chord positions” in each of the twelve tonalities and concludes by stating:

The study of the positions is earnestly recommended, as they form the elements—not only of all accompaniments, but of guitar music generally; indeed it is not too much to say, that the whole system of harmony for the guitar rests upon them, as they contain thirds and sixths. The positions most in use are comparatively few; and pupils will be amply compensated for the little time expended in learning them, by the facilities which will thus be acquired in reading and playing music at sight.

Ballard’s system of chord position is a reflection of the guitar style of his day, with its limited harmonic vocabulary, homophonic thinking, and heavy emphasis on treble melody. It is unlikely that the system could be expanded to include other styles of composition, but within its limits it is a well-thought-out attempt to relate functional harmony to the fingerboard itself.

Like Sor before him, Ballard saw the intervals of the third and the sixth (and their proper fingerings) as lying at the heart of nineteenth-century guitar harmony and technique.

From their harmonious nature, thirds and sixths are allowed to succeed each other on all the degrees of the octave—a circumstance that does not apply to any other interval: hence their frequent recurrence, and the necessity for learning to play them with facility.

On the practice of thirds and sixths, the whole system of guitar fingering depends; for all ordinary chords contain a third, at least, or a sixth, either between the bass and one of the upper parts, or between two upper parts. The pupil, therefore, who thoroughly understands the system for fingering thirds and sixths, will have a positive rule for fingering the most difficult guitar music. Indeed, it is by combining these intervals with open strings that many of the superior effects of the modern masters are produced; and the pupil who can execute thirds and sixths in the different keys, will already have made considerable progress toward becoming, not only a good guitarist, but a harmonist also.

As a study in thirds, Ballard recommends playing up the major scale on any two adjoining strings taking care that “the first finger should slide along the upper string, and the lower should be pressed by the second finger when a third is major, and by the third finger when it is minor.” (On the second and third strings, where the interval is different, the second finger becomes the “sliding” finger.) As musical material to illustrate thirds and sixths, Ballard can think of none better than the exercises found in Plates XI and XIII of Sor’s *Method*.

Perhaps on no other single subject was such a bewildering variety of advice offered by early nineteenth-century instruction books than on the matter of holding the guitar. Some authors recommended holding it on the right thigh, others on the left, on the lap, or (in the case of Aguado) on a tripod; some said the left foot should be raised, others the right. Ballard, as might be expected, generally follows the advice of Sor, although he adds some interesting reasons for the position he advocates:

The guitar should be supported on the right-hand side of the lap and the edge of the chair; the right foot being placed on a stool, the right fore-arm resting upon the edge of the instrument, and the hand hanging above the strings, between the rosette and the bridge. The head of the guitar should be elevated so as to be nearly even with the left shoulder. This position is somewhat different to the one commonly used; but its superiority must be obvious, for the following reasons:—the guitar being kept stationary by the weight of the right forearm, allows the left hand to move at pleasure along the neck of the instrument, while, at the same time, it obliges the fingers of the right hand, from their hanging position, to be in the best possible form for setting strings in vibration. The quantity of tone is also increased; for the guitar, resting partly upon the chair, communicates its vibrations to the floor of the room, which is, of course, a great addition to the vibrating body. (The tone may also be increased by placing the edge of the guitar against the panel of a door or the corner of a table.) Another important argument for the use of this position is, that it allows the shoulders of the performer to be perfectly even.

At this point Ballard quotes from a little-known book by one Donald Walker, entitled *Exercises for Ladies*, to support his observations about the shoulders:

In playing on the guitar, in some instances, the right knee is elevated to support the instrument, and the right shoulder is raised. This is avoided by the far preferable position of SOR. [The one first described.] The practice alluded to, therefore, tends to throw the lateral deviation towards the right shoulder. More frequently, perhaps, the guitar is rested in the lap, the left foot is placed on a stool, and the left shoulder is raised; this, of course, tends to throw the deviation in that direction.⁶

Walker's comment about the right knee appears at first glance to contradict Ballard and, for that matter, Sor, who also recommended raising the right foot. The point all three authors seem to be making, however, has to do with keeping the shoulders even. Sor, resting the lower edge of the guitar on his right leg, is using the stool to raise "the guitar to a proper height for the left hand."⁷ Ballard, resting the lower edge on a chair (for acoustical reasons?), would also need a stool to raise the neck "to be nearly even with the left shoulder."

It is worth noting that the advice Ballard gives in his *Elements* is not the same as he gives in the *Preceptor*. There, on page 5, he says:

The left foot of the player should be slightly elevated on a stool, in order to provide a place upon which the concave part of the body of the guitar shall rest naturally. The instrument should be held in the lap, in such a manner as to allow the head of the guitar to be nearly even with the left shoulder, and at the same time afford to the player an oblique view of the fingerboard and strings.

Was Ballard advocating two different techniques for the "serious" student and the dilettante, or was he, perhaps, confused by the conflicting practices of his era? One suspects the former; there is little in *Elements of Guitar-Playing* to suggest that Ballard was a confused teacher.

Some of Ballard's most interesting comments have to do with the right hand. He is against resting the little finger on the sounding-board under any circumstances:

A moment's consideration ought to prove, that placing the finger in this position has no other effect than to cramp the others, and render them unfit for playing, besides interfering with the vibrations of the sounding-board, and consequently injuring the tone.

The fingers should "be placed in a straight line in front of the strings" and "should be curved as little as possible, for the following reasons:"

⁶ Donald Walker, *Exercises for Ladies: Calculated to Preserve and Improve Beauty and to Prevent and Correct Personal Defects, Inseparable from Constrained or Careless Habits; Founded on Physiological Principles* (London: Thomas Hurst, 1836). His most popular book, *Walker's Manly Exercises*, went through fourteen editions between 1843 and 1878 including one popular in the United States. This Walker should not be confused with the D. Walker of "J. & D. Walker," publishers of Ballard's *Elements*. The publisher's name was Daniel.

⁷ Sor, *Method*, 10.

If the fingers are curved too much, the strings are put in vibration by pulling them up, which causes them to vibrate *against* the fingerboard, and also to jar against the frets; this being an obstacle to the freedom of the vibrations, lessens the time of their continuance, and consequently diminishes the tone; on the contrary, if the fingers are only a little curved, and the strings are touched on the side, so as to cause them to vibrate across the fingerboard, having nothing to obstruct them, the sound will be pure, and continue as long as the quality of the string and the instrument will permit.

Unlike Sor, Ballard is in favor of using nails. In the section “Quality of Tone,” Ballard has a good deal to say about nails and the passage is worth quoting in full.

The strings may be struck either with the ends of the fingers or with the nails. These two methods of playing cause a difference in the quality of the sounds. The tone produced by the nails, when they are firm, and kept perfectly smooth, is decidedly more brilliant, penetrating, and distinct than that produced by the ends of the fingers. The guitarists, however, who play with the ends of their fingers, contend that their tone is softer, and also superior on account of expression; but the harshness of tone which they consider belongs to playing with the nails, only exists when they are either weak or rough. After the nails are cut, they should be filed with a smooth file till the ends are circular; the performer should then play a rapid succession of arpeggios on the four largest strings, in order to clear away any little roughness that may yet remain from the use of the file.

It seems self-evident, that when a string is struck by a smooth, hard substance, like the nail, the vibrations must continue longer, and the tone consequently be more sustained, than when the ends of the fingers are used, which, being soft, must have a tendency to damp or muffle the sounds. The ends of the fingers, too, being round, come upon the strings by degrees, leave them in the same manner, and the sounds are rather blended together; while the nails touch them at once and leave them as suddenly, thereby causing the sounds to be much more distinct and powerful: besides, when the string is touched by the nail, it is not so far out of its proper line of vibration as when pulled by the ends of the fingers; the tone must therefore be more correct.

Playing on musical instruments with the nails is by no means of modern date. In the descriptions of the Irish harpers, mention is made that they were very particular in cultivating their fingernails, as the power and brilliancy of the tones of their instruments depended upon the strings being struck with them. Many of the Spaniards, also play with the nails; and on small guitars they often use a piece of tortoise-shell or hard wood as a substitute.

If this passage sounds slightly defensive, it is probably because of Ballard’s respect for Sor, a guitarist strongly against nails. Ballard, in fact, was one of the few writers of his period to favor nails. It is unfortunate, therefore, that he is not more specific in stating *where* on the nail the string should be struck as did Aguado — who appears

to be the first to advise the use of finger-nails⁸—and LeDhuy. Because he speaks of the “brilliancy” produced by playing with nails, and recommends that the fingers “should be placed in a straight line in front of the strings,” Ballard implies a head-on attack, whereas Aguado advocated “plucking the strings obliquely . . . sliding them between the fingernail and the tip of the finger.”

Ballard’s remarks about the left hand are sound, although they are not as detailed as Sor’s. Among other things he says:

The thumb of the left hand should be placed behind the neck of the guitar, generally at about half its width, the first joint a little bent back: it serves the hand as a pivot; and must never be used either for supporting the instrument or stopping any of the frets. The wrist should be raised, and the fingers full curved upon the strings.

The position of the left elbow is of great importance, as it influences the direction in which the fingers of the left hand press the strings. In general, it ought to be placed so that the fore-arm will be perpendicular to the neck.

He warns that the nails of the left hand must be kept very short and care taken “that the strings, when stopped, are not pushed out of their parallel position.” In playing *barres*, “the thumb should be drawn towards the further [lower] edge of the neck, in order to increase the pressure of the fingers and thereby improve the tone.”

Ballard offers comments on a variety of other subjects of which the following is a short, random sampling.

On tuning “Tuning is, perhaps, the least pleasant part of any thing connected with the guitar, but no one will deny that it is, at the same time, the most important.”⁹

On guitar strings “The three smallest are similar to those on the violin, and the others are called *covered* or *silver strings*, being made purposely for the guitar of silver wire wound on silk. In playing with the nails the strings are required to be rather thicker than when the ends of the fingers are used.”

On scordatura [“open” tunings] “This peculiarity of tuning, which is by many considered as a great imperfection, is to the amateur of the guitar, a matter of congratulation; for it adds to the variety of guitar effects; and by its means, passages, which sound very difficult to the ear, are often rendered exceedingly easy for the hand.”

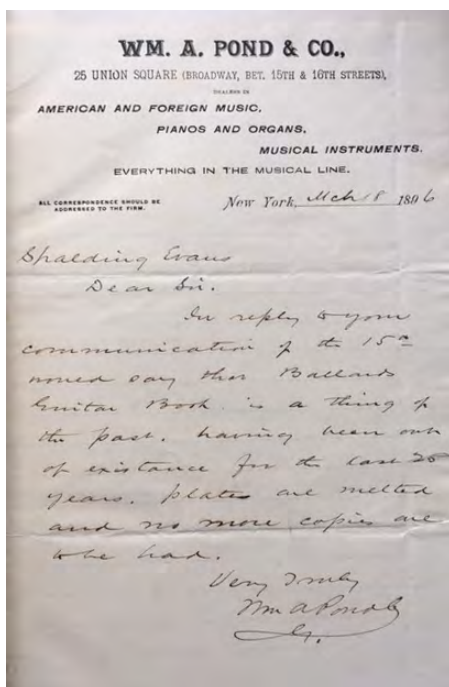
On the glide [*glissando*] “By its use, a peculiar grace is often given to passages of sensibility and feeling, in the execution of which the guitar is only to be equalled by the violin.”

On the future of the guitar in America “There is such an intimate connexion between the combinations used for accompaniments and melodies in general, that there can be no reason why the instrument capable of executing the former should not also

⁸ Cox, “Classic Guitar Technique,” 138.

⁹ Like most guitarists of his era, Ballard recommends tuning each string to the fifth fret of the string below, although the B string should be tuned to the ninth fret of the D string, “the B of which is more correct than that produced at the fourth fret of the G string.”

Figure 6 A letter from Wm. A. Pond & Co. to Spalding Evans, March 18, 1896.



be used for the latter. In this country, however, where vocal music has gained such a decided preference, the guitar, considered merely as an instrument of accompaniment, must eventually become even more extensively used than it is at present.”

Ballard concludes his treatise with advice as valid today as it was in 1838:

METHOD OF STUDY.— The ordinary manner of studying a lesson or a piece of music, is to play it over from beginning to end, and then repeat it again and again, with the expectation that the dexterity essential for the proper performance of the piece will in time be acquired. By such a mode of proceeding, however, the pupil soon loses sight of the intention of the composition, and concludes by playing without expression, or even neatness. In fact, it is possible for a player to become so habituated to the defects of execution which must inevitably occur in the difficult passages, as scarcely to notice them, although they may very forcibly strike the ear of another person.

In taking up a new piece of music, the pupil should first look to the signature to ascertain the key, time, &c., and then consider whether it begins with a chord passage, and if so, what position of that chord will be most suitable to commence with. The piece should then be gone over, with as few errors as possible, for the purpose of ascertaining its character; after which, the details should be labored till every part can be performed in its proper time, and the whole with a certain degree of uniformity. In doing this, the pupil will not unfrequently meet with a bar containing a passage of greater difficulty than the rest; in which case, it would be

preferable merely to repeat the difficult passage, playing it at first rather slow, and quickening the time until the requisite degree of facility is attained.

The Elements of Guitar-Playing may well be the first full-scale treatise originally written in the English language. In its pages, Ballard gives a detailed picture of early nineteenth-century guitar practice. The fact that it was published in America gives the book added interest. The copy before me now bears on its flyleaf the inscription “Spalding Evans 1870.” The copy is in rather poor repair, and Mr. Evans apparently wrote to Wm. A. Pond & Co. (the successors to the original publishers) to obtain a replacement. Bound into the book is Pond’s response (**figure 6**):

New York
M[ar]ch 18, 1896
Dear Sir,

In reply to your communication of the 15th would say that Ballards Guitar Book is a thing of the past, having been out of existance [sic] for the past 25 years. Plates are melted and no more copies are to be had.

Very truly
Wm. A. Pond



“A Noteworthy Early-American Guitar Treatise: James Ballard’s *Elements* of 1838” was first published in *Soundboard* 8, no. 4 (November 1981): 270–76. Images and citations have been updated and typographical errors corrected.

This article is part of a series, “From the *Soundboard* Archive,” featuring reprints of articles by Peter Danner on the guitar in the United States, c. 1770–c. 1924. For an introduction to the series, including links to each of the reprints, see <https://digitalcommons.du.edu/sbs/vol7/iss1/7>.

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About the Author

PETER DANNER attended the first meeting of the Guitar Foundation of America in Santa Barbara (1973), at which time he was representing the Lute Society of America. He edited that society's journal between 1975 and 1982 and served as its president between 1977 and 1982. He was elected to the GFA board of directors in 1975 and served as its chairman between 1977 and 1985, at which point he stepped down from the chairmanship to take over as chief editor of *Soundboard* from Jim Forrest. He continued as *Soundboard* editor until 2001, when he resigned the post for personal reasons. Peter was thus an eyewitness to the Guitar Foundation through its formative years and contributed as a lecturer, coordinator, and adjudicator at many of the Foundation's events.

Peter is a graduate of the University of California, Santa Barbara, and holds a PhD in music history from Stanford University (1967). He pursued an active performing career in the early seventies but abandoned this to concentrate on teaching, writing, and family. For many years he taught at Menlo College in Menlo Park, California, where he devised an innovative course in music appreciation, meant more to teach the vocabulary of music than instill a love for Haydn (let alone Schoenberg) string quartets to an audience not prepared to accept them. Peter is now retired but still involves himself in his twin loves of music and history. He has too many CDs of classical music (guitar and otherwise) and sees to it that they're not neglected. He involves himself in the local history of the San Francisco Bay Area, which, being Silicon Valley, has seen changes that would have been unimagined fifty years ago.

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FROM THE SOUNDBOARD ARCHIVE

The Guitar in Nineteenth-Century America

A Lost Social Tradition

PETER DANNER (1985)

SINCE THE AMERICAN BICENTENNIAL a decade ago, this writer has made several attempts to determine the role of the guitar in nineteenth-century American musical life and to identify the kinds of music played by American guitarists of the past.¹ A vast quantity of guitar music was published in the United States during the last century—solos, songs with written-out accompaniment, and methods—but together with the names of its composers and arrangers, it has all but vanished from our collective consciousness. Much of this music is clearly inferior when judged by today's standards, but regardless of its quality, its quantity cannot be denied.

There is no way the actual size of this repertoire can be accurately determined. One useful gauge of the amount of guitar music in print in 1870, at least, is *The Complete Catalogue of Sheet Music and Musical Works* published that year by the Board of Music Trade of the United States.² This catalogue lists all music in print from twenty of the major American publishing houses, including Oliver Ditson, Lee & Walker, William A. Pond, and John Church, and shows 726 entries for solo guitar, 2,309 songs with written-out guitar accompaniment, and thirty-four guitar methods. Many hundreds of additional titles would have been available from publishers not belonging to the Board of Trade or available through import. Furthermore, 1870 was not a peak year for American guitar activity, and the catalogue obviously does not include the countless titles that had passed from print by 1870 or had yet to appear.³ From the

- 1 See, for example, "Notes on Some Early-American Guitar Concerts," *Soundboard* 4, no. 1 (February 1977): 8–9, 21; reprinted with minor revisions in *Soundboard Scholar*, no. 7 (2021), <https://digitalcommons.du.edu/sbs/vol7/iss1/8>; "Breve storia della musica per chitarra in America," *Il Fronimo*, no. 20 (July 1977); "Guitar," in *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, vol. 2, ed. Stanley Sadie and H. Wiley Hitchcock (London: Macmillan, 1986): 296–98.
- 2 Board of Music Trade of the United States of America, *Complete Catalogue of Sheet Music and Musical Works, 1870*, with a new introduction by Dena J. Epstein (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973).
- 3 An informal survey of some five hundred imprints suggests that the 1840s and 1880s may have been the decades of greatest guitar publishing in the United States. The Civil War may explain the interruption.

1830s until the turn of the century, the publication of guitar music in America was at least a semi-lucrative proposition with a relatively steady market.

Most writers on the guitar have ignored this repertoire entirely. What little has been written either attempts to relate it somehow to the classical guitar tradition in Europe or tries to identify it with American folk music. In my opinion, both these approaches give a mistaken impression of the place of the guitar in nineteenth-century American society. The place of the guitar belongs neither to art music nor to the folk tradition, but to the world of popular music.

In his valuable book *Yesterdays*, Charles Hamm defines popular song as a piece of music that (among other things) is:

- usually first performed and popularized in some form of secular stage entertainment and afterwards consumed (performed or listened to) in the home;
- composed and marketed with the goal of financial gain;
- designed to be performed by and listened to by persons of limited musical training and ability;
- and produced and disseminated in physical form — as sheet music in its early history and in various forms of mechanical reproduction in the twentieth century.⁴

While there were attempts to write art music for the guitar in the United States during the nineteenth century (some of them fairly sophisticated), the majority of guitar music, be it song or solo, fits this definition of “popular song” remarkably well. As far as folk music is concerned, the guitar did not become a significant folk instrument until the present century, when steel strings had become the predominant medium.

It is easy to see why American guitar music from the past has become confused with art music on the one hand and with folk music on the other. As in Europe, many early pieces of popular music were based on themes by Bellini, Donizetti, and other composers we would today label “classical.” Furthermore, the styles and harmonic vocabularies of art and popular music in the early nineteenth century were much closer to one another than they were later to become. Beethoven, for example, might write an “Eroica” Symphony, but he was not above turning out salon pieces such as *Für Elise* and *Minuet in G*.

The rise in popularity of the guitar in America coincided with a craze for Italian melody that swept this country in the 1830s, replacing an earlier penchant for Irish and Scottish music. Wagner once remarked in a condescending aside that the Italian opera composers treated the orchestra as if it was one great guitar. As Hamm observes:

The statement is apt; the most expressive and florid passages are usually accompanied by strings, playing softly arpeggiated or strummed chords. A guitar (or a nineteenth-century piano) is a perfectly acceptable substitute.⁵

⁴ Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1979), xvii.

⁵ Hamm, 87.

Rossini's *La Cenerentola* was an absolute sensation when it arrived in New York in 1831 in a popularized English version written by Rophino Lacy under the title *Cinderella: or the Fairy-Queen and the Glass Slipper*. Bellini's *Norma* caused a similar furor ten years later. Every songbook, every method, every catalogue until well after 1870 is filled with songs, arrangements, and variations lifted from such sources: "Cinderella Waltz," "Make Me No Gaudy Chaplet" (taken from Donizetti's *Lucrezia Borgia*), "Gems from *Norma*," "Still So Gently O'er Me Stealing" (from Bellini's *La sonnambula*). Two immensely popular songs from the 1830s, "Katy Darling" and "Little Nell," were based directly on Bellini melodies. Later examples, such as the songs from Balfé's *Bohemian Girl* ("I Dreamt I Dwelt in Marble Halls," "Then You'll Remember Me") or Wagner's "Evening Star," could be cited endlessly.

While based on art music, such fare is not art music in itself. Rather it is a popular style based upon a classical prototype. Although some original classic guitar music was regularly available from Europe, Americans generally evolved their own special repertoire based on the same prototypes, much of it decidedly sentimental and overlaid with a peculiarly American layer of nostalgia for past ways of life. Of the 726 solos listed in the Board of Music Trade Catalogue in 1870, only twenty-seven are by identifiable Europeans, of whom Carcassi (with seventeen entries) and Sor (with seven) are predominant. America's taste for nostalgic music may reflect the unconscious longing felt by newly arrived immigrants for a Europe left behind; or perhaps it can be explained by the fact that the young country had yet to acquire a musical style of its own.

The attempt to associate the guitar with folk music is perhaps even more pervasive because it has become so ingrained into our mythology in recent years. The one standard guitar history to include a chapter on "The Guitar in America" is Frederic Grunfeld's *The Art and Times of the Guitar*.⁶ While passing mention is made of such nineteenth-century American salon guitarists as Bateman, de Janon, Foden, and "Dorb" (by whom he means Charles Dorn), the chapter stresses the guitars of the cowboy and the blues singer. This is unfortunate, as it tends to make us forget that the guitar was a very late arrival to the world of folk music.

Although the guitar has, indeed, become the folk instrument *par excellence* of American music, such was not the case in the nineteenth century. At that time the predominant folk instrument among Whites was the fiddle, valued for its versatility and portability; among Blacks, the banjo, the object of endless minstrel show parodies. The songs Cecil Sharp heard in the Appalachians in 1916 were still being sung without accompaniment. The guitar was certainly played in the *hacienda* society of the Mexican Southwest, but the singing cowboy with his guitar is mainly a fantasy from Gene Autry movies. Can one really see a place for temperamental gut strings in such hostile environments as the mountains and deserts of America?

Steel strings were needed before the guitar could become a true folk instrument. No one is quite sure when steel strings became the established norm. One can

6 Frederic V. Grunfeld, *The Art and Times of the Guitar: An Illustrated History of Guitars and Guitarists* (London: Macmillan, 1969), chapter 8.

speculate that they entered the United States from south of the border, perhaps as a legacy of the Mexican War (1846). In any event, they are not well documented until the last decade of the century. The earliest reference to them I have found appears in Charles Henlein's *Complete Modern School for the Guitar* (1888), where Henlein warns against their use: "The fine steel strings in place of the gut, I find objectionable to good and artistic playing."

According to Tom and Mary Ann Evans, Orville Gibson made his first steel-string guitars about 1898; the leading American manufacturer of guitars, C. F. Martin, didn't offer a standard production model with steel strings until 1922.⁷

In my opinion, the place of the guitar in nineteenth-century American life was not among the itinerant workers or the rural poor, nor was it an instrument of upper-class society. Rather the guitar was to be found within the middle class, particularly among those who could not yet afford a piano (the true symbol of Victorian propriety), or who were just beyond the pioneer stage and not yet settled enough to make one practical. If one observes the dedicatees of guitar pieces (more often than not young ladies), one will note a perceivable trend. Before the Civil War such music tends to be dedicated to people living along the Eastern Seaboard in such places as New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. Later, the focus shifts west to a population living in such states as Ohio, Iowa, and Missouri.

It is my contention that this latter group, upon becoming settled, finally discarded their guitars in favor of pianos (or more likely player pianos or parlor organs) by the turn of the century. These guitars were in turn picked up by rural Black musicians as being preferable to the homemade instruments they had been playing. The special techniques developed by these players after 1900 (bottle-necking, for example) suggest that they were using steel, rather than gut, strings—strings that may first have been appropriated from the traditional banjo or perhaps from Hispanic influences. It was this ingenious group of Black musicians that so fascinated the rural Whites in the 1910s and 1920s and led to country music as we know it today. Time after time these early "hillbilly" performers (Frank Hutchison, Charlie Poole, et al.) comment that they were drawn to the guitar from hearing Black musicians perform.

Early American guitar methods reflected the popular tastes of their day. They were directed towards amateurs and basically set out to accomplish two things: to give the player enough technique to play simple arrangements of popular melodies of the day (a group of these will usually be found at the end of the volume) and to accompany songs. There is nothing elitist about any of these books. The preface to James Flint's *The Guitar at Home* (1857) starts off boldly with the statement, "The Guitar at Home has been compiled as a *book for the people*" (Flint's emphasis).

The guitar had become a popular instrument on the East Coast by the late 1820s. The early teachers were not specialists, but musicians who made their livings

⁷ Tom Evans and Mary Anne Evans, *Guitars from the Renaissance to Rock* (New York & London: Paddington Press, 1977), 220–23. See also Mike Longworth, *Martin Guitars: A History* (Cedar Knolls, NJ: Colonial Press, 1975), 25.

principally in the various theater orchestras of the larger cities and added to their incomes by teaching privately. An anonymous “German Musician,” writing home to the magazine *The Caecilia* about New York musical life remarks in a letter dated July 27, 1828:

In a pecuniary point of view, music is a lucrative business for men who in addition to their regular engagements can give lessons on the piano or guitar. Such persons can save up a small fortune in a short time, but only on these two instruments; nobody finds time for any others. Good teachers get one thaler (75 cents) a lesson, others get 18 thalers (\$13.50) for 24 lessons.⁸

In a review of James Ballard’s *Elements of Guitar-Playing* (1838), the *New York Mirror* had this to say about the place of the guitar in American society:

The guitar is now becoming every day a greater favorite as its capabilities are better known, especially among the ladies, who esteem it for the elegance of its form and facilities it affords for accompanying the voice in song. . . . We are glad to see the guitar becoming better appreciated, for we look upon the instrument as one of the best means of defusing through the whole mass of our variously-constituted population the softening and elevating influences of music.

And this from the *New York News*:

[The guitar] possesses many desirable qualifications as an accompaniment to amateurs, as on no other instrument can so much music be produced with so little of the drudgery of practice. Commend us to the guitar for the enlivening of the family circle!

The enlivening of the family circle — this is what guitar instruction was all about in the nineteenth century.

Many nineteenth-century references to the guitar in this country sound extremely naive to modern ears, but they are not without a certain period charm of their own, including one of the earliest, which appeared in the program bill of a concert held at the City Tavern in Philadelphia on March 6, 1787:

Mr. Capron respectfully informs the public that he instructs ladies and gentlemen in the art of singing and of playing on the Spanish and English guitars, recording the most approved method of the first masters in Europe. The guitar, from the late improvement which it has received, being so portable and so easily kept in order, is now considered not only as a desirable but as a fashionable instrument.⁹

⁸ English translation in *Dwight’s Journal of Music* 3 (1853), 38.

⁹ O. G. Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life in America, 1731–1800* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907), 130.

A correspondent to Dwight's *Journal of Music*, commenting on the San Francisco music scene, reports in the May 3, 1856, issue of that influential magazine on an unnamed guitarist whom I take to be Manuel Ferrer:

One thing I must not forget to mention. We have here a musical prodigy, a native Californian guitarist, who executes wonders, having all the facility that Ole Bull has on the violin, and performs the "Carnival of Venice" with quite as much effect. Four years ago he had never seen a guitar. He reads music with considerable facility, but is able to play melodies and harmonies, after hearing them performed by an orchestra, accurately.

George Derwort, a New York guitar teacher, placed a number of ads in local papers during 1845 with the following announcement:

G. H. Derwort, professor of singing, guitar, and pianoforte, has opened a class for Young Ladies, from 7 to 10 years of age, among whom are three of his own daughters, whom he proposes to instruct thoroughly in the art of Singing His method cannot fail to impart to his pupil a clear perception and a thorough knowledge of the grammatical principles of music with the ability to harmonize any simple given melody. Terms \$20 per annum, payable quarterly in advance. Lessons three times per week.

Otto Torp's *New and Improved Method for the Spanish Guitar* (1834, earlier edition in 1828) was typical of the American methods of its day. Beginning with simple scale studies and arpeggio exercises in C major, the book leads the student through such melodies as "Araby's Daughter," "Weber's Last Waltz," "Pieces from Cinderella" (after Donizetti), and "My Heart and Lute." The work concludes with "a Collection of Airs from Favorite Operas with German, Italian, French and English Words," including "The Last Rose of Summer," the Barcarolle from Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* and "Gaily the Troubadour." The pieces are mainly short binary forms (usually a mere sixteen measures). Only the more usual keys are covered, and little use is made of the upper positions. Open basses are utilized as often as possible. The one nod to the European guitar masters is the inclusion of Ferdinand Carrulli's [sic] "Celebrated Exercise to shew the different positions on the Instrument."

The third edition of Ballard's *Elements of Guitar-Playing* appeared four years later and is noteworthy for its attention to European models, which was highly unusual at the time. Even the versions of Carcassi's famous method, which became available about the same time, were watered down and adapted to American tastes. As I pointed out in a recent article on this method, Ballard based his text on Sor's *Method* and advocated an unusual "position system for teaching harmony."¹⁰ Even though he

¹⁰ "A Noteworthy Early-American Guitar Treatise: James Ballard's *Elements* of 1838," *Soundboard* 8, no. 4 (November 1981): 270–76; reprinted with minor revisions in *Soundboard Scholar*, no. 7 (2021), <https://digitalcommons.du.edu/sbs/vol7/iss1/9>.

includes a number of pieces by Sor, Aguado, and other European masters, the fact remains that the music primarily falls within the mainstream of popular American musical taste. Included are simple arrangements of such pieces as “O dolce concerto” [contento] (lifted from Mozart), “Oft in the Stilly Night,” “Love’s Ritornella,” and “What Fairy-like Music.” Also included is the earliest version I have found of that hardy American perennial “The Spanish Fandango,” a piece in open tuning that lives on in the folk recordings of Elizabeth Cotten and Norman Blake (who was taught it by his grandmother). Popular music can, indeed, become folk music if it becomes widespread enough to enter aural tradition.¹¹

The most striking feature of such later methods as N. P. B. Curtiss’s *Progressive and Complete Method for the Guitar* (1850, but still in print in 1878), Septimus Winner’s *Easy System for the Guitar* (1866), and Antonio Lopes’s *Instruction for the Guitar* (1884) is their conservatism.¹² While the mainstream of popular music moved away from the simple strophic and binary forms in favor of the verse/chorus format and began to experiment with a richer harmonic palette (partly the result of Wagner’s tremendous influence at the time), the music found in these tutors tends to be the same old repertoire carried over from the 1830s. The “New and Improved Edition” of the Curtiss method (1878), for instance, includes the same mixture of pieces (“Weber’s Last Waltz,” “March from Norma,” “Oft in the Stilly Night”) as those found in the methods of Torp and Ballard. It is as if the repertoire had become frozen in time.

