Marshall University
Marshall Digital Scholar

Music Faculty Research | Music

Fall 12-2015

The History of the Guitar

Júlio Ribeiro Alves
Marshall University, alves@marshall.edu

Follow this and additional works at: http://mds.marshall.edu/music_faculty

 Part of the Musicology Commons, Music Pedagogy Commons, Music Performance Commons, Music Practice Commons, and the Other Music Commons

Recommended Citation
Alves, Júlio Ribeiro. The History of the Guitar: Its Origins and Evolution. Huntington, 2015.

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Music at Marshall Digital Scholar. It has been accepted for inclusion in Music Faculty Research by an authorized administrator of Marshall Digital Scholar. For more information, please contact zhangj@marshall.edu.

The History of the Guitar:

Its Origins and Evolution

A Handbook

for the

Guitar Literature Course

at

Marshall University

Júlio Ribeiro Alves

To Eustáquio Grilo,

Inspiring teacher and musician

Table of Contents

Introduction	3
Chapter 1: The Origins	6
Chapter 2: The Guitar in the Renaissance	14
The Vihuela	15
The Four-Course Guitar	31
The Lute	40
Chapter 3: The Guitar in the Baroque	43
Chapter 4: The Guitar in the Classic and Romantic Periods	68
Towards the Six-String Guitar	68
Guitar Personalities of the Nineteenth Century	76
Chapter 5: The Transition to the Twentieth Century	102
Chapter 6: The Guitar in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century In the Twenty-First Century	138
Notable Performers	139
The Guitar as an Ensemble Instrument	149
Guitar Composers of the Twentieth and Twenty First Centuries	154
New Improvements in Guitar Strings and Construction	161
Conclusion	163
Bibliography	165

Introduction

"Las Mujeres y Cuerdas

Las mujeres y cuerdas
De la guitarra,
Es menester talento
Para templarlas.

Flojas no suenan,
Y suelen saltar muchas
Si las aprietan."[1]

The poem above, used by Catalan composer and guitarist Fernando Sor in one of his *Seguidillas Boleras*, was well known in Spain during the 1800's. It represents an account of the presence and popularity of the guitar in Spain during that time. Although the status of the instrument differed in other countries and periods, people from the most diverse social layers have rendered themselves to the deepness and beauty of its sound in a variety of genres and styles, disseminated in a vast literature throughout history.

The sound of stretched strings over some type of resonance box seems to have been part of social aggregations from their beginnings. It was strong enough to be influential even in the realm of mythology. A legend from the fourth Homeric hymn describes the invention of the first plucked-string instrument and associates it with a magical power, capable to captivate even a god. The instrument is portrayed as a central element in the resolution of a conflict between the brothers Hermes and Apollo, two of the sons of Zeus.

[1]Brian Jeffery, ed., *Six Seguidillas Boleras* (London: Tecla Editions, 1976), 12. The English translation is "Women and guitar strings: It is needed talent to tune them. If they are slack they don't sound; and lots of them, if you tighten them too much, break."

According to the story, the first had invented the first plucked-string instrument by stretching strings made from cow gut into the carapace of a dead turtle. Homer also tells us that as an infant, Hermes had stolen Apollo's cattle. At some point, Hermes was compelled by Zeus to reveal the theft to his brother, who then demanded his cattle to be returned. When Hermes was on the way to do so, he played his invention. Incapable to resist the beautiful and mysterious sonority of Hermes's instrument, Apollo agreed not to kill his brother and even allowed him to keep the stolen cattle in exchange for the instrument.

The Bible also mentions the existence of an instrument of a different sort, but which also applied the principle of stretching strings. This harp-like instrument is mentioned in the book of Genesis. In the description of the genealogy of Cain, it is mentioned that a woman named Adah gave birth to two sons: Jabal and Jubal. The first one would have been "the father of those who live in tents and raise livestock," while the second is mentioned as "the father of all who play the harp and the flute."[2]

The notion many times attributed to the guitar of having an inexplicable sound, capable of penetrating and reaching even unknown dimensions of one's self, seems to fit adequately to the puzzling reality of the origins of its historical process. Although scholars have presented ideas regarding the origin of the guitar and its inclusion in the European society, most of what has gotten to us about this matter can only be guessed. On the other hand, there are several sources that make possible the understanding of the history and the literature of the instrument since the fourteenth century.

This book has neither the purpose of reinventing nor of rewriting the history of the instrument. Conceived as instructional material for the guitar students at Marshall

[2]Gen.4:20-21(Life Application Study Bible: King James Version).

University (or anyone interested in the subject), it presents the historical process of the guitar in a clear and attainable fashion. Several topics related to the guitar will be discussed in detail throughout the book: the postulates associated with its origins, its evolution through the centuries, its repertoire, composers, performers, techniques, etc., culminating with the achievement of the privileged status of a respected concert instrument which it currently possesses.

Chapter 1: The Origins

There is no documentation that allows one to define the facts concerning the genesis of the guitar with absolute certainty. Thus, one can only speculate about subjects such as the place of origin or the specific dates in which the first guitars (or instruments resembling a guitar) were made. Connections of this sort can be perhaps supported by iconographic examples that reveal instruments portraying a guitar-like shape. Nonetheless, evidence is scarce and attempts to prove the existence of the guitar as a distinct instrument prior to the fifteenth century are only conjectures.

In the classification of musical instruments, the guitar is a member of the chordophone family. A chordophone is an instrument in which the sound is made by the vibration of strings.[3] The family tree of the chordophones presents five groups: bows, harps, zithers, lyres, and lutes. The guitar belongs to the group of the lutes, which is further subdivided into two sub-groups: bowed and plucked instruments." [4]

The oldest example of a chordophone is believed to be the *musical bow*, which would have been developed from the hunting bow. In its simplest form, it had one single string fastened to the ends of a flexible stick. As it developed, extra strings with other lengths allowing for new pitches, and resonators made from a gourd, or wood, or some other material, were added. The result is an instrument called the *bow harp*.

---

[3]Ruth Midgley, ed.: *Musical Instruments of the World* (Holland: Paddington Press Ltd., 1976), 164.
[4]This classification would be more thorough if the term "strummed" was inserted together with "plucked." Hornbostel and Sachs present a different classification for the instruments of the chordophone family, grouping them into two distinct categories: the simple chordophones (zither-type instruments: bar zithers, tube zithers, raft zithers, board zithers, trough zithers, and frame zithers), and the composite chordophones (lutes, harps, and harp lutes).

The linguistic origin of the guitar can be traced back to Sanskrit derived languages such as Bengali, Hindi, and Urdu, from the northern India, and to those of central Asia, most specifically modern Persian. An analysis of the cardinal numbers involving Sanskrit and Persian (Old and Modern) reveals several types of instruments connected with the word *târ*, meaning string. The instruments were named by adding a prefix that indicated the number of strings it had. Thus, the Sanskrit words *dvi, tri, chatur, and pancha,* associated to the numbers two, three, four, and five, became the words *do, se, char, and panj* in modern Persian.

Some of these instruments such as the *dotâr* in Turkistan, and the *setâr* in modern Iran are still in existence today. Following this line of reasoning, the *chartâr*, a four-string version of the *târ,* would eventually have reached Spain in the beginnings of the A.D. era. The name *chartâr* would have become the Spanish word *quitarra.* The similarity between this word and the Greek *kithara* is quite obvious, and according to Michael Kasha, the fact that both the earliest Greek *kitharas* and *lyres* had four strings could explain the connection between the words.[5]

In spite of the etymological relationship between the terms kithara and guitar, the widely spread notion that the guitar evolved from the *kithara* has been long ago proved to be mistaken. Nonetheless, several books in which the origin of the guitar is mentioned to some extent still associate it with this Greco-Assyrian instrument.[6] Kasha's article, dated from August 1968 published in the Guitar Review, indicates four postulates which were

[5]Michael Kasha, "A New Look at the History of the Classic Guitar," *Guitar Review* No.30 (August 1968): 3.
[6]Nicholas Bersaraboff*, Ancient European Musical Instruments; an Organological Study of the Musical Instruments in the Leslie Lindsey Mason Collection at the Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941), 241.

formulated and confronted against the archeological and written evidence: the *accordatura*, the *morphology*, the *complexity*, and the *geographical continuity* postulates.

Two of the postulates described by Kasha are used in the article to refute the notion that the guitar had its roots in the *kithara*. The *complexity* postulate infers that the number of strings tend to increase progressively over the centuries. If true, it would be very unlikely that the *kithara,* possessing seven to eleven strings would have evolved into a four-course instrument during the middle ages. The validity of this postulate is strengthened by the fact that the *kithara* is known to have reached as many as twenty strings before it became obsolete.[7]

Perhaps stronger is the *morphology* postulate, by which the process of evolution of an instrument can be traced back to its origins via observation of very slow changes over broad periods of time such as centuries and millennia. According to it, the *kithara* would not be associated with the guitar because it was a harp-like instrument without neck and did not bear any resemblance with the latter.

Even before Kasha presented these postulates, other researchers had to look for different alternatives to the question regarding the ancestors of the guitar because the absence of a neck in the *kithara* was a definite reason for its non-acceptance as the precursor of the guitar. Among the quoted plausible ancestors are the long-necked lutes found in the region between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers (the early Mesopotamia and Anatolia), the lutes from Uzbekistan (dating from the first century), and the Egyptian bas-reliefs of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties (3762-3703 B.C).[8] Another account is

[7]Kasha, 4.
[8]Chase Gilbert, *The Music of Spain* (New York, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 1959), 512.

found in the stone carvings of Hittite monuments dated 1000 B.C. encountered in Alaja Höyük in Turkey.[9]

From a morphological standpoint, the guitar would have evolved from the earlier single-neck stringed instruments. In its initial stage, these instruments would have a long neck attached to some type of resonator that could be made from a variety of materials, from skulls to vegetable gourds that would be partially covered with animal skin. The Sanskrit word for gourd (*tan*) led to the general term *tanbur*. Later the gourd gave place to a solid wood box, and the animal skin was replaced by a soundboard also made from wood.[10]

Following the course of development, single-neck stringed instruments received a more refined treatment in craftsmanship: the old system of construction by which a solid block of wood would be carved until becoming a sound-box was replaced by a new one featuring the inclusion of sides or ribs as separators of the top and bottom parts. This principle directly relates to the construction of the guitar.

The process of tracing the guitar back in time presents other issues that add to the already "swampy" scenario. For example, Tyler calls attention to the misinterpretation of the terms *guitarra, guiterne, chitarra,* and *gittern* by some historians who, finding them in medieval texts, wrongly assumed that they were related to the guitar. Nowadays it has been known that the terms were used to describe small high-pitched lutes and not the guitar.[11]

---

[9]Graham Wade, *A Concise History of the Classic Guitar* (Pacific, MO: Mel Bay Publications, 2001), 13.
[10]It is interesting to note that folk instruments such as the Balkan *tamburitsa*, the Iranian *setâr*, and the Turkish *saz* still bear a strong relationship with earlier examples of ancient *tamburs* encountered in archeological artifacts of early Persia and Mesopotamia.
[11]Paul Sparks, "The Guitar Before Torres," in Tony Bacon et al., *The Classical Guitar: A Complete History* (San Francisco, CA: Backbeat Books, 2002), 11. Although the source of this information is not provided in

The most controversial aspect is perhaps whether the guitar is indigenous of the European region or was brought into the continent by the Arabs during the Middle Age. There has been a broad acceptance to the latter, by which the guitar would be related to an Arabic instrument called *ūd*, a short-necked, plectrum-played, and with a round back. Although this view is indeed plausible, the direct participation of the *ūd* in the development towards guitar like instruments is still not clear.

Regarding the *ūd*, it was an instrument related to the tanbur, which evolution took a different direction in the Arabian countries. Like the tanbur, the *ūd* was fretless but presented different proportions from the former. After the *ūd* entered Europe, it received frets by the Europeans and became the lute, derived from the Arabic term *Al' ūd,* via the Spanish name *laud.*[12]

Was the lute a predecessor of the guitar? Was it indeed inserted into Spain by the Arabs or did it already exist in Europe by the period of the Muslim Conquest? What is the actual degree of participation of the lute in the evolution process of the guitar?

When pondering such questions, one should consider that the Muslim courts in Eastern Mediterranean were highly developed in several areas of human society, and that it was no different with music. Since that was the case, it would be expected that such developed people would have diverse types of string instruments portraying various sizes, number of strings, and body-shapes. For the same reason, one must consider the existence of different string instruments to also be a reality during the times of the Roman hegemony.

---

this book, I believe it was extracted from the fifteenth page of James Tyler's *The Early Guitar*. The terms are equally arranged in both books, and the first one was published twenty-two years after the second.

[12]Paul Guy, "A Brief History of the Guitar," Guitar Handbook, http://wwwguyguitars.com/eng/handbook/BriefHistory.html (accessed June 4, 2006).

Following the presented line of thought, one may conclude that what most likely happened was a type of "amalgamation of musical styles and practices" which involved different types of string instruments, some already existent in Europe at the time of the Arabic insertion, and others brought by the Muslims as a result of the invasion. In the midst of the variety, there was one main aspect to be considered when classifying a string instrument at the time: its neck.[13] In this sense, one would find the classification "long necked" or "short necked" lutes.[14]

The classification may seem arbitrary at first. Nonetheless, it actually relates to the function and kind of music each type of instrument would play: short "lutes" used several strings in sequence to convey melodic passages without excessive stretches to the hands, mainly employing the first few positions of the instrument, therefore eliminating the need for a long neck. On the other hand, melodies on long necked lutes would be played on only one or two strings, while the remaining would provide the accompaniment. As a result long necked lutes would have few strings, usually two or three, while the short necked ones would have four or more.

The influence of the Romans and the Muslims in the distinctiveness of stringed instruments is confirmed by the existence of two recognizable types of instruments: the *guitarra latina* and the *guitarra morisca*. The latter was related to the *tanbur-tar-saz* family of Middle Eastern long lutes associated with the Muslims. The former was a short-necked plucked instrument, possibly of various sizes and shapes. In fact, the term

[13]Curt Bouterse, "Medieval Instruments IIIa: Guitarras," Alfonso X: Instruments then & Now, http://home .earthlink.net/~curtis_bouterse/id4.html (accessed July2, 2007).
[14]To the thorough understanding of the present discussion, the term "lute" will be used with a generic meaning, representing the diverse types of string instruments.

guitarra latina was used with generic meaning, to describe "a plucked stringed instrument: not the Muslim one." [15]

Iconographical evidence of the *guitarra latina* and the *guitarra morisca* is documented in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, one of the largest collections of monophonic songs from the middle ages written during the reign of Alfonso X "El Sabio" (1221-1284). His Kingdom included the regions of Castilla, Toledo, Leon, Galicia, Sevilla, Cordoba, Murcia, Jaen and the Algarbe." The various types of *latinas* and *moriscas* seen in the collection relates to the presence of Christians, Jews, and Muslims musicians, poets, and scientists serving in his court.

The majority of the pieces in the collection are *Cantigas de miragres* (accounts of the miracles performed by the Blessed Virgin), while every tenth is a *Cantiga de loor* (a hymn in her praise). Currently, there are several web sources related to the *Cantigas*, and one can easily find pictures of the two distinct types of instruments. Examples of the different *guitarras latinas* can be found in *Cantigas* Nos. 10, 20, and 150, and those of the *guitarras moriscas* can be encountered in *Cantigas* Nos. 120, 130, and 140.

In the search for a meaningful way to understand the ancestors of the guitar, another view would arise from a compromise between the ones already presented. It would not be out of reason to consider that both harp-like and lute-like instruments could have simultaneously participated in the process that would ultimately lead to the appearance of guitar-like instruments. This is reasonable because the general principle of stretching strings over a resonator is common ground for both types of instruments, and several types of harp like and lute-like instruments co-existed in different regions.

[15]Curt Bouterse, "Guitarra Latina," Alfonso X: Instruments then & Now, http://home.earthlink.net/curtis_bouterse/id6.html (accessed July 2, 2007).

As the reader may have observed at this point, the broad mosaic of speculative views regarding the birth of the guitar apparently makes a precise account of the facts an almost impossible task. Although so many points remain unanswered, it is definitely known that the presence of the Arabs in Europe, most remarkably influencing the musical practices of Spain, resulted in the dissemination of several types of plucked instruments into the social life of the continent.[16] James Tyler points that both early and modern writers about the guitar embrace the theory that the guitar had its origins connected to the Iberian Peninsula.[17]

With the insertion of the Arabs a type of "natural selection" process among the diverse plucked instruments occurred gradually, and an instrument would continue in existence until the advent of a superior version. Thus, some specimens disappeared while others were favored and continued to develop. In this context, one would not find characteristics allowing an unequivocal identification of the guitar as a distinct musical instrument until about the sixteenth century,[18] which calls for a discussion of two important ancestors of the modern guitar in the next chapter: the vihuela and the four-course guitar.

[16]Robert Dearling, ed., *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Musical Instruments* (New York, NY: Schirmer Books, 1996), 76.
[17]James Tyler, *The Early Guitar: a History and Handbook* (London: Oxford University Press, 1980), 15.
[18]Dearling, 76.

Chapter 2: The Guitar in the Renaissance

The evolution of the guitar achieved a new phase during the sixteenth century, as documentary evidence can confirm. The instrument passed through transformations during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and some clear characteristics of the guitar became established. By the sixteenth century, the two important instruments that played a crucial role in the evolution of the modern guitar were the vihuela and the four-course guitar.

The Vihuela

During the Renaissance, outside of Spain and Italy, the term vihuela was used in conjunction with other guitar-related terms as a general way to indicate instruments displaying fingerboards and necks.[19] The vihuelas were then specified by the particular way in which they were played. In this sense, there were three types of vihuelas: *vihuela da mano, vihuela de arco,* and *vihuela de peñola (*or *vihuela de púa),* respectively played with the fingers, the bow, and the plectrum. Gradually, the *da mano* version became favored over the others.[20]

Although substantial literature for the instrument can be found, only two actual *vihuelas* have been preserved. One is in Quito in the church of the *Compañia de Jésus*, and would have been used by Santa Mariana de Jésus who would play it and sing praises to Christ. The other is in Paris, as an item of the collection of the *Musée Jaquemart-André*. In spite of the lack of *vihuela* specimens, there are several pictorial examples of the actual instrument that are extremely useful to the understanding of the instrument and its historical context. From these examples, the first ones to reveal a guitar-like instrument possessing an "eight-like" shape, a neck, and a flat back date from the fifteenth century.

The vihuela had great acceptance especially in Italy and Spain, and it was more used than the lute in these countries. The prominence of the vihuela over the lute in Italy can be supported by pictorial evidence found in the publication *Practica Musicae*, by

[19]A. Corona-Alcalde, "The Vihuela and the Guitar in the Sixteenth-Century Spain: a Critical Appraisal of some of the Existing Evidence," *The Lute*, xxx (1990): 3-24.
[20]Harvey Turnbull, *The Guitar from the Renaissance to the Present Day* (Westport, CT: The Bold Strummer Ltd.), 5-7.

Franchinus Gaforus, where a viola da mano appears in the hands of Apollo while the lute appears in a lower position.[21] Juan Bermudo also spoke of a picture of Mercury holding a vihuela that was in the form of a lyre.[22] The fact that the viola da mano was so fashionable in Italy was most likely a result of the Spanish presence there (Naples and Sicily, for instance, were led by the House of Aragon). The Spanish term 'vihuela da mano' became then the Italian 'viola da mano'.

It is important to bear in mind that although the term vihuela was used with the general meaning previously indicated, it was also used in Spain to refer to a specific guitar-like instrument, independently of being followed by the indication 'da mano.' The same occurred with the counterpart Italian term 'viola.' This point can lead one to misinterpretation. To avoid misinterpretation, Tyler advises that one "must consider carefully the context of each individual reference." [23]

The vihuela had incurved sides, twelve strings in six double-courses and tuned according to the following order of intervals: perfect fourth/perfect fourth/major third/perfect fourth/perfect fourth, an order similar to the one used by the lute. The specific pitches were not advocated because at that time one would have to take several factors into consideration in order to decide the actual pitches of the open strings. Thus, the tuning sometimes would be simply a matter of personal preference. At other times, and in this case it was probably a more decisive factor, the player would subject the tuning in order to find the best way to overcome the limitations imposed by the instrument itself and by the quality and/or tension of the strings available. This factor was given attention by Tyler, who mentions:

---

[21]Turnbull, 7.
[22]Emilio Pujol, *Introduction to Mudarra's Tres libros de musica en cifra para vihuela* (Barcelona, 1949), 6.
[23]Tyler, 17.

> On the other hand, it was probably as difficult to find good, plain gut strings of sufficient quality to be used as pairs of unisons in the bass of the *vihuela*, as it was to find them for the lute, and perhaps few players could afford the luxury. Wound strings did not come into use until the mid-seventeenth century.[24]

An important source of information regarding the vihuela (and also the guitar and the *bandurria,* which was a very small guitar related instrument of treble range) in the sixteenth century is Juan Bermudo's theory book entitled *El libro primo de la declaracion de instrumentos musicales*. The book was first published in 1549 and six years later expanded to a new edition under the title *El libro llamado declaracion de instrumentos musicales*. Keeping in mind the flexibility in the way the instrument could be tuned, the tunings indicated by Bermudo for the six-course vihuela match the ones of the normal lute and are *A, d, g, b, e', a'* or *G, c, f, a, d', g'*. He also mentions two tunings for a seven-course vihuela: *G', D, G, d, g, d', g'* and *G', D, G, B, f#, b, d'*.

The *declaracion de instrumentos musicales* also discusses another type of vihuela, the *discante* or *vihuela menor*. This instrument was smaller than the vihuela although it also contained six-courses, which were tuned up to a perfect fifth higher than that instrument. Contrasting to the *discante* was an eight-course vihuela (also named *viola Napolitano*) mentioned in the *Libro de descripcion de verdaderos*, a manuscript dating from 1599 by Francisco Pachero.[25] From those times, one can realize that the experimentation with different number of strings has been a normal approach given to plucked instruments throughout history. Indeed, we still observe the same tendency in the modern classical guitar.

The vihuela was influenced by the prevailing style of lute composition. It was used for polyphonic accompaniment to the voice, to play motets and masses, or its own

[24]Tyler, 23.
[25]Ibid.

literature, represented by the dance forms and the fantasias. The vihuelists transmitted the polyphony of the Franco-Belgiam and Venetian schools and added to this their inherent lyricism.[26] Spanish vihuelists were the first to cultivate the school of the art of variation, preceding the organists in this.