The one high spot in American guitar instruction during this period will be found in the two methods written by Justin Holland (1874 and 1876), works by a Black man who had completely assimilated the tastes of a White, middle-class audience. The later of these, Holland’s *Modern Method for the Guitar*, compares favorably with the best methods then available in Europe and is one of the few attempts to raise the guitar to the level of an art instrument. As Holland notes in his preface, “The common-place and trivial compositions of the day have been entirely ignored, as being unsuitable for the promotion of either skill or taste.” The book appears to be modeled on Carcassi (with each key being introduced with a scale, cadence, exercise, and prelude), but the text is much more detailed and the student is led through a wider range of material at a more leisurely pace. The work concludes with a list of pieces Holland feels to be suitable repertory. All the pieces mentioned are European and include works by Carcassi, Giuliani, de Fossa, and Mertz.

On the whole, however, the guitar remained a modest appointment of the boudoir, even though it actually seems to have grown in popularity during the 1880s. While it had long been played in the home, Sigmund Spaeth’s *History of Popular Music in America* (1948) specifically mentions it as being one of the “social graces” of the era:

11 Certain songs of Stephen Foster, for example, are considered just that by many people. A number of Foster’s songs appeared in guitar versions during the 1850s, some of which may have been prepared by the composer himself, since Foster is known to have played the guitar.

12 Antonio Lopes, *Instruction for the Guitar*, 1884, facsimile ed., ed. Stanley Buetens, with a new foreword by Peter Danner (Menlo Park, California: Instrumenta Antigua Publications, 1983).

On the side of the social graces, the eighties developed the practice of the mandolin, banjo, and guitar in the American home, the appearance of the bicycle in the streets, the founding of the United States Lawn Tennis Association and the original *Life* magazine (comic, not pictorial).¹³

All of these, we might note, are solid, middle-class recreations. The guitar music played by these people was solidly middle-class as well, judging from the surviving music. Most of the pieces published at this time would have been judged by Holland as among “the common-place and trivial,” but it might be pointed out that Holland himself published many such arrangements.

In his *Book of Musical Americana*, Deac Martin, a one-time leading spokesman of barbershop quartet singing, gives a vivid account of his introduction to the guitar while growing up in a small rural community in Missouri at the turn of the century:

Around 1902 . . . my older brother returned from the gold diggings of Cripple Creek, Colorado, with a mandolin. Then he ordered a Harwood guitar from Jenkins in Kansas City. In the mail-order book of *Arrangements for Mandolin and Guitar* (50 cents), I was introduced to foreign-looking names such as Mascagni, Chaminade, Czibulka, Verdi, De Koven and Schumann. The introductions led to some fraternization, but only after discouraging struggles to relate the strings and frets with the little black dots and symbols in the book. My brother was determined to . . . bend the twig. Sullenly, I learned “Stephanie Gavotte,” selections from “Martha,” “La Czarina,” “Evening Star,” Mendelssohn’s “Spring Sng,” and other standards. He also taught me to tinkle the “Spanish Fandango” and to pluck four chords in C on the guitar. They were adequate, according to local standards, when applied to “Bedalia,” “In a Cozy Corner,” “Goodbye Dolly Grey,” and “Ain’t Dat a Shame.”¹⁴

This domestic scene must have been played out in countless American homes during the century. As mail-order houses became an established way of life, the guitar was introduced into homes that had not previously known the charms of a musical instrument. This may help explain the guitar’s rise in popularity in the Midwest towards the end of the century and Aaron Shearer’s report of a sudden rash of superficial methods about the same time.¹⁵ However, by 1902 (the period about which Martin was writing) the guitar had ceased to be a part of the musical mainstream in most American parlors. Continuity was maintained by small groups of aficionados (guided by such enthusiasts as Vahdah Olcott-Bickford and Walter Jacobs), but the door had closed on a tradition.

In W. L. Hubbard’s *History of American Music*, published in 1908, we read:

- 13 Sigmund Spaeth, *A History of Popular Music in America* (New York: Random House, 1948), 212. Spaeth’s reference to *Life* is an allusion to a long-forgotten comic magazine that once attempted to emulate England’s famous *Punch*.
- 14 C. T. Martin, *Deac Martin’s Book of Musical Americana* (Englewood, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 29–30.
- 15 Aaron Shearer, “A Review of Early Methods,” *Guitar Review*, no. 23 (1959): 26.

The census of 1900 reported the manufacture in the United States of 78,389 mandolins and mandolas, 78,494 guitars, and 18,521 banjos. Dealers at the present time say that the trade in small instruments of this class has been virtually killed off by the automatic musical instruments.¹⁶

This trend would be reversed by the rise of the steel-string guitar and by the coming of Segovia, but these are other stories . . .



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This article is part of a series, “From the *Soundboard* Archive,” featuring reprints of articles by Peter Danner on the guitar in the United States, c. 1770–c. 1924. For an introduction to the series, including links to each of the reprints, see <https://digitalcommons.du.edu/sbs/vol7/iss1/7>.

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¹⁶ W.L. Hubbard, *History of American Music*, vol. 4 of *The American History and Encyclopedia of Music* (Toledo, OH: Irving Squire, 1908), 334.

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About the Author

PETER DANNER attended the first meeting of the Guitar Foundation of America in Santa Barbara (1973), at which time he was representing the Lute Society of America. He edited that society's journal between 1975 and 1982 and served as its president between 1977 and 1982. He was elected to the GFA board of directors in 1975 and served as its chairman between 1977 and 1985, at which point he stepped down from the chairmanship to take over as chief editor of *Soundboard* from Jim Forrest. He continued as *Soundboard* editor until 2001, when he resigned the post for personal reasons. Peter was thus an eyewitness to the Guitar Foundation through its formative years and contributed as a lecturer, coordinator, and adjudicator at many of the Foundation's events.

Peter is a graduate of the University of California, Santa Barbara, and holds a PhD in music history from Stanford University (1967). He pursued an active performing career in the early seventies but abandoned this to concentrate on teaching, writing, and family. For many years he taught at Menlo College in Menlo Park, California, where he devised an innovative course in music appreciation, meant more to teach the vocabulary of music than instill a love for Haydn (let alone Schoenberg) string quartets to an audience not prepared to accept them. Peter is now retired but still involves himself in his twin loves of music and history. He has too many CDs of classical music (guitar and otherwise) and sees to it that they're not neglected. He involves himself in the local history of the San Francisco Bay Area, which, being Silicon Valley, has seen changes that would have been unimaginable fifty years ago.

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FROM THE SOUNDBOARD ARCHIVE

The Guitar in America as Mirrored in Cadenza (1894–1924)

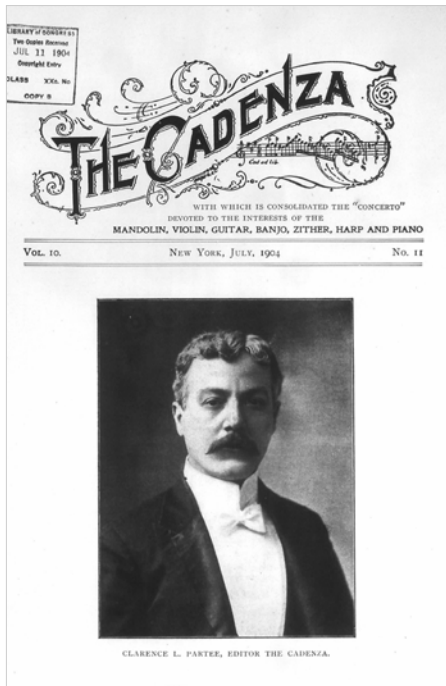
PETER DANNER (1991)

I

ONE OF THE PRIME SOURCES of information on the guitar as it was played in the United States eighty to a hundred years ago is the magazine *The Cadenza*, which began publication in mid-1894 and for the next thirty years kept its readers apprised of goings-on in the world of fretted instruments. *Cadenza* was not the first American magazine to devote itself to the guitar, banjo, and mandolin — *S. S. Stewart's Journal* had preceded it by a good ten years — nor was it alone in dealing with the subject — *The Crescendo* (1908–1933) was just one of its rivals.¹ But a study of this periodical sheds light on the place of the guitar in American society at the time and gives us considerable information about its leading practitioners. Such primary sources, however, must be approached with caution. This is journalism we are dealing with here, not musicology, and as such it is not above displaying self-interest, exaggerated claims, misinformation, or the downright suppression of data.

Cadenza started life as a bimonthly in Kansas City, the brainchild of Clarence L. Partee, a publisher and teacher of fretted instruments in that city. The time was ripe for launching a periodical devoted to the fretted instruments, due to the rising popularity of the mandolin clubs and orchestras that were just coming to prominence at the time. The magazine flourished, and Partee moved his operation to New York in 1900 and began publishing *Cadenza* as a monthly. It started to attract the leading personalities in the field: banjo pioneer Frank Converse (1837–1903) contributed his memoirs, and Philip J. Bone began providing the historical profiles of famous players from the past that would eventually become an important book. *Cadenza* continued in operation until December 1907 when Partee retired, presumably for

¹ In his *Cadenza* “Problem Prober” column of September 1915, Zahr M. Bickford lists twenty-three English-language periodicals devoted to the fretted instruments, including *Mandolin and Guitar* (Baltimore), *Musical Tempo* (Philadelphia), *The Troubadour* (London), and *BMG* (London).



Clarence L. Partee as he appeared on the cover of the July 1904 issue of *The Cadenza*. Images from the journal in this article are taken from the Digital Guitar Archive's repository of scans of the Library of Congress's collection: <https://www.digitalguitararchive.com/2020/04/the-cadenza/>.

health reasons.² In the meantime, *Cadenza* was purchased by Walter Jacobs, an Ohio native, who had established himself as an important publisher of banjo, mandolin, and guitar music in Boston some years earlier.³ Jacobs attempted to increase the circulation of the magazine by devoting a section to the interests of the just-emerging silent film musical industry, but the experiment was abolished in 1910 when Jacobs launched *Jacobs' Orchestral Monthly*. When *Cadenza* eventually folded in 1924, it was incorporated into this magazine, which continued in existence until 1941.

II

IN AN ARTICLE written for *Soundboard* in 1985, the present writer, discussing the guitar in nineteenth-century America, observed that “the guitar remained a modest appointment of the boudoir, even though it actually seems to have grown in popularity during the 1880s.”⁴ Writing in the November–December 1894 issue of *Cadenza*, Alfred Chenet offered two reasons for this increased popularity:

- 2 Partee eventually died in 1915.
- 3 Walter Jacobs was born in Oberlin, Ohio, in 1868 and heard a guitar for the first time at the age of thirteen. After working for a time on a Texas ranch and traveling through Europe, he settled in Boston in 1894. See *Cadenza* 15, no. 1 (July 1908): 20. All references are to *The Cadenza* unless otherwise stated.
- 4 Peter Danner, “The Guitar in Nineteenth-Century America: A Lost Social Tradition,” *Soundboard* 12, no. 3 (Fall 1985): 292–98; reprinted in *Soundboard Scholar*, no. 7 (2021), <https://digitalcommons.du.edu/sbs/vol7/iss1/10>.

In the past eight or ten years the guitar has made wonderful progress in this country, due to several causes, of which I may mention the numerous works of W. L. Hayden, [Justin] Holland, [Antonio] Lopez, [Luis T.] Romero, [Charles] De Janon, [Frank] Converse, [Francis] Weiland, [Miguel] Arevalo, etc. Also, the playing of the original Spanish students, the famous mandolin and guitar artists in their concert tour through the United States.⁵

A number of other *Cadenza* writers also credited these “Spanish Students” with creating a new awareness of the mandolin and guitar. For example, E. R. Day, writing in 1917, remarked, “Many of you recall the visit of the famous Spanish Students to this country (though of course you won’t admit it) or, if not, you certainly have heard about it and how their visit introduced and put the ‘Git’ into Guitar and the ‘Do’ into Mandolin.”⁶ And H. L. Hunt, in an article for the *New-York Tribune*, reported, “When the banjo was at the zenith of its glory a band of Spanish students came to America. . . . This Spanish organization was composed of such fine musicians that it made a sensation in this country. Their tour started a craze for the mandolin and guitar in the United States.”⁷

The mandolin that became so popular was the Neapolitan mandolin, which, of course, is not a Spanish instrument at all, and therein lies a rather interesting story. It was best told by Samuel Adelstein, a San Francisco musician who, with Luis T. Romero, established the first mandolin orchestra on the Pacific Coast in 1887.⁸

Many people are under the impression that the original Spanish Students, who appeared in this country about twenty-one years ago, performed upon the Italian mandolin. During his visit to Spain, in 1895, the writer searched diligently in Gibraltar, Ronda, Granada, Seville and Cordova, but was unable to find a single Neapolitan mandolin. The instrument used by the original Spanish Students was the bandurria, or Spanish mandolin, an instrument essentially Spanish, and, even at the present time, seldom seen outside Spain. . . .

The erroneous impression was created by the fact that soon after the original Figaro Spanish Students landed in this country, a number of Italian mandolinists residing in New York, noting the furore the Spanish Students were creating, organized and banded

5 Alfred Chenet, “The Guitar and its Progress in America,” vol. 1, no. 2 (November–December 1894): 3. Born in Canada in 1854, Chenet was professor of fretted instruments at the Boston Conservatory of Music when this article was published. A profile of Chenet appeared in the November–December issue, p. 2. He moved to Denver at the end of 1898 (see January–February 1899).

6 E. R. Day, “Efficacy of the Ukulele and Steel Guitar,” vol. 24, no. 2, new series (February 1917): 4.

7 H. L. Hunt, “The Growth and Popularity of Small Instruments in the United States,” vol. 21, no. 5 (November 1914): 35. The article is reprinted from the *New-York Tribune*. Hunt was manager of the musical instrument department of Chas. Ditson & Co., New York. Compare George Krick’s version of the story quoted in *Soundboard* 27, no. 2: 29.

8 Samuel Adelstein, “Mandolin Memories,” vol. 16, no. 7 (January 1910): 17.

themselves together under the leadership of a noted mandolinist.⁹ This fraudulent organization took the name of the Figaro Spanish Students, adopted similar costumes, and actually took the personal names of members of the original Spanish Students....

The Original Figaro Spanish Students—22 in number—came to America from Madrid in 1879, under engagement to Henry Abbey. Their leader was Señor Denis Granada, composer of the “El Turia” waltzes and other celebrated compositions. Their instrumentation was as follows: 13 bandurrias, 7 guitars, 1 violin, 1 cello. They returned to Spain in 1881; in 1882 the Figaro Spanish Students again left Spain, bound for Mexico. This time they were 18 in number and under the direction of Señor Garcia. They also traveled about America and appeared in San Francisco, at the old Winter Garden, now torn down. They next went to South America, where they disbanded at Buenos Ayres in 1885.¹⁰

Hunt substantiated the story:

At that time there were hardly any mandolin players in the United States. However, in New York there were a few Italians who played the instrument. One enterprising Neapolitan conceived the idea that Italians looked very much like Spaniards, so he at once organized a mandolin, guitar and bandurria orchestra similar to the Spanish Students’ Orchestra. For business reasons he named his band “The Spanish Students from Madrid.” This organization concertized America from one end to the other. They were dressed in Spanish costume and were supposed to be Castilian noblemen. All went very well with our Italian friends, who were excellent musicians, until they ran across the original “Spanish Students” in some city in the far West. Naturally, a very animated argument ensued. The “Spanish Students” popularity in this country was lost, but the seed which they had sown broadcast had its results. Never before in the history of music had there been such a craze for mandolins and for guitars.¹¹

The popularity of the mandolin in this country was thus established through a subterfuge. The bandurria has six strings and is tuned in fourths; the mandolin has four strings and is tuned in fifths.

While the mandolin was the main beneficiary of these various “Spanish” tours, the guitar also received a considerable boost: not, however, so much as a solo instrument. It is practically impossible to discuss the guitar in the United States between 1890 and 1920 without taking into account its association with the mandolin and banjo, with which it became intimately linked. Thanks to the “Spanish Students,” the mandolin

- ⁹ This was Carlos Curti, who was better known as a violinist. Later he became director of the orchestra at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City. See vol. 8, no. 10 (June 1902): 26.
- ¹⁰ Samuel Adelstein, “The Bandurria and the Spanish Students,” vol. 6, no. 5 (May–June 1900): 4. The Spanish term *estudiantina* refers to a collective group of student musicians. According to Ronald Purcell, Emilio Pujol belonged to such a group and went on tour in Europe at the age of twelve playing the bandurria.
- ¹¹ Hunt, “The Growth and Popularity of Small Instruments,” 35.

became the fashion of the hour. The banjo was a survivor from minstrel days and was to play an important role in establishing ragtime—a number of commentators have credited George L. Lansing’s *The Darkies Dream* (1887) as important to the development of the rag. Although a few stalwarts remained faithful to the solo guitar, most teachers took up all three instruments to supplement their incomes, and helped establish the various plucked-string orchestras, which flourished in every part of the country. Solo guitar playing was relatively rare. To some, this was more than acceptable. To Chenet, “One guitar played alone is effective, but if used in a club or orchestra, helping and helped by other instruments, it is so much prettier.” A certain R. S. Chase observed, “Within the last ten years the guitar has been quite extensively studied, although in such a manner as to render it simply an instrument for accompaniment purposes. Since the introduction of the pianoforte into all houses where the least taste for music exists, the guitar has been little used [to play solos] except in Spain or Italy. Some performers have studied it, and still study it as a solo instrument in such a way as to derive from it effects no less original than delightful.”¹² “Occasionally,” noted Day, “one would hear of a guitar soloist who could play the ‘Spanish Fandango,’ ‘Battle of Sebastopol’ or other equally beloved gems with much fire and enthusiasm, always making a hit with his hearers.”¹³

“Why is it,” asked Iowa guitar teacher Thomas Tyler, “at the present day, when mandolins, guitars and banjos may be found in nearly every home, that so many can play the mandolin or banjo fairly well, as solo instruments, but avoid the guitar, thinking it made only for accompaniments?” To Tyler, “It must be because they hear so few guitar soloists . . . and as a rule when they do get the opportunity to hear a soloist he plays music so difficult or classic in theme, the uninformed get the impression that nothing but these are playable on the guitar?”¹⁴ As for Partee, he blamed the guitarists themselves:

The extreme technical difficulty of the instrument accounts for the comparatively limited number of really great performers, but we have a sufficient number of great guitar artists to successfully and thoroughly demonstrate the merits of the instrument if they only possessed the enterprise and “hustling” abilities displayed by some of our prominent banjoists and mandolinists. In these qualities they appear to be lacking, to a certain extent; and as the players who are most competent to display the beauties of the instrument and to give recitals and concerts successfully before the musically cultured and discriminating, are doing nothing, practically speaking, to bring the instrument before the public as a solo instrument of the highest class, naturally the

12 R. S. Chase, “The Guitar and Its Teaching,” vol. 1, no. 1 (September–October 1894): 3.

13 *Spanish Fandango* and *Sebastopol* were perhaps the two most popular pieces in the American repertoire at the time. Both were in open tuning and might be compared with today’s *Spanish Romance*. While they were beloved by amateurs, they were considered anathema by serious players, as Day’s comment suggests.

14 Thomas Tyler, “The Guitar,” vol. 11, no. 7 (March 1905): 10.

guitar does not receive much consideration from that standpoint, except in certain limited localities.

No doubt, such of the guitar virtuosi as are competent and willing to tour the country as solo artists have been discouraged at the difficulties of the undertaking, and on account of the lack of interest exhibited by local teachers and others, who should be the first and foremost to encourage anything of the kind.¹⁵

III

WHO WERE these “great concert artists” of whom Partee speaks, and what music did they play?—this “music so difficult or classic in theme,” as Tyler put it? One way to answer these questions is to consider the guitarists who appeared at the annual concerts sponsored by the American Guild of Banjoists, Mandolinists and Guitarists. As early as 1895, C. L. Partee had suggested the formation of a “Banjo, Mandolin and Guitar Players Union.”¹⁶ This suggestion became a reality in 1900 with the establishment of the American Guild of Banjoists, Mandolinists and Guitarists, which held its first convention in Boston in 1902. Together with a variety of ensemble groups, the AGBMG presented featured soloists, including the finest classical mandolin players of the time: Valentine Abt (d. 1923), Samuel Siegel (1875–1948), and Giuseppe Pettine (1876–1966); and the leading banjoists: Albert A. Farland (1864–1954), George L. Lansing (1860–1923), and Frederick Bacon (1871–1948). Solo guitarists were also included. Through the years, *Cadenza* gave detailed reports of these conventions and from these we can establish most of the leading guitarists of the day.

No guitar soloists appeared at that first convention, but in 1903, in Philadelphia, two guitarists appeared: C. W. F. Jansen and Fred C. Meyer. Meyer, of Harrisburg, Philadelphia, is a shadowy figure, but we know something about Carl W. F. Jansen. Jansen was born in Norway in 1868 and spent his career in Chicago. Before coming to America “at about the age of 18, he happened to hear a wealthy nobleman of his own country play some of the guitar compositions of Zani de Ferranti.”¹⁷ His favorite composer was said to have been Mertz. For the Philadelphia festival he played Zani de Ferranti’s *Ronde des Fées*, op. 2 (“with unpublished Finale”), and Mertz’s Fantasy on *Martha*, op. 16. “His work was appreciated, as evidenced by the liberal applause.”¹⁸

The third AGBMG convention was held in New York in 1904 and is of particular significance. This convention was managed by Partee personally, and he went out of his way to make the concert, held in Carnegie Hall, a stellar event:

15 C. L. Partee, “Status of the Guitar,” vol. 7, no. 8 (April 1901): 6.

16 C. L. Partee, “The Proposed Convention of Banjoists: How to Make a Success of It,” vol. 1, no. 6 (July–August 1895): 5.

17 See the profile of Jansen in vol. 18, no. 9 (March 1912): 10.

18 Vol. 9, no. 6 (February 1903): 39. The comment about the unpublished Zani de Ferranti finale is suspicious. The American edition published in 1846 by Ernst & Son specifically mentions it containing “the Finale never before published.” See Marco Aurelio Zani de Ferranti, *Works*, ed. Simon Wynberg, vol. 4 (Chanterelle, 1989).

One of the objects of the manager of the recent New York Grand Festival Concert was, if possible, to create a revival of interest in guitar playing and to bring this instrument favorably before the notice of well-to-do-people. It was with that end in view that he assumed the large expense of engaging those two great guitar artists, Mr. William Foden and Mr. C. D. Schettler. . . .

One thing is certain, the guitar has been too much neglected as a solo instrument of late years; and it is to be hoped the playing of Messrs. Foden and Schettler may have inspired many to study the instrument more seriously in the future.¹⁹

Most *Soundboard* readers will be familiar with the name of William Foden (1860–1947).²⁰ By 1903 he was perhaps America’s leading guitarist. Luis Romero had died in 1893; Manuel Ferrer (1828–1904), Charles Dorn (1839–1909) and Charles de Janon (1834–1911) were in the twilight of their careers. Partee expressed concern that Foden might be unwilling to appear: “When it was proposed to engage Mr. Foden, many persons thought it would be impossible to induce him to come to New York to appear in concert, for the reason that he is already so famous as a guitar artist that he needs no further propaganda to establish his fame; and also on account of Mr. Foden’s well-known aversion to traveling.”²¹ Foden *did* appear and apparently gave Partee and his audience their money’s worth. Partee’s review is expressed in the most glowing terms: “One is at a loss to find words adequately to describe Mr. Foden’s playing upon the guitar, for he is more than a virtuoso, he is a thorough master of the instrument in every phrase and detail.”²² Foden performed his arrangement of the Sextet from *Lucia* and his variations on Joseph Ascher’s once popular song *Alice, Where Art Thou?*

The other guitarist to appear at the New York concert in 1904 is all but forgotten today, but he was an important guitar figure at the time. C. D. Schettler was born in Utah in 1874 and lived most of his life in Salt Lake City, dying there in 1931. An earlier *Cadenza* article reported: “Mr. Schettler is said to be a guitar artist of rare ability and has recently returned from a three years’ European trip, during which time he studied the guitar under the Masters of Munich, Vienna, and Berlin.”²³ Schettler seems not to have toured much, although he returned to Berlin in 1903, where he took up the cello and gave some guitar concerts (including a program in Berlin in January 1904, where he appeared on the same program as the young Otto Kinkeldey, later to become the “founder of American musicology”²⁴), before returning to America in

19 Editorial, vol. 10, no. 8 (April 1904): 23.

20 For information on Foden, see Douglas Back, “Classical Guitar in St. Louis (1870–1900),” *Soundboard* 17, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 27–33; and John F. Greene, “William Foden’s Guitar Idiom,” *Soundboard* 18, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 12–15. An early profile of Foden appears in *Cadenza* 4, no. 2 (November–December 1897): 12.

21 [Partee], “William Foden,” vol. 9, no. 12 (August 1903): 29.

22 “The New York Mandolin, Guitar and Banjo Concert a Great Success,” vol. 10, no. 6 (February 1904): 23.

23 “A Guitarist of European Training,” vol. 5, no. 1 (September–October 1898): 14.

24 Quoting Donald Jay Grout in *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music* (New York: Grove’s Dictionaries of Music, 1986), 2:635. The program of Schettler’s Berlin concert is found



William Foden at the annual concert of the American Guild of Banjoists, Mandolinists and Guitarists, Witherspoon Hall, Philadelphia, May 27, 1918. Source: [Wikimedia Commons](#).

time to appear with William Foden in Carnegie Hall. He played the *Ernani* Fantasy by Mertz and *Melodie russe* by Pettoletti. Schettler returned to Utah and was little heard from thereafter, although Vahdah Olcott-Bickford reported in 1921 that “Mr. C. D. Schettler is still playing and teaching guitar in Salt Lake City, where the writer heard him on her return trip from California.”²⁵

No guitar appeared before the AGBMG in 1905; the guitarist in 1906, F. S. Morrow, need not concern us here, except to note that he played a Pettoletti Theme and Variations and Arevalo’s *Leonore Mazurka*. In 1907 the AGBMG convention returned to Philadelphia and introduced the membership to the playing of George C. Krick (1871–1962). Krick had been one of Foden’s prime students, and his playing seems to have caught *Cadenza* rather off guard. Unlike Jansen, Foden, and Schettler, Krick had received no big build-up before the convention. The tone of the review suggests that the writer had expected little and had received an earful: “Mr. George C. Krick, guitar soloist, scored a phenomenal hit and his playing was one of the leading successes of the concert. His technique is most remarkable, and his phrasing and expression are musicianly and in good taste. Both his numbers [the *Fantaisie hongroise* of Mertz and Foden’s *Alice*] were exceptionally difficult, but were handled with such apparent ease and rendered so effectively that Mr. Krick made an instantaneous hit and was obliged to respond to insistent encores.”²⁶ For many years, Krick maintained a studio in the Germantown district of Philadelphia, and in Europe in the 1920s he was one of the

in the March 1904 *Cadenza*, p. 35.

²⁵ “The Guitarist,” vol. 28, no. 10 (October 1921): 42.

²⁶ “The Guild Exhibition and Festival Concert,” vol. 13, no. 8 (April 1907): 41.

first Americans to hear Segovia. He was also one of the first to discover Hermann Hauser. From 1937 to 1943 he contributed a guitar column to the *Etude Magazine*, a period when guitar playing in this country was at low ebb. Krick appeared at many subsequent AGBMG conventions (indeed, he was the featured guitar soloist the next three years running), always with apparent success.

The 1907 AGBMG convention was also memorable for introducing the Guild to the first woman guitarist to appear before it: Emma Schubert, about whom very little is said. She played a *Concert Waltz* by Carcassi and *Triumphal March of Buena Vista* by De Goni with “a distinct style of her own, introducing some new and novel effects in guitar playing.”²⁷

Foden, at the height of his powers, returned for the 1911 Guild convention, once more held in Philadelphia. This was the year he teamed up with the convention’s banjo soloist (Fred Bacon) and mandolinist (Giuseppe Pettine) to form a trio that toured the country with great success. Foden gave a memorable performance at the formal concert, playing a twenty-minute fantasia on Gounod’s *Faust*, but it is the account of an informal recital given earlier in the convention that conveys the awe in which his colleagues seem to have held him:

When he began his selection there were not many in the room, just the invited Press representatives and a few of the “wise ones” of the “frat.” But the magic of his playing began to compel; word was passed, one to another; singly, by two’s, by three’s, they came through the softly and constantly swung door, and the room was silently filled. And when, after a splendid finish with a long, brilliant and most difficult cadenza, Mr. Foden awoke to himself, and realized he had been playing to a literally packed room, his expression of amazement bordered almost on the ludicrous.²⁸

The 1912 Guild convention was held in Chicago and featured favorite son Carl Jansen, who had played in 1903. This time he performed Mertz’s *Fantaisie hongroise* on the harp-guitar and Giuliani’s opus 103 on *terz* guitar with a string quartet.

Although he had been a significant guitar soloist since before the turn of the century, Johnson C. Bane did not appear as a featured artist at a Guild convention until 1913, in New York. Bane was born in Waynesburg, Philadelphia, in 1861. He opened a studio in Pittsburgh in 1910, and later established himself in New York. As early as 1895 he was being held up as a model: “Surely the good people of Kansas City have never had the extreme pleasure of hearing that great artist Johnson C. Bane play the guitar, or the late Señor Romero, of Boston?”²⁹ Bane was one of the most

27 “The Guild Exhibition,” 41.

28 “The Tenth Annual Convention,” vol. 17, no. 12 (June 1911): 9. The piece Foden was playing was his *Variations on Old Black Joe*.

29 J. Earl Rabe, “Steel Strings on the Guitar,” vol. 2, no. 2 (November–December 1895): 4. Rabe’s article was one in a series run at the time debating the merits of using steel strings, rather than gut, on the guitar. Rabe, like most serious players at the time, was strongly opposed to them.



LEFT Emma Schubert (pictured here in vol. 13, no. 7 [March 1907], 25) became in 1907 the first woman to perform at the Guild's annual convention (photo courtesy of Jeffrey Noonan).

TOP RIGHT C.D. Schettler at the time of his Carnegie Hall appearance in 1904.

BOTTOM RIGHT Johnson C. Bane from a turn-of-the-century advertisement for his "Saxton System."

active recitalists of the period.³⁰ Toward the end of his career, when he appeared at the final Guild convention to be covered by *Cadenza* (1923), it would write of him:

It may be said that Mr. Bane is doing more in a practical way to perpetuate the guitar than any other one individual, for he is, I believe, the only guitarist who is continually appearing before the public. As most of Mr. Bane's recitals are given before school audiences and as his playing is always interesting and pleasing, literally thousands of people are inoculated with a favorable opinion of the guitar—and were it not for Mr. Bane the majority of these people would never have opportunity to hear any other

³⁰ See, for example, the remarks on a concert in Indianapolis in 1901 (which Bane shared with mandolinist Samuel Siegel, who was the main attraction): "The . . . immense hall gave him [Bane] the opportunity for the first time to demonstrate the possibilities of the guitar as a real concert instrument." Vol. 7, no. 9 (May 1901): 27.

demonstration of the guitar than what is afforded by Hawaiian players and the guitar accompanists offered on some talking machine records.³¹

And Vahdah Olcott-Bickford noted: “I believe that our American guitarist, Johnson Bane, is the first to play at a wireless concert. We see by a recent newspaper that with several other artists he was on the program of a local concert given in a little town in New Jersey. Congratulations! It would have been an interesting experiment to listen to the guitarist in this way. We all may have that pleasure before many years.”³² For all his work on behalf of the guitar, Bane seems to have been a bit of an opportunist. He tended to play the same pieces over and over (mostly his own works, like *Indian Dance*, and he was inordinately fond of the Spanish dances of Moszkowski) and devised the “Saxton System” for a guitar tuned C–G–D–G–B–D.³³

IV

WE HAVE JUST MENTIONED Vahdah Olcott-Bickford, who was the featured guitarist at the thirteenth annual convention of the American Guild of Banjoists, Mandolinists, and Guitarists, held in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1914. This remarkable personality was to fill many column-inches in *Cadenza* in the final decade of its run, as, indeed, she had done since 1904, but before we become distracted by her presence, it might be well to consider some of the other significant American guitarists from the early part of the twentieth century who never appeared at AGBMG concerts.