The notation of vihuela music used a notational system known as *cifra* (cipher), which was known outside of Spain as tablature. The word cipher is derived from the Arabic *sifr*, which had an interesting development. Originally it signified "empty." Later it became "zero," and then "any Arabic numeral," until it finally acquired the meaning of "something written in code." The *cifra* or tablature differed from the traditional staff notation employed by other instruments. A line represented each string and specific symbols represented the positions on the fingerboard that the player had to press in order to produce the notes. The tablatures of Italian and Spanish music used numbers, while the French used letters. The duration of the notes were given by placing specific values such as whole notes, half notes, etc. above the lines. The top line of the tablature was equivalent to the bottom course of the instrument in the Italian and Spanish tablatures, while in France and England the procedure was the contrary. Milan used a peculiar type of tablature combining elements of both the Italian and the French types, using numbers to indicate the positions but adopting the bottom line of the tablature instead of the top one to mean the bottom course.[27]

The Spanish repertoire for the vihuela is compound of seven collections published during the sixteenth century and manuscripts that can be found in some European libraries. Among these manuscripts are the *Manuscrito de Simancas* (containing only

[26]Pujol, 7-8.
[27]Martha Nelson, "Notes on Musica en Cifra," *Guitar Review,* No. 38 (Summer 1973): 23.

seven pieces), the *Ramillete de flores* (containing ten pieces, and being the earliest known source of *folias*) located in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, and the *Manuscrito Barberini* (possibly portraying the first occurrence of a *seguidilla*), part of the collection of the Biblioteka JagielloDska in Cracovia. The last was copied in Italy and contains Italian lute pieces and some examples of music for the vihuela.

Sources for the vihuela in Spain are still represented by three other manuscripts which present compilations of pieces copied from the books of Alonso de Mudarra and Henrique Valderrábano, and by vihuela music in a copy of Lucio Marineo Síciulo's *Epistolarum familiarum* (in the British Library in London). Two other Spanish books, one by Antonio de Cabezón (published in 1557) and the other by Luys Venegas de Henestrosa (published in 1558) also featured music that could be performed on the keyboard, harp, or the vihuela.[28] The scarce number of surviving sources, which could mistakenly lead one to question the popularity of the instrument publications in the sixteenth century, results from the fact that many manuscripts were lost. An example is the *Primeira parte do index de livraria de musica* (First part of the music library index) of the Portuguese monarch João IV, which has documented entries of vihuela sources now lost.

The seven publications for the vihuela adopted the same notational system as the lute (i.e., the Italian tablature) although there was a difference in the tuning and the number of strings and frets. A peculiar treatment to the tablature notation can be found in the works of Luys Milán, which will be later discussed in the paper. From the repertoire

[28]The books are: Luys Venegas de Henestrosa's *El libro de cifra nueva* (1557), and Antonio de Cabezón's *Obras de música para arpa, tecla, y vihuela* (1578). The last one contains a fragment of music written for a vihuela of seven courses.

published, one can find *masses*, *hymns*, *psalms*, *fantasias*, *tientos* (preludes), *madrigals*, *fabordones*, *duos*, *diferencias*, *fugas*, *danzas*, *sonetos*, and *villancicos*.

The pioneer example of vihuela book in tablature dates from 1536. It is titled *Libro de musica de vihuela da mano: Intitulado El Maestro* and was written by Luys Milán, whose date of birth and death are not known.[29] Before digging into the details of the publication, I will present information about Milán and the context of the society in which he integrated during the early half of the sixteenth century.

At those times, Valencia was carrying a long tradition of being fond of pluralism of ideas and tolerant of diverse religious trends. This situation changed after the Inquisitorial Edict of 1512, which created tension between Christians, Jews, and Muslims, and led many people to forcefully convert to the Catholic faith. Those people were called *conversos*. It has been speculated that Milán was a *converso*, and that very possibly he was of Jewish background.[30]

With this context in mind, one may ponder about Milán's style of composition in this publication recognized as one of the most important sources of music for the vihuela. Although we do not know for sure if the assumptions made about Milán in the anterior paragraph are exact, it is curious that *El Maestro* was dedicated to João II of Portugal, a monarchy known at that time to be associated with the *converso.*[31] If Milán was indeed a *converso* then the lack of religious music in *El Maestro* (a typical feature of the period) and the dedication to the Portuguese monarch could both be seen as indicators of the

[29]Milan's works for the vihuela were the first to be published in a transcription for the modern guitar, which was done by Leo Schrade in 1927.
[30]Luis Gásser, *Luis Milán on Sixteenth-Century Performance Practice* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996), 9.
[31]Gásser, 12.

author's alternative to set his creative process free from the influence of the religious trends in vogue in Spain during the time of the publication of the book.

The maturity of *El Maestro*'s style seems to indicate that the Spaniards had already been cultivating a tradition in music for plucked instruments. Spanish lutenists can be traced back to the early parts of the fifteenth century, and the practice of accompanying the voice singing either in Castilian or in Catalan was traditional in Spain more than a century before Milán's publication. It is also relevant to consider that in the same year which *El Maestro* was being published, three important books of lute tablatures were also produced in Italy: Francesco da Milano's *Intabolatura di Liuto de diversi, con la bataglia, et alter bellisimae* (in Venice), Francesco Milanese's *Intavolatura de viola o vero lauto… Libro primo e Secondo della Fortuna* (in Naples), and Giovanni Casteliono's *Intabolatura de leuto de diversi autori novamente stampata* (in Milan).

El Maestro was clearly intended to instruct gentlemen in the fashionable art of playing the vihuela.[32] A curious feature is that the intabulations, so common in the publication for lute, are not in the work and were replaced by the author's own songs. It contains seventy-two pieces and it is organized into two main parts, each one displaying a structure comprising fantasias and songs.
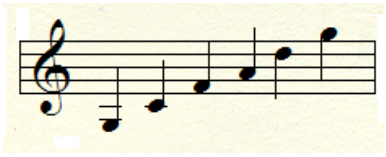
There are twenty-eight fantasias in the first part of *El Maestro* and twenty-two in the second part. Three types of songs are represented: Spanish and Portuguese

[32]The title of the book brings the following explanation: "Libro de música de vihuela de mano titulado El Maestro, el cual trae el mismo estilo y orden que un maestro traería con un discípulo principiante, mostrándole ordenadamente desde los principios toda cosa que podría ignorar para entender la presente obra, dándole en cada dieposicíon que se hallara la música conforme a sus manos… Este libro… es su intención formar y hacer un músico de vihuela de mano de aquella misma manera que un maestro haría en un discípulo que nunca hubiese tañido."

villancicos, *romances* or *ballads*, and *sonnets*. Five *villancicos* are written in two versions: in one the vihuela accompanies a voice part which calls for improvisatory ornamentation by the singer while in the other the instrument's part is the one to be ornamented, although the ornamentation is actually written.[33]

The first part also contains six *pavanas*, which have become popular in the repertoire of the modern classical guitar, and are the only pieces in the publication that do not preserve the improvisatory nature typical of instrumental music at this time. The inclusion of these *pavanas* in *El Maestro* is also interesting because its approach to dance forms was not a common feature of the vihuela repertoire, although it was extremely popular in lute music. The tuning of the vihuela of six courses was the following:

Ex.1: Tuning of the Six-Course Vihuela



It is quite possible that a reader may not be familiar with the song forms such described in the last paragraph. Thus, an explanation is appropriate at this point. The first one to be discussed is the *villancico*. Rooted in the word *villán*, meaning peasant, it was of extreme importance in Spanish secular music. It had a poetic structure that could vary, and was connected with the Italian *balatta*, the French *virelay*, and the Arabic *zajal*. Earlier *villancicos* had courtly love as the favorite theme, although later types approached themes with religious or popular contents. The form of the *villancico* was typically in

[33]Gásser, 39-41.

two parts. The first belonged to the *estribillo* and the second to the *vuelta* (return). The meaning of the verses would dictate the order in which these two parts were to be sung.[34]

The second one, the *Romance*, had its literary meaning derived from the Latin *romanice*, signifying "in the vernacular tongue'. It was a style already well developed in Spain and has been traced back to before the fifteenth century, with the integration of the epic poems of the *Infantes de Lara* and the *Poema de mio Cid* in the repertory of *romances*. Evidence that the style was already well established at the times of the vihuelists was a poem from the mid-fourteenth century about a war between the half brothers Henry of Trastamara and Pedro the Cruel. As an art form, the *romance* suffered slight changes at every performance, as a result of the oral dissemination of the poems, which were at times sung with a strummed accompaniment. The topics of the *romances* were usually related to some historical occurrence about Spanish heroes, medieval French knights, or about biblical texts. This type of romance was called *romance viejo*. Another type, known as *romance fronterizo* (border ballad), had the final expulsion of the Moors from Spain as theme.[35] The last form, the *soneto*, represented musical settings of Italian sonnets.

El Maestro has the earliest written indications regarding tempo.[36] Milán was the first to mention the six-string guitar. He also mentioned that the temple viejos tuning was for strumming, while the temple nuevos one better suited for polyphony. His book provides insightful information about performance practices on the vihuela, such as the indication to play the *consonancias* (sections written in chordal style) slowly and the

[34]Rodrigo de Zayas, "The music of the Vihuelists and its Interpretation," *Guitar Review* No. 38 (Summer 1973): 10.
[35]Glenda Simpson and Barry Mason, "The Sixteenth-Century Spanish Romance: A Survey of the Spanish Ballad as Found in the Music of the Vihuelistas," *Early Music,* No.1 vol.5 (Jan.1977): 51.
[36]Peter Kun Frary, "The Vocal Romances of Luis Milan's El Maestro," *Guitar and Lute,* No.26 (1982): 73.

redobles (passages in scale-like fashion. A better description will be given further in this paper) more vividly, and also the description of the right hand techniques of the *dedillo* (type of plucking employing only the index finger) and the *de dos dedos* (another type using an alternation of the index finger with either the thumb or the middle finger) for playing scales.[37] The five-course guitar was becoming more popular.

El Maestro was published in the same year in which Naples saw the *Intavolatura de viola overo lauto cioe recetare, canzone Francese, motette, composta per lo eccelente e unico musico Francesco Milane*…, a collection of pieces written for the lute or the six course *viola da mano* by Francesco da Milano, one of the finest Italian lutenists of the period. Milán was not only pioneer in terms of publications for the vihuela, but he also was the first composer to have a complete edition of works for the vihuela transcribed for the modern guitar. The transcriber was Leo Schrade, in 1927. Although he occupies a privileged position both in the past and in the present, other important composers are to be considered in this paper, and their publications discussed in more detail.

Luis de Narváez (1505-1549) is one of such figures. A *maestro de música* in the court of Philip II, he wrote *Los seys libros del dolphin de música para vihuela* (Valladolid, 1538, dedicated to Don Francisco de los Couos). His work is more contrapuntal than chordal. His publication portrays the first appearance of the instrumental theme and variations and it has a particular historical significance, pointed by Tyler and Sparks, as the unequivocal source which proves that the vihuela and the four-course guitar were distinct instruments in the sixteenth-century Spain.[38]

---

[37]Turnbull, 26.
[38]James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and Its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2002), 5.

The publication is divided into six books, five of them were written for solo vihuela. The first one is compound of eight *tonos*. The second presents six fantasias. The work *Mille regres, La cancion del Emperador* found in the third book has become a popular piece among modern guitarists. Book four has a set of diferencias on *O gloriosa domina*, and another one on *Sacris solenniis*. More diferencias are to be found in the sixth book (*Conde claros, Guardame las vacas, and Baxa de contrapunto*). The fifth book is the only book written for voice and the vihuela. It completely transcribed for the first time by Emilio Pujol in 1945.