One of these was C. F. E. Fiset (1874–1966), who, until he retired from public performing to pursue dentistry, was one of America’s most promising guitarists. His letters to J. M. Sheppard, which recently appeared in *Soundboard*, attest to a musical mind that continued long after his professional career ended. In 1901, while he was living in Philadelphia, *Cadenza* wrote: “He appeared in two recitals before the Ladies’ Thursday Musical Club [Minneapolis], playing among other numbers, Bach’s G minor four-voiced fugue, two Bourrées and Preludio to the Sixth violin Sonata. . . . Mr. Fiset makes a specialty of playing at private musicales and receptions. It is expected, however, that he shall soon appear publicly in New York and Philadelphia.”³⁴ Of all the guitar concerts mentioned in the thirty-year run of *Cadenza*, Fiset appears to be the only performer to have attempted Bach. Six months later, a second notice appeared: “Mr. C. F. E. Fiset, the eminent guitar virtuoso, played at the Waldorf-Astoria, New York City, as soloist with the combined Pennsylvanian and Columbia Clubs recently. His

31 “The Guitarist,” vol. 30, no. 7 (July 1923): 11. Beginning in 1914, Hawaiian music, in the form of the ukulele and the Hawaiian steel guitar, began to have an enormous impact on the fretted string instruments.

32 “The Guitarist,” vol. 29, no. 5 (May 1922): 42.

33 Cf. Ronald C. Purcell, “Letters from the Past, v: The Correspondence of C. F. E. Fiset to Mr. Sheppard,” *Soundboard* 17, no. 4 (Winter 1991): 29n8.

34 “C. F. Elzear Fiset,” vol. 7, no. 6 (February 1901): 13.



C. F. Elzear Fiset, pictured in S. S. Stewart's *Banjo and Guitar Journal* 15, no. 2 (June–July 1898), p. 5.

solos were magnificently rendered, and his performance was much appreciated.”³⁵ With that, Fiset disappeared from the pages of *Cadenza*.

Then there were three remarkable women: Jennie Durkee, Gertrude Miller, and Elsie Tooker. Had they lived in a less confining era, any one of them might have pursued successful concert careers.

Jennie Mercedes Durkee, according to *Cadenza* reports, was the daughter of the designer of the Washburn guitar:

Miss Jennie M. Durkee, one of America's greatest lady guitarists, was born in Chicago, Ill., Dec. 5 1877. Her father, Mr. George B. Durkee, formerly superintendent of the Lyon & Healy factory in Chicago, is an inventor and the designer of the Washburn instruments....

Miss Durkee, at a very early age, showed such a remarkable talent that her father gave her a small guitar to play with.... Later she studied under Prof. Lynn, of Chicago, who, after a time, informed her he could teach her nothing further and advised her to apply to Mr. William Foden, of St. Louis, for further instruction....³⁶

³⁵ In the personal columns, vol. 7, no. 12 (August 1901): 24.

³⁶ According to the profile published in the March–April issue of 1900 (vol. 6, no. 4: 12), she was fourteen at the time.

For twelve years Miss Durkee was an instructor in the city of Chicago . . . and enjoyed the reputation of being the finest guitar soloist in that city.

In June, 1903, on account of continued ill health, and after a severe illness, she was ordered by her physician to another climate, and in September of that year she removed to Denver, Colo., later opening a studio in the Colonial Building.³⁷

Jennie Durkee married C. T. Ostrander (“a mandolinist of recognized ability”) in Seattle, Washington, in 1909.³⁸ She resumed teaching in Denver, and was the first *Cadenza* advertiser to list a telephone number (in January 1912). She never played the guitar at an AGBMG convention. When she finally did appear it was in 1922, when the fad for Hawaiian instruments was at its peak. She played the ukulele.³⁹

Gertrude T. Miller was another guitarist of considerable ability:

Miss Gertrude T. Miller, of Vinton, Iowa . . . began the study of music at a very early age and made her first public appearance when 13 years old. . . . She has appeared many times since. . . . Much of her success may be attributed to her father, Prof. J. M. Miller (teacher of music at the Iowa State College for the Blind), who has always been her teacher. . . .

Mr. Miller has been personally acquainted with some of the leading guitarists in this country and Europe, including the late Zani de Ferranti and J. K. Mertz, from whom he has received many manuscript pieces among which are: *Walpurgis-Night Caprice Fantastique* (Ferranti) and *Grand Fantasia Original* (Mertz) both of which are unpublished, and also Ferranti’s unpublished guitar school, which contains much valuable information concerning the technique of the guitar. . . . She plays a vast repertoire including the principal works of Legnani, Sor, Ferranti, Mozzani, Regondi, Mertz and many others.⁴⁰

In February 1900, Miller is reported as “doing a good deal of concertizing . . . frequently appearing at entertainments in Vinton and surrounding cities.” In September of the same year, *Cadenza* advised their readers that Miss Miller was “prepared to accept a position . . . with a reliable conservatory or school of music” (25). 1905 found her teaching in Portage, Wisconsin. From the program given by her students printed in the April 1905 issue, her talents were being wasted.

From Portage, in November of that year, Miller attempted to found an American Guitar Society:

A large number of our best guitarists, and guitar lovers in this country have long been urging that we form an American Guitar Society, similar to the International Society

37 “Jennie M. Durkee,” vol. 11, no. 9 (May 1905): 31.

38 Vol. 16, no. 3 (September 1909): 36.

39 Vol. 29, no. 8 (August 1922): 11. Cf. footnote 30 above.

40 “Miss Gertrude T. Miller,” vol. 6, no. 2 (November–December 1899): 2.



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT Jennie M. Durkee with her terz guitar and a ukulele (Vahdah Olcott-Bickford Collection, Special Collections and Archives, University Library, California State University, Northridge); Gertrude Miller in *Cadenza* 6, no. 2 (November–December 1899); Elsie Tooker on the cover of *Cadenza* 5, no. 6, July–August 1899 (photo courtesy of Jeffrey Noonan); Jennie M. Durkee on the cover of her 1917 method, *The American Way of Playing Ukulele Solos* (photo courtesy of Samantha Muir).

of Guitarists in Germany,⁴¹ and now a movement is on foot to put this plan into action. . . . As a rule, guitarists receive little appreciation in this century. Mertz died a poor man, and his widow *now* wants for a few luxuries in her aged life! Then there are Chas. De Janon, and M.Y. Ferrer, now veteran teachers,⁴² formerly “wizards” of their instruments. How I should like to see some token of appreciation extended to them now, by appreciative guitarists, instead of waiting until it is “*too late*.”⁴³

A second appeal appeared in June 1906: “To those interested in the new American Guitar Society, and to all lovers of the guitar, I wish to state that we have not as yet secured enough names to enable us to formally organize, but that we hope to obtain these in the near future and not later than next September” (15–16). No more than twenty-nine people had responded, and the society was never formed. Gertrude Miller seems to have passed into guitar history.

A third significant turn-of-the century woman guitarist was Elsie Tooker: “Miss Elsie Tooker, of San Jose, Cal., . . . is pronounced by competent critics to be one of the most expert and finished guitarists in the United States. . . . Miss Tooker was born Sept. 1st 1879, at Ogden, Utah, but most of her life has been passed in California. . . . Her teacher and advisor through life has been her mother.”⁴⁴ She and her mother moved to San Francisco in 1900 and established a studio at 722 Powell Street.⁴⁵ She studied with Romero and Ferrer and subsequently toured widely, receiving much positive comment: “She executes the most difficult compositions with ease and renders them with that skill, expression, and nicety of detail which denotes the true artist.”⁴⁶ She became Mrs. Elsie Howard sometime before 1908, when she played for Fiset in Seattle.⁴⁷

V

WE NOW RETURN to Vahdah Olcott-Bickford — or Ethel Lucretia Olcott as she was known before 1914. A full biography of her career is beyond the scope of this article, but a few details should be provided. She lived from 1885 to 1980, long enough both to have studied with Manuel Y. Ferrer and to serve on the GFA Board of Directors. She founded the American Guitar Society that Gertrude Miller had dreamed of twenty years earlier, in 1923 (and still in existence). She amassed a remarkable collection of guitar music that is currently being catalogued by California State University,

41 Word of the formation of “an International League of Guitarists, at Munich, Germany,” appeared in vol. 6, no. 6 (July–August 1900).

42 Miller had obviously not received word of Ferrer’s death the year before.

43 “The American Guitar Society,” vol. 12, no. 3 (November 1905): 12–13.

44 “Miss Elsie Tooker,” vol. 5, no. 6 (July–August 1899): 2.

45 Vol. 6, no. 3 (January–February 1900): 22.

46 Personal, vol. 7, no. 2 (October 1900): 25.

47 Ronald C. Purcell, “Letters from the Past, VII: The Correspondence of C. F. E. Fiset to Mr. Sheppard,” *Soundboard* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1991): 26.



Two portraits of Vahdah Olcott-Bickford, *née* Ethel Lucretia Olcott (1885–1980): in October 1904 (*left*), and with Zahr Myron Bickford, c. 1919 (*right*). Images courtesy of the International Guitar Research Archive.

Northridge.⁴⁸ Her name first appeared in *Cadenza* in 1904: “Elsewhere in this issue will be found the program of a guitar recital by Miss Ethel L. Olcott, the guitar virtuoso. We are informed by Mrs. Fannie Fern Burford, and other noted musicians, that Miss Olcott is a musician of remarkable attainments, and that she is one of the finest concert guitarists ever heard.”⁴⁹ Among other items on the program, she played two Mertz fantasies (on *Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Ernani*), Romero’s *Souvenir d’Amérique*, an original piece called *Cupid’s Wireless Telegram*, and her own transcription of “Nel Cor Più,” which for some inexplicable reason gets credited to Beethoven.

She continued for the next several years performing actively in Southern California; indeed, there are probably more reports on her concerts in *Cadenza* than for any other guitarist active at the time. She moved to Cleveland, Ohio (actually her native state), in 1913 to perform with, teach beside, and eventually marry Myron A. Bickford.⁵⁰

Vahdah Olcott-Bickford made her Guild debut at the thirteenth Annual AGBMG Convention in Cleveland in 1913. The high point of her career, however, was probably in 1922 at the twenty-first convention in Town Hall, New York, when she gave

48 The catalogue is now complete: <https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8zp4c79/>.—Ed.

49 “News, Notes, Concerts, Etc.,” vol. 10, no. 12 (August 1904): 34. Fannie Burford was a Los Angeles mandolin teacher and performer.

50 Myron A. Bickford (1876–1961) was an extremely active teacher of the fretted instruments and very involved in the affairs of the AGBMG. For astrological reasons, the new Mrs. Bickford assumed the name “Vahdah” and Myron became “Zarh.”

the American premiere of Giuliani's Concerto, op. 36 (first movement only), with a string quartet. This was considered a unique event: "This was the first time it had ever been given publicly in America, and it is not likely that it will become very familiar, due to its extreme difficulty and to the fact that there are only two known copies in existence."⁵¹

The Bickfords did not stay in Cleveland long, but moved to New York City at the end of 1914, where they remained until moving to California permanently in 1923.

A number of other guitarists appeared before the American Guild over the years, but only one other need concern us here: Walter Francis Vreeland (1868–1926), a native of Newark, New Jersey, who performed first for the Guild in 1914. Vreeland moved to Boston in 1899 and became "one of Boston's popular teachers."⁵² Among his students was President Theodore Roosevelt's son, Archie, to whom he dedicated at least two guitar pieces. His favorite composer was said to have been Legnani.

VI

THESE, THEN, were the American guitar virtuosos of the era: the Fodens, the Kricks, the Durkees, the Olcott-Bickfords, the Schettlers. Posterity has not been kind to these guitarists for two principal reasons. With one or two exceptions, none was a significant composer. If they did compose, it was primarily concert material designed to display their own technical strengths. Secondly, although Samuel Siegel had made mandolin recordings as early as 1895, the guitar was not considered an appropriate instrument to place before the recording horn. As far as I am aware, the only guitarist of the period to make records was Vahdah Olcott-Bickford, on her own private label.

A perusal of their programs, many of which were given in *Cadenza*, allows us to determine the kinds of music they favored. Performers like Foden and Olcott-Bickford remained faithful to their teachers, Foden frequently playing William Bateman and Olcott-Bickford offering works by Ferrer. Foden and Bane tended to favor their own compositions. Otherwise, there were certain clearly perceivable programming trends. Fantasias were considered appropriate for the big gesture. Mertz was a particular favorite (especially his *Ernani Fantasia*, op. 8, no. 4, and *Fantaisie hongroise*, op. 65), as were Zani de Ferranti and Pettoletti (his *Fantaisie russe*, op. 32, was a favorite vehicle). Arrangements of the Sextet from *Lucia di Lammermoor* were legend. In short, the rent-a-program syndrome seems to have been very much in evidence, as Thomas Tyler complained: "The guitar virtuosi have nearly all gotten in a rut where they play just about the same compositions at each concert; read the program of one and you will know what the others have played."⁵³ While such old masters as Sor and Giuliani were venerated, with writers from Partee to Olcott-Bickford extolling their virtues

⁵¹ S. Franklin Harvey, "Echoes of the Convention," vol. 29, no. 8 (August 1922): 10.

⁵² "A Vreeland Night," vol. 15, no. 10 (April 1909): 9.

⁵³ Thomas Tyler, "The Guitar," vol. 11, no. 7 (March 1905): 11.

(not a surprising attitude for an era in which bound sets of Dickens, Thackeray, and other “standard” authors lined the shelves of numerous bourgeois libraries), their music was generally considered unsuitable for concert use. When Carl Jansen played Giuliani’s opus 103 at the 1912 Guild convention, it left less than a favorable impression: “The next number called out Mr. Carl W. F. Jansen, the *terz* guitarist, and his string quartet. This number was a disappointment, although not through any fault of the players, but from the uninteresting character of the selection presented. It was . . . a number much better suited to studio practice than concert performance, at least for a miscellaneous audience. In the guitar solo and encore that followed, Mr. Jansen appeared to better advantage and disclosed himself the musician.”⁵⁴

This music was considered hopelessly out of date. As an English contributor, Arthur Froane, put it: “The old masters who wrote for the guitar were many, and undoubtedly from their numbers can be selected some of the greatest living musicians of their day. . . . But here again we who live in modern days labor under a great disadvantage, because good in its day as much of this old music was, and of course still is, yet other than for practice, and interest to the odd student, nine-tenths or more of this old music is almost useless as a means of revivifying the public interest in the guitar. . . . The reason that most of this old music is useless in these modern times, is that it is hopelessly out of date.”⁵⁵ Froane concludes with a telling comment: “And worse still, we have had little to replace it.”

Therein, of course, lay the problem. Commercial bonbons might be fine for amateurs—to followers of the local mandolin club—but professionals found themselves adrift without a tradition. These people disparaged rags and other “modern” popular trends, yet, not being historians, they had no knowledge (and hence no interest) in the music of the Renaissance and the Baroque (although their German counterparts were showing signs of an awakening interest in this direction). While, as has been shown, they admitted their indebtedness to the Spanish Students, they had little awareness of real Hispanic music. Instead, they clung to the music of the previous generation, to the music of Mertz and Regondi.

If good new concert music was in short supply, the composition and publication of short dances and character pieces for amateur use continued unabated, and some of these pieces have appeared in *Soundboard* over the years. A. L. Weidt and J. C. Folwell were but two prolific providers of such pieces. There was certainly no shortage of music. As Paul C. Gerhart, a representative of Lyon & Healy, could write: “While in New York City several years ago, it was the writer’s pleasure to visit the store of the largest importer of foreign music for this instrument in the country. . . . No exaggeration is used in saying that TONS of music were found.”⁵⁶

54 “The Eleventh Annual Guild Convention,” vol. 19, no. 1 (July 1912): 13.

55 Arthur Froane, “The Guitar—Its Past, Present and Future,” from *The Troubadour* (London), reprinted in *Cadenza*, vol. 9, no. 10 (June 1903): 11.

56 Paul Cessna Gerhart, A. M., “In the Realm of the Guitar,” vol. 11, no. 12 (August 1905): 11.

MANY OF THE TECHNIQUES advised by the guitarists of the time would raise eyebrows today. The picture of Fiset on the cover of the Winter 1989–90 *Soundboard* shows the accepted method of holding the guitar at the turn of the century. “The correct method of holding the guitar is illustrated by the banjo artists of the day. It consists in elevating the instrument at an angle of about 30 degrees in front of the body, the base of the guitar resting on the right thigh, the left arm raised so that the left hand reaches a level with the face of the performer; the right arm resting against the rim of the guitar to assist in supporting the instrument. . . . The ideal position is such that the performer cannot see the frets of the guitar and therefore learns to play without watching his left hand.”⁵⁷ C. D. Schettler felt any other position made one hopelessly dated: “There are many, I know, will cling to the old position laid down by Carcassi even in defiance of something better, after it is made known to them. To such performers I can only say they are going behind the times just so long as they retain the old position; and as electricity has superseded forces that have been used in the past, so will they be superseded by the progressive, up-to-date players.”⁵⁸ This was also the position adopted by Vahdah Olcott-Bickford: “If the guitar is correctly balanced in this position there is no need for a footstool and *The Guitarist* does not advocate the use of a footstool.”⁵⁹ Only William Foden seems to have rested the guitar on his left leg, although his description is rather vague: “The holding of the instrument to me has always appeared to be of the first and greatest importance. After experimenting with all the known ways, and with some not so well known, I have found *none so good*, and *none so secure*, as that adopted by the old masters, i.e., that of resting it on the thigh, and there balancing it with the right forearm.”⁶⁰

Opinions seem to have varied concerning the right-hand little finger. Schettler opposed it: “The little finger of the right hand should not rest upon the guitar while performing, as the practice only tends to contract the muscles and, above all, it is necessary that the player have perfect freedom of movement.”⁶¹ Myron [Zarh] Bickford was short and to the point: “If it is an advantage in banjo playing . . . I fail to see why it is not also in playing the guitar.”⁶² Vahdah Olcott-Bickford was a bit more circumspect: “My personal opinion is that the little finger should be rested ever so lightly on the soundboard of the guitar, though the word ‘touch’ would be better than ‘rest,’ which implies more of a leaning position.”⁶³

A single reference in June 1905 informs us that Foden, Schettler, Jansen, and Dorn did not play with nails.⁶⁴

57 J.W. Freeman, “How to Hold the Guitar,” vol. 2, no. 5 (May–June 1896): 4.

58 C. D. Schettler, “The Art of Guitar Performing,” vol. 7, no. 1 (September 1900): 13.

59 “The Guitarist,” vol. 27, no. 2 (February 1920): 38.

60 “The Guitarist,” vol. 18, no. 6 (December 1911): 40.

61 C. D. Schettler, “The Art of Guitar Performing,” vol. 7, no. 1 (September 1900): 13.

62 Myron A. Bickford, “Hints on Guitar Study,” vol. 11, no. 5 (January 1905): 24.

63 “The Guitarist,” vol. 27, no. 2 (February 1920): 41.

64 Myron A. Bickford, “Hints on Guitar Study,” vol. 11, no. 10 (June 1905): 32.



This photograph of C. F. Elzear Fiset appeared on the cover of *Soundboard* 16, no. 4 (Winter 1989–90). It is taken from *Cadenza* 7, no. 6 (February 1901): 13.

It is easy for us to forget the impact of nylon strings on the classical guitar community. In the days of *Cadenza*, things were different: “All gut strings are made from the intestines of sheep, and not from goat or cat gut, as many suppose. They are finished and polished with olive oil. Do not use oil on them after purchasing but keep them wrapped in tissue paper and boxed up until ready for use. Do not expose them unnecessarily. Don’t condemn a bundle of strings because some are false, as some will be found among the finest qualities. This is caused by the difference in thickness of material from which they are made, and up to the present time no manufacturer has been able to obviate the difficulty.”⁶⁵ Things had not changed much twenty years later: “String troubles have been an almost ever present difficulty with guitarists from time immemorial, and even in the old days of many years ago that greatest of banjoists, Mr. Alfred A. Farland, referred to them as ‘profanity provokers.’”⁶⁶

On the other hand, one thing that might have been nicer was the price of guitars: “Imported guitars are the least reliable. Many who have begun practicing on \$3.00 instruments have succeeded, and then obtain better ones, but a fairly good guitar is worth \$12.00. The better the instrument the easier and more responsive its action, with richer tone. A really sensitive instrument costs from \$30 upwards to about \$65. Prices beyond that are mainly for extra ornamentation.”⁶⁷

Foreign guitarists seem to have made few visits to these shores. If they did, *Cadenza* did not report them, with one notable exception. In October 1912, Miguel Llobet arrived in Boston. The description of his meeting with the *Cadenza* staff makes it clear that Jacobs and his colleagues weren’t quite sure what to make of him:

Mr. Paul Eno of Philadelphia was in Boston on Monday, October 7th, and it was through his courtesy that three representatives of *THE CADENZA* and several other

65 H. J. Isbell, “Strings,” vol. 1, no. 5 (May–June 1895): 3.

66 Vahdah Olcott-Bickford, “The Guitarist,” vol. 26, no. 4 (April 1919): 25.

67 Walter Vreeland, “The Guitar Superior for Personal Pleasure,” vol. 18, no. 3 (September 1911): 8.

music-lovers were treated to a rare exposition of guitar virtuosity. Mr. Eno presented Señor Miguel Llobet, a Spanish guitarist on his way from Chile to France, who graciously played three solos to a small audience of invited guests. To treat of Señor Llobet's performance technically would be criticism trite and effete, though perhaps an easy way out. But to tell of his perfect tonal production, wonderful dynamics, confusing rapidity of execution and strange and bizarre effects would be well nigh impossible. Suffice it to say, that to *THE CADENZA* it was an event, if not an epoch.⁶⁸

In December 1916, on the eve of America's entry into World War I, Walter Jacobs published a profile of his former teacher, George W. Bemis (born 1848), a flutist and teacher of fretted instruments at the New England Conservatory for thirty consecutive years—"A living link between the past and present," Jacobs called him.

He has seen this instrument [the guitar] reign as the social musical idol—the "polite" instrument for society dames and demoiselles—later to abdicate its throne in favor of the incoming mandolin; he has watched it regain its royal prestige through the exploitations of the once famous "Spanish Students," fade again into semi-obscurity and then spring into new birth through sheer musical merit when [exposed] by such devotees as Mertz, De Janon, Bane, Foden, Olcott-Bickford, himself and others.⁶⁹

Cadenza did not survive long enough to chronicle the arrival of Segovia. No doubt, as with Llobet, it would have said, "It was an event, if not an epoch."



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68 Editorial, vol. 19, no. 5 (November 1912): 16. Llobet gave a public performance in Philadelphia on October 29, 1912. See Miguel Llobet, *Four Short Pieces*, ed. R. C. Purcell, GFA Facsimile Series F-1 (Cypress, CA: Guitar Foundation of America, 1978).

69 "Prominent Boston Teachers," vol. 23, no. 6 (December 1916): 4.

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About the Author

PETER DANNER attended the first meeting of the Guitar Foundation of America in Santa Barbara (1973), at which time he was representing the Lute Society of America. He edited that society's journal between 1975 and 1982 and served as its president between 1977 and 1982. He was elected to the GFA board of directors in 1975 and served as its chairman between 1977 and 1985, at which point he stepped down from the chairmanship to take over as chief editor of *Soundboard* from Jim Forrest. He continued as *Soundboard* editor until 2001, when he resigned the post for personal reasons. Peter was thus an eyewitness to the Guitar Foundation through its formative years and contributed as a lecturer, coordinator, and adjudicator at many of the Foundation's events.

Peter is a graduate of the University of California, Santa Barbara, and holds a PhD in music history from Stanford University (1967). He pursued an active performing career in the early seventies but abandoned this to concentrate on teaching, writing, and family. For many years he taught at Menlo College in Menlo Park, California, where he devised an innovative course in music appreciation, meant more to teach

the vocabulary of music than instill a love for Haydn (let alone Schoenberg) string quartets to an audience not prepared to accept them. Peter is now retired but still involves himself in his twin loves of music and history. He has too many CDs of classical music (guitar and otherwise) and sees to it that they're not neglected. He involves himself in the local history of the San Francisco Bay Area, which, being Silicon Valley, has seen changes that would have been unimagined fifty years ago.

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Featured Facsimiles

PETER DANNER

I

La dernière pensée de Weber by Karl Reissiger, arranged by Leopold Meignen
Philadelphia: Fiot, [1840–55]. Plate 196
Soundboard 5, no. 2 (May, 1978): 48–49

IN THE GFA EDITION of Carulli's *Fantaisie sur La dernière pensée musicale de C. M. de [sic!] Weber*, I referred to the fact that the well-known piano solo *Weber's Last Thought* was actually written by one Karl Gottlieb Reissiger (1791–1859) and not by Weber as is commonly thought. By way of a footnote to that edition, readers might be interested in hearing how Reissiger's little waltz came to be credited to the composer of *Der Freischütz*. As Nicolas Slonimsky tells the story in his entertaining *A Thing or Two About Music*,¹ Weber went to England early in 1826 to supervise the premiere of his opera *Oberon*. Shortly before his departure, Reissiger gave him a manuscript copy of one of his waltzes which had been published two years previously. Weber died in London in June of 1826 and the manuscript was found among his effects. It was later published as being *The Last Thought of Weber*, although the score was obviously not in Weber's hand. It was only many years later, when Reissiger had succeeded Weber as Dresden Kapellmeister, that the matter was brought to his attention. Reissiger was able to produce a copy of the 1824 edition and prove the waltz as his own. Nevertheless, Weber's association has stuck with it to this day.

Reissiger's little waltz was the subject of countless arrangements in the last century—among them this straightforward transcription made by the Philadelphia musician Leopold Meignen (1793–1873). No date appears in the music, but from the publisher's address, it can be dated between 1840 and 1855. Meignen was perhaps the most active guitar composer and arranger in the United States before the Civil War. His earliest guitar arrangements (primarily song accompaniments) date from the late 1820s. From 1835 until 1839, he published music in partnership with Augustus Fiot of

1 Nicolas Slonimsky, *A Thing or Two About Music* (New York: Allen, Towne & Heath, 1948).

Philadelphia, the latter being a publisher who included much European guitar music in his lists. Later, each continued to publish music on his own. Meignen was the author of several elementary books on singing and composed a number of guitar solos, some of considerable interest. His music career can be traced until 1859, when he was last listed in the Philadelphia Directory as a “Teacher of Music” at 330 Walnut Street.

Meignen arranged piano music for amateur consumption and was the composer of a “dramatic cantata,” *The Deluge* (presumably about Noah’s Flood), performed in 1856. He was also an orchestra conductor of some note and for several years directed the Musical Fund Society, the predecessor of the Philadelphia Orchestra. He is credited with giving one of the earliest Philadelphia performances of a complete Beethoven symphony, when in May of 1846 he scheduled a performance of the Second Symphony. It appears that even at that late date, Beethoven was still considered rather heady fare for Philadelphia audiences: the four movements were not played as a unit, but divided by songs and other lighter material to give the listeners a breather. I doubt that Eugene Ormandy would have approved!

LA DERNIÈRE PENSÉE DE WEBER
WEBER'S LAST WALTZ

— Arranged for the —

GUITAR

— by —

L. MEIGNEN

A. FIOT, N° 196 (chestnut St. Philad.)

GUITAR. *Andante.*

Trio.

pp *pp* *pp*

Fine *D.C.*

A Collection of Admired Cotillions by Francis Blantchor
 Philadelphia: Willig, early 1800s
Soundboard 7, no. 3 (August, 1980): 121–23

THE GUITAR REPERTOIRE is unusually rich in dance music, and an interesting social history could perhaps be written based upon this one theme. The variety is as impressive as the bulk; one thinks of the Milán pavanas, perhaps, or de Visée’s solemn allemandes. Sor’s minuets are noteworthy for their rich textures, and what student has not learned at least one of Tárrega’s mazurkas? Falla’s important *Homenaje* is based on a habanera rhythm, and composers as varied as Barrios and Brouwer have been influenced by the dances of Latin America.

The great dance of the nineteenth century was the waltz. The waltz developed in Vienna out of the earlier *ländler* (“the thing from the country”) and by 1800 was an Austrian craze. The word derives from the German *walzen*, literally, “revolving.” The waltz was much slower in catching on elsewhere. It was frowned on by dancing masters and “polite” society and was not accepted in England before 1812. It was prohibited at the German court of Wilhelm II as being “intoxicating.” This slow acceptance is explained in part by the fact that the waltz was among the first dances in which a couple embraced each other at close range; totally unacceptable behavior in closely guarded Victorian society!

Much more respectable was the cotillion, which was in vogue just before the waltz conquered all. This dance remained popular in England and America until the 1830s. *A Treatise on Dancing*, published in Boston in 1802, describes cotillions as “well known brisk dances, in which eight persons are employed.”¹ It is of French origin “and is to them, what country dancing is to us.” The anonymous author of the 1802 treatise has a great deal to say about deportment; indeed there are ten words about social behavior for every one about dancing itself. It is little wonder, then, that the waltz is not mentioned once. The main attributes of the gentlemen should be “modesty and assurance”; for a lady, “virtue and decency” without “the least transgression against that rule of life, called decorum.”

It is unclear how much solo guitar dance music was actually meant to be danced to. The voice of the guitar is rather small for the ballroom with eight, sixteen, or even more dancers on the floor. Usually, guitar dance music is assumed to imitate the spirit of the dance but removed to a setting in a salon or private chamber. In the present set of cotillions “partly composed” by Francis Blantchor, however, it will be seen that the actual steps of the dance are printed directly below the music. I know of no other

1 Saltator [pseud.], *A Treatise on Dancing, and on Various Other Matters Which Are Connected with That Accomplishment and Which Are Requisite to Make Youth Well Received, and Regulate Their Behavior in Company: Together with a Full Description of Dancing in General—Lessons, Steps, Figures, &c* (Boston: from the Press of the Commercial Gazette, 1802).

guitar print that ties the dance so closely to the music. Blantchor was a guitarist and teacher active in Philadelphia in the 1820s and 30s during an era of great guitar activity in that city. Francis Weiland, Leopold Meignen, Adolf Schmitz, and John B. Lhulier were among other Philadelphia musicians making guitar arrangements at this time.

The *Treatise on Dancing* gives these rather vague instructions about cotillions:

The Figures of Cotillions, consist of two parts, the one is termed the change, the other the figure. There are ten changes, which are the same in all regular cotillions, but each cotillion has a different figure, which is performed between every change, and once after the last change. In every cotillion, its figure is performed ten times. In learning cotillions, it is necessary to walk over the changes, four or five times, until the choir, or set understand them perfectly; then the figure in the same manner.