Another important name is that of Alonso de Mudarra, author of *Tres libros de música en cifra para vihuela* (Sevilla, 1546). The works were dedicated to Luys Zapata. It is particularly relevant to modern guitarists because it was the first to include music for the four-course guitar, the six solos which occur at the end of the first book. Three types of music are included: adaptation of vocal music to the vihuela, direct compositions for the instrument, and song accompanied by the vihuela. The third book includes a single *tiento* for harp or solo organ.

Mudarra's publication contains the old *fantasia*, *tiento*, *diferencias*, and *pavana*. New features include: song notated apart from tablature, *fantasia* with imitation, sub-theme, inversion, and rhythmic transformation. In the pair of dances *pavan* followed y *galliarda*, the *romanesca* sometimes substituted the later. The *tientos* in Mudarra's are shorter than those of Milán's fully developed ones. Emilio Pujol was the first guitarist to transcribe Mudarra's book for the modern guitar, which he did in 1949.

The selected list of vihuela composers also includes Enrique de Valderrábano. Although there is no biographical information about him, he was the author of *Silva de*

sirenas (1547, dedicated to Don Francisco de Çúñiga, Count of Miranda). With the exception of a facsimile edition of the book, only eight actual copies can still be found. Seven are located in some European libraries (Barcelona, Madrid, Valencia, Módena, London, and Vienna), and another one is in the Hispanic Society of America in New York. A complete edition of the composer's works has not been made yet, although Pujol transcribed ninety-seven pieces that were published in 1965.

The publication is divided into seven books. The first and second ones are written for voice (in cipher) and vihuela. It contains two fugues, an *Agnus Dei*, a *Benedictus*, and an *Osanna*, all in three voices. It also includes two four-voice *Agnus Dei*, one being an intabulation from a piece by Josquin. The thirty-four pieces of the second book are more elaborate than the seven ones of the first. They are written in four, five, and even six parts, presenting religious motets with the text in Latin, *sonnets*, *villancicos*, *romances*, *proverbios*, and *diferencias*.

The third book contains motets, songs, villancicos, and the voice part is presented in mensural notation instead of cipher. Book four is dedicated to repertoire for two vihuelas, and has sixteenth pieces. Books five and six are exclusively made of solo vihuela music. The fifth book is focused on fantasias (thirty three of them) while the sixth contains masses, songs, and sonnets. The seventh and last book is divided into two parts. The first one is for solo vihuela and presents *pavanas*, and diferencias (*Guardame las vacas*, and *Conde Claros*), while the music in the second part can be either performed by two vihuelas, or by one vihuela and a guitar.

Diego Pisador can be inserted in the middle phase of Spanish publications for the vihuela. His *El Libro de música de vihuela* was published in 1552, almost two decades

after Milán's El Maestro, and twenty four years before the publication of the last vihuela book in Spain by Esteban Daza. Dedicated to Prince Phillip, prince of Spain, it contains seven books that portray similar characteristics to the other publications already mentioned (i.e., music for solo vihuela, and music for voice and vihuela, with the voice sometimes written in cipher and other times in mensural notation).

Through the publication, one can easily identify a clear interest of the author in the masses of Josquin de Près, and also confirms the place of prominent status that the *fantasias* and *villancicos* occupied in the repertoire for the vihuela. The distribution between pieces for the solo instrument and the voice is more balanced in Pisador's publication than in the others mentioned so far. Another interesting feature, which is repeated only twenty-four years later by Daza, is the insertion of two French chansons (*Mon pere aussi ma mere ma voulu marier* and *Sparsi sparcium*) at the end of the last book.

Pisador's book provides information about the stringing of the vihuela, indicating an important difference between the instrument and the lute: in the first, all the strings were tuned in unison, while the latter would have the fourth, fifth, and sixth courses tuned at the octave. The four-course guitar would also adopt the procedure mentioned for the lute in the stringing of the fourth course.[39] The tuning of this instrument will be further explained in the section devoted to it.

Also in the middle period is *Orphénica lyra*, by Miguel de Fuenllana. The six-book publication appeared in 1554, also dedicated to the Spanish prince. The first book initiates with a group of ten pieces for the solo vihuela, which are followed by an

[39]Tyler, 23.

alternation of pieces for voice and vihuela and solo vihuela. This pattern of alternation, unique to Fuenllana, is also depicted in the second book.

In the third, the alternation occurs between works for one voice and vihuela and others for two voices and vihuela. A new feature is the inclusion of two notational versions, one for each voice part, in the pieces for two voices and vihuela: one in cipher and other in mensural notation.

The same procedure occurs in the fourth and fifth books, although more timidly.[40] In this book the pattern of short alternations between solo and voice/vihuela is substituted for a longer one, which comprises pieces for one voice and vihuela, two voices and vihuela, and solo vihuela. Once again, the fantasia is favored in the music for the solo instrument. The fifth book is basically written for voice and vihuela with a single instance of solo vihuela, in the *glosa* on *Tan que vivray*.

The last book contains a series of interesting features. One is the mixing of both cipher and mensural notation in the same vocal part. Others include music for the five-course vihuela (both for solo and as an accompaniment for the voice), music for the four-course guitar, and an entire section devoted to the music for the vihuela of six courses.

Fuenlanna's book addresses two very important issues that still deserve attention in the technique of the modern guitar. One is the muting of notes that interferes in the clarity of the expression of the musical discourse. In such cases, the author advocates the use of the thumb to stop an undesired note to be sounding inappropriately with the others from another chord. Equally important is the other concerning the limitations of the

[40]The procedure occurs only once in each book. In the fourth, it is found in the *Pater noster, a quarto, de Guerrero*, while in the fifth it occurs in the *Signora Iulia, strambote a cinco de Verdelot. D*.

tablature system to express the texture of polyphonic passages, a factor still controversial in our days.

After Fuenllana, there was a gap of twenty-two years until the publication of Esteban Daza's *Libro de música en cifras para vihuela, intitulado el parnaso* in 1576. This last publication was dedicated to Hernando de Hábalos de Sotomayor. It was also the last publication using the temple viejos tuning.

Containing three books, the first one is for solo vihuela but also has indication of ciphers for an optional voice part (*con cifras señaladas con puntillos, para cantar opcionalmente*). Book two brings four-and-five-part motets. The last book has *romances, sonnets, villanescas, castellanas, villancicos*, and two French *chansons* (*Vostre rigueur* and *Ie prens en gre*).

Another important book which was published nine years before Daza's book was Thomás de Sancta María's *El arte de tañer fantasia, assi para tecla como vihuela* (The Art of Playing Fantasia, for the Keyboard or the Vihuela). Although the book does not integrate the list of publications for the vihuela, it is the Spanish source which best explains the performance of a type of ornamentation (*glosas*) referred to as the "graces." The account is given in the thirteenth chapter, where Sancta Maria discusses eight requisites to play good turns and trills, respectively called *redobles* and *quiebros*. [41]

The music for the vihuela in the sixteenth century was highly elaborate and was part of an extremely fertile period for the polyphonic music. An experienced vihuelist would be able to improvise highly intricate contrapuntal lines. The repertoire displays the national spirit of the time: a vibrant, lyric, and emotive quality, with the dramatic inspired in poetry, reflecting the Humanism of the period.

[41]Philip Pivovan, "Ornamenting Vihuela Music," *Guitar & Lute* No.18 (July 1981): 33.

The intricacy of the repertoire for the vihuela was very similar to that of the lute, which led to some confusion. Tyler points that Pierre Phalèse, a printer from Antwerp, published some vihuela music as being lute repertoire. He also mentions that some considered the vihuela and the lute to be similar instruments, the difference being only a matter of the construction of the sound box.[42] Turnbull also addresses the problem in his book, indicating that some scholars have mistakenly called the music for the *vihuela* as being "Spanish Lute Music".[43]

[42]Tyler, 24.
[43]Turnbull, 10. The author also mentions that a reaction to this labeling has added to the confusion because the repertoire has also been referred as music for the "six string guitar," and the vihuela and the guitar were already considered different instruments at the time.

The Four-Course Guitar

Two other ancestors of the modern guitar where developing in Spain during the sixteenth century parallel to the vihuela: the four-course and the five-course guitars. The instruments became prominent not only there, but also in other European countries. This section of the paper is focused on the first of these instruments.

Bermudo indicates that it was suitable to play music for two parts and at times, three. The instrument possessed four pairs of double strings, called courses. It had ten frets and was smaller than the vihuela. Nonetheless, the size of the instrument probably went through variations until the standard model became established, an idea presented by Dobson, Segerman, and Tyler in an article published in the Lute Society Journal in 1975. The authors write that after Bermudo described the *temple a los viejos* and *temple a los nuevos* tunings in his *Declaracion* he implied the idea that the guitar could be tuned at any step of the scale, which could mean that the size of the instrument probably varied largely.[44]

The intervallic pattern between its strings resembled the vihuela without the first and sixth courses. Two tunings for the instrument are discussed in chapter 65 of the *Libro quarto* of Bermudo's book: the *temple a los viejos* (old tuning) and the *temple a los nuevos* (new tuning). They are similar in regard to the first three courses, but differ from each other in the tuning of the fourth one.

The tuning a *los viejos* had the three first courses tuned at the unison at the intervallic relationship of a perfect fourth from the first to the second courses, and of a

[44]Charles Dobson, Ephraim Segerman, and James Tyler, "Further Remarks on the Four-Course Guitar," *Lute Society Journal*, Vol. 17 (1975): 60.

major third from the second to the third. The natural logic for the last course would have been to have its pitch located below the third course. Nonetheless, the two strings which comprised the fourth course were tuned at the distance of an octave from each other, with the higher pitch string being located a perfect fifth above and the lower pitch one a perfect fourth below the third course. The octave string of the last course was commonly referred to as *requinta.* In terms of pitches, this description can be synthesized as follow: *f f'/ c' c'/ e' e'/ a' (a')*.

The tuning *a los nuevos* adopted the same procedure of strings at the distance of an octave for the last course but with a different relationship with the previous course. In this case, the higher pitch string was situated a perfect fourth above and the lower pitch one a perfect fifth below the third course. The actual pitches described by Bermudo were: *g g'/ c' c'/ e' e'/ a' (a')*. The pitch in parentheses in both tunings relates to the fact that the first course could have either one or two strings. Although the relative aspect of tuning has already been addressed in this paper, Bermudo points in the eighty fifth chapter of his book that the four-course guitar tuned to *a'* was the common instrument of his time. He also points that one could tune the guitar (or the vihuela) at any pitch of preference when writing intabulation of vocal music.[45]

The surviving sources of Spanish music for the four-course guitar in the sixteenth century are limited to Mudarra's six solos already mentioned and to nine pieces in Fuenlanna's *Orphénica lyra.* Very few examples after the middle of that century have survived, although the instrument continued to be played even during the seventeenth century, which can be deduced after one reads the instructions concerning the four-course guitar in a surviving edition of a 1626 guitar book by Juan Carlos Amat. There are no

[45]James Tyler, "The Renaissance Guitar 1500-1600," *Early Music* Vol.3, No.4 (Oct. 1975): 42.

specimens of four course guitars from the sixteenth century. The only two are five-course instruments.

A country with very limited remaining sources regarding the four-course guitar was Italy. They are four fantasias that are part of the *Opera Intitolata Contina… Libro Decimo,* a lute book written by the priest at Padua Cathedral, Melchior de Barbieriis (published only three years after the publication of Mudarra's book in Spain), and twenty brief pieces found in a manuscript held at the library of the Conservatory of Brussels.

The instrument in Italy was referred to as the *chitarra da sete corde* because the first course was a single string. The guitar pieces in Barbieriis' book follow the same procedure used by Milan, which is using numbers to indicate the frets to be played but adopting the bottom line to denote the bottom course of the instrument as in French tablature.

Another Italian source about the four-course guitar is *Della prattica musica vocale et instrumentali*, written in 1601 by composer, theorist, and lutenist Scipione Cerreto who confirms the number of frets for the instrument as being ten, and provides the following tuning: *g'g'/d'd'/f#'f#'/b'b'*. The pitches in this tuning were higher than those depicted by Bermudo. The fourth course did not have a bourdon. Instead, it had its strings at the unison with each other, and tuned a perfect fourth above the third course.

The type of tuning just described was called *re-entrant*. There were advantages and disadvantages with having the fourth course higher than the third, which are discussed by Cerreto. If on one hand it deprived the instrument from presenting lower

pitched notes, on the other it could expand the range of the instrument during the transposition of low notes in the intabulation of vocal music.[46]

A significant contribution of Italy to the guitar occurred in association with the gradual social prominence of a style of solo song called *monody*, and the consequent development of the *basso-continuo* practices in that country.[47] Within this context, the guitar was then employed to accompany a vocal line. Although the use of plucked instruments as an accompanist for the vocal line was not something new at the time, the style of the monody was simpler than most intricate polyphonic writing which belonged to the repertory associated with the lute and the vihuela. This important Italian vocal style and its role in the development of the guitar practices in the seventeenth century will be provided in the next chapter of this paper.

The country that had the largest and most substantial production of music for the four-course guitar was France. The instrument there was called *guiterre* or *guiterne*. The French repertory was also varied, comprising examples of intabulation of vocal music, fantasias, songs, and one of the most representative elements of the French society: the dance music. Another interesting feature brought by the French was the insertion of solos that could function as parts in ensemble versions of pre-existent pieces.

The main factor for the vast production of music for the four-course guitar in France was the royal support. Henry II was fond of patronizing music publishing. In this context, the printer and type designer Robert Granjon established a partnership with Michel Fezandat, a respected printer of Paris, to publish music together. The

[46]Tyler and Sparks, 35.
[47]The term monody used to describe this earlier seventeenth-century vocal style is relatively new. It can also be used as a synonym for *monophony*, representing a single solo line in contrast with *homophony* and *polyphony*, although in this paper only the first is applied.

collaboration resulted in the publication of a series of four tablature books for guitar. Although there are no surviving copies of the first edition (c.1550-1551) of the two initial books of the series, the complete series can be found in the editions of 1552 and 1553. The close dates between the publications reveal the popularity of the work. Three of the four books in the series were by Guillaume Morlaye, while the remaining was by Simon Gorlier, a printer and bookseller from Lyon who was considered an excellent player.

Gorlier's book portrays intabulations of chansons by prominent French composers and a duo from a Mass by Josquin. His style is sober, and his intabulations tend to follow the original without the high embellishment typical of the French lute intabulations of the period. Very possibly, his work was intended for amateurs to be acquainted with the 'classics' of the chansons repertory performed at court.

In contrast, Morlaye's books have more elaborate repertory. Some pieces have the term *a corde avalée* indicated in the beginning, meaning that the fourth course was to be tuned down a step (which would bring the guitar to the 'temple a los viejos' tuning mentioned by Bermudo). Another important feature found in the fourth book of the series, by Morlaye, was the inclusion of music for the *cittern*, which was called *cistre*. The instrument had four courses, it had wire strings, and it was played with a plectrum. It was popular in France from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The cittern had three strings in the third and fourth courses. The tuning was *a' a' a- g' g' g- d'd- e' e'*.

The publication of music by Morlaye and Gorlier opened the way for many others. Other important publications were five guitar books issued between 1551 and 1554 by Adrian le Roy, a lutenist, composer, and music printer from Paris. Le Roy was very well inserted in the intellectual circle of Paris, being associated with several court

composers and the literary circle of the Comtesse de Retz, complete of humanist-poets who provided texts for him to set the music.

In 1551, Le Roy and his cousin Robert Ballard, another important musician and composer, were granted a privilege from Henri II to print all sorts of music, which resulted in a very fruitful period for the publication of music for the *lute*, *guitar*, *cittern*, and collections for the lute and voice, and the guitar and voice. One of their first publications was the *Premier livre de tablature de guiterre* (Paris, 1551). It contains fantasias, chanson intabulations, pavans, galliards, allemands, and branles. The work had a very valuable extra feature: a second version of many pieces indicated *'plus diminué'*, meaning more embellished. These versions represent an important record of the practice of ornamentation in France during the sixteenth century.

Many of the pieces were also published elsewhere in ensemble or part song versions, and therefore could be performed as either guitar solos or ensemble pieces. Le Roy's *second livre de guiterre, contennat plusiers chansons en forme de voix de ville*... was first published either in 1551 or 1552, but the surviving edition dates from 1556. An interesting feature of this book is the way the guitar songs are formatted. The vocal part is presented in staff notation without adorns with one verse of text beneath the correspondent notes and all the other verses are printed below the piece. The guitar accompaniment, which brings an ornamented version of the vocal line, appears in tablature on the facing page.

This disposition may signify that the pieces could be performed either vocally or as a solo piece for the guitar. Some modern writers refuse to accept that the guitar part would have doubled the voice, founded on the idea of the independence of the vocal part

in the music for lute and voice in England and France from the late 1580's and onwards. However, this style of accompaniment was typical of the sixteenth century.

Le Roy's third book is similar to the first one in terms of style and content. The fourth book, published in 1553, brings the work of Gregor Brayssing of Augsburg. He was a lutenist who probably worked for the Saxon elector Johann Friedrich. Brayssing left Germany after Friedrich's defeat to Emperor Charles V in 1547. The final book of the series resembles the second one. It is a collection for voice and guitar. More than half of the works in the book are three part compositions by Franco-Flemish composer Jacques Arcadelt.

Concomitantly to the period the four-course guitar became known in France it was also introduced in England and it was known under the name *guittern*. The interest for the instrument was probably a result of the dissemination of French guitar music via the English aristocracy, and around the middle of the century could have been influenced by the marriage of Mary Tudor to the Spanish prince Philip in 1554. It seems that the only printed source for the four-course guitar in England during the sixteenth century is James Rowbotham's *A briefe and paline instruction for to learne the Tablature, to Conduct & dispose the hand unto the Gitterne*.

Rowbotham's work is now lost, but it seems that it was a translation of Le Roy's tutor of 1551 *Briefe et facile instruction pour apprendre la tablature à bien accorder, conduire et disposer la main sur la guiterne*, which is also lost, except for some of the pieces of this tutor which appears in a 1570 publication by Pierre Phalèse. There is another publication by Rowbotham that is definitely known to be a translation of another lost tutor by Le Roy.

The simplicity of the instrument, with less courses and a less intricate repertoire in comparison to the lute and the vihuela may have been of great importance to the favoritism that the instrument acquired. However, the same factors represent a limitation for the instrument. The natural course of the four-course guitar was a gradual decline in favor to another type of guitar in which the musical possibilities could be expanded, reinforcing the "complexity postulate" of Kasha described in the first chapter of this paper. This transition did not occur abruptly, and the four-course guitars co-existed with the five-course instrument until it gradually became obsolete.

Before we shift to the historical survey concerning the five-course guitar, I will address an aspect that is relevant to modern guitarists interested in conveying the music for the four-course guitar to the modern instrument. Graham Wade is against the transcription of its music for the modern guitar, defending that it "it destroys the timbres and the music," and that "to 'improve' the music [of the four-course guitar] by transcribing it for the classical guitar is to destroy the nature of its appeal".[48] Although I respect the position of this respected scholar of the guitar, I think his approach is too rigid, and that it is perfectly valid to transcribe the repertory of the four-course guitar to the modern instrument with the understanding that the final result will obviously not match the original entirely.

The earliest remaining example of what lute tablature looked like appeared in the Königstein songbook, a German poetry manuscript in Berlin. The lute tablature in it is

[48]Graham Wade, *Traditions of the Classical Guitar* (London: John Calder Publishers Ltd., 1980), 44-45.

compound of four simple melodies each of which are placed after a poem with no rhythm indication, but only a series of letters and numbers. [49]

Tyler and Sparks call the attention that it is ironic that the pieces in Barbieriis's book are the only written out examples of sixteenth century Italian music for the four-course guitar to have survived, considering the fact that the country was the cradle of the *Alfabeto*, a type of guitar notation related to monody which would become highly popular in Europe. In the last decade of the sixteenth century the guitar was employed in theatrical productions.

[49]David Fallows, "15th-Century Tablatures for Plucked Instruments: A Summary, a Revision, and a Suggestion," *The Lute Society Journal*, Vol.19 (1977): 8.

The Lute

A brief overview concerning the instrument is appropriate before proceeding to the next chapter. Both Asia and Greece are intimately related to the origins of the Lute. While the first is the birthplace of the instrument, the second is the place in which its history began. There are several iconographical examples of lute-like instruments from ancient India. The region currently called Afghanistan is believed to be the birthplace of the instrument. The Persians would have been the people who disseminated the lute among the Arabs in the beginning of the seventh century. In the Muslim culture, the lute achieved the highest prominence among the instruments.

The introduction of the lute into Europe most likely occurred with the Moorish invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. The two most plausible ways would have been through Spain or via Sicily. The political dominance of the Moors over the Christians resulted in the dissemination of the culture of the conquerors over the conquered people. It was only natural that their favored instrument achieved a high status in the new land. On the other hand, in any type of conquest, both parts are influenced by each other, and the Muslims also had been exposed to the music of the Christians, which ultimately led to the amalgamation of musical styles and practices as already discussed in the first chapter of this paper.

The cultural predominance of the Moors in Spanish lands was gradually weakened by the triumphs of the Christian *Reconquista*. It took a long time, from the eight century to the end of the fifteenth century (with the fall of Granada in 1492) until the Christian armies achieved their objective, which was to retake the power from the

hands of the Moors. However, at that point, the cultural amalgamation had well established the popularity of the lute into the Spanish society. Evidence to this fact is the description given by Ibn Rushd, twelfth-century Arab philosopher, who indicates that lutes were produced in Seville to fulfill the demands of domestic performers and to be exported to North Africa.

Even though Spain is regarded as the main route of the insertion of the lute into Europe, it was in Sicily that the instrument found its open door to its favoritism in Europe. It entered Sicily thanks to Saracen musicians. The influence of the Saracens in the music practices of Sicily remained for a long period, and resulted in the dissemination of music for the solo lute and for lute and voice.[50] The lute possessed a high status in European societies and was a popular instrument until the eighteenth century.

Similar to the process that occurred with the guitar, the lute went through morphological transformations during the course of its existence. The instrument, during the medieval times had four or five courses and was played with a quill for a plectrum. There were several sizes, and the main function of the instrument during those times was to accompany songs. At the end of the fifteenth century, a shift favoring polyphonic texture led lutenists to a significant change of right hand technique: the abandonment of the use of the plectrum in favor of the employment of the fingertips to pluck the strings.

Polyphonic writing also led to the increase of the number of courses. The lute became a prominent solo instrument in European courts during the sixteenth century, although it continued to be used to accompany singers. By the Baroque period, the number of courses had reached fourteen, and in some cases as many as nineteen. During

[50]Douglas A. Smith, *A History of the Lute from the Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Canada: The Lute Society of America, 2002), 23.

that period, structural innovations in the lute became a result of the large range in the number of strings, which would go up to twenty six to thirty five.