We conclude with the definitions of some of the terms used by Blantchor. *Balancez* is “a kind of address” made up of five forward and five backwards steps. *Chassez* is the “side flight composed of five movements, to the right or left on a line.” To *promenade* “is to lead with one hand, or both hands, a lady from one place to another, or round any member of the choir.” No doubt this would all be made clearer once one had seen it done.

LA RECREATION DU JEUNE GUITARISTE

A Collection, of

Admired Cotillions

Partly Composed and Arranged

FOR THE

SPANISH GUITAR

And Respectfully Dedicated

To his Pupils,

BY

FR. BLANCHOT.

L. Sell.

Philadelphia, George Willig 171 Chesnut St.

For sale at E. Johns & C^o New Orleans.

Mérid. 18

N^o 1.
Alonzo.



Right and left, balancez. Ladies chain, promenade half round & right and left to places.

N^o 2.
Eliza



Forward two cross over, Chassez and cross over to places, Balancez and turn partner.

No. 3.

Apollo

Musical score for No. 3, Apollo. It consists of four staves of music in G major and 6/8 time. The first staff has a 'S' time signature. The second staff ends with 'fine.' The third staff has a 'S' time signature. The fourth staff ends with 'D.C.'

Right hand across left hand back, Balance on a line & half promenade, Forward 2 back to back, Forward 4 and right & left to place, Promenade all.

No. 4.

The Coquet

Musical score for No. 4, The Coquet. It consists of three staves of music in G major and 2/4 time.

First lady dance to the next Gent: on the right hand & turn partner. The same all round. Gentlemen the same.

No. 5.

Francois.

Musical score for No. 5, Francois. It consists of three staves of music in G major and 2/4 time. The first staff has a 'S' time signature. The third staff ends with 'D.C.'

Chassez cross 8 . Forward 2 . Chassez right & left . Cross over balancez hands round . Chassez cross 8 .

Waltzes nos. 1 and 2 by J. B. Coupa

New York: John F. Nunns, 1843

Soundboard 12, no. 1 (1985), 53–57

SOME TEN YEARS AGO, while preparing an anthology of American guitar music, I ran across a set of variations published in New York in 1843 by a certain J. B. Coupa. The name was new to me, but the music struck me as being much more sophisticated than most of the guitar music being published on this side of the Atlantic at the time. Since then I have discovered perhaps another half-dozen pieces by Coupa, the majority of which seem to confirm that he was one of the best American guitar composers working before the Civil War.

Most of what little is presently known about John B. Coupa relates to his association with the celebrated German-American guitar maker C. F. Martin. The Roy Acuff Museum in Nashville, Tennessee owns an early Martin guitar bearing a label that reads:

Martin & Coupa
Guitar Manufacturers
385 Broadway
up Stairs
New York

A picture of this rare instrument appears in Tom Wheeler's book *American Guitars*.¹ The Broadway address turns out to be the location of Coupa's studio, according to contemporary New York City directories, which also tell us that the firm of Martin and Coupa was registered in 1840. This was the year after Martin moved the site of his business from New York to Pennsylvania, and Mike Longworth speculates that Coupa served as Martin's New York agent, as had others before and since.² Longworth also reproduces an advertisement from C. A. Joebish & Sons, Martin distributors until 1898, which refers to Coupa as a "Professor of the Guitar" and (together with Madame De Goni, William Schubert, S. De la Cova, Charles de Janon and H[enry] Worrall) as among the "best soloists known." Coupa compiled an *Instruction Book for the Guitar* (a copy, possibly incomplete, is owned by the Boston Public Library), which was published in Boston by Coupa himself and was probably intended for his own students. An illustration in this book refers to a sequel, but no such volume is known today. Among Coupa's compositions are the aforementioned theme and variations, a serenade, a selection of "Gems from *Norma*," and a set of seven waltzes, of which I have seen only the first, second, third, and seventh. The first two of these

¹ Tom Wheeler, *American Guitars: An Illustrated History* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), 251

² Mike Longworth, *Martin Guitars: A History* (Cedar Knolls, NJ: Colonial Press, 1975).

waltzes are reproduced here. They carry an 1843 copyright date and were originally published by John F. Nunns in New York. They were also released (using the same plates) by W. C. Peters in Cincinnati.³ In 1866, Peters's son, J. L. Peters, published seven Coupa waltzes under the general title *Roseland*. The dances are given such titles as "Damask Rose Waltz," "Moss Rose Waltz," and "China Rose Waltz." I have not seen enough of them to ascertain if they are the same pieces as Nunns's, but I rather suspect they are. They remained in print until at least the 1870s.

Little needs to be said about the music itself. The harmony is reminiscent of Sor, including a fondness for strings of secondary dominants. A B natural is missing in the middle section of Waltz 1 (tenth measure from the end).

³ For this reprint, we have used the facsimiles in the International Music Score Library Project (IMSLP) / Petrucci Music Library, https://imslp.org/wiki/Category:Coupa%2C_John_B. The original article in *Soundboard* showed the Peters reprint.

V A L S
PARA
Guitarra.
dedicado al
S. D. FELIX CRUCET.
Y
Compuesto por
J. B. COPPIN.

NEW YORK.

Published by JOHN F. NUNNS, 240 Broadway.

The musical score is written for guitar in 3/4 time. It consists of five staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a dynamic marking of 'p'. The second staff continues the melody. The third staff features a double bar line with repeat dots and a dynamic marking of 'fz'. The fourth and fifth staves complete the piece with various chordal textures and melodic lines.

This image shows a page of musical notation consisting of eight staves. The notation is written in a single system with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including quarter notes, eighth notes, and sixteenth notes, often grouped together. The first staff is marked with the word "FINE." above it. The eighth staff is marked with "D.C." (Da Capo) above it. The notation includes various chordal structures and melodic lines, typical of a piano accompaniment or a simple instrumental piece.

37
N^o 1112, N^o 11

WALTZ

FOR THE

Guitar.

Composed & dedicated to

MISS JANE V. C. DE PEYSTER.

BY

J. B. COOPER.

NEW YORK

Published by JOHN F. NUNNS, 210 Broadway.



First staff of music, featuring a treble clef and a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#). The notation includes a series of chords and melodic fragments.

Second staff of music, continuing the piece with similar chordal and melodic structures.

Third staff of music, showing a progression of chords and a melodic line.

Fourth staff of music, featuring a mix of chordal accompaniment and melodic movement.

Fifth staff of music, containing a more active melodic line with eighth-note patterns.

Sixth staff of music, continuing the melodic and harmonic development.

Seventh and final staff of music, concluding with a double bar line and the marking "D.C." (Da Capo).

Shaker's Dance by William O. Bateman
 St. Louis: A. Shattinger, 1882. Plate 206
Soundboard 17, no. 4 (Winter 1991): 50–53

THIS ATTRACTIVE PIECE is by William Bateman (1825–1883), who is making his third appearance in this space. Previous examples of his music can be found in *Soundboard* 8, no. 4, and 9, no. 4; for biographical information on Bateman, the reader is referred to Douglas Back's article on the classical guitar in St. Louis.¹ The present work is of particular interest because it is one of the surprisingly few pieces of nineteenth-century guitar Americana to display much of a national character.

Whether or not *Shakers' Dance* (note the shift of apostrophe between the title page and the first page of music) is actually based on a Shaker melody is unclear, and since the Shakers left behind an extraordinary legacy of some eight to ten thousand religious songs and dance-tunes, it would probably prove difficult to track down.

The actual name of this religious group was United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing, but they were known as "Shaking Quakers," or "Shakers" because of the emotionalism of their early meetings, where it is reported they danced with exaggerated gestures and sang in tongues. The sect was founded by Ann Lee (1736–1784), better known as "Mother Ann," who immigrated from England to America in 1774. They believed Mother Ann to be the female incarnation of Christ, fulfilling the Gospel prophecy of the Second Coming. Shakers remained unmarried and believed in celibacy, sexual self-restraint, and communal living. They became famous for their simple, well-made furniture, which is highly prized by collectors today. The sect reached its peak around 1860, when about four to six thousand Shakers resided in some twenty Shaker villages from Maine to Indiana. The sect is now extinct, a victim of the Industrial Revolution and, more than anything else, of its rules regarding celibacy and marriage. For further information on Shaker music, see Edward D. Andrews's study.²

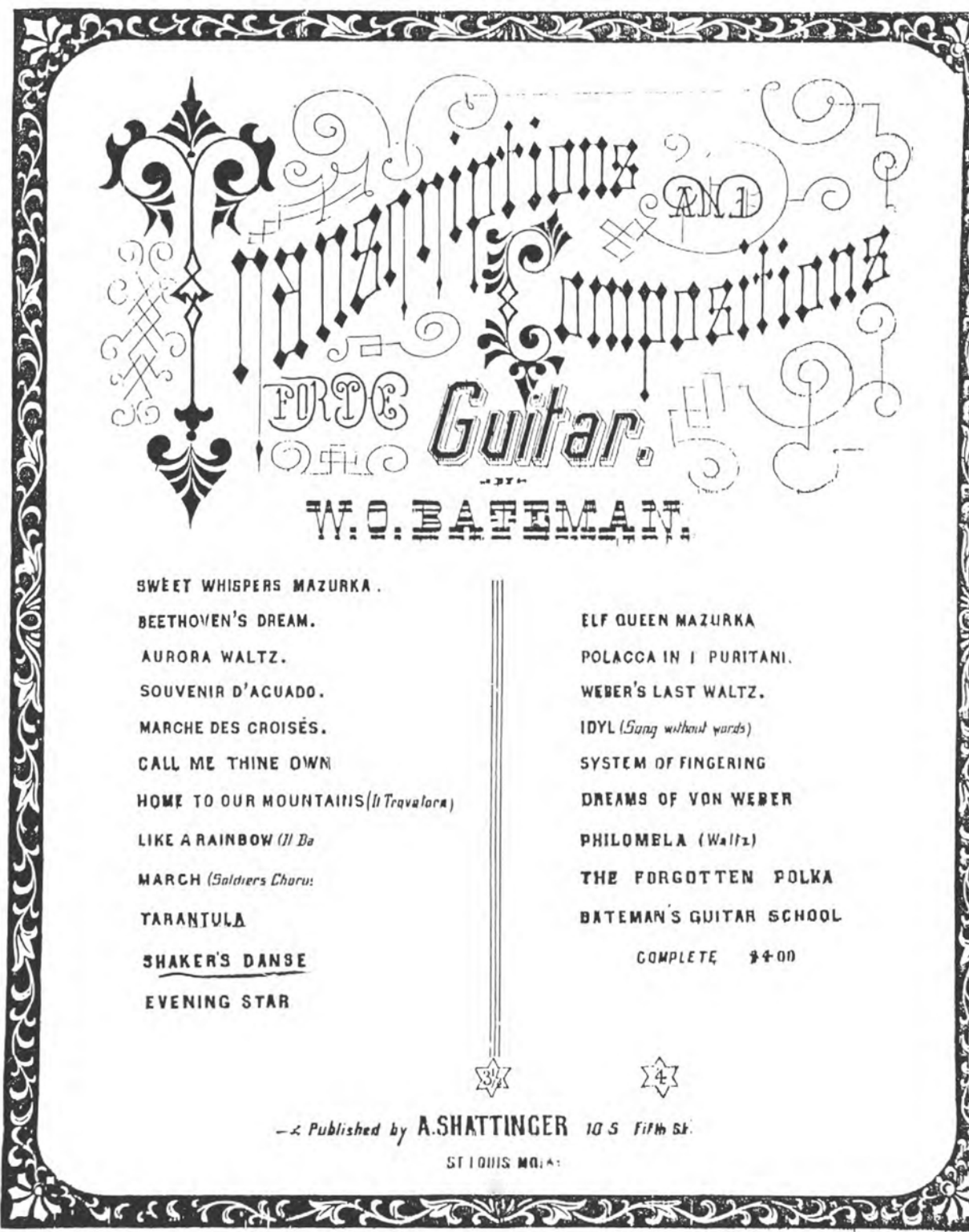
Bateman's piece bears the subtitle "Spirit of New Lebanon," a reference to the famous Shaker community of New Lebanon, New York, near the Massachusetts border. While it is labeled a "dance," this piece is to be played slowly and as Bateman indicates, *molto sentimento*. Care should also be taken to observe the numerous tenuto marks ("ten."), as well as the various *glissandi*.

While I was writing these notes, I received word of the death of Aaron Copland at the age of ninety. It was Copland's master stroke to include the Shaker dance-prayer *The Gift to Be Simple* in his 1944 ballet *Appalachian Spring* (he had earlier arranged

1 Douglas Back, "Classical Guitar in St. Louis 1870–1900," *Soundboard* 17, no. 2 (1990): 28.

2 Edward D. Andrews, *The Gift to Be Simple* (New York: Dover Publications, 1962).

the tune in his first set of *Old American Songs*). Copland's use of this song made it famous and led to an increased awareness of the richness of America's Shaker legacy. It is also a high-water mark in the history of American nationalism. Let Bateman's little guitar piece from the 1880s serve as a modest tribute to a great American composer.



W. O. BATEMAN'S
Original
Compositions
FOR THE
Guitar.
W. O. BATEMAN.

SWEET WHISPERS MAZURKA.

BEETHOVEN'S DREAM.

AURORA WALTZ.

SOUVENIR D'ACUADO.

MARCHE DES CROISÉS.

CALL ME THINE OWN

HOME TO OUR MOUNTAINS (*li Travalara*)

LIKE A RAINBOW (*li Da*)

MARCH (*Soldiers Chorus*)

TARANTULA

SHAKER'S DANSE

EVENING STAR

ELF QUEEN MAZURKA

POLACCA IN I PURITANI.

WEBER'S LAST WALTZ.

IDYL (*Sung without words*)

SYSTEM OF FINGERING

DREAMS OF VON WEBER

PHILOMELA (*Waltz*)

THE FORGOTTEN POLKA

BATEMAN'S GUITAR SCHOOL

COMPLETE \$4.00



— Published by A. SHATTINGER 105 Fifth St.

ST LOUIS MO. A.

SHAKERS' DANCE.

(Spirit of New Lebanon.)

W. O. Bateman.

Andante con molto sentimento

Pos. ii vi-iv ii rit. vii

Pos. vii ix vii iv ii dim. e ritard. iv ii

Pos. viii x vii x vi-v ii

Pos. ii iv ii iv ii iv ritard. ii

Pos. ii iv ii

Pos.iii ix vii iv ii

Tempo rubato e timoroso

Pos. iv ii i iii ii i ii iv

Pos. iv ii i appass. e rit. dol.

Pos. ii iv ii

Pos.iii ix vii iv ii rit. iv ii

Weston's March to Chicago by Edward Mack, arranged by Justin Holland
 Cleveland: S. Brainard, 1867
Soundboard 20, no. 3 (Winter 1994): 50–53

WHO WAS WESTON? And why was he marching to Chicago? Was he, for instance, an early advocate of trade unionism making some sort of political statement? I have been curious about this 1867 S. Brainard print ever since Michael Lorimer provided me with a copy several years ago. As is often the case, I recently discovered the answer while looking for something else entirely.

In the course of planning a short trip to Chicago, I was browsing through a book by Emmett Dedmon called *Fabulous Chicago*, when I ran across a reference to Edward Payson Weston, the great “walkist,” who in 1867 (the very date of the Brainard print) had walked from Portland, Maine, to Chicago—a distance of 1,326 miles—at an average rate of fifty-two miles a day. According to a contemporary *Harper's Weekly*, “This walk makes Weston's name a household word, and really gives the impetus to the pedestrian mania which has become so general.” Chicago held a lavish public reception for Weston on Thanksgiving Day, 1867, in Crosby's Opera House (the site of the Republican Convention the next year that nominated General Grant for President).

Perhaps no long-distance walker has attracted more public attention than Edward Payson Weston (1839–1929), who first came to prominence in 1861 when he walked from Boston to Washington, DC, in ten days to see Abraham Lincoln inaugurated, and then continued to walk and talk his way into the consciousness of the public until at least 1922. Among his other exploits was a walk from New York to San Francisco in 1909—he returned still under his own leg-power the following year via Los Angeles. An interesting profile of the intrepid Mr. Weston will be found in Gale's *Wonderful World of Walking*.¹ Walking must be good for you, since Weston lived to be almost ninety-one.

The composer of *Weston's March to Chicago* can be identified as Edward Mack (1826–1882), a native of Stuttgart, Germany, who came to the United States at the age of five. Mack made a specialty of writing commemorative marches, among them *President Lincoln's Funeral March* (1865), *The Centennial March* (1875), and a *Brooklyn Bridge March* (1883) for the official opening of the famous span.

Justin Holland (1819–1887), arranger of Mack's brief *pièce d'occasion*, was the first African-American musician to achieve recognition as a guitarist. His principal publisher was S. Brainard of Cleveland, for whom he made hundreds of guitar arrangements of this type. He was featured in *Soundboard* 9, no.1, and is now the

¹ Bill Gale, *The Wonderful World of Walking* (New York: Morrow, 1979).

subject of multiple articles and studies.² Jeffrey Noonan singled out Holland's guitar method for special praise: "James Ballard's 1838 tutor has been noted as the best of the antebellum American methods and Justin Holland's *Comprehensive Method for the Guitar* (1874) deserves the same recognition among late-nineteenth-century tutors." While he was a proud African-American, his music doesn't reflect it. Noonan points out that Holland's "adherence to the traditional technique of Europe's early guitar masters supported the conservative approach to the guitar to which America's BMG community generally subscribed."³

The six-fret intervals on page 2 (G–D) remind us that nineteenth-century American guitars were a good deal smaller than their modern counterparts. A sharp should be added to the C ten measures from the end of page 2.

*For this facsimile reproduction we have used a high-resolution scan from the University of Michigan in the public domain, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015096579605>. The facsimile in the original issue of *Soundboard* depicted this same edition.*

- 2 W. A. Banks, "Justin Holland, the Guitar's Black Pioneer" (master's thesis, American University, 1987), <http://hdl.handle.net/1961/thesesdissertations:4689>; Barbara Clemenson, "Justin Holland: Black Guitarist in the Western Reserve," *Soundboard* 21, no. 2 (1994); Jimmy Everett Moore, "The Significance of Justin Holland's Modern Method for the Guitar" (DMA treatise, Florida State University, 2009), <https://fsu.digital.flvc.org/islandora/object/fsu:254043/>; Eileen Southern and Josephine Wright, "Holland, Justin," in *The Grove Dictionary of American Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195314281.001.0001/acref-9780195314281-e-3864>.
- 3 Jeffrey J. Noonan, *The Guitar in America: Victorian Era to Jazz Age* (Jackson, University Press of Mississippi, 2008), 13–14; 62.

WESTON'S MARCH TO CHICAGO.



Piano. ★ 4

Guitar. ★ 3

TRADE MARK JOHN HENRI & CO. CINCINNATI.

CLEVELAND,

Published by S BRAINARD & SONS, 203 Superior St

WESTON'S MARCH TO CHICAGO.

E. MACK.

ARR'D FOR THE GUITAR

BY JUSTIN HOLLAND.

6th string to D.

f

mf

Fine.

2407. 2.

The musical score is written for guitar in a single system with five staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). It starts with a dynamic marking of *f* and includes a fingering '2' above the first measure. The second staff contains a fingering '1' above the first measure. The third staff contains a fingering '1' above the first measure. The fourth staff contains a dynamic marking of *mf*. The fifth staff concludes with the word *Fine.* and a double bar line. The score includes various musical notations such as chords, eighth notes, and sixteenth notes.

2407. 2.

p

f

D.C.

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About the Author

PETER DANNER attended the first meeting of the Guitar Foundation of America in Santa Barbara (1973), at which time he was representing the Lute Society of America. He edited that society's journal between 1975 and 1982 and served as its president between 1977 and 1982. He was elected to the GFA board of directors in 1975 and served as its chairman between 1977 and 1985, at which point he stepped down from the chairmanship to take over as chief editor of *Soundboard* from Jim

Forrest. He continued as *Soundboard* editor until 2001, when he resigned the post for personal reasons. Peter was thus an eyewitness to the Guitar Foundation through its formative years and contributed as a lecturer, coordinator, and adjudicator at many of the Foundation's events.

Peter is a graduate of the University of California, Santa Barbara, and holds a PhD in music history from Stanford University (1967). He pursued an active performing career in the early seventies but abandoned this to concentrate on teaching, writing, and family. For many years he taught at Menlo College in Menlo Park, California, where he devised an innovative course in music appreciation, meant more to teach the vocabulary of music than instill a love for Haydn (let alone Schoenberg) string quartets to an audience not prepared to accept them. Peter is now retired but still involves himself in his twin loves of music and history. He has too many CDs of classical music (guitar and otherwise) and sees to it that they're not neglected. He involves himself in the local history of the San Francisco Bay Area, which, being Silicon Valley, has seen changes that would have been unimagined fifty years ago.

About Soundboard Scholar

SOUNDBOARD SCHOLAR is the peer-reviewed journal of the Guitar Foundation of America. Its purpose is to publish guitar research of the highest caliber. *Soundboard Scholar* is online and open access. To view all issues of the journal, visit <http://www.soundboardscholar.org>.

About the Guitar Foundation of America



THE GUITAR FOUNDATION OF AMERICA inspires artistry, builds community, and promotes the classical guitar internationally through excellence in performance, literature, education, and research. For more information, visit <https://guitarfoundation.org>.

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IN MEMORIAM

Remembering Tom Heck & His Legacy

ROBERT FERGUSON

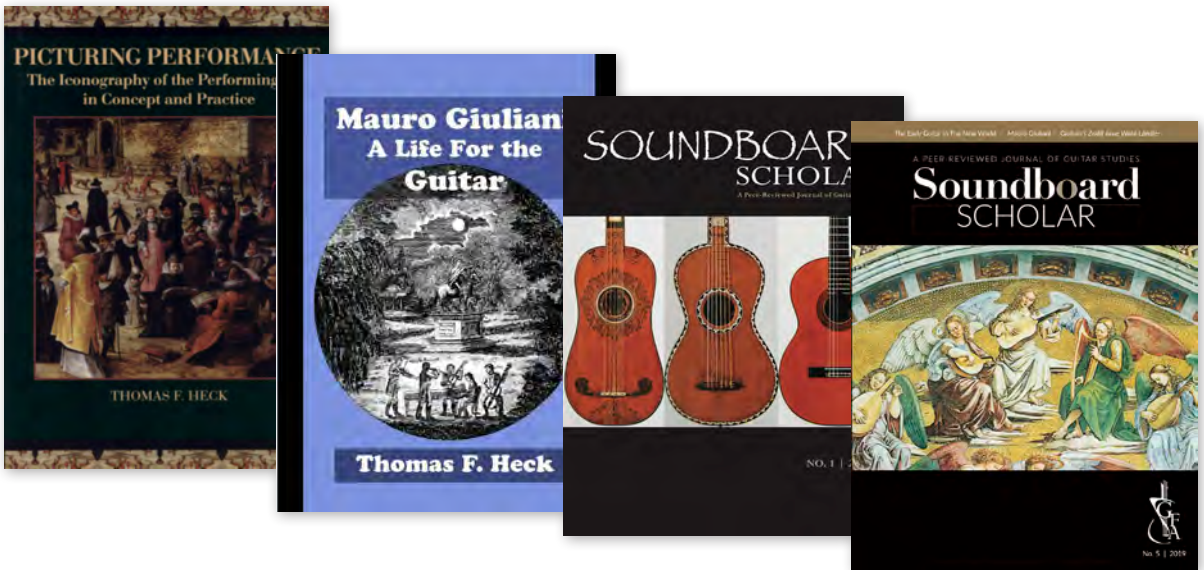
with tributes by Peter Danner, Anthony Glise,
Paul Sparks, Brian Jeffery & Jonathan Leathwood



ON OCTOBER 3, 2021, Thomas Heck, the Guitar Foundation of America's founding visionary, died from the effects of Parkinson's disease. Tom was the principle generating force behind the creation of the GFA. He convened its inaugural meeting in 1973 and drafted its Articles of Incorporation and Bylaws. Tom attended every GFA Convention thereafter to lead the Research Round Table and to meet with and share ideas with like-minded guitarists from around the world. He founded the GFA Archives, the GFA Monograph Series, and *Soundboard Scholar*. From the first issue of *Soundboard* (1974) on, he published the quarterly column, "Works

in Progress/Completed" and contributed many articles to the journal. Tom was awarded the GFA Hall of Fame Distinguished Service Award in 2007.

Tom was born July 10, 1943, in Washington, DC, but aside from a short stint in Japan at age nine—where his father, Harold J. Heck, academic, diplomat, and specialist in international commerce, took a one-year teaching appointment at Tokyo's Waseda University—Tom spent most of his early years in New Orleans. Later, Tom's father served as commercial attaché at the American Embassy in Paris. So Tom's teenage years were spent immersed in French culture and language while attending secondary school at a Parisian lycée. It was also at this time that he began his lifetime devotion to guitar. Upon completion of his secondary education in 1960, Tom received the baccalauréat, France's academic diploma that qualifies students for university study in that country.



A complete collection of publications written or edited by Tom would fill several shelves. Shown above are four of particular significance. *Picturing Performance* (1999) is a wide-ranging work on the iconography of music and theatre: Tom was general editor and a main contributor. In 2013, he published the third version of his seminal work on Giuliani under the new title of *Mauro Giuliani: A Life for the Guitar*. In 2015, Tom created and edited the present journal, *Soundboard Scholar*. The last issue he edited was no. 5 (2019).

However, Tom elected to return to the United States for his higher education. In 1965, he received his bachelor's in liberal arts and music history from the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Indiana. In 1970, he earned his PhD in Musicology from Yale University. During his time at Yale he also married Vassar College graduate Anne Goodrich. He was awarded his first Fulbright Scholarship at Yale to conduct dissertation research abroad. He and Anne lived in Vienna, Austria, from 1968 to 1969. Tom's research resulted in *The Birth of the Classic Guitar and Its Cultivation in Vienna, Reflected in the Career and Compositions of Mauro Giuliani*, a seminal two-volume thesis that established Tom Heck as a major authority on the history of classical guitar and a catalyst to further inquiry into the guitar's past and its place in the musical-cultural life of Europe.

Following a commission as first lieutenant in the US Army from 1970 to 1971, Tom went on to teach music history for five years. He then enrolled in the Library Science program at the University of Southern California, receiving an MLS in academic librarianship in 1977. This led to his appointment as Head of the Music and Dance Library at Ohio State University (OSU), where he remained for the next twenty-two years.

Tom's doctoral dissertation formed the basis of his later book *Mauro Giuliani: Virtuoso Guitarist and Composer* (Columbus, OH: Orphée, 1995) and its updated edition, *Mauro Giuliani: A Life for the Guitar* (GFA Refereed Monographs no. 2), published as an e-book (Kindle, ePub) by the Guitar Foundation of America in 2013. Other guitar-related monographs and music editions issued by Tom Heck include:

- Reversals: Three Poems by David Krieger Set as a Cycle of Songs for Voice and Classic Guitar.* Clear Note, 2011.
- Jazz Goes Classic: Jazz Favorites for Classic Guitar.* Edited by Corey Christiansen. Mel Bay and Warner Bros., 2002. Ten of seventeen arrangements contributed by T. F. Heck.
- The “Music Information Explosion” and its Implications for College Teachers and Students.* Missoula: College Music Society, 1992.
- ²¹ *Duets for Violin and Guitar: Selections from the Suzuki Method, Books 1, 2 and 3.* Edited by T. F. Heck. Princeton: Summy-Birchard, 1989.
- Guitar Music in the Archive of the Guitar Foundation of America and Cooperating Collections: A Computerized Catalog.* Columbus, OH: Guitar Foundation of America, 1981.
- Schubert, Franz. *Sixteen Songs with Guitar Accompaniment: A Selection of Lieder Published in Guitar Transcription during the Composer’s Lifetime.* Newly edited for performance with historical notes by T. F. Heck. London: Tecla, 1980.
- A Survey of Guitar Curricula in Colleges in the U.S. and Canada.* Commissioned by the Guitar Committee of ASTA (American String Teachers Association). Cleveland: ASTA, 1975
- Giuliani, Mauro. *Œuvres choisies pour guitare.* Edited by T. F. Heck. Paris: Heugel, 1973.

Tom also published about sixty guitar-related reviews, introductions, encyclopedia entries, and articles (several for *Soundboard*), including:

- “Guitarists in the Balconies and Rafters: The Musical Frescoes of Genoa’s Spinola Palaces.” *Early Music* 42, no. 1 (2014): 85–93.
- “The Vogue of the *Chitarra francese* in Italy: How French? How Italian? How Neapolitan?” *Soundboard* 38, no. 4 (2012): 18–25.
- “Some Newly Discovered Letters of Mauro Giuliani: Welcome News from the Bavarian State Library and the Digital Guitar Archive.” *Soundboard* 38, no. 2 (2012): 13–30. Coauthored with Marco Riboni and Andreas Stevens.
- “Expanding the GFA’s Online Resources.” *Soundboard* 36, no. 3 (2010): 34–35.
- “Mauro Giuliani: A Lost Letter Comes to Light.” *Soundboard* 31, nos. 2/3 (2006): 31–38.
- “A Relaxing Way to Hold the Guitar: Variation on a Theme by Aguado?” *Soundboard* 30, no. 3 (2005): 31–34.
- “Schubert Lieder with Guitar: Musicological Evidence and Inference.” In *Evidence and Inference in History and Law: Interdisciplinary Dialogues*, 287–310. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2002.
- “Guitar-Related Research in the Age of the Internet: Current Options, Current Trends.” *Soundboard* 25, no. 1 (1998): 61–68.
- “Images of Guitars and Guitarists: An Iconographic History of the Guitar.” *Gendai Guitar* (Tokyo), nos. 215–17 (Feb–Apr 1984).



AT LEFT
Tom Heck, December 1985, at the Church of Sant'Adoeno in Bisceglie, Italy, Giuliani's baptismal site.

BELOW LEFT
Tom performing with Carol Ann Manzi at Santa Barbara Unitarian Society, September 11, 2010

BELOW RIGHT
Tom with Richard Long (right) at the GFA Convention, Miami, June 2019—the last that Tom attended.



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- Giuliani, Mauro. *Sechs Lieder*, op. 89. Facsimile edition of songs with guitar or piano accompaniment, with translations by Anne Goodrich Heck, and errata and preface by T. F. Heck. London: Tecla, 1976.
- Giuliani, Mauro. *Sei grandi variazioni*, op. 112. Facsimile edition, with errata and introduction by T. F. Heck. Melville, NY: Published for the Guitar Foundation of America by Belwin-Mills, 1976.

During his tenure at OSU, Tom's research interests expanded. He received a second Fulbright Fellowship to Italy for 1985–86, taking him to Florence, where he researched the iconography and literature of the Italian comedy, spurred by images of masked thespians holding musical instruments including guitars. His work resulted in the publication of *Commedia dell'arte: A Guide to the Primary and Secondary Literature* (New York: Garland, 1988) and *The Commedia dell'Arte in Naples: A Bilingual Edition of the 176 Casamarciano Scenarios*, which he translated and edited along with Francesco Cotticelli and Anne Goodrich Heck (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2001). As a Fellow at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences (NIAS) in 1994–95, he further explored performing arts iconography, presenting his findings in *Picturing Performance: The Iconography of the Performing Arts in Concept and Practice* (Rochester, NY: Univ. of Rochester Press, 1999). In addition to the above books, articles, and other writings, Tom shared his knowledge not only of guitar history and literature, Italian comedy, and iconography but also of general music history and bibliography and music printing through innumerable papers presented at scholarly conferences across Europe, the US, and Australia.