As the Baroque era unfolded, the instrument became more relegated to the role of providing *continuo* accompaniment. Gradually, keyboard instruments replaced the lute in that role, which contributed to the extinction of the lute in European social life after 1800. Another important factor to the fall of the lute in that continent was the fondness towards the guitar and its repertoire. The reasons for this favoritism will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: The Guitar in the Baroque

A crucial shift in the evolution of the classical guitar occurred during the Baroque period with the establishment of the five-course as the main type of guitar. The amount of repertory for this instrument and the gradual abandonment of repertory for the earlier four-course model confirm this fact. This chapter focuses on the five-course guitar: its repertory, techniques, composers, new tendencies, and innovations that altered the guitar practices of the period.

Instruments in a guitar-like shape containing five courses have been confirmed to exist from at least the end of the fifteenth century as can be seen in an engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi dating from circa 1510.[51] The earliest source of five-course guitar music is *Orphenica Lyra* by Miguel Fuenllana. As previously addressed in this paper, most of the music in the publication of 1554 is intended for the six-course vihuela. Nonetheless, Fuenllana included some pieces for what may be understood as a five-course guitar, which he calls *vihuela de cinco ordenes.*[52] The fifth course appeared as a result of the addition of an extra course in the four-course guitar, a procedure mentioned by Bermudo in his *Declaracion*. Bermudo's book was published just one year after Fuenllana's and refers to the instrument as a *guitarra de cinco ordenes.*

The fact that both books discuss the existence of a five-course instrument contradicts the belief that Spanish poet and writer Vicente Gómez Martínez-Espinel was responsible for the addition of the fifth course on the guitar. Espinel is also credited for having created the modern poetic form of the *decimal* (named *espinela* in Spanish, after

[51]The picture of the engraving can be found in Tyler (p. 19), Wade (p. 15), Turnbull (plate 7).
[52]Tyler, 35.

him), which seems reasonably acceptable. However, since he was born in 1550, he would be only four years old by the time Fuenllana's book was published and therefore he could not have been the one responsible for the addition of the fifth course.

An important aspect of the guitar music of the Baroque was the shift from the intricate contrapuntal style of playing in vogue during the Renaissance to a new one in which the role of the instrument and the demands for playing it became simpler. This fact certainly gave appeal to the instrument, generating a substantial increase of guitar players in the European societies. One important contributor in this transition was the Italian monody, as mentioned in the last chapter.

Both the late sixteenth-century monodies from Italy and Spain, and the forms of the *canzonette* and *villanelle* led to the invention of a notational system for the guitar called *Alfabeto*. The system was one of the major innovations to be employed throughout the Baroque. It utilized letters of the alphabet and symbols to indicate specific chords. Normally, the chord involved all five courses of the guitar. Before discussing the *Alfabeto* system, we will look at the origins of the five-course guitar, also termed Baroque guitar.

The evolution of the instrument is deeply connected to the predominant styles and to the musical practices of Spain, Italy, and France. During the Baroque, elements indigenous to the music of these countries were constantly crossed over in compositions for the five-course guitar. Itinerant life was common to musicians, and many Spanish, Italian, and French composers left their country of origin and spent some time in another country.

This cosmopolitan context may be understood by considering Spanish composers Juan Aranies and Luis de Briçeño, and the Portuguese Nicolao Doizi de Velasco. Aranies' *Libro segundo de tonos e villancicos a una, dos, tres, y quatro voces… con la zifra de la Guitarra Espanola a la usanza Romana*, was published, as the title shows, in Rome (in 1624). Briçeño's *Metodo mui facilissimo para aprender tañer la guitarra a lo Español* was also published outside of his native country, and represents the first publication for the five-course guitar in France (Paris, 1626). Velasco represents a curious synthesis of this "Babel-like" context. His *Nuevo modo de cifra para taner la guitarra* (1640) is a Spanish book published in Naples by a composer of Portuguese citizenship.[53]

According to Richard Hudson, in the introduction of his study of the evolution of the forms that originated in music for the Baroque guitar, "A composer, in turn, acts in response to the broad evolving musical attitudes of his age and his own country." [54] The concept can be expanded if one considers the itinerant character of several composers and performers in the seventeenth century, which resulted in the composers incorporating several musical styles and expressing a blend of various elements in their own styles.

To illustrate the trajectory of the five-course guitar in Europe under this picture, it is appropriate to quote Michael Lorimer in his 1987 publication about Santiago de Murcia's Saldívar Codex:

> Spanish composers drew inspiration from the instruments themselves; in the case of the guitar, this produced interesting, unusual colors and harmonies. Spanish music was, as it is to this day, an exotic hybrid- exuberant, idiomatic, direct, sensual, and vital. The Italian style was rooted in song: it was virtuosic,

[53]Francisco Guerau, *Poema Harmónico*, transc., Thomas Schmitt (Editorial Alpuerto: Madrid, 2000), 19.
[54]Richard Hudson, *The Folia*, vol.1 of *The Folia, the Saraband, the Passacaglia, and the Chaconne: The Historical Evolution of Four Forms that Originated in Music for the Five-Course Spanish Guitar* (Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1982), xi.

> extroverted, expressive, and disposed to straightforward, lively rhythms, drama and contrast. The French style reflected dance: it was restrained, graceful, impressionistic, and inclined to intricate rhythms, elegance, suggesting, nuance, and balance without symmetry. Voicing these natures, *the baroque guitar was born in Spain, grew up in Italy, and flourished in France* (Italics are mine).[55]

Spain was indeed the place of birth of the Baroque guitar. Not only the earliest publications of music for the instrument appear in that country, but the fact that the instrument was referred to as *chitarra spagnuola* in both Italy and France reinforce this notion. The publication of music for the five-course guitar in Spain begins with the publication of Juan Carlos Amat's *Guitarra Española de cinco órdenes* in 1596. Amat was a doctor by profession and his book a practical tutor on how to play the guitar by strumming a series of chords.

Amat's book was highly appealing to the general public and went through several publications during the seventeenth century. I believe many people became interested in playing the guitar concluding that if a non-musician could do it, they also probably could. Evidence of the book's popularity is shown in its various publications until 1800.

It was not uncommon for people involved with music and composition to be also connected to the church. Three of the composers who contributed to the literature of the five-course guitar were also priests. The first one to be discussed was also the most prominent seventeenth-century guitar composer in Spain. His name was Gaspar Sanz. He graduated in Theology at the University of Salamanca prior to traveling to Italy, where he developed his artistry.[56]

---

[55]Michael Lorimer, *Salvidar Codex No.4, Vol.1: The Manuscripts* (Santa Barbara: Michael Lorimer, 1987), vii.

[56]Turnbull mentions that a study by Luis Garcia-Abrines leads to the conclusion that the Gaspar Sanz who studied theology at the University of Salamanca is not the same as the composer. Considering that both Ruiz de Ribayaz and Santiago de Murcia were priests, I disagree with the interpretation and consider that Sanz was also one.

In 1674, Sanz published *Instrucción de Música sobre la Guitarra Española,* a book that has been considered "the most comprehensive guitar treatise of its time".[57] It contains music that confirms the fusion of styles already mentioned, such as the Spanish *Villanos, Españoleta, Canarios, and Jacaras,* to the Italian *Tarantela, Saltaren*, and *Baile de Mantua*, and some styles from other Europeans countries, including some dances in the French style. It features both the *rasgueado* and *punteado* styles of playing, although it favors the latter.

Sanz included an explanation of figured bass for the five-course guitar and an interesting section about the rules of fugal writing. His second book, *Libro Segundo de cifras sobre la Guitarra Española,* was published a year later in Zaragoza. Twenty-two years later, another publication included those books and *Libro tercero de cifras sobre la Guitarra Española* under the title of the first book.

A contemporary of Sanz and also a priest was the Spanish guitarist and composer Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz. Only three years after San'z *Instrucción*, he wrote *Luz y norte musical para caminar por las cifras de la guitarra Española y arpa, tañer, y cantar a compás por canto de órgano; y breve explicación del arte.* The book contains basic tutors for the five-course guitar and the two-course harp. The pieces in it are dances in styles such as *passacalles, canarios, jácaras*, and others. Ribayaz was greatly influenced by Sanz, which can be confirmed by the extensive quotes from *Instrucción.*

In *Poema Harmónico*, by Francesco Guerau, the last of the priests to be mentioned, one can find similar dance types to those contained in Ribayaz's book. A major part of his book consists of *passacales* in every key, and settings of popular pieces

[57]Robert Strizich, "Gaspar Sanz," in Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., Vol. 22 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 268.

such as *jácaras, marizapolos*, and *canarios*. The book was published in 1694 and did not employ strummed chords in its music, being all notated in the *punteado* style. *Poema Harmónico* has another importance to the evolution of the guitar because it provides the first publication to reveal the use of the bar (called *cejuela*).

During the second decade of the eighteenth century, more precisely in 1714, another important composer, Santiago de Murcia saw his *Resumen de Acompañar la Parte con la Guitarra* being published. De Murcia, who studied with Guerau between 1690 and 1700, is considered to have composed some of the very best music for the five-course guitar. His book was the last one to appear in tablature in Spain. He was highly influenced by the French school, and composed several instrumental suites that often displayed a *prelude, allemande, courante, saraband,* and *gigue*, often followed by optional dances such as *bourée, gavotte, menuet, passacaille,* and *chaconne.*

At the end of the seventeenth century Antonio de Santa Cruz wrote *Libro donde se veran pazacalles de los ocho tonos i de los transportados*, a book featuring various types of Spanish dances and a series of passacalles. The book also exemplifies the use of scordatura, and of both the Catalan and Alfabeto systems.

The last Spanish publications to be mentioned are *Reglas, y advertencies generales par taner la guitarra…* by Pablo Minguet y Yrol, and *Arte Para Aprender con Facilidad, (y sin Maestro, á templar y tañer rasgado) la Guitarra, (de cincon órdenes o cuerdas, y tambien la de quarto o seis órdenes, llamada Guitarra Española, Bandurria y Vandola, y tambien el Tiple…* by Andres de Soto. The first one, published in 1752, actually compiles music contained in the books of Sanz, Amat, Ribayaz, and Murcia.

The second, published both in 1760 and in 1764, only reproduces the content of Amat's book published in 1596.

Changing the discussion from Spain to Italy, while the first was the "birth place" the last was indeed the "growth place" for the instrument. It was the place where players experienced the appearance of the *alfabeto* system first displayed in *Nuova Inventione d'Intavolatura per sonare li balleti sopra la Chitarra Spagnuola, senza numeri e note* by Italian composer Girolamo Montesardo in 1606. Montesardo's book was the first printed publication of music exclusively written for solo guitar, a decade after Amat's tutor became available in Spain.

Another Italian solo guitar publication was the one by Foriano Pico's *Nuova scelta di sonate per la chitarra spagnola,* which seems to have been published two years after the publication of Montesardo's book. Montesardo did not invent the *alfabeto* notation, which had been in use for at least two decades prior to the publication of his book, but his book provides a thorough explanation of the system, and it is also a pioneer in combining it with the rhythmic indications of the strokes.[58]

An explanation of the *alfabeto* is necessary. In the system, several chords were assigned a letter, and each letter indicated a particular chord to be strummed when it appeared in the tablature. It is crucial to a modern player not to be misled by falsely correlating the *alfabeto* with the modern chord symbols common in popular music. In the former, the letters do not indicate the actual harmony by the letter as it happens in the latter, and some of the letters represented the transposed version of a chord under another letter name.

[58]Tyler and Sparks, 52-54. Tyler and Sparks inform that his real name was Girolamo Melcarne, but he changed the last name adopting the name of his town of birth.

Some *alfabeto* books simplified the issue by indicating the transposed version of a chord with the letter of the basic one followed by a number representing its position on the fingerboard (an innovation first introduced in Pico's book already mentioned). The *alfabeto* was used in conjunction with a style of playing the guitar known as *rasgueado*, which is equivalent to what we now call strumming, in which the fingers brush the strings of the instrument. The style was easier than the *punteado* (in Spain) or *pizzicato* (in Italy), in which the strings were plucked with the fingers.

Strumming patterns were frequently indicated in the following way: short vertical lines above or below a horizontal line would show the direction in which a chord would be played. Pico implemented this system. He also improved the rhythmic notation system found in Montesardo's book. A further refinement occurred in the year 1620 in the book by Benedetto Sanseverino (*Intavolatura facile…*), who added meter signs and bar lines to the rhythmic notation system. The *alfabeto* letters could be placed either under or above the lines. The rhythmic values would usually be placed on the top.

Giovanni Paolo Foscarini further developed the system by adding the symbol "+" after the letter, indicating that a dissonance or suspension had altered the shape of a basic chord. His system was called *alfabeto dissonante*. Carlo Calvi also brought another refinement to the system, which became known as *alfabeto falso* and presented different arrangement of dissonances. He used the symbol "*" after the basic letter name. Dissonances were also referred to as *lettere false* and *lettere tagliate*.

Two different systems of *alfabeto* notation existed in Spain. They seem to have originated there, and their use was restricted to that country. They were the *Castilian* and the *Catalan* systems. In these systems, the chords are called *puntos* and are indicated by

numbers instead of letters. In addition, the *Castilian* system used the French tablature instead of the Italian tablature.

Returning to Foscarini, he was the first important seventeenth-century Italian composer for the guitar, being also a theorist, and a performer on the guitar, theorbo, and lute. At some point in his life he left Italy to work in Brussels under the patronage of the ruler of the Netherlands, Archduke Albert Erns (who married the daughter of Phillip II of Spain Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia). He also worked as a professional player in Rome, Paris, and Venice.

After the death of Archduke Albert, Foscarini established himself at Ancona, in Italy. There, he became a member of the Accademia dei Caliginosi. His production consists of five guitar books, although the way to look at this number needs some clarification: he first wrote three books for the guitar, and each newer version would bring contents of the earlier one. Then, later on while in Rome, he expanded his third book to five parts.

Foscarini's first book no longer exists. The second, published in 1629 is titled *Intavolatura di chitarra spagnola, libro secondo* and displayed only pieces written in the *alfabeto* style. The third book, published one year later, was more significant because it mixes the *alfabeto* with the five-line Italian tablature used in *pizzicato* (plucking) style. His works depict a highly sophisticated music for the period.[59]

Another guitar book relevant to be mentioned is *Vero e facil modo… la chitarra spagnola* by Pietro Millioni and Lodovico Monte. The book was published only seven

[59]Gary R. Boye, "Giovanni Paolo Foscarini," in Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., Vol. 9 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 115.

years after the publication of Foscarini's third book, and features the *lettere tagliate* system already described.

The popularity of the *rasgueado* style during the first half of the seventeenth century resulted in the development of the *chitarra batente*, an instrument specifically intended to be played loudly and used in music that emphasized the rhythmic aspect. Although there is no exact information about its origin, it probably appeared as a modification of regular five-course guitars. It had five courses made of steel, which resulted in a louder sound than the gut strings and could hold the tuning better when performed outdoors. The *batente* used frets made by either metal or bone (to avoid gut frets to get cut by steel strings).

The *chitarra batente* is associated with the Neapolitan mandolin and like it was played with a plectrum. It is believed to have appeared sometime in the 1740's. The lack of specific repertoire for this type of guitar reinforces the idea that it was really used to accompany music of popular and folk characters.[60]

Returning to the *alfabeto* system, its use to convey the simplicity of the style of guitar playing focused on strummed chords and the *rasgueado* technique was at first greatly appealing to those interested in playing the instrument. However, after some decades, the popularity decreased. Guitar publications became full of clichés and the books tended to repeat themselves, leaving the guitar playing to a stagnated stage. A change in the way of playing the instrument became inevitable.

The gradual loss of interest for the style of playing was probably associated with the natural desire for novelty and challenges in life, also true in guitar playing, making the experience of playing always fresh and interesting. Thus, what occurred was most

[60]Bacon, 13.

likely analogous to what happens to a modern player who begins to learn the instrument mainly through strumming techniques and later has the necessity to learn more challenging ways of playing it.

The step forward came with the fusion of strumming and plucking techniques, an aspect already pointed to have occurred in the third book by Foscarini. By 1640 the practice of combining tablature/*pizzicato* and *alfabeto*/*rasgueado* became common. The mixed tablature would depict the letters of the *alfabeto* system inside of the Italian tablature, and individual notes to be plucked with the fingers would be then written on the lines of the tablature. A chord that did not have a specific representation in the *alfabeto* would have each of its members indicated in the tablature.

Other indications of the mixed tablatures include the dual function of the note heads to indicate both the rhythmic function and the type of stroke for the right hand. Thus, note-heads above the tablature staff would be interpreted in the standard context of the Italian tablature system, while the ones inside of the tablature would indicate the direction in which a particular chord was to be strummed. Robert de Visée used this type in his tablatures.

To conclude the topic of mixed tablatures, it is worthy to mention that although most chords would involve all the five courses, some others would use less. In that case, a dot would generally be placed on the line or lines that were not to be played. When a dot was not indicated, the decision would be left for the player to make.

Several composers for the guitar had works published during the seventeenth century in Italy. In the same year of the publication of Sanseverino's book the Milanese publication *Intavolatura di chitarra alla spagnuola…* was released. It was the first one

of four books by Giovanni Ambrosio Colonna. Another collection was authored by Fabricio Costanzo, and comprised pieces for solo, duo, and quartet formation. Other Italian guitar composers include Antonio Carbonchi, Nicolao Doizi de Velasco, Agostino Trombetti, Stefano Pesori, and Angelo Michelle Bartolotti, Giovanni Battista Granata, and Ludovico Roncali.[61]

Extremely influential during the transition of the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries was Italian composer Arcangelo Corelli (1653-1713). The Italian master was not a guitarist, but a violinist. Yet, his music deeply influenced many composers of the period. Corelli's contribution to the music literature is represented in his solo sonatas, trio sonatas, and concertos. His pupils became famous musicians at the time, and include names such as Geminiani, Somis, and Gasparini, among others. Geminiani, for example, wrote pieces that include the guitar. Corelli also wrote a famous set of variations on the *folias*. Sets of variations on this Spanish genre are still approached by contemporary composers such as Roberto Sierra (1953). The *folias* will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

A name to be included in the list of significant Italian composers of guitar music is Francesco Corbetta, the most prominent guitarist of the Baroque. Corbetta had quite an interesting career as it can be observed in the progression of jobs and places that he worked and lived. Initially a university teacher in Bologna, he became an employee of the Duke of Mantua, Carlo II, later moving to Brussels to work for Archduke Leopold Wilhelm.

[61]Graham Wade, *A Concise History of the Classic Guitar* (Pacific: MO, Mel Bay Publications, 2001), 38-39.

After a period in Spain, where he seems to have published *Guitarra Española, y sus diferencias de sonos* (now lost), he moved to Paris in 1656 brought by Cardinal Mazarin. There, he raised the popularity of the instrument to a high level despite the antagonism of those in favor of the lute.[62] In the 1660's he worked for Charles II of England. He returned to France in 1671, year of the publication of *La Guitarre Royalle* (dedicated to the English monarch) and was a guitar tutor to the Dauphin. Three years a second *Guitarre Royalle* was published in France, and this time was dedicated to Louis XIV.

The second book (published in 1674) was easier than the first in order to make it comfortable for the king to play the instrument. In both *Guitarre Royalles*, Corbetta did not use the alfabeto notation, indicating the chords in letter tablature.[63] He had a second stay in London in 1675, and finally returned to Paris, where he worked as the guitar teacher of the French monarch, a position he occupied until his death in 1681.

The influence of Corbetta in the development of the guitar was affirmed both in France and in his own country through the successful activities of his pupils. One of them, Giovanni Battista Granata, became his rival in Italy and was known as the most prolific guitar composer of the period in that country. The output of Granata's work comprehends seven publications during a span of thirty-eight years, from 1646 to 1684. His six pieces for the *Chitarra Atiorbata* found in his fourth book (published on 1659) are the only printed ones for that instrument, a guitar which possessed extended bass strings placed in a similar way of the lutes with long necks found in that period.

[62]Turnbull and Tyler indicate that Corbetta went to France in 1656. Wade mentions 1653.
[63]Turnbull, 51.

Another relevant name in the history of the baroque guitar in France is Corbetta's pupil Robert de Visée. His music is considered the most refined of the period, and his name is said to be the apogee of the guitar in France during his time. In 1719, similar to his teacher, he occupied the post of guitar tutor of the French king (a post which he resigned after the death of his wife in 1721 being replaced by his son François).

Information about de Visée's early life and musical activities is quite limited. However, it is known that he worked as a theorbist in 1680 and not too long after that date he became a chamber musician at the court of Louis XIV. He was a colleague of prominent musicians such as the harpsichord master François Couperin, and viola da gamba player Anthoine Forqueray (de Visée himself was also a viola da gamba player). His legacy to the history of the guitar occurred in the form of two books of compositions for the five-course instrument and another one devoted to the lute and the theorbo.

The first guitar book by de Visée was *Livre de guitare, dedié au Roy,* published in 1682. It uses both tablature and music notation in different parts of the book, and employs a *scordatura* tuning in the pieces of the last key group. As I was gathering information about de Visee's books, I crossed with the following citation by Tyler and Sparks:

> The music is grouped according to key, but not arranged into formal suites… Visee's book, like those of many Baroque guitar composers, seems to be offering players the materials from which to form their own suites.[64]

The characteristic mentioned above, of allowing the players to organize their own suites, seems to have been adopted in another source which states that the book "contains 59 pieces, grouped into eight dance suites, with one miscellaneous piece."[65]

[64]Tyler and Sparks, 114.
[65]www.baroqueguitar.net (accessed on July8, 2006).

The presence of both types of notation systems is also a feature of his second book *Livre de pièces pour la guitare, dedié au Roy*, released in 1686. The pieces in this book are easier than those of the first, according to the composer. Again, according to Tyler and Sparks, the pieces are not organized into specific suites, although I found the same discrepancy between them and the other source.[66] The last of de Visée's publications is the 1716 book titled *Pieces de theorbe et de luth mises en partition, dessus et basse,"* a collection of eighty-six pieces for theorbo and lute, arranged into ten suites. As stated by the title, the pieces were all on two staves, displaying a melody and a figured bass.

Also highly regarded guitar composer among the French guitarists was François Campion's. In 1705 he published *Nouvelles Découvertes Sur la Guitarre, Contenantes plusieurs suittes de Pieces sur huit manieres differentes d'accord,* which is compound of several suites in distinct tunings. Campion also played the lute and was given, by Louis XIV, the title of Professor of Théorbo and Guitar at the Royal Academy of Paris in 1703. In the same year of the publication of de Visée's book for the theorbo and lute, Campion wrote a treatise on accompaniment.