In 2001, at the beginning of what was supposedly his “retirement,” this indefatigable scholar started a consulting firm, called Insights, to serve the field of library and archives administration. In this capacity, in 2011, he oversaw a digitization project for the GFA that converted thirty-seven volumes of *Soundboard* back issues (1974–2010) to searchable PDFs—a major boon to classical guitar research. Unsurprisingly, Tom also continued his work as independent scholar, author, editor, and lecturer.

The year 2001 also marked Tom and Anne's move to Santa Barbara, California. There, Tom served as a music minister at St. Mark's University Parish at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and at the Catholic Church of the Beatitudes. At Santa Barbara City College he studied website design, and he used the skills acquired there to help a number of nonprofits in his locale. Tom also visited elder care facilities, where he led seniors in singing, often with vocalist and coach Carol Ann Manzi, from whom he also took voice lessons. The two collaborated on a number of other projects as well. Similarly, Tom volunteered for Visiting Nurse and Hospice Care

(VNA Health), under whose auspices he visited hospice patients at home or at VNA Health's Serenity House in Santa Barbara.

But Tom's humanitarianism didn't end there. As the *Santa Barbara Independent* stated in their October 21 obituary of him, "He will be remembered for his academic contributions, especially in the guitar world, but also for his passionate concern with world peace and for his quiet but timely support for many immigrants and refugees from Central and Eastern Europe and Southeast Asia." Tom Heck made his mark in many ways. For us in the classical guitar community, our world would have been very different and much diminished without him.

— ROBERT FERGUSON



Tributes

TOM HECK earned his PhD in music (Yale) a year after I got mine (Stanford). Tom's dissertation related to the instrument he identified with: the guitar. Mine did not: the English Reformation. We were both straight out of graduate school looking for jobs and reaching out for contacts. It was 1970. I wrote concert reviews and glommed onto a visible (if nonpaying) job editing the journal for the American Lute Society. As part of my job, I wrote a review of Frederic Grunfeld's book about the guitar, the instrument I, too, most identified with. Tom read it, and he wrote me a letter.

He was concerned the guitar world seemed to be splintering into factions. He was worried the electric guitar might engulf serious study of it (see *Soundboard* 20, no. 2, 11). He said he had the dream of establishing an archive of guitar music that would be anchored by the material he had collected for his Giuliani dissertation. He hoped this might eventually evolve into a center for classical guitar research. (This was years before the Internet. Even copy machines were a scarce commodity.)

This dream never materialized, but he did help spearhead the guitar getting recognized as a serious concert instrument by the American String Teachers Association. This in turn paved the way for the guitar being accepted as legitimate by a number of collegiate music programs, resulting in more teaching positions with committed teachers. The level of playing skill rose dramatically.

Eventually, it was felt that there was enough interest in the guitar for it to stand on its own. Tom was once more in the forefront. In 1973 he arranged the founding meeting of what turned out to be the GFA. He chose Santa Barbara for the meeting because his wife, Anne, was from there, and the university campus had a conference center just the right size. It was perfect for me, as this was the campus of my undergraduate days and where my family lived. It gave me a chance to meet people like Sophocles Papas, Alvino Ray, and Frederick Noad, well-known names in those days. The GFA was in many ways Tom's brainchild, and because he brought an academic background, he helped steer it in a direction of scholarship and musical excellence and away from mere commercialism.

Tom served briefly in the army and was affiliated with a couple of colleges in the early seventies (Case Western Reserve and Chapman come to mind). However, he eventually felt he might make better use of his linguistic skills and have better job security by becoming a music librarian. He obtained the required degree and served for many years as chief music and dance librarian at Ohio State University in Columbus.

Tom's interests expanded beyond the guitar. He became an authority on Italian *commedia dell'arte* and wrote a valuable study dating the earliest Ricordi print numbers (Ricordi's plate no. 1 was a guitar piece). But he remained true to the guitar. He would make the annual meeting as often as possible and continued contributing to *Soundboard* until the end. He established *Soundboard Scholar* almost single-handedly. He had family in the East Bay and would visit me when in the San Francisco area. I enjoyed staying with him whenever I visited Santa Barbara, my childhood home, where he retired after Ohio State. He enjoyed giving back to the community and often entertained the elderly in retirement homes by singing them the old standards of their youth to the accompaniment of his guitar.

When a group of us GFA "elders" were awarded with service honors back in 2007, I realized the five of us were standing on stage in strict alphabetical order, D to H: Peter Danner, Gunnar Eisel, Jim Forrest, David Grimes, and Thomas F. Heck. We also spoke in that order. I remember I rambled and Jim was highly entertaining. But Tom was eloquent and summed up our mission admirably: to promote the guitar and serve those that love it. I'm glad he went last. Tom, you will be missed!

— PETER DANNER

I HAD THE PLEASURE of first meeting Tom at the GFA conference in Lubbock in 1989 and hosted his lectures at several festivals that I direct, including the St. Joseph International Guitar Festival and Red Socks and the Guitar in Chartres, France, which he attended with his dear wife, Anne.

Tom had an innate sense of brilliant scholarship that—as we all know—was critical to the founding of the GFA, *Soundboard Scholar*, and research that extended far beyond his celebrated work in guitar history. However, quietly shrouded in that professional image was a gentleman of sincere faith who was kind, insightful, and an unyielding advocate of anyone sincerely committed to asking questions and finding answers.

Ralph Waldo Emerson once said, "If we encounter a man of rare intellect, we should ask him what books he reads." In Tom's case—and to our inspiration—I am confident that Tom's whimsical response would have been, "Anything I can get my hands on!"

A bright light has gone home.

Tom, travel well... and please say hello to Mauro from us all. I know you two will have lots to discuss.

— ANTHONY GLISE

TOM WAS AN INSPIRATION to everyone involved in guitar research, the embodiment of everything that a scholar should be. For me personally, reading his PhD in the early 1980s was a revelation, and greatly informed and inspired my own work. Years later, we made contact by email, then were finally able to meet in person in Cambridge, and I discovered that he was a wonderfully kind and quietly funny man, as well as a great academic. The guitar world owes him an enormous debt of gratitude.

— PAUL SPARKS

I AM SAD INDEED at Tom's passing. I had known him for about fifty years, from the time that he was preparing to become a librarian. Paul (Sparks) is right: he was everything that a scholar should be. He was exact in his data, correct in his conclusions, and cautious in his hypotheses. But as well as that he was a fine human being: kind and admirable. A great loss.

— BRIAN JEFFERY

READERS OF *SOUNDBOARD SCHOLAR* will know that Tom founded the journal, created its peer-review process, and edited the first five issues, creating a newly rigorous forum for guitar scholarship. Growing up as I did in England, I was always aware of Tom's scholarship, but it was not until I came to the United States that I came to understand how crucial was Tom's role in creating a healthy infrastructure for the classical guitar in this country.

Tom's devotion to the two pillars of scholarship and community was unflagging to the end. When he stepped down from editing *Soundboard Scholar* in 2019, it was because of failing health; yet one would hardly have known it from his activities. For example, he assisted with the production of a new addition to the GFA's Refereed Monograph Series (*The Concert Diary of Agustín Barrios Mangoré*, by Pinnell and Sheppard) and negotiated the addition of both *Soundboard* and *Soundboard Scholar* to ProQuest's Music Periodicals Database. In April of this year, he graciously appeared in one of our public scholarly meetings on Zoom, answering questions about archival research, Giuliani, and more. Many attendees at the meeting were as moved as I was by what turned out to be the last chance to learn from his wisdom and experience.

In one of our last email exchanges, Tom mentioned how grateful he was for the new archival work being done on Giuliani by the next generation of scholars, and how he welcomed seeing his own work corrected; and he said that as his illness progressed, he would continue to try to be useful to the GFA "day by day." May we be worthy of his legacy.

— JONATHAN LEATHWOOD



About Soundboard Scholar

SOUNDBOARD SCHOLAR is the peer-reviewed journal of the Guitar Foundation of America. Its purpose is to publish guitar research of the highest caliber. *Soundboard Scholar* is online and open access. To view all issues of the journal, visit <http://soundboardscholar.org>.

About the Guitar Foundation of America



THE GUITAR FOUNDATION OF AMERICA inspires artistry, builds community, and promotes the classical guitar internationally through excellence in performance, literature, education, and research. For more information, visit <https://guitarfoundation.org>.

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The Catalan Guitar, Part 1

Four New E-books by Brian Jeffery & Josep María Mangado

RICHARD M. LONG

Brian Jeffery

Fernando Sor: Composer and Guitarist, 3rd edition

N.p.: Tecla, 2020, PDF or ePub¹



IN 1974, writing in the Italian journal *Il Fronimo*, Brian Jeffery briefly summarized what was known about the life of Fernando Sor.² While the few available studies dedicated to Sor tended to concentrate on his compositions for guitar,³ Jeffery was aware that the guitarist had also led a rich and varied life as an administrator and soldier in Spain, a composer of songs and opera and ballet, a teacher of piano and voice, and a political exile in France, England, and Russia. In a footnote to the *Fronimo* article, Jeffery announced that he was preparing a book on Sor. A few months later, Jeffery wrote to Thomas Heck, one of the founders of the newly formed Guitar Foundation of America, that he was planning a trip across the

Atlantic and offering an illustrated lecture on Sor. He also claimed to have “quite a lot to say about Sor’s songs.” Heck communicated this information in the third issue

¹ <https://tecla.com/shop/books-and-music-scores/sor-fernando/brian-jeffery-fernando-sor-composer-and-guitarist-as-a-digital-download-pdf/>.

² Brian Jeffery, “L’attività concertistica di Fernando Sor,” *Il Fronimo* 2, no. 6 (January 1974): 6–13.

³ For example, William Sasser, “The Guitar Works of Fernando Sor” (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, 1960).

of *Soundboard* and added that Jeffery promised his book would include “a detailed catalogue of Sor’s works.”⁴

Actually, Jeffery was preparing projects more ambitious than a catalog. In 1976 he published some recently discovered Sor songs for voice and guitar, followed in 1977 by a five-volume boxed set of Sor’s “complete works” in facsimiles of early editions — a total of over nine hundred pages.⁵ It did not contain a catalog; that, along with much historical and biographical detail, was reserved for the full-scale biography, *Fernando Sor: Composer and Guitarist*, also published in 1977.⁶ These works were not perfect. The editions selected, the quality of the reproductions, and the completeness of the “complete works” — all would attract criticism, but they also inspired imitation and set new standards for guitar research. The next decades would see improvements in photo reproduction and printing technology, the publication of more biographies of guitarists, and more sets of collected or complete works by guitarists.⁷

They also apparently sold well, because Jeffery published a new, revised nine-volume facsimile edition of Sor’s works in 1982, followed by a monumental five-year project, the Tecla edition of the complete works of Mauro Giuliani. In 1997, Jeffery launched another complete Sor, now in ten volumes and with the music entirely reengraved. For some reason this project was discontinued before all ten volumes were published, and was replaced in 2001 with eleven 9” × 12” volumes, engraved, with glossy covers printed in Hungary.⁸ And this, too, would be followed by a corrected second printing.

The second edition of Jeffery’s biography *Fernando Sor, Composer and Guitarist* appeared in 1994, in the midst of an outpouring of new research on Sor. The new edition had been revised and improved here and there, but it did not reflect the new Sor

- 4 Thomas Heck, “Works in Progress / Completed,” *Soundboard* 1, no. 3 (August 1974): 20–21.
- 5 Fernando Sor, *Six Seguidillas boleras*, for voice and guitar, ed. Brian Jeffery (London: Tecla, 1976), and *Twelve Seguidillas*, for voice with guitar or piano (London: Tecla, 1976); Fernando Sor, *Complete Works for Guitar*, facsimile edition, ed. Brian Jeffery, 5 vols. (New York: Shattinger, 1977).
- 6 Brian Jeffery, *Fernando Sor: Composer and Guitarist*, 1st ed. (London: Tecla, 1977).
- 7 The facsimile edition was an increasingly promising idea in the 1970s, assisted by advances in commercial printing technology. Important guitar editions were (re-)published by Minkoff Reprint of Geneva, Studio per edizioni scelte of Florence, Chanterelle Verlag of Heidelberg and others. In 1976, three substantial volumes of facsimiles — one each for Carcassi, Giuliani, and Sor — were edited by Frederick Noad and “published under the auspices of The Guitar Foundation of America / by Golden Music Press” (New York: Shattinger). The Sor volume consisted of the “original” Meissonnier opp. 1–20, except that Noad substituted the more complete “revised” Meissonnier version of the “Mozart variations,” op. 9. Note that Shattinger was also the publisher of the five-volume *cw* of Sor the following year.
- 8 Fernando Sor, *The Complete Works for Guitar in Facsimiles of the Original Editions*, ed. Brian Jeffery, 9 vols. (London: Tecla, 1982); Mauro Giuliani, *The Complete Works in Facsimiles of the Original Editions*, ed. Brian Jeffery, 39 vols. (London: Tecla, 1984–88); Sor, *The New Complete Works for Guitar*, ed. Brian Jeffery, re-engraved, ten volumes (London: Tecla, 1997–) [began publication with A4 pages, apparently not completed]; Sor, *The New Complete Works for Guitar*, ed. Brian Jeffery, re-engraved, 11 vols. (London: Tecla, 2001). There was a corrected second printing of this last item.

research in Europe, notably Josep María Mangado's *La guitarra en Cataluña* (1998)—discussed elsewhere in this issue—and Luis Gásser's *Estudios sobre Fernando Sor / Sor Studies* (2002), an enormous collection of thirty essays by diverse international scholars. But Tecla—Jeffery's own imprint—was the publisher of the former work, and Jeffery was a contributor to the latter.⁹ Even after the appearance of these new resources, Jeffery's biography remained the best work on Sor in English.

In the new millennium, Jeffery founded a new online entity, Hebe's Web, and began to sell digital files of selected music and books from his Tecla catalog. This brings us to 2020, when the third edition of *Fernando Sor, Composer and Guitarist* became available in either ePub or PDF format. Its publication coincided with his new digital edition of Sor's *Complete Works*, which enables the purchase of any of the individual works for guitar in the form of instant PDF downloads.¹⁰

The new biography follows the same narrative format as its previous two editions, dividing Sor's life into five periods (Spain, Paris, London, Paris/St. Petersburg, and London/Paris), but the text is significantly revised in light of the new scholarship, and incorporates many of the discoveries from Mangado's three volumes on Sor (reviewed below). New information in the chapter on the London years, for example, includes the identification of Sor's Spanish wife, Joaquina, who joined him in London in 1815 but died soon afterwards, leaving Sor to raise their newborn daughter, Caroline. Sor was also joined in London by his brother Carlos; both were popular guitar teachers, but Fernando was spectacularly successful as a composer, especially with his "arriets" (Italian songs) and his ballet *Cendrillon*. Caroline accompanied her father and Félicité Hullin to Russia and back to Paris, where she died in 1837.

The third edition contains discoveries of obvious importance (e.g., Sor stipulates metronome markings for some of his *seguidillas*: very fast), but also includes marginal details that might have been left out of printed editions; these sometimes yield interesting connections. Learning that Sor lived for a time in Charlotte Street, London, Jeffery includes contemporary maps and architectural elevations of the street. But he also learns that one of Sor's neighbors may have been Mordaunt Levien, inventor and pioneer of harp-guitars. And Sor wrote some of the earliest music for harp-guitar. . .

This third edition of Jeffery's biography of Sor is a major upgrade from the second, filled with interesting details for *aficionados* of Sor or the guitar, but with much to interest a general reader. While the e-book does not support page numbers (since the number of pages varies with screen size), I estimate it contains the equivalent of well over three hundred letter-sized pages. But if you want still more, Mangado has compiled three volumes of primary sources that seem to leave no stone unturned.

9 Josep María Mangado Artigas, *La guitarra en Cataluña, 1769–1939: Con especial referencia a los guitarristas José Ferrer (1835–1916), Sor, Brocá, Viñas, Bosch, Costa, Más, y otros* (London: Tecla, 1998); Luis Gásser, ed., *Estudios sobre Fernando Sor / Sor Studies* (Madrid: ICCMU, 2002).

10 Jeffery's digital edition will have competition from a new printed version edited by Erik Stenstadvold, to be published later this year by Guitar Heritage of Heidelberg (<https://www.michaelmacmeeken.com/thematic-catalogue-sor/>). See Erik Stenstadvold, "Sor's Guitar Music: A Fresh Start," *Soundboard Scholar*, no. 6 (2020): 4–10.



Josep María Mangado Artigas

Fernando Sor (1778–1839), vol. 1, *Aportaciones biográficas*

Sant Feliu de Llobregat, Barcelona: Self-published, Tecla, 2020, PDF¹¹

JOSEP MARÍA MANGADO is a Catalan musician, *maestro*, and historian, born in Barcelona in 1953—“175 years after Fernando Sor [b. 1778], in the same street in which the Sor family resided.” He began his guitar studies with Josep Carnicé, a former student of Miguel Llobet, and also studied with Jordi Codina at the Conservatorio Superior Municipal de Barcelona. He served as professor of guitar at the Conservatorio Profesional de Música in Manresa (Barcelona) from 1980 to 2016. In 2017 he was awarded the Chitarra d’oro prize at the twenty-second Convegno Internazionale di Chitarra (Alessandria) for his many important contributions to the history of the guitar.

The three enormous volumes of Josep María Mangado’s *Fernando Sor (1778–1839)* were assembled in the years 2018–20 following several decades of research. The PDF files (the format reviewed here) have 552, 339, and 826 pages, respectively. Most of these files consist of primary documents and clippings accompanied by a running narrative by the editor (in Spanish) and with his translations of any sources not in Spanish (many are in French). There are also numerous illustrations, maps, diagrams, portraits, and photographs. Although the three volumes are distributed by Tecla, much (all?) of the layout seems to have been done by Mangado himself, and he has retained copyright on all three volumes.

The first volume of Mangado’s *trilogía* is subtitled “Biographic Contributions” and is itself divided into three parts. The first is dedicated to Barcelona toward the end of the eighteenth century and discusses social life in the years 1778–82 and the musical life of the city: in churches, in the theater, in private life, in print. There are

¹¹ Distributed by Tecla: <https://tecla.com/shop/books-and-music-scores/mangado/mangado-fernando-sor-volume-1/>.

also some pages on luthiers, a list of twenty guitar builders from the time of Sor, and color illustrations. The second part is about two hundred pages of miscellaneous documents and other biographical material about Sor: his youth, his years at Montserrat (1790–95), his army service in 1795, his time as a graduate and alumnus of the Royal Military Academy (1796–1800), his musical activities in Barcelona and Madrid (1795–1813)—including his opera *Telemaco nell'isola di Calipso*—and his deployments and activities during the Peninsular War (1808–13). An interesting digression explores the variant spellings of the surname “Sor.” The third part of the book is dedicated to some of Sor’s ancestors, relatives, and immediate family (cf. his brother Carlos). Some of the contents of this book previously appeared in other sources, such as Gásser’s *Estudios sobre Fernando Sor* (2003) and *Il Fronimo* (2007–8).¹²

Josep María Mangado Artigas

Fernando Sor (1778–1839), vol. 2, *Documentos inéditos: Reflexiones e hipótesis*
Sant Feliu de Llobregat, Barcelona: Self-published, Tecla, 2018. PDF¹³

THE SECOND VOLUME of Mangado’s Sor trilogy, subtitled “New Documents: Reflections and Hypotheses,” is organized much like Jeffery’s biographies—an Introduction plus five “chapters,” each dedicated to a geographical and chronological period in Sor’s life: Spain (1792–1813), France (1813–15), London (1815–22), Paris (1822–23), and Russia (1823–27). Sor’s final years in Paris, following his return from Russia in 1827, are the subject of Mangado’s third volume, discussed below. The second volume, like the previous volume, contains material previously published in *Il Fronimo*,¹⁴ but most of its pages contain new research. Like the other volumes, the material is very miscellaneous, but it often fills in some of the lacunae in Sor’s life and career. For example, Mangado discovered that several years after Sor’s biological father died in 1790, his widow remarried. Her new name enabled Mangado to identify many new Sor relatives (for future research?), and to construct a much more detailed family tree.

Mangado’s title for this volume mentions new documents, and there are plenty of these, casting new light on Sor’s education, his military career, and so on. The title also mentions reflection, such as when Mangado considers the authorship of the melodrama *La Elvira portuguesa* (1801), often attributed to Sor. Mangado could find

12 Mangado, “Fernando Sor: Aportaciones biográficas,” in Gásser, *Sor Studies*, 15–61 (the title of the essay is the same as the title of the book under review). Mangado, “Fernando Sor: Nuovi dati biografici,” part 1, *Il Fronimo* 35, no. 140 (October 2007): 13–24; part 2, *Il Fronimo* 36, no. 141 (January 2008): 35–42; part 3, *Il Fronimo* 36, no. 142 (April 2008): 25–32; part 4, *Il Fronimo* 36, no. 143 (July 2008): 25–39.

13 Distributed by Tecla: <https://tecla.com/shop/books-and-music-scores/mangado/mangado-fernando-sor-volume-2/>.

14 Mangado, “Fernando Sor (1778–1839): Documenti inediti: Reflessioni e ipotesi,” part 1, *Il Fronimo* 43, no. 172 (October 2015): 45–54; part 2, *Il Fronimo* 44, no. 173 (January 2016): 18–31; part 3, *Il Fronimo* 44, no. 174 (April 2016): 33–43; part 4, *Il Fronimo* 44, no. 175 (July 2016): 9–24; part 5, *Il Fronimo* 44, no. 176 (October 2016): 35–45.

no contemporaneous document confirming this authorship, and so, in the absence of any extant scores, he declares the attribution to be inconclusive. As for hypotheses, here is an example: In 2002, Mangado had speculated that Sor, in the course of his self-exile from Spain in 1813, would not have missed an opportunity to visit his beloved Barcelona one last time. In the face of criticism for unsubstantiated conjecture, Mangado searched for evidence and... *voilà!* He located a long-sought chronicle of the city. The chronicler used an old Catalan spelling of the family name—“Sort”—but provided details that left no doubt that the composer had indeed visited the city on his way to France.

This volume also includes new details about Félicité Hullin, the ballerina whom Sor met in London, accompanied to Russia, and possibly married, though no marriage certificate has been discovered. There is information about Hullin and her family (profusely illustrated), about the operas *Cendrillon* and *Le sicilien, ou L'amour peintre*, and about Sor and Hullin in London and Paris in 1822–23.

Josep Maria Mangado Artigas

Fernando Sor (1778–1839), vol. 3, *La actividad guitarrística en París (1825–1839)*

Sant Feliu de Llobregat, Barcelona: Self-published, Tecla, 2010, PDF¹⁵

MANGADO'S THIRD SOR VOLUME is an enormous collection of miscellanea (the PDF file has 826 pages) related to Sor's later Paris years and the guitar activity in the city in those same years. Its seventeen “chapters” are arranged chronologically, so that each year from 1825 to 1839 has a unifying theme. He dedicates his first chapter (1825) to *guitaromanie* or “guitar madness”—a phenomenon in which the guitar gained enormous popularity among the aristocracy (and therefore, also among the bourgeoisie).¹⁶

Mangado provides a concise description of the *guitaromanie* and documents it with several appendices containing lists of concerts by local and visiting virtuosos, plus other guitar-related news such as announcements in French periodicals of new and forthcoming music publications and advertisements for guitar lessons. When Sor returned to Paris from Russia, he found a situation in which the guitar was fashionable, a city with enormous opportunities but also formidable competition. Chapter 2 (1826) discusses Dionisio Aguado, another great Spanish guitarist who lived for a time in Paris and became Sor's friend and colleague. It also discusses Ferdinando Carulli, a Neapolitan guitarist and composer who had established himself in Paris almost two decades earlier. Many of the foreign guitarists were already situated in

15 Distributed by Tecla: <https://tecla.com/shop/books-and-music-scores/mangado/mangado-fernando-sor-volume-3/>.

16 The term *guitaromanie* became the title of a little anthology of guitar pieces by Charles de Marescot dating to c. 1825. It contains some amusing lithographs satirizing the guitar “craze.” See Damián Martín, “The Guitarist behind *La guitaromanie*: Charles de Marescot,” *Soundboard Scholar*, no. 4 (2018): 4–16. Mangado's large reproductions of the (relatively small) lithographs are excellent.

Paris (Molino, Carcassi), but others such as Horetzky, Regondi, and Sagrini, were visitors passing through.

The next chapters (1827–31) describe Sor's return to Paris, his ballets, his concerts, and his *Méthode*, with appendices documenting his compositions, various performances (by himself and by others), and his role in the invention of the “harpolyre.” Mangado reports Sor's participation in five concerts in 1831; other concerts that year included seven each by Huerta and Regondi. Paganini attended one of Sor's concerts and applauded him enthusiastically. Dozens of new guitar pieces were announced by Carcassi, Carulli, and others. The new *Dictionnaire des artistes de l'école française au XIXe siècle* of Charles Gabet included biographical entries on Sor as well as Aguado, Aubert, Carulli, Castellacci, Gatayes, Meissonnier, and others.

Mangado dedicates about a hundred pages to Sor's association with the prominent Belgian composer, critic, and encyclopedist François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871). In the years 1832–55, Fétis organized six elaborate *concerts historiques* that presented the music of previous centuries performed on period instruments, anticipating the Early Music movement of the twentieth century. Fétis recruited the best musicians in the city, and Sor collaborated with him in at least four of these concerts. In the second Concert historique, eight guitarists accompanied a sixteenth-century *villancico* for six female voices; the performers included Aguado, Carulli, Trinidad Huerta, and Sor. Also on the program was *La Romanesca*, an anonymous “fameux air de danse italien” with a guitar obbligato, supposedly dating to the end of the sixteenth century. The *Romanesca* became enormously popular but may well have been a pastiche composed by Fétis himself. The same suspicion applies to a number of other pieces in Fétis's productions. In the third Concert historique, the Tuscan guitarist Luigi Castellacci played mandolin and Sor played a lute. Mangado, as usual, provides detailed documentation of the concerts, the critical responses, and the judgments of scholars.

Subsequent chapters deal with Sor's ballets—especially the sensationally popular *Cendrillon*—his daughter Caroline, his relations with other guitarists (Aguado, Coste, and Legnani), and his death in 1839. Mangado's close reading of the Parisian press also uncovered a previously unknown concert by Nathalie Houzé, a talented student of Sor in the 1830s about whom little is known. Mlle Houzé was the dedicatee of Francesco Molino's *Gran sonate très brillante*, op. 51, and a portrait of her was included in Molino's *Grande méthode complete*, op. 46, with the caption “Mad^{elle} N. H. Élève la plus forte de M^r. F. M.^o” In about 1830 she became a pupil of Sor; her new maestro dedicated no fewer than four pieces to her: op. 39 (1830), op. 42 (1831–2), op. 54bis (1833), and the *Fantaisie* WoO (discovered in 1991) that Mangado dates to “around 1833.” Houzé's concert, which took place in 1838—place and date otherwise unspecified—gives her name as “Mlle Natalie H. . .” and describes her as a “young and pretty person” who has performed many of Sor's pieces with “a marvelous perfection.” The reviewer (*L'Indépendent, Furet de Paris* [March 4, 1838]) describes her talent as “made to shine in the bright light of day” and urges her to perform for the public. She is not known to have ever done so.

Such interludes are intermingled with curiosities or diversions that came to the author's attention, such as a Catalan phrenologist's 1852 meditations on the skulls

of musicians, including those of Sor and Aguado, or the attraction of Freemasonry for musicians. Mangado does not pay much attention to Sor's compositions for voice (as Jeffery does), but he includes an appendix of 83 songs with guitar accompaniments arranged by Matteo Carcassi that were published in 1834 in *Le Ménestrel*, a Paris periodical. I would have liked to have made copies of some of them, but the locked PDF format seems designed to discourage extraction. Screenshots are always possible, of course, but they produce poor copies. The appendix includes works by many of the most celebrated songsmiths of the period: Adolphe Adam (six works), Amédée de Beauplan (ten), Édouard Bruguère (eight), Pauline Duchambge (four), Théodore Labarre (one), Francesco Masini (two), J. Merlé (two), Charles Plantade (six), Jacques Strunz (one), and Étienne Thénard (three).

At the end of volume 3 there are tributes, with photographs, to contributors Matanya Ophee (1932–2017) and Josep Dolcet Rodríguez (1961–2020). Dolcet was awarded a doctorate in musicology from the University of Barcelona and was the founder and president in 2010 of the Societat Sor de Barcelona. Orchestral works of Sor will be published by the Tritó Edicions of Barcelona through his efforts.

There are obvious financial reasons not to print books: an e-book or computer file costs less because it takes up space on a hard drive rather than on a bookshelf or in a music shop or warehouse, and it saves paper. Either music or text can be delivered electronically, instantly. A digital search can replace an index, and revisions or corrections can also be made easily, without expensive reprinting of the entire file. And there is no pressure to be concise in style or to leave out details, because adding another hundred pages to an e-book ultimately costs little or nothing. Of course, you may have to read it while sitting at a computer or juggling an iPad on your lap, or heaven forbid, on a cell phone. And when the text or screen size is changed in an e-book, the page numbers all change, making citations and footnotes a problem. And in PDF files, the page numbers in the original document must start with “one” (1), or they will disagree with the page numbers generated by the software. And then, if you want to print out any of the music, standard printer paper is smaller and of lower quality than that used in commercially produced sheet music. Nevertheless, it is not likely that any of these new e-book publications would have been commercially viable using the old print format.



About the Reviewer

RICHARD M. LONG received his PhD in European History from Florida State University, where he was also active as a musician. He taught at Florida State University, the University of South Florida, and Hillsborough Community College, and was a professor of history and humanities for over three decades, retiring in 2007. He is the author of the textbook *Studying Western Civilization* (2 vols., D. C. Heath, 1995) and has been a frequent contributor to the Consortium on Revolutionary Europe (now the Consortium on the Revolutionary Era, 1750–1850). Beginning in the 1980s,

Long switched his principal research interest from European diplomatic history in the Revolutionary era (1789–1815) to the history of the classical guitar in the same period. He has published many articles in the field as well as dozens of CD liner notes for Philips, Naxos, Azica, and other labels. He has also published dozens of critical editions and transcriptions. In 1982 he founded Tuscany Publications, an affiliate of the Theodore Presser Co. He also served as editor of *Soundboard* from 2001 to 2012. In 2010 he was named to the Guitar Foundation of America Hall of Fame. He is the book and score review editor for *Soundboard Scholar*.

About Soundboard Scholar

SOUNDBOARD SCHOLAR is the peer-reviewed journal of the Guitar Foundation of America. Its purpose is to publish guitar research of the highest caliber. *Soundboard Scholar* is online and open access. To view all issues of the journal, visit <http://soundboardscholar.org>.

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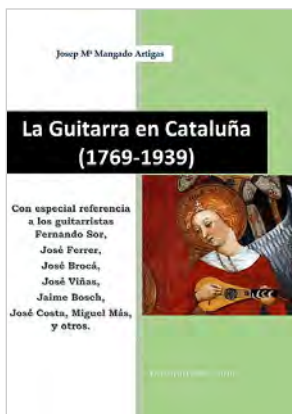
The Catalan Guitar, Part 2

Two New E-books by Josep María Mangado

RICHARD M. LONG

Josep María Mangado Artigas

La guitarra en Cataluña, 1769–1939: Con especial referencia a los guitarristas José Ferrer (1835–1916), Sor, Brocá, Viñas, Bosch, Costa, Más, y otros, version 2.0
Sant Feliu de Llobregat, Barcelona: Self-published, Tecla, 2010, PDF¹



CATALONIA IS A REGION of northeastern Spain and the home of the Catalan language—a Romance language closely related to Occitan (the *langue d’oc* of the medieval troubadours, still spoken in Provence). In spite of periodic attempts to suppress it in favor of Castilian Spanish, Catalan is still spoken from Roussillon (France) down the Mediterranean coast as far as Valencia, and also in Mallorca and the Balearic Islands.

Barcelona, the principal city of Catalonia, is today a thriving cosmopolitan seaport and tourist destination. It was the first city on the Iberian Peninsula to industrialize when, in the early nineteenth century, raw cotton was imported from the Americas and manufactured into finished cloth in factories in the area of its old port and the Barri gòtic (the Old Quarter).² The city became wealthy and by the end of the century had expanded beyond its old medieval walls, well into what is now called the Eixample (Enlargement)—a vast planned residential development with

1 Distributed by Tecla: <https://tecla.com/shop/books-and-music-scores/mangado/josep-maria-mangado-la-guitarra-en-cataluna/>.

2 In his 1845 *Hand-book for Travellers in Spain*, Richard Ford described Barcelona as Spain’s Manchester—that is, the center of Spain’s manufacturing industry—an often-repeated comparison. New edition, vol. 2 (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1966), 690.

broad tree-lined boulevards and magnificent architecture. The city seemed more connected to Europe than to the rest of the Iberian peninsula, both by new railroads and by culture. The second half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century are often referred to as the Catalan *Renaixença*, as Barcelona and its newly prosperous middle class experienced a literary and cultural revival. The city became home to architects and artists (Antoni Gaudí, Salvador Dalí, Joan Miró) and musicians (Albéniz, Granados, Casals). It also boasted many small clubs and music venues, a busy new opera house (the Gran Teatre del Liceu), and the celebrated Palau de la Música Catalana. With plentiful concert venues, publishers, printers, and ticket-buying aficionados, all the ideal circumstances for a revival of the guitar proliferated in Barcelona. At the same time, the city became home to many of the most influential figures in the modern history of the guitar.

The first edition of Josep Maria Mangado's *La guitarra en Catalunya, 1769–1939* appeared in 1998,³ and made a significant contribution to our understanding of the history of the guitar in Barcelona and the region of Catalonia during the transitional decades between Fernando Sor and Francisco Tárrega. It accomplished this by presenting a series of biographical studies of ten guitarists active in Catalonia whose lives and careers contributed to the popularity and reputation of the guitar as a concert instrument. These guitarists were certainly not the only ones active in Spain in those years, nor were they the most important historically. Sor, who was the inspiration for generations of Catalan guitarists, was discussed by Mangado but not included here among the ten subjects; neither was Tárrega (born in Vilarreal, near Valencia) or Miguel Llobet.⁴ Nevertheless, the chosen subjects formed a unique circle, closely tied to the place and times in which they lived, and each making a contribution as performer, composer, pedagogue, or journalist and critic.

- 3 Much of the new version 2.0, reviewed here, seems unchanged from the 1998 version, so my comments refer to both editions unless otherwise indicated. However, the cover of version 2.0 displays a modified subtitle, reordering the names and adding forenames: *La guitarra en Catalunya, 1769–1939: Con especial referencia a los guitarristas Fernando Sor, José Ferrer, José Brocá, José Viñas, Jaime Bosch, José Costa, Miguel Más, y otros*. This is probably an editing oversight, because the title on the title page of version 2.0 reads the same as the cover and the title page of the first version. And the version 2.0 PDF is 232 pages longer than the printed first edition.
- 4 Since the dates in Mangado's title reach 1939, one might expect to read about Francisco Tárrega (1852–1909), who was born in Villareal, near Valencia, Miquel Llobet i Solés (Spanish: Miguel Llobet Soles; 1878–1938), and Emili (Spanish: Emilio) Pujol Vilarrubí (1886–1980). But any of these would have made the book much longer, and all have been the subject of biographies in recent years. Others curiously left off the list of ten include Buenaventura Bassols, Joaquín Casanovas, Felip Pedrell, Domingo Prat, Graciano Tarragó, and Daniel Fortea, among others. In Mangado's defense, his scholarly activities have included contributions to Francisco Herrera's *Enciclopedia de la guitarra* and the monograph *Miguel Llobet: La forza del talento*, trans. Angelo Gilardino (Milan: Curci, 2018). This book is the Italian translation of Mangado's *Miguel Llobet: Del romanticismo a la modernidad; Claves para una biografía* (La Posada, 2016), which I have not seen.

Mangado begins with a discussion of the guitar in Catalonia in the eighteenth century, with sources that include the diary of a local nobleman, Rafael de Amat y de Cortada y Sentjust, 5th Baron of Maldá (1746–1819), whose son played guitar. Fernando Sor, who received his musical training at the nearby monastery of Montserrat, became a local celebrity as early as the 1790s. In 1813, Sor left Spain for Paris, never having established a school of Spanish disciples there as his friend Aguado had in Madrid. Nevertheless, Sor continued to be held in great esteem in Catalonia throughout the next century, and most Catalan guitar concert programs included at least one of his compositions.

Guitar activity continued in Barcelona in the decades after Sor's departure, including a Carulli guitar concerto performed with orchestra in 1819 by an Italian guitarist, Luigia Fissetti.⁵ A certain Jaume Bruno Berenguer performed local concerts in the next decades, and Buenaventura Bassols (1812–68) trained several influential students and played duets with visiting guitarists Luigi Legnani (1842) and A. Trinidad Huerta (1849), a Spaniard from Alicante.⁶ A major new opera venue, the Gran Teatre del Liceu, opened in 1847 and hosted several guitar concerts by Huerta.

The decades after 1840 also saw both the growing popularity of the guitar and the emergence of a loosely affiliated group of Catalan guitarists who are the principal focus of Mangado's research. Mangado's selection of these ten guitarists seems arbitrary in a few cases, but the subjects are all worthy and his research is impressive. His biographical studies of José Ferrer y Esteve (or José Ferrer y Esteve, Pujadas y Vilar, 1835–1916), José Brocá y Codina (1805–82), and José Viñas y Díaz (1823–88) get the most attention and the most pages. There are shorter chapters on Jaime Bosch y Renard (1826–95), José Costa y Hugas (1827–81), Miguel Más y Bargalló (1846–1923), Juan Nogués y Pon (1875–1930), Antonio Alba (1873–1940), Alfredo Romea y Catalina

5 Mangado guesses that Fissetti played Carulli's Concerto, op. 8a (1809), but she also might have played the much-revised concerto published without opus number in Vienna in 1817. She also may have somehow obtained a prepublication version of Carulli's *Petit concerto de société*, op. 140 (1820). I wonder which was more rare in those days: a guitar concerto with an actual orchestra or a woman as featured performer? Very few female guitarists are mentioned in this book, even as students, possibly reflecting Spain's conservative culture, and a very different situation from the first golden age of the guitar, c. 1790–1840, in Vienna, Paris, and London. There also seem to have been fewer Spanish guitar duets (Sor and Ferrer were exceptions) and less guitar in chamber music.

6 Bassols (1812–68) seems to have been as significant to the history of the guitar in Catalonia as many of Mangado's ten subjects. He personally taught at least three of them (Viñas, Bosch, and Costa) and left at least one composition that was the equal of anything they wrote. See his *2a Fantasia*, op. 12, in Javier Suárez-Pájaros, ed., *Antología de guitarra*, vol. 1, *Piezas de concierto, 1788–1850* (Madrid: ICCMU, 2008), 125–34. Mangado may have excluded him here because, as was the case with Llobet, he had already written about him elsewhere. See his entry in Francisco Herrera, ed., *Enciclopedia de guitarra* (Valencia: Piles, 2006). Mangado also contributed an entry on Narciso Bassols, Buenaventura's younger brother. On Huerta's concerts in Barcelona also see Javier Suárez-Pájaros and Robert Coldwell, *A. T. Huerta (1800–74): Life and Works* (n.p.: DGA Editions, 2006), 27f.

(1883–1955), and José Sirera Prats (1884–1931). The shortest essay in the book, on Sirera, consists of two pages of text and five pages of illustrations.

José Brocá was the elder of the group, born in 1805, the same year as Sor's famous French pupil Napoléon Coste.⁷ Like the Frenchman, Brocá was an enthusiast of the works of both Sor and Aguado, who were both still very much alive when he was learning to play guitar in Reus, in the Catalan region of Tarragona. Brocá served in the army of Isabel II in the first Carlist War (1833–40). After a hiatus in 1841–43, which he spent performing and teaching guitar in Barcelona (his pupils included Ferrer and Domingo Bonet y Espasa), he resumed his military life, eventually serving over twenty-two years and retiring at the age of fifty-one. He lived in Barcelona from 1857 until his death in 1882. He composed six fantasies for guitar as well as many minor works, mostly waltzes and mazurkas in the fashion of the day.

José Viñas and **Jaime** [Catalan: Jaume] **Bosch** were both born in Barcelona and took advantage of the excellent music education available in the city. Viñas was a versatile musician, an accomplished “orchestra director, singer, pianist, violinist, guitarist, and professor of music,” who made two successful European concert tours in 1844 and 1849. Extant concert programs include music by Sor as well as his own compositions (twenty-three pieces were published). Following in Sor's footsteps in 1852, Bosch moved to Paris, where he became famous as a concert artist, composer, and teacher. He, too, toured abroad (to the German states and the Low Countries) and published a guitar method (in 1890). **José Costa y Hugas** was born in the same year as Bosch (1827), and in the same village as his lifelong friend Ferrer (Torroella de Montgrí in the province of Girona). He studied guitar with Bassols and lived for a time in Paris before settling in Madrid. Eight of his compositions were published but others have survived in manuscripts.⁸

Mangado's chapter on **José Ferrer** is by far the longest (more than 150 pages in the second edition) and most detailed. This may be in part because his life is better documented than the others'—important collections of his papers survive in Barcelona, Madrid, and London—but the emphasis is also justified by his contributions over his long international career. Mangado provides detailed genealogical research into his ancestry, plus photocopies of documents and many family signatures in the second edition. Ferrer studied guitar with his father and with Costa, who was a neighbor in Torroella de Montgrí. In 1860, Ferrer moved to Gràcia, then a suburb of Barcelona (later incorporated into the expanding city). He studied for several years with Brocá, and soon became a regular participant in the city's guitar scene; during his two extended stays in Paris (1885–98, 1901–5) he frequently traveled back to Barcelona.

7 Not to be confused with the Catalan guitarist José Costa y Hugas or the Italian guitarist Onorato Costa.

8 For a modern collection of Costa's works (to which Mangado contributed), see *José Costa y Hugas: The Complete Works*, ed. Rafael Catalá, vol. 4 of *Música Ibérica: Spanish Guitar Music of the 19th Century* (Vienna: Doblinger, 2010). Brocá and Ferrer are also represented in this Doblinger series. See also *José Viñas: Collected Guitar Works*, ed. Detlev Bork (Heidelberg: Chanterelle Verlag, 2011), and *J. Bosch (1826–1895): Works for Guitar*, ed. Brian Jeffrey (London: Tecla, 1995).

He seems to have performed often in duo with Domingo Bonet Espasa (1841–1931), a Catalan from Lleida to whom he dedicated his duet *Sérénade espagnole*, op. 34.

Paris remained a favorite destination for guitarists for the same reasons that it had been a favorite in the era of Carulli, Sor, and Aguado: the opportunities to perform, to publish, and to teach. Also, the French of that age loved Spanish music and are often said to have composed more of it than did the Spanish. The French also appreciated Spanish performers, and many of these were Catalans. The pianists Isaac Albéniz, Enríc (Enrique) Granados, Ricard Viñes, and Joaquín Nin all lived or worked for a time in Paris. Ferrer's and Bosch's circles of friends in Paris included the composers Jules Massenet and Charles Gounod and the painter and guitar aficionado Édouard Manet. In 1898 Ferrer was lured back to Barcelona to teach guitar at the Conservatorio del Liceu. He returned to Paris in 1901–5, supposedly to find a publisher for his 268-page method, but it must have proved too voluminous and expensive, since it never was published.⁹ Ferrer spent the last decade of his life in Barcelona.

Ferrer deserves the prominence he enjoys in this book. He maintained warm relations with locals Brocá, Nogués, Viñas, and Domingo Prat, as well as the young Francisco Tárrega (who moved to Barcelona in 1884), and also important non-Catalan guitarists, including Antonio Cano and his son Federico, and the brothers Julián and Manuel Arcas. Ferrer published a number of his later works with the new Madrid-based Biblioteca Fortea, a project of his friend Daniel Fortea, who was also one of Tárrega's closest friends and most influential disciples. Ferrer's works (sixty-three numbered and ten without opus) range from sentimental romanticism (*Recuerdos de Montgrí*, op. 1) to charming salon pieces, and often include nationalistic gestures.¹⁰ He also arranged three songs by Sebastián de Iradier y Salaverri (1809–65) for voice and guitar.¹¹

Miguel Más was born in Reus in 1846. He moved to Barcelona to study piano with Joan Bautista Pujol—the teacher of Albéniz, Granados, Viñes, and Malats—but was drawn to the popular ensembles of plucked stringed instruments that proliferated in the last half of the century. Más played and taught guitar but his specialty was the *bandurria*, an instrument with metal strings played with a plectrum. He founded and directed several quartets and quintets, and also larger ensembles that paired plucked and bowed strings. His few published works for guitar consisted of some original dances and transcriptions (of Bach, Beethoven, and Chopin). A number of guitar concert programs from the early twentieth century, especially those of Alfredo

9 Bosch's method (116 pages) had been published in Paris in 1890, where he was still a well-known figure. By 1900, Ferrer had long since retired from performing except in intimate gatherings, and was less known than Bosch. There is a manuscript of Ferrer's method in the Robert Spencer collection at the Royal Academy of Music in London.

10 The "characteristically Spanish" music would have been approved by his contemporary, the celebrated musicologist Felip Pedrell Sabaté (1841–1922), a Catalan from Tortosa who studied guitar with Brocá in 1870s, and influenced Albéniz, Granados, and Falla.

11 Sebastián de Iradier (or Yradier) was best known as a composer of habaneras, including *La paloma* and the song *El arreglito*, which Bizet adapted as the famous Habanera from *Carmen*.

Romea, feature Más's *Málaga*; unfortunately, no extant copy is listed in Mangado's catalogue of Más's works in Appendix F.

The remaining Catalan guitarists featured in Mangado's book were born at least a generation later — that is, more than three generations after Brocá and Bassols. **Joan Nogués** was a prodigy, a pupil of Más who gained fame as a performer, teacher, music critic, and historian in the first decades of the twentieth century. **Antonio Alba** was the pseudonym of Joan Antoni Hava i Ferré, the son of a stonecutter in Reus who emigrated to South America when he was seventeen years old. After some travels he settled in Valparaiso, Chile, where he taught music and worked as a choir director. In 1902–3 he returned to Reus briefly and traveled to several western European capitals, visiting their conservatories. He then returned to Chile, where he taught guitar, wrote a book on music theory, and composed prolifically (over a hundred numbered *obras*) for publishing houses in Valparaiso, Barcelona, Madrid, and Paris.

José Sirera Prats is included by Mangado as a representative of a growing group of young guitarists who played both classical and flamenco guitar. Sirera was born in Barcelona and studied flamenco there, and then studied classical guitar with Llobet from 1905. Except for a visit to Buenos Aires in 1911, he seems to have lived his relatively short life in Barcelona (he died in 1931 at the age of forty-six). He had twenty works published, including several in the *estilo andaluz*.

Alfredo Romea y Catalina was a journalist and guitarist. He was born in Madrid, but his family moved to Barcelona when he was six years old. He attended the Conservatorio Superior Municipal de Música and studied guitar with Miguel Más and music theory with the father of the musicologist Felip Pedrell. Romea was one of the few guitarists invited to perform in the new Palau de la Música Catalana. As a guitarist and respected music critic, he was in a position to promote the solo concert guitar and Catalan guitar composers (Sor, Brocá, Más, Nogués, Tárrega, and others) in a variety of ways, including recitals, lectures, and articles.

The ten biographies are followed by a series of useful appendices. The first group (appendices A through I) consists of lists or catalogs of the works of the “ten” (except Nogués and Romea). The other appendices include obituaries of Brocá and Costa, announcements of works for guitar published in the *Gazeta de Barcelona* (1792–1806), letters of Bosch to Pedrell, and articles written by Ferrer and Romea.

It is unfortunate that *La guitarra en Catalunya* is available only in PDF format, but as with Mangado's Sor *trilogía*, there are obvious financial reasons for this. Mangado has made some corrections and many additions to the text, notably in the chapter on Antonio Alba. The illustrations — which include images from manuscripts, photos, sheet-music covers, copies of legal documents, and more — are far more numerous (over two hundred pages more!), the quality of the reproductions is much improved (many are in color), and the search function works well. In sum, this second edition of *La guitarra en Catalunya* is a big (535 pages), well-researched, well-written study of an important episode in the history of the modern concert guitar.

Josep María Mangado Artigas

Los conciertos de guitarra en el Palau de la Música Catalana (Barcelona):

Desde sus inicios en 1908 hasta el estreno en 1940 del Concierto de Aranjuez

Sant Feliu de Llobregat, Barcelona: Self-published, Tecla, 2018 [2019?], PDF¹²



BY THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, the intellectual and political ferment in Barcelona had long since come to involve music and musicians. The wealthy bourgeoisie favored the Italian operas that were popular in Madrid, so they were often programmed at the Gran Teatre del Liceu. The educated elites and professionals expressed their Catalan regionalism by preferring Germanic works—by Beethoven or Wagner, for example—but they joined the lower classes in their taste for *cançó popular*, that is, folk songs with Catalan lyrics. The influential composer and musicologist Felip Pedrell advocated a pan-Spanish nationalism to his

increasingly influential disciples (who included Albéniz and Granados). Pedrell and his followers promoted the exotic musical traditions of Andalusia and also encouraged the study of the Spanish music of the more distant past. Concerts by choral societies were enormously popular, especially for those who could not afford tickets to the Liceu. One of these societies was the Orfeó Català, which was chartered in 1891 and staged its first recital the following year. Its success was remarkable: from 1891 to 1895, the Orfeó Català spawned 145 new choral societies throughout Catalonia; in 1905, it employed 185 singers and was subsidized by 1,358 contributors.¹³

In 1908, the new home of the prosperous Orfeó was the Palau de la Música Catalana (Palace of Catalan Music), designed in the *modernismo* style that was appearing all over the city. The Palau was the extravagant masterpiece of local architect Lluís Domènech i Montaner (1850–1923), a quasi-Gothic-Revival fantasy of stained glass, tile, *trencadis* (broken tiles), murals, and sculptures with allegories of *cançó popular*. Domènech was one of the few architects to rival the great Antoni Gaudí, but the building's original acoustics were poor; sound-proofing against street noise proved impossible with the stained-glass windows, and performances were often marred by the “balcony roosters of Barcelona,” that crowed “day and night.”¹⁴

12 Distributed by Tecla: <https://tecla.com/shop/books-and-music-scores/mangado/josep-maria-mangado-los-conciertos-de-guitarra-en-el-palau-ebook/>.

13 Robert Hughes, *Barcelona* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 449–52.

14 According to the Catalan journalist and author Josep Pla i Casadevall (1897–1981), quoted in Hughes, *Barcelona*, 463. Mangado also cites Pla and some contemporaneous writers at length. Segovia quipped that the acoustics at the Palau were so good that the sounds from outside the hall could be heard just as well as those from inside. Andrés Segovia, *Segovia: An Autobiography of the Years 1893–1920*, trans. W. F. O'Brien (New York: MacMillan, 1976), 120.

Although Mangado's *Guitarra en Cataluña, 1769–1939* didn't actually take the guitar to 1939, this newer book, *Los conciertos de guitarra en el Palau de la Música Catalana*, covers the years 1910–40 and thus serves as a sort of sequel, providing fascinating details about the “missing decades.” It is an extended essay that was originally intended to be the guide to an exhibit, “La guitarra al Palau (1910–40),” organized by the Centre de Documentació de l'Orfeó Català (CEDOC) and shown at the Palau from October 2019 to January 2020.

In the years 1910–40, there were only thirty-seven performances involving the guitar. Most were classical concerts, although a notable few were jazz or flamenco, such as Django Reinhardt and the Hot Club of France in 1936 and Sabicas in 1937. The concerts were performed by eight featured classical guitarists. All but two were Spanish, and most were Catalan, but even the non-Catalans—Andrés Segovia from Linares and Regino Sainz de la Maza from Burgos—programmed some Catalan composers for their Palau appearances. All but one of the performers were male.¹⁵ The emphasis on local talent cannot be entirely attributed to problems with public transportation; several of the performers had international careers that took them far beyond the Pyrenees.

Mangado's book discusses the concert programs and quotes at length the observations of the critics. One might assume that eighty-seven pages of concert reviews are not gripping reading, but in fact the history of the classical guitar in the twentieth century emerges from these concert programs in fascinating ways, like the unfurling plot of a complex drama with side plots and backstories. The most obvious theme is the guitar's concert repertory, which underwent an enormous transformation in the decades in question. Mangado's earlier book on the Catalan guitarists of 1769–1939 revealed that there were numerous concert-worthy pieces in their repertoires. Nevertheless, the earliest guitar concerts at the Palau demonstrate that Spanish guitarists, including Catalans, had all but abandoned the music of nineteenth-century guitarist-composers (such as Carulli, Giuliani, or Mertz), with the sole exceptions of Sor (who was still revered) and his friends Aguado and Coste.¹⁶ The new guitar repertoire of c. 1910 was instead a medley of piano miniatures by the

15 They were, in order: Alfredo Romea (six appearances, 1910–40), Andrés Segovia (eight times, 1916–35), Miguel Llobet (six times, 1918–27), Emili Pujol (twice, 1922 and 1927), Regino Sainz de la Maza (seven times, 1927–40), Joan Nogués (once, 1929), Rosa Rodés (once, 1936), and Antoni Francesc Serra (twice, 1937).

16 The availability of the old scores was certainly a factor. Many of the earlier guitar works had simply gone out of print by the turn of the twentieth century, especially those that the composers had self-published. The Meissonnier editions of Sor's opp. 1–20 were an exception; they remained in print after Heugel & Cie took over the earlier firm, and were still available when I first visited the Heugel shop at the Palais Royal in 1966. In his *Méthode* (Paris: Schöenberg, 1851), Coste included twenty-six Sor studies, many from the later opus numbers, and these remained popular for decades, as did his own 25 *Études*, op. 38 (Paris: Richault, 1872). Aguado's *Method* (many editions) was probably the most popular pedagogical work in the Spanish-speaking world. See Pompeyo Pérez Díaz, *Dionisio Aguado y la guitarra clásico-romántica* (Madrid: Sociedad española de musicología / Alpuerto, 2003), 262ff. It is ironic that Spanish guitarists of the 1920s had eliminated their nineteenth-century precursors from their concert programs at the moment when the music of Arcas, Brocá, and Viñas was being discovered in

famous Romantic composers that were fitted (often by Procrustean procedures) to the guitar. Tárrega's transcriptions were particularly successful and therefore the most popular. The concerts sometimes also included original pieces by the performer or by one of his contemporaries.

Alfredo Romea presented the first guitar concert at the Palau in October of 1910, over two years after the hall opened. This concert did not take place in the main hall but rather in a smaller room known as the *salón de audiciones íntimas*. Romea played one of his own pieces, two transcriptions each by Nogués and Tárrega, and Miguel Más's *Málaga*. Although the reviews quoted by Mangado were positive, it would be more than five years before the Palau hosted another guitar concert.

In early 1916, the twenty-two-year-old phenomenon Andrés Segovia was booked to perform two concerts in the Palau. By that year, Barcelona's own Miguel Llobet was universally acclaimed as the foremost heir of Tárrega (who had died in 1909). Llobet had already performed throughout Europe, in both South and North America, and had lived for a time in Paris, Berlin, and Buenos Aires. Segovia had briefly met him in Valencia and had received a generous invitation to visit him when he next came to Barcelona. Conveniently, Llobet was between concerts in New York and visiting his family in Barcelona when Segovia arrived in the city to play his concerts. Young, ambitious, and always looking for new repertory, Segovia asked Llobet if he would share with him the scores of several of his brilliant arrangements—the Catalan song *El mestre* and several of Granados's Spanish dances. Llobet had no written copies but offered to teach the pieces to Segovia “phrase by phrase,” a traditional Spanish practice. Llobet's wife was furious because Miguel had not yet performed these pieces in Barcelona, where he considered the halls too large for the guitar.

On February 17, 1916, the young Andrés Segovia played a members-only concert for the Friends of Music, a group of local aficionados. He was not pleased that the concert was assigned to the small room rather than the main hall. The eventual program would have pleased the great Pedrell. It included a substantial piece by Sor (an unnamed sonata), followed by a cluster of character pieces evoking the guitarist's native Andalusia: Tárrega's *Capricho árabe*, two transcriptions by Tárrega of piano compositions by Albéniz (*Granada* and *Sevilla*), and three transcriptions by Llobet of Granados (two *danzas españolas* and *La maja de Goya*).¹⁷ According to the

northern Europe. See, for example, Erwin Schwarz-Reiflingen, ed., *Spanische Gitarrenmusik* (Leipzig: Leuckart, 1926), 2 vols.

¹⁷ Tárrega created magisterial guitar arrangements of piano works by his friend Albéniz that became ubiquitous in guitar concerts for the next century: *Granada*, *Sevilla*, *Cádiz*, and the *Pavana-Capricho*. He transcribed *Granada* as early as 1900 according to Adrián Rius, *Francisco Tárrega 1852–2002: Biografía oficial* (Villarreal: Ayuntamiento de Vila-real, 2002), 247; English translation (Valencia: Piles, 2006), 284. Llobet added to the list *Torre bermeja*, *Oriental*, and *Córdoba*. Llobet also transcribed the music of his friend Enric Granados: three *Danzas españolas*, the tonadilla *La maja de Goya*, and the *Dedicatoria*, op. 11, no. 1. Segovia himself would transcribe *Mallorca*, *Zambra granadina*, and the *Tango in D*; he first performed *Granada* in 1909 and *Sevilla* in 1913, according to Alberto López Poveda, *Andrés Segovia: Vida y obra* (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2009), [vol. 2], 1070. Apparently it was Severino García Fortea (1854–1931), a disciple of Tárrega, who was the first to transcribe *Asturias/Leyenda*. Angelo Gilardino, *La chitarra* (Milan: Curci, 2010), 13–14.

reviews, Segovia also played *El mestre*, although it was not on the printed program. (Perhaps an encore?) Thus, about half of Segovia's program was music he had only recently acquired from Llobet! The Friends of Music failed to show up in numbers, so Segovia played not only in a tiny hall, but a half-empty one. Nevertheless, the press praised his performance.

Segovia objected to being relegated to the smaller room and wished to play in the grand hall, where celebrated virtuosos expected to perform for audiences of two thousand or more. With another concert booked for March 12 at the Palau, he requested and—after some experimentation and an “audition”—was granted permission to play his March concert in the main hall. A month later in the grand hall of the Palau, Segovia played most of these same pieces to a larger audience, adding some obligatory transcriptions (Bach, Haydn, Chopin, Mendelssohn, Tchaikovsky). The concert received rave reviews from the critics, who were pleased by the number of Catalan composers on his program. So Segovia, in 1916, expanded both his reputation and the guitar's repertory, opened the grand hall of the Palau to the guitar, gained a friend and mentor in Llobet...and an enemy in Llobet's wife.¹⁸

The next guitar concert at the Palau featured Miguel Llobet, who shared the concert with a Belgian baritone (accompanied by a pianist) in April 1918. Llobet played some Sor and Tárrega pieces, a Coste study, a Mozart transcription, four of his own arrangements of Catalan folk songs, and a Spanish dance by Granados. On February 29, 1920, he returned for a solo concert, which included many of the pieces he had played two years earlier, plus a Federico Bufeletti mazurka, Rubinstein's *Romanza*, Tárrega's *Sueño*, and Albéniz's *Torre bermeja*. Segovia returned a month later and then again twice in 1921.

Segovia and Llobet were not the only guitarists competing for audiences in those decades. Another was Emíli (Emilio) Pujol, a Catalan who had studied with Tárrega and who was no stranger to Barcelona audiences. In 1922, Pujol became the fourth guitarist to perform in the Palau, with a program that included Sor, Bach, Tárrega, two of Llobet's Catalan songs and his *Variaciones sobre un tema de Corelli (Folías?)*, the performer's own *Guajiras gitana*, Falla's *Hommage à Debussy*, and a Falla dance from *El amor brujo*. According to one reviewer, “the triumph of Pujol was absolute.” Again, a backstory emerges from these concert programs and press reports, and it suggests a competition—an intense competition, perhaps—to present audiences with new guitar music.

Manuel de Falla had become synonymous with Spanish music in the previous years, and Llobet was persistently asking him for an original guitar piece. Henri Prunières, editor of the *Revue musicale*, wanted Falla to write an article on Debussy and Spain for an issue dedicated to the late French composer. Falla decided to link the two requests and composed his brilliant *Homenaje pour le tombeau de Claude Debussy* for guitar to accompany his article. The music was published with limited editing in the *Revue musicale* in 1920. In 1921, Llobet premiered the piece in Burgos, and Segovia performed it in Madrid in 1922, just ahead of Pujol in Paris. Pujol also

¹⁸ Segovia, *Autobiography*, 104ff., 121.

played it in his first concert at the Palau on March 25, 1922. Although Falla had written the piece for Llobet, it was January 1923 before Llobet finally performed it in the Palau, presumably in the version he had recently edited for *La Guitarra* of Buenos Aires. The concert program proclaimed that the *Homenaje* was “written expressly for Miguel Llobet.”¹⁹

The competition for new guitar music intensified throughout the 1920s and '30s. The German firm Schott agreed to publish a series of guitar pieces selected and edited by Segovia, and Pujol had a similar arrangement with Max Eschig of Paris. Segovia recruited to the cause Moreno Torroba, Ponce, Turina, and Tansman, composers who would transform the guitar's repertoire in the next decades.²⁰ Many of their new works were premiered at the Palau — though when Torroba's *Sonatina* was first played there in 1924, it was Llobet, not Segovia, who was the performer.

Pujol's concerts and his press reviews at the Palau affirm that he was an accomplished virtuoso, but he was also a dedicated and admired pedagogue and a serious scholar of the guitar and its predecessors. Pujol's 1927 concert at the Palau reflected his early musicological discoveries, dedicating a section of the program to transcriptions of the vihuela music of Luis Milán and of Baroque guitar composers Corbetta, Sanz, and Visée. Such works had the potential to change the reputation of the guitar completely, from a lowly folk instrument to an aristocratic and courtly instrument with five centuries of history and a vast, unexplored pre-Classical repertory. Thus, this much older music became a crucial part of the guitar's emerging concert repertoire.²¹

Also new to the Palau audience were works by the Uruguayan nationalist composer Alfonso Broqua (a Pujol discovery), Raymond Petit (1893–1976),²² and Pujol himself (*Guajira* and *Sevilla*). Joan Nogués's only Palau concert in 1929 was an exception

- 19 Stefano Picciano, *Miguel Llobet: La biografía*, trans. Inés Giménez Pecci (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2017), 157; Mangado, *Miguel Llobet*, 82; Christopher Nupen et al., *Andrés Segovia, Nombres propios de la guitarra* (Córdoba: F.P.M. Gran Teatro, 2004), 62; *La Guitarra* (Buenos Aires) 1, no. 1 (July 1923); Ronald Purcell, “Introduction,” in *Manuel de Falla, Homenaje pour le tombeau de Claude Debussy*, vol. 5 of *Nueva Colección Llobet* (Heidelberg: Chanterelle Verlag, 1989). See also Falla, *A Triptych*, ed. Stefano Grondona, vol. 8 of *Llobet: Guitar Works* (Heidelberg: Guitar Heritage, 2021).
- 20 Eloisa Perricone and Adriano Sebastiani, *Segovia e il suo repertorio* (Genoa: Graphos, 2002). The list of new compositions offered to Segovia is much longer than previously known, but many of the pieces sent to him were rarely or never performed for a variety of reasons. The Segovia Archive in recent years has yielded many pieces that deserve to be heard, and Angelo Gilardino has curated from them a remarkable series of publications for Bèrben.
- 21 But less so in recent years as performance on original instruments (or modern facsimiles) became *de rigueur* in “Early Music.” Regarding Pujol's many and varied contributions to the guitar see Joan Riera, *Emili Pujol*, trans. James Calder, Catalan/English edition (Lleida: Diputació de Lleida, 2005).
- 22 Petit's *Nocturne* is described in Pujol's 1927 Palau program as a *primera audició*. In editing his series for Bèrben of the music from the Andrés Segovia Archive, Angelo Gilardino discovered a Petit manuscript *Notturmetto*, dated 1925. Segovia had premiered it in 1926 at the Salle Gaveau in Paris under the title *Andantino*, and then never played it again; one reviewer described it as a *sicilienne*. These all proved to be one and the same piece that Pujol had “premiered” at the Palau in December 1927, and which Pujol published in 1928 in his new series for Max Eschig. See Raymond Petit, *Sicilienne pour guitare*, ed. Angelo Gilardino (Ancona: Bèrben, 2004), 5–6.

to the new programming templates. It included music by Sor, Brocá, a premiere of Ferrer's *Three Sketches in the Form of Minuets*, and pieces by Más — an all-Catalan program. This would be the last guitar concert for years to so celebrate the region's *fet diferencial* (exceptionalism). At this moment, Catalonian autonomy was increasingly a source of conflict amid the deteriorating political situation in Spain. The monarchy fell in 1931, and in 1932 Catalonia was reluctantly granted a charter of home rule by the new Republic. The next five guitar concerts at the Palau were performed by either Segovia or Regino Sainz de la Maza (a young virtuoso from Burgos who lived and studied for a time in Barcelona). Catalan composers were still represented on their programs (Albéniz was a reliable concert-ender), but the emphasis was now on new compositions for the guitar, premieres, and works dedicated to the performer.

In January 1932, Sainz de la Maza played music by Gustavo Pittaluga (a member of the Group of Eight), Ponce's Sonata III, Rodrigo's *Zarabanda lejana*, Turina's *Fandanguillo*, and Joan Bautista Plaza's *Prelude and Dance*, all marked "primera vez" (premiere). Catalonia was represented only by Sor's *Grand Sonata* and by Albéniz's *Torre bermeja*. In February, Segovia claimed eight premieres, including the Ponce Sonatina, Roussel's *Segovia*, and some pastiches attributed to Alessandro Scarlatti and Sylvius Leopold Weiss that were actually by Ponce. He also played the Turina *Fandanguillo* (premiered weeks earlier by Sainz de la Maza), noting that it had been "dedicada a A. Segovia." In 1933, Segovia premiered Barcelona native Joan Manén's *Fantasia-Sonata* and Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Variazioni a traverso i secoli*. In 1934, Sainz de la Maza played Bach's Chaconne ("1.a vez, transcripción Saiz [sic] de la Maza"), the Sonata of Antonio José,²³ and Ponce's Variations and Fugue on *La Folia*. In 1935, Segovia premiered Castelnuovo-Tedesco's Sonata "Homage to Boccherini," Turina's *Sevillana*, and *Tres peçes en record de Tárrega* by Ponce.²⁴ This was to be Segovia's last concert at the Palau for many years; from 1936 to 1952 he lived abroad, in New York and Montevideo, playing no concerts in Spain until 1952.

- 23 Segovia announced well in advance his transcription of the Bach Chaconne and its premiere in Paris in 1935, thus enabling Sainz de la Maza to unveil his own transcription at the Palau in 1934. Sainz de la Maza met Antonio José Martínez Palacios in Madrid in about 1924; both were from Burgos. "Antonio José" was the composer's professional name, an affectation much like pop singers or soccer players adopt. His Sonata was written in 1933, and in 1934 Sainz de la Maza played it at the Palau. Two years later Antonio José was murdered by a Falangist firing squad—the same fate suffered by his friend Federico García Lorca. The Sonata was not resurrected or published until 1990.
- 24 Ponce's three pieces were listed as "Mazurka," "Caprici," and "Ritmes." Although the concert program seems to refer to the three-movement *Homenaje a Tárrega* that Ponce wrote in 1932, the Final of this *Homenaje* was the only movement to survive the destruction of Segovia's Barcelona apartment during the Civil War, and the three pieces listed here do not match the extant descriptions of the other movements of the *Homenaje*. This mazurka is probably the same piece that Ponce composed in 1932–33 and Segovia recorded in 1936. It was eventually published by Schott in 1992 as the first of Ponce's *Cuatro piezas*. The "Caprici" and "Ritmes" may have been pieces from this later group of four but with very different titles. *Obra completa para guitarra de Manuel M. Ponce de acuerdo a los manuscritos originales*, ed. Miguel Alcázar ([Mexico]: Conaculta, 2000), 240ff.

The Spanish Civil War (1936–39) and the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939 had a devastating effect on the arts and music. Only two guitarists appeared at the Palau during the Civil War. A few days before Christmas, 1936, Rosa Victòria Rodés i Mir (b. 1906, date of death unknown) played three pieces as part of a group concert to benefit refugee children. A pupil of Más and Llobet, “Rosita” played Fortea’s *Andalusia*, op. 22, no. 1, a Sor menuet, and Tárrega’s *Recuerdos de la Alhambra*. A talented fourteen-year old Antoni Francesc Serra (1923–2002) played two recitals a few weeks apart in October 1937, both featuring Tárrega’s *Recuerdos* and Malats’s *Serenata española*.²⁵

Sainz de la Maza left Spain in 1937 and spent some months touring the United States, returning in 1938. Those who could not or did not leave Spain had little choice but to make their peace with the new regime of the Generalísimo. In April 1939, a few weeks after the fall of Madrid and Valencia, Sainz de la Maza played his fifth concert at the Palau. This concert and another by Romea in 1940 were belated commemorations of the hundredth anniversary of the death of Fernando Sor. Sainz de la Maza’s concert was in three parts: an “early-music” section, a group of Sor pieces, and a final group of Chopin (a mazurka) plus selections from the new repertoire: Turina’s *Ráfaga*, part of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s *Aranci in fiore*, a premiere of Ángel Barrios’s *Guajira*, the *Villancico y danza* of his brother Eduardo Sainz de la Maza, and *Leyenda* by Albéniz. He also premiered *En los trigales* by Joaquín Rodrigo, whom he had met upon his return the previous year.

Alfredo Romea (the prolific critic who thirty years earlier had been the first guitarist to perform in the Palau) praised Sainz de la Maza’s 1939 concert in his review in *El Noticiero universal* and then returned to the Palau for his own sixth appearance. He played the old-style concert: a mazurka and pavana by Tárrega, an Aguado study, some Sor miniatures — studies, minuets — plus the “Mozart Variations,” the *Morceau de concert*, op. 54, a Llobet *canción* (the title given in Spanish, not Catalan), a Coste bolero, and “excerpts” from Arcas’s *Jota aragonesa*.

In November 1940, Joaquín Rodrigo’s *Concierto de Aranjuez* was premiered at the Palau by Sainz de la Maza (to whom it had been dedicated). It would be heard there often in the following decades,²⁶ and remains a crown jewel of the guitar repertoire as well as a landmark in the history of Spanish music.²⁷ Mangado provides

25 Serra played miniatures by Sor and Aguado, a Bach prelude and allemande, *Ondines* and some studies by Pujol, some Tárrega (including *Recuerdos de la Alhambra*), *Andaluza* by Regino Sainz de la Maza, and *Serenata española* by Malats.

26 Really often! The last several times I visited Barcelona, a stroll through the *Barri gòtic* would invariably result in being handed advertisements for a concert at the Palau. Several nights a week an ensemble of local musicians plays a concert of Spanish favorites that invariably feature the *Concierto de Aranjuez*. Thus, a tourist can not only visit the venerable building but also experience a concert there — well worth the price of admission, even if the musicians have an off night. These concerts keep the hall (and the musicians) busy throughout the week, and they don’t interfere with the Palau’s weekend concert series of symphonic music and visiting virtuosos.

27 See, for example, Tomás Marco, *Spanish Music in the Twentieth Century*, trans. Cola Franzen (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 121ff, 129ff. A postscript: Segovia returned to Spain in 1952, and in 1953 Rodrigo wrote for him the *Fantasia para un gentilhomme*.

ten pages of announcements and reviews from the concert, by critics that include Xavier Montsalvatge and Alfredo Romea.

Los conciertos closes with an amazing collection of illustrations, including rare concert programs, publicity photos, lithographs, and drawings (appendix II, pages 114–42), reminding us that the book is more than an exploration of the guitarists who performed there: it is also an homage to a magnificent edifice. In this fascinating sequel to his earlier study of the Catalan guitarists, Mangado documents the birth of a new twentieth-century guitar repertory and the intense competition in which it was forged.



About the Reviewer

RICHARD M. LONG received his PhD in European History from Florida State University, where he was also active as a musician. He taught at Florida State University, the University of South Florida, and Hillsborough Community College, and was a professor of history and humanities for over three decades, retiring in 2007. He is the author of the textbook *Studying Western Civilization* (2 vols., D. C. Heath, 1995) and has been a frequent contributor to the Consortium on Revolutionary Europe (now the Consortium on the Revolutionary Era, 1750–1850). Beginning in the 1980s, Long switched his principal research interest from European diplomatic history in the Revolutionary era (1789–1815) to the history of the classical guitar in the same period. He has published many articles in the field as well as dozens of CD liner notes for Philips, Naxos, Azica, and other labels. He has also published dozens of critical editions and transcriptions. In 1982 he founded Tuscany Publications, an affiliate of the Theodore Presser Co. He also served as editor of *Soundboard* from 2001 to 2012. In 2010 he was named to the Guitar Foundation of America Hall of Fame. He is the book and score review editor for *Soundboard Scholar*.

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REVIEW

Guitar Double Concertos

Works by Puerto, García Abril & López de Guereña

DIOGO ALVAREZ

Guitar Double Concertos

Miguel Trápaga and Teresa Folgueira, guitars; Ángel Luis Castaño, accordion; Fernando Arias, vibraphone; Oviedo Filarmonía; Óliver Díaz

Naxos 8.573816, 2019, 1 compact disc



RECENT RECORDINGS have presented exciting new developments in the guitar's Spanish repertoire, taking us far beyond the early twentieth-century works of Turina, Rodrigo, and others. One such project is Adam Levin's *21st-Century Spanish Guitar*, whose first three volumes have been reviewed by Nathan Cornelius in *Soundboard Scholar* 5. The year of 2019 saw the release of another important recording for the promotion of new Spanish music for the guitar:

Guitar Double Concertos, performed by guitarist Miguel Trápaga alongside co-soloists Teresa Folgueira (guitar), Ángel Luis Castaño (accordion), and Fernando Arias (vibraphone), as well as the Oviedo Filarmonía, conducted by Óliver Díaz.

Guitar Double Concertos features world premiere recordings of three works written in the twenty-first century: David del Puerto's *Mistral* for guitar, accordion, and orchestra; Antón García Abril's *Concierto de Gibralfaro* for two guitars and orchestra; and Javier López de Guereña's *Concierto ecuánime* for guitar, vibraphone, and orchestra. The works reveal different ways contemporary Spanish composers approach their country's musical tradition and integrate it into new aesthetics. In regard to the guitar, the album offers a glimpse of its place in new Spanish music, the styles of guitar writing explored by today's leading composers, and the instrument's relation to the classical music scene as a whole.

ANTÓN GARCÍA ABRIL (1933–2021) was one of the best-known members of the Grupo Nueva Música and the Generación del 51, both of which also included composers such as Cristóbal Halffter and Luis de Pablo. This generation of Spanish composers was responsible for embracing avant-garde movements such as serialism after the Spanish Civil War. However, García Abril soon diverged from his contemporaries' outright defiance of tradition—he believed in making music that was closer to his country's traditional culture, advocated for the power of melody, and sought to find novelty that did not eliminate tradition but built on the foundations of the past. Therefore, after some time experimenting with dodecaphonic and serial music, he turned to musical traditions from different periods and to Spanish folklore for inspiration. His work includes acclaimed film scores and music for television, as well as concert music ranging from orchestral and vocal works to solo and chamber music.

Concierto de Gibralfaro (2003) pays homage to the city of Málaga and was named after a castle overlooking Málaga Bay (*Castillo de Gibralfaro*). This work is the most conventional-sounding one in the recording, but by no means does it trail behind in artistic quality. García Abril's experience in scoring films is evident in his masterful manipulation of timbres and harmonies to create immersive atmospheres. His intimate familiarity with writing for the guitar allows for beautiful and strikingly clear dialogues between the two soloists. Equally interesting are the moments when the two guitars blend to form a single instrument, larger in sound and expressive capabilities—what the composer called “una gran guitarra” in a promotional video for the album on Naxos Music Library.

The first movement, “Visiones de la bahía” (Visions of the Bay), begins with solemn statements by the string and brass sections, introducing a serious character to the movement. The guitars then present the main theme, subtly accompanied by the strings. This clear distinction of roles assigned to soloists and orchestra is a constant throughout the work: the guitars are used for lyrical and intimate textures, while the orchestra brings weight whenever it is required. It is a pragmatic approach, perhaps, but an effective one: García Abril's ability to write captivating melodies for the guitars compensates for the lack of true outbursts of intensity and power in the soloist parts. The main theme is followed by what initially seems to be a transition to a second theme, following the traditional scheme of a sonata-form exposition. However, even though this transition does lead to another theme, the overall structure of the movement more closely resembles a sequence of “visions,” similar in character at first but eventually developing into more contrasting sections. Here, the composer's skill and creativity are on display. García Abril saves some of the most picturesque colors of his orchestral writing for the end of the movement: after a reappearance of the main theme, percussion, piccolo, and guitars add brilliance to a dramatic final tutti.

“A partir de un canto popular malagueño” (Based on a Malagan Folk Song) is the second movement in the concerto and a gem of expressiveness. Taking the slowest of harmonic rhythms, García Abril creates the illusion that time has stopped while he explores the two soloists' lyrical possibilities. The writing for the guitars is exquisite; they converse, complement, and accompany each other, as if floating above the

orchestra's discrete harmonic background. The use of guitar tremolo in the movement is noteworthy—despite its traditional role of providing sustained melody notes, it is used here solely as textural accompaniment, aiding the movement's dreamlike sonority. Halfway through, we hear an extended passage for the duo alone, which cannot help but recall Rodrigo's *Concierto de Aranjuez* and its second-movement cadenza. The orchestra, when called upon to shine, is characterized by contrasts between the lush sound of the strings and the sparkling voices of brass and woodwind sections.

To end this concerto, García Abril writes an homage to Pablo Picasso, who was born in Málaga. This final movement, named "Homenaje a la tauromaquia picassiana" (Homage to Picasso's Art of Bullfighting), is described by Javier Suárez-Pajares in the album notes as "a kind of *pasodoble*"—a musical genre linked to the *corridos de toros* often depicted by Picasso. There are several moments of interest, especially in subtle rhythmic variations and in the writing for the orchestra, whose palette of timbres is used in its entirety and combined extensively. Following one of the repetitions of the opening statement, García Abril's *gran guitarra* is expertly presented in a web of rapid arpeggios by the two soloists. Perhaps in this movement, however, the restraint of the guitar writing cannot be fully compensated by its lyricism—I found myself wishing to hear the guitars joining in with the orchestra's energetic playing.

JAVIER LÓPEZ DE GUEREÑA (born 1957) is a composer and guitarist from Bilbao who has had an extremely versatile career in music. He has worked alongside *cantautores* (singer-songwriters)—Javier Krahe in particular—as well as having extensive experience in the jazz scene and composing music for films and television; he has even produced an album by the rock group Maquia. He also has a relevant body of classical works to his name, although it is not as well known as some of his other music. The composer's varied musical experience brings freshness and glee to the recording—López de Guereña likes to play around with his music, and his games are present in all three movements of *Concierto ecuánime* (2017), written upon Trápaga's request. In this work, the guitar uses the scordatura that Ramón Montoya used in his famous *rondeña*, as mentioned in the album notes (sixth string tuned to D and third string to F#). Montoya himself could have been influenced by the tuning of the vihuela, as proposed by Norberto Torres Cortés.¹ López de Guereña's choice of tuning and his jazz influences help shape the harmonic and rhythmic elements of *Concierto ecuánime*, according to Suárez-Pajares's notes.

The concerto's fundamental concept is presented in its title—*ecuánime* is used here with the meaning of "impartial," signaling the composer's intention of finding balance between each of the three forces in play: guitar, vibraphone, and orchestra. In the first movement, as López de Guereña explains in his video accompanying the album on Naxos Music Library, there is basically one constantly repeated melody,

¹ Norberto Torres Cortés, "Sobre el toque de rondeña," *Actas del XX Congreso de Arte Flamenco* (Málaga: Estepona, 1994), <https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/cultura/flamenco/content/el-toque-de-ronde%C3%B1a> .

but it does not follow a “formal system of repetition.” Consequently, the listener does not realize it is the same melody, and the movement at times resembles a type of written improvisation, occasionally returning to melodic ideas presented before. This is the work’s most challenging movement to follow, mostly because the melody itself cannot be easily identified and labeled as a theme.

The second movement’s melodic approach both resembles and opposes that of the first movement. Here, a melody is also presented several times, displaying modifications and being set against different harmonic and textural backgrounds. Nevertheless, the melody is clear from the start, and the modifications it undergoes are immediately recognized as such. The melody is presented in its “purest” form toward the end of the movement, when the orchestra presents the theme in all its glory and expressivity.

In the light-hearted final movement, the main theme is once more revealed in its entirety only at the very end. The snippets heard before the presentation of the complete subject can be more easily identified in a second hearing of the work, as they are surrounded by contrasting melodic and harmonic ideas. It is the shortest movement and the one that best achieves the balance desired by López de Guereña—a sort of celebration where almost every instrument or orchestral section has its chance to shine.

DAVID DEL PUERTO (born 1964) is an award-winning composer from Madrid. His music has been performed by prestigious orchestras and ensembles, such as the Ensemble InterContemporain. A guitarist himself, Puerto has written extensively for the instrument, including dozens of solo works, numerous works for guitar in ensemble, three concertos with the guitar as soloist, and even a chamber opera with a guitar part. His familiarity with the accordion is also notable: not only has he written three solo works for the instrument, he has also performed alongside accordionist Ángel Luis Castaño in their group rejoice! (styled with a lower-case *r*). Therefore, it comes as no surprise that *Mistral* (2011), dedicated to soloists Castaño and Trápaga, explores the very best each of those instruments can offer. As pointed out by Suárez-Pajares in the album notes, the unusual pairing of guitar and accordion might give the impression that this concerto is somehow related to Astor Piazzolla’s *Hommage à Liège* for guitar, bandoneon, and string orchestra. However, this is familiar territory for Puerto, and his complete control of the instruments’ expressive possibilities is evident from the start. The soloists seem equally comfortable with the composer’s musical language—after all, Castaño’s doctoral thesis is a discussion of the composer-performer relationship in Puerto’s accordion works.²

Mistral is a single-movement work, structured in three main sections linked by two intermezzos. Its title refers to a cold, dry wind that blows toward the Mediterranean

2 Ángel Luis Castaño Borreguero, “La música para acordeón de David del Puerto: La relación intérprete-compositor” (PhD diss., University of Extremadura, 2015, <http://hdl.handle.net/10662/3862>).

coast. In a 2009 interview for RNE 2 (Radio Clásica), which can be found on his website, Puerto mentions the importance of natural and human landscapes as influences in his work. This influence transpires in several of his pieces—references to wind can also be found in *Céfiro* (2008) for guitar and chamber ensemble, and *Viento de Primavera* (2009) for solo guitar.

Throughout the work, themes and motives are constantly reintroduced, either in their original form or varied. This audible coherence of musical ideas makes the concerto very easy to follow, while by no means repetitive. *Mistral* emphasizes rhythmic music, from the sharp attacks over an ostinato in the outer sections to the middle section's unambiguous meter. It also relies heavily on the use of counterpoint, within the soloists' parts as well as between different instruments—particularly interesting are passages for the guitar in the opening section, for the accordion in the second intermezzo, and for the oboes in the middle section. The employment of contrapuntal textures in the piece is very effective, the guitar and accordion being very appropriate instruments for this kind of treatment. It also sheds light on Puerto's approach to Spanish tradition in the work—even though passages reminiscent of music commonly related to the Spanish guitar (such as Rodrigo, Turina, Torroba, etc.) are not obvious in *Mistral*, extensive use of counterpoint reveals the piece's relation to Spain's much earlier tradition of vihuela music. This "atavistic character," as described by Suárez-Pajares, makes this work non-stereotypically Spanish.

The formal structure of the concerto deserves special mention. Castaño comments on its similarity to a traditional three-movement scheme, and Suárez-Pajares describes it as having a symmetric, arc-like form. This symmetry is crucial to the experience of the listener, as Puerto writes memorable themes and then revisits them at the end of the piece. However, the composer delays and subverts the re-exposition of those elements, engaging the listener in the large structure of the work. After the second intermezzo, which ends in a descending scale to the lower register of the accordion, the pedal and rhythmic ostinato that opens the piece returns, setting up expectations of a traditional recapitulation. Nonetheless, Puerto subverts the reintroduction of the orchestral attacks and of the melody initially assigned to horns and tubular bells—the accordion takes over the orchestral attacks, and the guitar comes in with a new theme, which characterizes the final section of the piece. For the most part, this section uses more dissonant sonorities and an overall sense of rhythmic and textural chaos to create a climactic ending. The actual recapitulation of subjects from the first section happens in the last two minutes of the twenty-minute piece and in almost perfectly reverse order, delaying the resolution of the work's formal symmetry as much as possible.

Mistral opens up exciting possibilities by showcasing how successful a concerto for guitar, accordion, and orchestra can be. It displays the accordion as an adaptable instrument, able to create striking contrasts as well as blend together with other instruments, such as in a haunting passage with the clarinet. As expected of a guitarist-composer, the guitar writing is also very effective, detailed, and nuanced. Puerto's

indication in the score that there must be amplification for the guitar reveals his concern that nuances, colors, and dynamic variations be clearly audible. Regarding his orchestral writing, the composer skillfully used the colors available to him, especially when writing for tubular bells, horns, and woodwinds. This work deserves to be performed and heard more often, given its quality, currency, and uniqueness.

PERFORMANCES IN THE ALBUM are of the highest quality, not only because of the musicians' technical and musical skills but also because of their close relationship to the music being performed—accordionist Ángel Luis Castaño is a researcher and frequent performer of David del Puerto's music; conductor Óliver Díaz had already premiered two other works by Javier López de Guereña; and Teresa Folgueira released an album of Spanish and Latin American music in 2017. It is also important to mention Miguel Trápaga's continuing contribution to expanding and recording the guitar repertoire with orchestra—in addition to the present recording, he released the world premiere recording of Brouwer's *Concierto de Benicàssim* in 2016.

Guitar Double Concertos is a remarkable project and a substantial musical experience. The album reveals three very different approaches to guitar writing and to Spanish musical tradition in the twenty-first century. From García Abril's use of folklore and characteristically Spanish percussion, to Puerto's exploration of Renaissance counterpoint and the vihuela as major influences, and López de Guereña's incorporation of elements from jazz and flamenco, we are presented with a fascinating perspective on today's Spanish guitar music.



About the Reviewer

DIOGO ALVAREZ is a Brazilian guitarist and researcher in music theory and musicology. He holds a BM in Classical Guitar from Universidade do Estado de Minas Gerais, Brazil, and an MM in Classical Guitar Performance from the University of Denver. In 2016, he finished a transcription with commentary of Josquin des Prez's *Missa la sol fa re mi* for solo guitar. His research addresses large-scale rhythmic structures in Renaissance music, the music of nineteenth-century guitarist-composer Fernando Sor, the guitar music of Tōru Takemitsu, and Schenkerian analysis.

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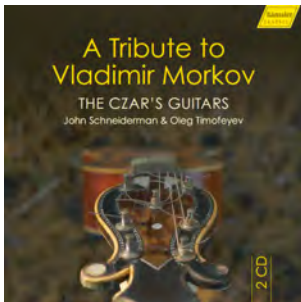
New Discoveries & Old Chestnuts for the Russian Guitar

ELLWOOD COLAHAN

A Tribute to Vladimir Morkov

The Czar's Guitars (John Schneiderman & Oleg Timofeyev)

Hänssler Classic HC20018, 2020, 2 compact discs



MUSICOLOGIST-GUITARIST Oleg Timofeyev is on a mission. Since completing his 1999 dissertation on the Russian seven-string guitar (the most complete treatment of the topic available in English), he has devoted himself with rare diligence to resurrecting and advocating for this strange and wonderful Eastern variant of the six-string instrument so ubiquitous in Europe and the Americas. In collaboration with fellow guitarist John Schneiderman, under the name The

Czar's Guitars, Timofeyev has recorded the 2006 disc, *Music of Mikhail Glinka*, the 2011 *Souvenirs of Russia*, and the monumental seven-disc 2016 anthology, *The Russian Guitar 1800–1850* (reviewed in these pages by Stanley Yates in 2017). The present disc is a continuation of this series of recordings.

Yet that is not all: Timofeyev's solo efforts with the Russian instrument include the 1999 *The Golden Age of the Russian Guitar*, a second volume under the same title the following year, and in 2004, *Guitar in the Gulag: Guitar Music by Matvei Pavlov-Azancheev, 1888–1963*. In 2007 he took a small side excursion with *Shavlego: Guitar Music by Georgian Composers*. He has also formed a quartet of players of Russian guitar, releasing in 2016 *A Tribute to the Mighty Handful*. His essays into mixed chamber music have strayed only slightly from the path, with 2002's *Music of Russian Princesses from the Court of Catherine the Great*, 2005's *A Tribute to Stesha: Early Music of Russian Gypsies*, and 2007's klezmer-influenced *Rhapsody Judaica*.

Schneiderman, too, has an impressive discography, if not focused in the same way as Timofeyev's. In addition to his work as one half of The Czar's Guitars, he has produced respected recordings of Coste, Mertz, and Adam Darr, even duets transcribed from Beethoven; his recordings on Baroque lute thankfully eschew the greatest-hits approach and have helped to elevate the profile of lesser-known composers such as Falckenhagen, Kropfgans, Kohaut, and Hagen. And for those who find such fare too unusual, he has also recorded a disc of Weiss.

MANY READERS may be less than fully conversant with the Russian guitar. Because of its triadic tuning (D2 G2 B2 D3 G3 B3 D4), probably derived from the so-called "English guitar" (really a type of cittern) at the end of the eighteenth century, it is implacably idiomatic, much like the five-course Baroque guitar whose music is so tricky to adapt to the modern instrument. To be sure, Russian guitar music can be transcribed for the Western guitar tuned in fourths, but it is no simple matter. It requires an effort comparable to the transcription of Baroque lute music, which was also composed for an instrument tuned to a chord. (One significant pioneering effort in this direction was that of the late Matanya Ophee with his collection *The Russian Guitar*.)

The difference between the two instruments is not limited to the tuning. Timofeyev explains that the Russian guitar uniquely has a detachable and adjustable neck as a standard part of its design; he suggests that this feature made it easier to adjust the playing action of the instrument in a large country where skilled luthiers were not to be found outside a few cities. He has also called attention to the convex fingerboards on early examples, a feature which made it easier to stop strings with the left-hand thumb, and shown that while Western guitars moved early to a pegbox design, Russian guitars retained a peg plate much longer, while developing unique adjustable-friction pegs that were nonetheless simpler than mechanical tuners with worm gears.

This seven-string guitar co-existed in Russia with six-string guitars tuned in fourths, becoming dominant in the first half of the nineteenth century but gradually being eclipsed by the latter instrument, especially after the advent of the Polish-born six-string virtuoso Marek Sokolovsky. According to Timofeyev it disappeared after the 1917 revolution. Ophee has attributed the death blow to Segovia, crediting him with a seven-month campaign of conversion during his 1926 Soviet Union sojourn that successfully supplanted an existing guitar culture with an imported one. The instrument lived somewhat underground in the era of Stalin, and certain seven-string players were even victims of political purges; the guitarist Pavlov-Azancheev, to whose music Timofeyev has devoted a solo disc, was one of these. It is only since the end of the Soviet Union that the seven-string instrument has begun to re-emerge and bring its vast culture and repertoire to the attention of the non-Russian speaking world.

HOW, THEN, does Vladimir Morkov (1801–1864) fit into this picture? Morkov was the preeminent St. Petersburg disciple of Andrei Sychra, the Lithuanian-born Czech harpist-turned guitarist and the Russian guitar's quasi-mythic patriarch. Sychra first



Vasily Tropinin (1776–1857),
*Guitarist (Portrait of the
Virtuoso Guitarist Vladimir
Morkov)*. Oil on canvas.
The Virtual Russian Museum,
<https://rusmuseumvrm.ru/>.

established himself in Moscow, founding a school of playing there among his students. Sometime after Napoleon’s Russian invasion and the burning of Moscow, he relocated to St. Petersburg, where Morkov became his greatest pupil. Moscow players like Askionov and Vysotsky embraced the folk influence of Roma musicians and eventually cultivated a style of playing with more emphasis on left-hand slurs, a style Sychra disdained. In St. Petersburg Sychra’s legacy was a more “classical,” harp-like approach. Morkov was the central figure in this circle, an aristocratic amateur and man of letters known for his *salons*. Despite holding posts of authority in the government, he found time to publish books on the history of the St. Petersburg Russian Opera and the life of Orthodox priest and sacred composer Piotr Turchaninov, as well as a method and around forty compositions and arrangements for guitar.

Morkov’s music shows deep engagement with Western musical currents of his day, especially opera, but equal devotion to native Russian idioms, especially through the music of Glinka. While his transcriptions and arrangements tend to be fairly literal, he engages in enough revision to make it clear that his choices are deliberate, and he is not afraid to apply his own musical judgment, compressing or expanding the contours of pieces as he sees fit. A singular contribution of Morkov was to take the duet of unequal guitars—guitars in different sizes and pitches—a medium to which Sychra turned late in his career, and develop it into the signature ensemble of the Russian guitar. Where Viennese guitarists like Giuliani, Diabelli, or Mertz composed a few duets, both for equal guitars and for guitar with *terz* guitar, tuned

a minor third higher, Sychra and to an even greater extent Morkov concentrated on duets for guitar and quart guitar, tuned a fourth higher. These unequal duets abound in their repertoire, and equal duets are rare. Of the forty pieces on this two-disc set, exactly two thirds are duets for guitar and quart guitar. (Schneiderman plays all of the quart guitar parts on the record, and also plays the standard-size instrument in some solos.)

THE PIECES ON THIS RECORDING are drawn partly from Morkov's published works, and partly from two hitherto little-known manuscripts. One of these is a set of part books from 1858 that found its way anonymously into the hands of Moscow guitarist Vladimir Markushevich, and the other is a somewhat larger manuscript Timofeyev himself turned up, unindexed, in the Russian State Library in Moscow. These finds, part luck and part persistent primary-source research, make this recording not just a long-overdue exposition of Morkov's known contributions, but also a record of new discoveries.

The pieces fall into several types, but most are arrangements or variation sets, with Morkov's original works being represented by character pieces, preludes, and *divertissements*. Morkov's love of opera is eloquently expressed in a series of arrangements, ranging from the vanishingly brief "Lyudmila's Aria" from *Ruslan and Lyudmila* to an extended fantasia on themes from *A Life for the Tsar*. For all its brevity, the former is an excellent place to hear the *campanella* scales that are characteristic of Morkov's harp-like compositional style. *A Life for the Tsar* was a significant inspiration for Morkov, who also wrote a separate *potpourri* on the same work. Two more contrasting arrangements are from Rossini: the melancholy "Willow Song" offered by Desdemona moments before her murder by Othello, and Berta's light-hearted aria from *Barber of Seville*, mocking all the drama around her.

Two Bellini melodies are treated to variation sets: One is an aria from *The Pirate*, for which variations were also composed by both Clara Schumann and Pietro Pettoletti, an Italian guitarist resident in St. Petersburg roughly contemporary with Morkov. The other is an aria from *I Capuleti e i Montecchi*, wherein Tebaldo sings his innocent love for the distraught (if he only knew why!) Giulietta. In both of these compositions, Morkov squares off and domesticates the theme, which in the original is subjected to repeated dramatic interruptions. Other intriguing variation subjects include the second movement of Anton Rubinstein's Piano Trio op. 15 no. 1, a rarely performed but exquisitely Russian gem, full of power and pathos, and Haydn's patriotic hymn *Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser*, as set in his String Quartet in C, op. 76 no. 3. In the former, Morkov substitutes a single, suitably guitaristic variation for Rubinstein's violin pyrotechnics. In the latter, his treatment of the theme itself is especially interesting. He heightens the drama of Haydn's material by modifying the theme to present the second phrase, a repeat of the first, in a higher register, then simplifying the fourth phrase by removing certain melodic appoggiaturas so that when it is repeated in the fifth phrase with the appoggiaturas re-inserted, the effect is one of intensification.

In addition to these unusual variation sets we also hear Morkov's treatment of the old favorite, *Carnival of Venice*, which fits right into the tradition of Paganini, Arban, and all the rest.

A number of song arrangements help us appreciate Morkov's craft in setting material for the guitar. Two songs by Glinka, *Tell Me Maiden* and *Romance*, will be familiar to fans of the Czar's Guitars' *Music of Mikhail Glinka* recording, where the first was recorded in a different, anonymous arrangement under the title *Why Are You Crying, Pretty Maiden?*, and the second was recorded in the same arrangement by Morkov. The fact that the artists have recorded *Romance* anew for this disc, rather than just recycling an existing recording, speaks to their conscientious approach. They have done the same with other pieces that were on the Glinka disc, including "Lyudmila's Aria" mentioned above. (And they have followed the same practice elsewhere; after recording a fine interpretation of *Kamarinskaya* – by Morkov after Glinka – on their *Music of Mikhail Glinka* disc, they re-recorded the same piece for *The Russian Guitar 1800–1850*.)

Alexander Varlamov's song *The Angel* tells of an angel singing love and inspiration into the soul of a child about to be born. Morkov's transcription is quite faithful, with only a few harmonics added in a flourish at the end. It is interesting to note, however, that the guitar version exposes some passing dissonances between the melody and accompaniment that are much less noticeable in the piano-vocal original. Dargomizhsky's *I Turned Sixteen* is based on a Russian version of a German text set by other composers including Schubert, for his song *Phidile*. It tells of the romantic awakening of a young girl encountering for the first time a youth from beyond her isolated village and, signaled by the turn to the minor in the middle, her regret at the missed opportunity of returning his affection. Morkov's treatment is again quite literal, with the result that Dargomizhsky's short piano ritornellos are assimilated into the vocal melody, eliminating the dialogic dimension of the original.

Several instrumental arrangements stand along with the vocal arrangements as miniature jewels. *Tell Her* is by Elizaveta Kochubei, an aristocratic dilettante St. Petersburg composer known for this one piece, which was popular enough to be transcribed for several instrumental settings. This piece is unique on the disc, as a solo for quart guitar, ably executed by Schneiderman. *Marie* is a piano nocturne by Henry Brinley Richards, a pupil of Chopin. Morkov's arrangement repositions some parts of the melody to a higher octave; his version is so natural that the original sounds like an arrangement by comparison. The original of Albert Jungmann's *Nostalgia for the Motherland* is titled variously *Longing for Home* or *Nostalgia: Nocturne de salon*, depending on the edition. Though it is called a march in the notes, Schneiderman's reading is more waltz-like than martial.

The most intriguing arrangement from an instrumental model is Morkov's version of Joseph (Johann) Kaspar Mertz's *Agathe*. Mertz based his piece on a popular song by Franz Abt that was transcribed widely in its day. Abt's straightforward original was subjected to extensive transformation by Mertz, who inserted expansions and

developmental interpolations, and added a whole section in the parallel minor. Morkov's version is unmistakably based on that of Mertz, but he pulls Mertz's exuberance back just a little at key points, cutting the first four of the last eight bars, for example, as well as the last three measures before the dominant cadence at the end of the minor section. As wonderful as Mertz's version is, Morkov's revision is, for me, an improvement.

Morkov's compositional output of character pieces is represented by two Spanish titles, *Zapateado* and *Andalusian Jota*, and the Alpine *A Tyrolean*. *Zapateado* is in a more lyrical triple meter than the faster 6/8 *zapateados* by composers like Rodrigo or Sainz de la Maza, or for that matter the famous examples by Sarasate and Granados. Morkov's *jota* emphasizes the graceful, waltz-like character of this Spanish dance and vocal genre; it is much more relaxed than Tárrega's *Gran Jota*. *A Tyrolean* is a kind of a folk waltz, with gestures that reminded me of yodeling. Its exuberant use of harmonics is characteristic of much of the repertoire presented here.

Four of the pieces on the disc are versions of etudes: two for guitar, by Carcassi and Sor, and surprisingly, two for piano, by Henri Bertini. All are transformed in some way in the process of translation to Russian guitar. The first Bertini etude, in C major, is an arrangement of the pianist's op. 26 no. 4, originally in B \flat . It has a texture that works well on the guitar, and Schneiderman takes it with a more rubato approach than he uses on most of the album. For me it was unexpectedly one of the most perfect gems on the recording. The second Bertini etude, in E minor (after op. 32 no. 26), was clearly chosen for its guitaristic texture as well. In Morkov's version, the section in the dominant key is transposed down, rather than up; while this may have been done for purely technical reasons, it gives the section a darker, more introspective feeling than the piano original. Pianists generally take this somewhat faster, but I found Schneiderman's tempo appropriate to the character of the piece. Morkov's version of Carcassi's Etude op. 60 no. 11 (remember, the original could not be played directly on the Russian guitar because of the difference in tuning) is generally quite faithful to the original but displays the Russian's excellent musical judgment in an added four-bar chordal coda, which is oddly effective in balancing the scale fragments and arpeggios that make up the rest of the piece. His version of Sor's Etude op. 35 no. 17 (Study no. 6 in the Segovia edition) is more daring: after following the original for the first sixteen bars with only minor melodic embellishments, Morkov inserts a full measure of cadenza and then an eight-bar section that turns toward the relative minor. It is a testament to his craft that the added material blends stylistically with the rest. One suspects that Sor would have heartily approved.

The five movements from Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* that Morkov transcribed for two guitars are the most unexpected encounter on the disc, maybe even a bit weird, but next to the *Divertissements*, they are my favorite listening. The challenge of transcribing a work for orchestra and vocal soloists and rendering it with the tonal resources of two guitars is not inconsiderable, and Morkov relinquishes a few details in the process, including some of the vocal imitation and a bit of the melodic ornamentation. The

most difficult challenge seems to be with the alto solo in *Eja mater fons amoris*, and he resorts to some interesting tactics to make it work. The first entrance of the vocal part is in the proper register but thereafter he moves it higher, to a register where it is easier to distinguish it from the accompaniment. Later he moves it back down again, as though to show he has not forgotten where it really belongs. This is understandable; in some places where he keeps the notes of the vocal line in their original lower register, they are obscured by the accompaniment in a way that simply does not happen between voice and orchestra. Timofeyev's notes point out that Morkov has rearranged to his own liking the order of the movements he has selected. Another way to look at this is to notice that he begins with the penultimate movement and ends with the last one; in between he visits selected movements from elsewhere in the piece to fill out the experience. The overall effect feels a little experimental, but since the original material is sublime and Morkov treats it with respect, a substantial portion of success is the reward.

MORKOV'S COMPOSITIONS display many idiosyncratic features that repay repeated listening. The most curious part of the recording for me is the set of ten preludes for two guitars at the end, and I confess that I came away wondering what exactly to make of them. These are brief (none reaches a minute and a half, and two are less than half a minute), mostly chordal in texture, and in many places have the character of a Lutheran chorale marinated overnight in a strong chromatic sauce. Timofeyev's own notes express some hesitancy about the proper performance practice for these pieces, even questioning whether they were intended to be performed as written, or rather used as a basis for improvisation. Their Russian character is evident, however, in the irregular phrasing that permeates them. Six-bar phrases, ten-bar phrases, two-bar phrases answered by twelve-bar phrases: listening beyond the sameness of texture reveals strikingly unusual designs found only rarely in Western European music of this period, and an interest not evident on the surface.

This same Russian irregularity of phrasing is a prominent feature of Morkov's three *divertissements*, which I found to be the most satisfying listening of the record. At once the most Russian and the most fully developed and original pieces, they are compared in the album's booklet to Glinka's *Kamarinskaya* as efforts to "paint a grand musical canvas using contrasting folk themes." Each one presents two or more themes, each followed by variations, along with original introductory, transitional, and closing material. Divertissement no. 1 begins with an improvisatory-sounding introduction and a straightforward, square theme that is varied twice; this is followed by a second main section with a six-bar theme built of two three-bar phrases, which leads to ten variations. Divertissement no. 2 (I describe them in order, but they are presented out of order) begins with a very serious, operatic-sounding introduction followed by a twelve-bar theme broken into highly irregular phrases of four, five, and three bars. This is varied twice and closes with a restatement of the first phrase of the theme but extended with cadential gestures. After a quasi-improvisatory transition, the rest of

the piece consists of a more regular, four-bar theme with four variations and a short coda. Finally, Divertissement no. 3 begins with a straightforward introduction in a moderate tempo, with a lilting, triple-meter first theme of eight bars. This is followed by a first variation, but then Morkov unexpectedly states the theme again, before proceeding to a second and final variation. The second theme is then twelve bars in AAB form but constructed in such a way that after the B section it *sounds* like it is returning to the A section, before we realize we are in fact listening to the beginning of the first variation. He proceeds through two variations with this slightly strange, “overlapping” sensation, before terminating the section with a chordal coda similar to the one at the end of the first theme of the second *divertissement*. Finally he proceeds to a third theme, jumping from D major to C minor by restating the subdominant harmony of the first key as the dominant of the second, an effect that is smooth and dramatic at the same time. The last theme, like the one before, is twelve bars divided into three four-bar phrases, with two variations and a coda.

These *divertissements*, if they are based on Russian folk themes (I take Timofeyev’s word for that), show this folk idiom as gloriously idiosyncratic in its irregularity of proportion, even while the melodic-harmonic language is overwhelmingly familiar. They make for compelling listening, full of unexpected twists and turns.

A Tribute to Vladimir Morkov is a satisfying follow-up to Timofeyev and Schneiderman’s 2016 set, *The Russian Guitar 1800–1850*. Where the earlier anthology gives a broad overview of the Russian guitar culture of the early nineteenth century, here they dive deeply over the course of two discs into the various facets of the work of a single composer. Some pieces are quite unusual, and their otherness helps us appreciate just how deep and rich was this lost-and-rediscovered Russian past of the instrument. We hope the Czar’s Guitars will continue along these same lines, devoting more recordings to individual composers for the *semistrunnaia gitara*.



About the Reviewer

ELLWOOD COLAHAN is the Music and Performing Arts Reference Librarian at University of Denver. He holds a BM in Classical Guitar Performance, an MA in Music Theory, and an MLIS, all from the University of Denver. His research includes data sonification, information literacy instruction, metric structures in Baroque music, and the bibliography of guitar literature.

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REVIEW

Archetypes

NATHAN CORNELIUS

Archetypes

Sérgio Assad, Clarice Assad, and Third Coast Percussion

Cedille 201, 2021, 1 compact disc

ARCHETYPES IS THE PRODUCT of a collaboration between Sérgio Assad, a fixture of the classical guitar world for some four decades, his daughter Clarice Assad, a prolific and versatile composer who also performs on piano, guitar, and vocals, and the Chicago-based quartet Third Coast Percussion. The listener is encouraged



to explore Third Coast's other recent recordings, especially *Paddle to the Sea* (Cedille 175, 2018), for other examples of innovative yet highly accessible music for percussion ensemble.

This suite is based on twelve of the many personality archetypes derived by Jungian psychologists from stories and myths the world over. Each composer chose to write on the archetypes they found particularly intriguing, and the individuality of these characters comes through clearly, creating

a rich range of contrast across the entire set. Yet their renditions are no stock characters that can be pigeonholed as good or bad: even the vigorous “Hero” need not necessarily be heard as virtuous. Instead, they contain subtle changes of emotion and often ambiguity, inviting reflection on the deeper significance of each archetype.

Four movements are composed by Clarice Assad, four by Sérgio, and four by Third Coast Percussion—that is to say, one by each of its members (David Skidmore, Peter Martin, Robert Dillon, and Sean Connors). The style of the pieces is eclectic: Latin jazz is perhaps the most noticeable influence in the Assads' pieces, while minimalism is more present in Third Coast's pieces (although the pacing is much faster than in, say, a typical Philip Glass work). Yet the set is remarkably coherent across the different movements, as each of the six composers combines the same palette of timbres—mainly guitar, piano, marimba, and vibraphone—in slightly different

ways. Drums, cymbals, and plenty of unusual objects play a supporting role along the way. In its entirety, the suite is a fantastic exploration of the textures and timbres available with this novel grouping of instruments.

Just as the artists distributed the work of composing among themselves, the texture of the work is very much a conversation among equals, with no individual taking the spotlight for long. The guitar most often pairs with the marimba or vibraphone to form the main accompaniment layer in a larger texture, and all the composers seem to be on the same page as to how to blend guitar and percussion effectively. Full-blown guitar solos are rarer, although they do seem to crop up more frequently in the pieces by Sérgio Assad (especially “Magician” and “Explorer”). While the members of Third Coast Percussion are generally more conservative in their guitar writing, their work evinces careful attention to the guitar’s strengths.

“Rebel” (by Clarice) opens with a brash percussion fanfare which may cause listeners to adjust their speakers. Hand-claps usher in a steady groove in twelve that constantly shifts between groupings of 3×4 , 4×3 , and 6×2 . Piano, guitar, and percussion weave in and out as accompaniment to a free-spirited vocalise with a Middle Eastern flair. “Innocent” and “Orphan” (both by Sérgio) both have rich background textures that seamlessly blend vibraphone and marimba. “Innocent” features a wordless vocal lullaby, while “Orphan” seems to wander through various tonalities while repeating a mournful melodic hook. “Lover” (by David Skidmore) is an intimate duet between piano and vibraphone over a gently arpeggiated background of marimba and guitar. The instruments trade short ascending melodic phrases, as if repeating back each other’s thoughts to see if they understand fully. “Magician” (Sérgio again) has a mysterious descending half-step motto in the vibraphone and guitar which expands into virtuosic arpeggios traded back and forth. Later, it settles into a steadier piano-driven groove, again featuring sophisticated hemiolas.

In “Ruler” (by Peter Martin), a simple, majestic C-major guitar solo becomes a ground for continuous variations which gradually gain power and rhythmic drive as the other instruments join one by one. Initially, low piano notes add subtle sustain and depth to the guitar chords; then tom-toms, castanets, wood blocks, and snare drum fill in ever more pulses. In a “Behind the Scenes” video on Third Coast’s YouTube channel, Martin explains that he envisioned this buildup as an oppressive force compelling others to fall into line. However, it could also be heard as a nobler form of civic persuasion, marshaling the community’s strengths behind a common goal. Perhaps that is too optimistic for the early 2020s, or perhaps it speaks to the enigmatic nature of power, where the same authority can easily appear as benevolent or oppressive to different observers.

“Jester” (by Clarice) kicks off the second half of the set with a delightfully weird jaw-harp solo with flexatone whoops in the background. This dissolves into a maniacal drum fill and is replaced by what seems to be a kazoo solo in the style of a gloating chipmunk. Assad told Yaz Lancaster of *I Care If You Listen* that this movement is in the format of a “predetermined improvisation,” in the spirit of the interactive

VOXploration (vocal improvisation) classes she has developed. A complete contrast to this is “Caregiver” (also by Clarice), with a gently flowing melody, reminiscent of late Beethoven, traded between vibraphone, piano, marimba, and guitar.

“Sage” (by Robert Dillon) conjures a spacious, resonant sound world emulating the percussion music of George Crumb. The Delphic utterances of the sage include crunchy piano chords, bent notes on vibraphone and guitar, rumbling tam-tams, and rapid vocal whispers that hover just beyond comprehensibility. “Creator” (by Sean Connors) is, appropriately, another loose set of variations. A slow vibraphone theme generates an assortment of faster descendants or creatures, in almost heterophonic style. One of the last iterations has the melody simultaneously whistled, hummed, and played as tremolo on small bells. “Hero” (by Clarice) also has an infectious rhythmic groove with a prominent hemiola. This time the marimba drives the accompaniment forward, while the guitar shines with virtuosic solos reminiscent of jazz improvisations. The final movement, “Explorer” (by Sérgio), is perhaps the most aggressive, with dissonant metallic chords and a phrygian modal feel. Restless rhythms shifting between seven- and eight-pulse meters form the basis for more improvisatory forays on guitar and piano.

The *Archetypes* program was first performed and recorded in early 2020 but not released on CD until March 2021. It’s unfortunate that only a few audiences have had the opportunity to experience it live, following the suspension of most concerts during the COVID-19 pandemic. Guitarists and composers interested in richly orchestrated, toe-tapping music for guitar and percussion are encouraged to remedy this by purchasing or streaming this recording.



About the Reviewer

NATHAN CORNELIUS pursues a multifaceted career in performance, composition, and teaching. He received an MM in composition and guitar performance from the University of Denver’s Lamont School of Music and a DMA in guitar performance from the Peabody Conservatory of the Johns Hopkins University, and has received competition first prizes as a solo, chamber, and concerto guitarist. His performances and research focus on guitar music of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and how it reflects cultural conceptions of time and memory. Cornelius currently teaches musicianship and music theory at Towson University and the Johns Hopkins University. He enjoys sharing with students his enthusiasm for the patterns underlying the structure of Western music, and he pursues new ways to understand and play with those patterns through his research.

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REVIEW

Ars Longa

JOCELYN NELSON

Ars Longa: Old and New Music for Theorbo

Elizabeth Kenny, theorbo

Linn CKD 603, 2019, 1 compact disc



I HAPPENED TO SEE a dragonfly perch on my bird feeder while I listened to this album for the first time. Dragonflies famously seem far too long and complex with their four wings to be able to fly with such speed and agility. As if that isn't already enough of a surprise, they come ablaze with iridescent colors when you look at them at just the right angle. It was a lucky sight in the moment: there is no creature more emblematic of this gravity-defying, timbre-rich theorbo performance by Elizabeth Kenny.

As one of Europe's leading lute and theorbo performers and founder of the Theatre of the Ayre ensemble, Kenny has an extensive discography, including *Shakespeare Songs*, recorded with Ian Bostridge, winner of the 2016 Grammy for Best Solo Vocal Album; and *Lachrimae or Seven Tears*, recorded with Phantasm, winner of the 2017 Gramophone Early Music Award. Kenny is also an accomplished scholar with teaching positions as Director of Performance at Oxford University and as Professor of Lute at the Royal Academy of Music. She has articles in various publications, including *Early Music* and *Renaissance Studies*.

DESPITE THE THEORBO'S ORIGINS as an accompaniment to the voice in late sixteenth-century Florentine courtly entertainments, the music in this collection offers an excellent introduction to its rich seventeenth-century solo repertoire, and with a refreshing twist, some twenty-first-century solo repertoire as well. The theorbo (also known as the *chitarrone* or *théorbe*) is a type of bass lute with an extended neck for courses that include a set of diapasons—bass strings meant to be played unstopped. “Courses” in the case of the theorbo can refer to either single or double strings.

One of the most crucial details of theorbo stringing, however, is that what would normally be the highest-sounding courses need to be lowered an octave in order to withstand the tension of the instrument's extended neck. Therefore, although the tuning varies for this instrument as it does for other lutes and for early guitars, the third course on the theorbo is typically the highest-sounding course on the instrument. The resulting re-entrant tuning creates the distinctive harp-like sound with cross-string scales and arpeggios that you'll hear in some of this disc's best moments, including the very first sounds on track 1.

THIS PROGRAM of "old and new" solo music for theorbo begins with selected works from Alessandro Piccinini (Bologna, 1566–1638) and his *Intavolatura di liuto, et di chitarrone* (1623). In her liner notes, Kenny discusses how Piccinini guides players on matters of voicing and ornamentation. All three toccatas alternate free, rhapsodic passages with imitative sections, but each of the three has its own distinct personality. Toccata III launches the recital with a splendid arpeggio that shows off the theorbo's extensive tonal and dynamic range as well as its re-entrant tuning. Toccata X is gentler, with sweet consonances at the beginning: notice Kenny's controlled sleight of hand on a deceptive cadence about two thirds of the way in. Toccata XII features dovetailing sequences in the imitative sections that unravel into rhapsodic passages with graceful, virtuosic *tirate*, or rapid scalar slurs.

The rest of the Piccinini set includes short dances and romanescas—a pair of each. Just try to listen to the Ciaccona without tapping your foot. The Corrente is a bit more subtle, with swung dotted rhythms and delicate counterpoint. The Romanesca *con partite variate* introduces a reflective theme. Kenny's voicing in this extended set of variations is outstanding: clear and balanced as it is, we never lose track of the melody. The Romanesca *folia* variations feature dance-like strumming and *tirate*.

The next "old" music set is from Giovanni Girolamo Kapsperger's fourth and final book of music for chitarrone, published in Rome in 1640. This is another valuable source with a preface that offers performance practice guidance. Kapsperger (c. 1580–1651) was a Venetian and Roman lutenist, guitarist, and composer of German descent. He was an adventurous and highly acclaimed composer, and his Toccata prima is one of the highlights of this collection. Kenny explores timbres in this work with a kaleidoscope of textures—virtuosic slurs as well as cross-string scalar and arpeggiated passages that exploit the re-entrant tuning: the theorbo as an acrobatic and colorful dragonfly. The Passacaglia is a lilting dance over a chord sequence with chains of delicately resolving dissonances. Kenny humorously dismisses the catchy, entertaining Canario-Capona when she says that "a three-chord trick is always full of possibilities."

The last old music in the program is from French lute and guitar player and composer, Robert de Visée (c. 1655–1732/3). Likely a pupil of the guitarist Francesco Corbetta (c. 1615–1681), who was active in the court of Louis XIV, Visée succeeded Corbetta as the King's guitar teacher and was a frequent performer at court. His Suite in C Minor includes "La plainte, ou Tombeau des mesdemoiselles de Visée," about which Kenny says, "How many daughters are included in this memory is a private

detail he reserved for himself.” Given both the genre and the times, the affect of grief is paramount and gives special license to express pain. The theme is in a throaty mezzo range, and at the most intense moments Kenny purposely crosses the intonation line with her string-bending vibratos; together Visée and Kenny become funeral singers expressing this music’s excruciating path toward resolution. It’s a grief that infects the entire suite and is notably echoed in the Sarabande. The seventeenth-century French style of subtly outlining tonality within the empty spaces of broken chords is brilliantly represented throughout the Suite in C minor, especially in the preludes. In “Les sylvains de Mr. Couperin”—Visée’s interpretation of a piece from the first *ordre* of the harpsichordist’s *Pièces de clavecin*, book 1—repeated sections of simple tunes with swung dotted rhythms alternate with arpeggiated sections to build drama and intensity, only to unravel at the end.

BUT THERE IS ALSO new music on this program. From Kenny’s liner notes: “The chitarrone/theorbo, with its slippery identity—serious and comic—represents a key moment in intellectual history, but it is also just another big guitar, and I am privileged to play and record some twenty-first-century encounters with its sound.”

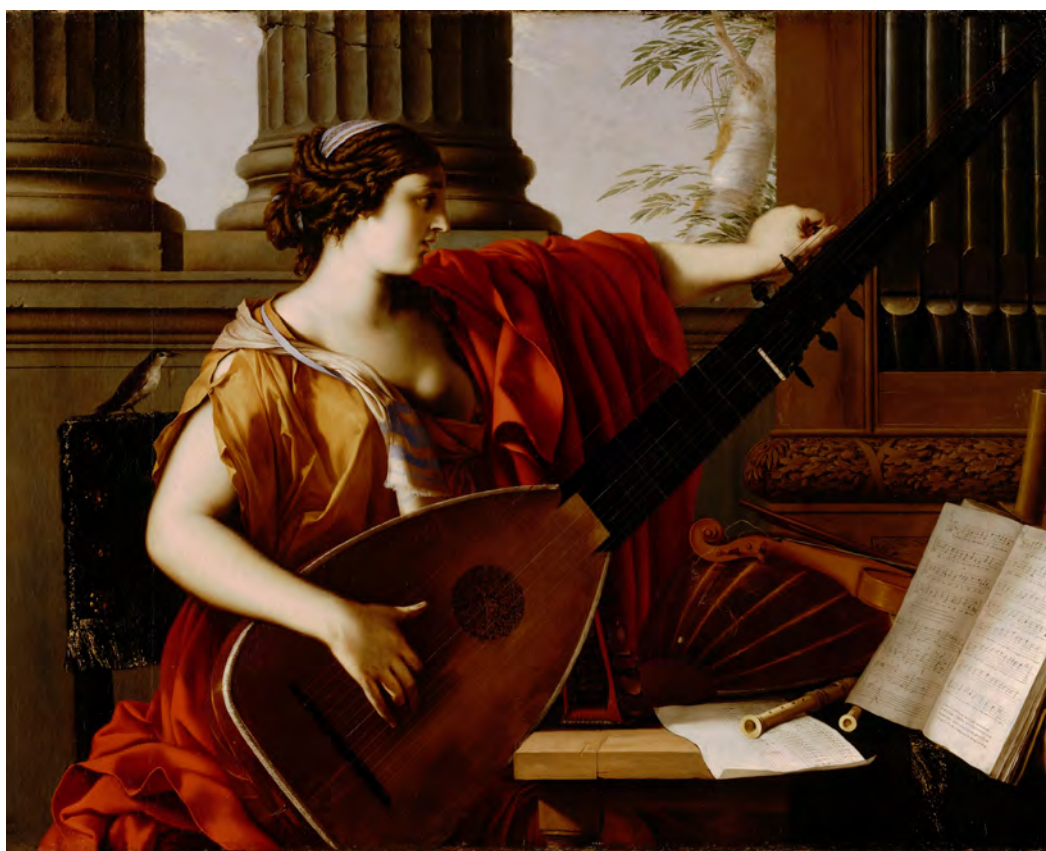
Motet 1 by Sir James MacMillan (b. 1959) is excerpted from his *Since it was the day of Preparation...* (2010–11). Composed originally for the Hebrides Ensemble, Synergy Vocals, and Brindley Sherratt, it is scored for five singers and five instruments that portray the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. In this ensemble the theorbo represents human fragility and sadness. Placed in this program among the seventeenth-century Piccinini works, Motet 1 bears brief but striking testament to the expressive timbral and dynamic power of the theorbo.

The two newest works in the recital are both composed for Kenny and both are by composers born in 1981: Benjamin Oliver and Nico Muhly. Placed between the Kapsperger and Visée sets, Oliver’s *Extending from the Inside* is for me another highlight of the album. Oliver describes the form as “six sections that contain three main musical materials. These materials are presented in their simplest forms in the opening page and are then gradually elaborated and extended as the work develops.”

A sharp-edged rhythmic and motivic ostinato in the bass line moves throughout the work as an anchor, but a contrapuntal treble melody frequently interrupts. This work explores the theorbo’s dynamic range with whispers and shouts. Kenny exhibits impressive control, especially with voicing: even during the imposingly forceful strums, the single melodic line stands out brilliantly. By the end, the anchor motive has changed into something gentler, with bell-like harmonics.

Kenny describes Muhly’s *Berceuse with Seven Variations* as “constructed around a cycle of twenty-four chords, spaced with maximum distance between the lowest and highest notes. Each variation explores various paths through this cycle, but always keeping the idea of a cradle-song, a berceuse, in the background.”

I think of Muhly’s work as more of a chain of sections connected by textures and motives than as a set of discrete movements. Some of these sections move right into the next without pause, and they reference or sometimes even prefigure each other, despite their contrasting characters and textures. The first berceuse (the second



Laurent de La Hire (1606–1656), *Allegory of Music* (1649). Metropolitan Museum of Art, public domain, via [Wikimedia Commons](#).

movement) features short-long rhythms and resolutions that recall baroque style but with decidedly modern tonality. “Scattershot” (the fourth movement) increases tension with arpeggios that include hints of harmonics, prefiguring the following movement, “Lilt,” which highlights harmonics. The last movement, “Coda,” begins with tremolos (referencing “Stutter,” the sixth movement) but continues to unwind and decay in a final section that recalls the first movements. It’s a sophisticated work that rewards multiple listenings.

ARS LONGA is a splendid collection of seventeenth- and twenty-first-century music, which Kenny performs with power, virtuosity, and imagination. Her performance was beautifully captured in Cooper Hall, Frome, UK, in late 2018 by Philip Hobbs, with Julia Thomas in charge of post-production. The well-designed CD booklet uses details from de La Hire’s *Allegory of Music* on its cover. Lady Music is playing the theorbo, of course.



About the Reviewer

Jocelyn Nelson holds a DMA from the University of Colorado at Boulder, and MA and BM (*magna cum laude*) degrees from the University of Denver, Lamont School of Music. Dr. Nelson has taught music history, music appreciation, lute and guitar literature, early guitar and lute performance, opera history, and Indigenous music and culture in Eastern North America at East Carolina University's School of Music. *Ma Guiterre je te chante*, a 2010 recording of sixteenth-century French guitar and vocal music with vocalist Amy Bartram, garnered favorable reviews in the United States, United Kingdom, and France. Recent work includes authorship of a music appreciation textbook *Gateway to Music: An Introduction to American Vernacular, European Art, and World Musical Traditions* (Cognella, 2018), which won a 2019 "Most Promising New Textbook Award" from the Textbook and Academic Authors Association. Dr. Nelson currently explores barriers to equity in academia while teaching off the tenure track, and she serves as the chair of the College Music Society's Academic Citizenship Committee.

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