The discussion about composers and publications for the five-course guitar in France can be concluded with the names of other two composers: Anthoine Carré and Rémy Médard. The former wrote two books of guitar tablatures. The first one, published in 1671 under the title *"Livre de Guitarre Contenant Plusieurs Pièces…Avec la Manière de Toucher Sur la Partie ou Basse Continue"* included both pieces for the solo guitar and a method. The second one, *Livre de Pièces de Guitarre de Musique…* contains diverse

[66]www.baroqueguitar.net presents the book as containing four suites and five miscellaneous pieces.

pieces by Corbetta, and also features ten ensemble pieces for two guitars, a melody instrument ("dessus") and basso continuo.

A pupil of Corbetta, Rémy Médard also left his contribution to the literature of the Baroque guitar in France with his only guitar book, *"Pièces de Guitarre"*, published in Paris in 1676. The content of the book continues the tradition of the organization of individual pieces into suites. It also contains instructions about ornamentation and rhythm, as well as one guitar duet.

The popularity of the five-course guitar in Spain, Italy, and France led to the dissemination of the instrument to other regions, such as England, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Germany (and the Austrian Empire), Portugal, and even further to the New World. Guitar practices in these countries were basically related to those in vogue in the main centers. Therefore, the account related to the guitar in each one of these places is limited to a brief overview of the guitar in England, the Netherlands, and Germany.

It seems that the Baroque guitar was not in use in Germany until the middle of the seventeenth century, more precisely in 1652. This is the date of the first printed source of guitar music known from that country, a manuscript written in French tablature signed by a certain "Freiherr DE Döremberg." The manuscript, written by two different scribes, contains music that resembles the style of Corbetta as well as others in the French lute style.[67]

The only Germanic publication including music for the guitar is Jakob's Kremberg's *Musicalische Gemüths-Ergötzung*, a collection of songs published in Dresden in 1689 in which the guitar can function as either as a solo instrument or as a member of an ensemble. In addition to this collection, there are several manuscripts

[67]Tyler and Sparks, 140.

containing guitar pieces notated in French tablature (although the some was notated in Italian alfabeto). From the twenty-three manuscripts mentioned by Tyler and Sparks, only nine were actually written sometime in the seventeenth century. [68]

The Baroque guitar became known in England around 1640. Reinforcing what has been said in the last paragraph, the guitar practices in that country were highly driven by those in France and Italy. The fondness for French styles in England also relates to the nine-year exile of King Charles II at the French court and in The Hague. In the same fashion as Louis XIV, the English king was both an admirer and a practitioner of the guitar. In fact, it is relevant to remember that both monarchs came to study with Francesco Corbetta at different periods of the composer's life.

In the case of Charles II, that occurred after he replaced the Portuguese musicians (who had arrived in England in 1661 with his new wife Catherine of Braganza, the daughter of John IV of Portugal) by Italians. The royal interest for the instrument led to its inclusion in theatrical productions and court masques. In these events, the guitar occupied a similar role to the one it had in France.[69]

Although guitar publishing was not active in England as it was in the other centers, one outstanding guitar publication appeared in London in 1682. It was written by the Italian musician Nicola Matteis and titled *False consonance della musica per toccar la chitarra sopra all partie in breve...* The book is an extensive treatise in the art of continuo playing. Two years prior to that publication, another continuo treatise was written by Cesare Morelli, a guitarist born in the Netherlands who worked for Samuel

[68]Ibid, 145-147.
[69]Ibid, 123-124.

Pepys, a naval administrator and member of the English Parliament known by his diary, in 1674.

There are few documented sources of guitar music from the Low Countries. One is *Les Principes de la guitarre*, a short didactic work by French guitarist Nicolas Derosier published in Amsterdam in 1689.[70] Derosier published *Douze ouvertures pour la guitare…op.5…* in The Hague in 1688, but one can only speculate about its content because no copy of the book has been found.

At this point, the focus of the discussion can be directed to another aspect of the five-course guitar: tuning. Looking back at the two mentioned publications for four-course guitar that featured music for the five-course one, those by Fuenllana and Bermudo, we find two distinct tunings. Fuenllana's tuning was the same as the one of a six-course vihuela without the first course, while Bermudo's was similar to that of the four-course instrument with an added string a perfect fourth higher than the first course.

Sanz presented the following two as being the preferred ones in Spain, in which music favored strumming rather than plucking: *aa/d'd'/gg/bb/e'* and *Aa/dd'/gg/bb/e'[e']*. At this point, the clear connection with the tuning of the modern guitar seems almost impossible not to be observed. The Spanish preference for the presence of the bourdons relates to the fact that chords could be played with a louder and fuller sound, more efficiently fulfilling the role of the instrument in accompanying dances.

A later source regarding the tuning of the Baroque guitar is Pablo Nassare's *Escuela musica* (Zaragoza, 1724), a music theory work written in two volumes. In the

[70]Ibid, 128. Ten years later, Derosier published a second didactic book in Paris (*Nouveaux principes pour la guitare…*).

first volume, Nassare mentions that although the instrument had various tunings, the most commonly depicted the following order of intervals:

> The fifth course is a second above the third course, the fourth course a fifth above or a fourth below [the third course], the second a third [above the third course], and the first a fourth above the second course, or a sixth above the third course.[71]

The Italians did not share the Spanish favoritism towards the bourdons. In Italy, the *pizzicato* technique was well developed, and the contrapuntal character of the pieces in the Italian style did not call for the inclusion of the bourdons. The tuning was then a *re-entrant* one (*aa/dd/gg/bb/e*). Corbetta (and also de Visée) used a slightly different form that had a bourdon on the fourth course (*aa/Dd/gg/bb/e*).

De Visée used the same tuning of Corbetta, which was natural, since he was a pupil of the Italian master. An earlier tuning, *G/Cc/E/A/d*, found in a drawing by French Jacques Cellier dating from 1585 seems to be a mistake. Tyler defends that the correct should be *GG/Cc/FF/AA/d[d]*.[72] The latter seems quite reasonable, since it would be a transposition of the tuning presented by Amat and Sanz. Although the Cellier tuning is most likely wrong, the same cannot be said about the one given by Briçeño in his *Metodo mui facilissimo…* which reveals another type of *re-entrant* tuning which did not contain any bourdons (*AA/dd/GG/BB/e*).

Several types of scordatura tunings have been used in guitar music. Campion, for instance, used eight scordatura tunings in his book (Bb/D/G/C/ F; B/D/G/C/F#; Bb/C/G/C/Eb; B/C/G/C/E; B/D/G/C#/F#; C/D/G/C/F; B/D/G/D/G; A/D/G/B/E.). Granata also employed five different tunings (ADFAD, AC#EAC#, ACFAC, AC#F#BE

[71]Monica Hall, "The Stringing of the Five-Course Guitar," Robert McKillop Home Page, http://rmguitar.info/Monica/2.Spain.htm#Granada (accessed on September 4, 2006).
[72]Tyler, 38.

and ADF#AD) in his *"Soavi Concenti di Sonate Musicali per la Chitarra Spagnuola . . . Opera Quarta."* Antonio de Santa Cruz was another composer who used scordatura (in a *fantasia* and a *passacalle* at the end of his book).

As previously noted, the five-course guitar experienced an enormous growth in popularity during the seventeenth century. The instrument was easier to be learned than the lute. Thus, a music lover who would have to endure a long journey in order to master the lute could, through the rasgueado technique, accompany dances or songs popular at the time in a much shorter period of practice with the instrument. Also, it was much more expensive to buy a good lute and its several strings than a five-course guitar.

The Baroque guitar was favored among the Italian aristocracy. The fondness influenced the art of the guitar makers, resulting in instruments with a high level of craftsmanship. This can be observed through the exoticism of the materials used, such as ivory, ebony, madre pearl, and even gold, and in the intricacy of details found in the rosettes, and ornamented sound holes. Italy was the center of guitar construction in the first decades of the seventeenth century, until the demand for instruments built in France became more common during the 1640's. By the second half of the century, the instrument was being constructed in several parts of Europe.

To end the chapter about the five-course guitar it is of great relevance to discuss the four important musical forms that are rooted in music composed for the instrument. They were the folia, the saraband, the chaconne, and the passacaglia. Both Spain and Italy were "cradles" of the four forms, which originated around 1600 in the popular

music of these countries. Montesardo's book of 1606 in Florence was the starting point of the documented evolution of these forms.[73]

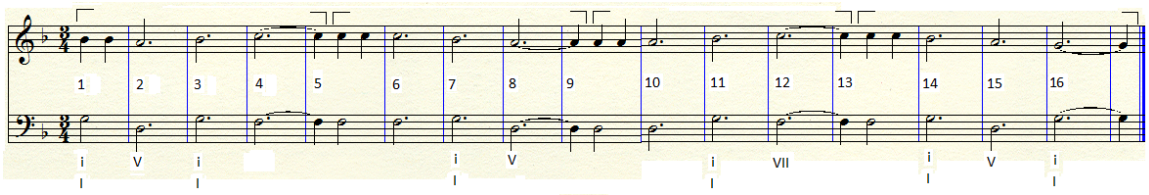
Italian composers were particularly fond of the process of variation resulting in a large use of this resource in the folia, in the passacaglia (*passacaglio*), and in the chaconne (*ciaccona*). The *rasgueado* provided a perfect setting for the development of these forms, each displaying a particular chordal framework, and depicting an ostinato repetition of the same four-bar phrase (the folia was the exception). Over a period of thirty to forty years, these forms gained a more elaborate harmonic framework, and also increase in rhythmic complexity.

Contrasting the approach of the other three forms, the exhaustive subjection to variation was not characteristic of the saraband, at least not in Italy. On the other hand, technique was featured in a simple pattern common in Spain. The cultural crossing over among the main European musical centers led to the appearance of a later type of saraband, the *zarabanda francese*, during the second decade of the seventeenth century. In its evolution, the saraband abandoned its concern with harmonic frameworks in favor of the free sectional structure that we know now, and became typical in French suites.

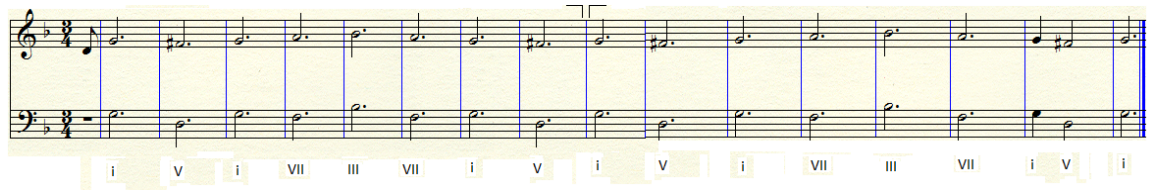
Since the extensive study of the forms is not the main objective of the current paper, a short, yet informative description of each form will be provided beginning with the folia. There were two types of that form, each one with a different framework. Although the harmonic framework of both types occurred within sixteen measures, they differed from each other. The next two examples illustrate the different harmonic frameworks for the folia:

[73]Hudson, xi. The author is careful to inform the existence of two folias prior to the publication of Montesardo's book, although they are cited as exceptions.

Ex.2a: Harmonic Framework of the Earlier Folia



Ex.2b: Harmonic Framework of the Later Folia

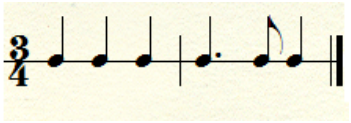


The Saraband can be divided into three types. The first one is the Spanish saraband, which displayed a fast tempo and a melody associated with an ostinato harmonic framework. This type was mostly featured in the first half of the seventeenth century in Spain and in Italy. The second type is the fast French saraband. In spite of the name, this form of saraband was slower than the Spanish one, and had no ostinato, being marked by a distinct rhythmic figure. It entered into Italy around 1615, where it became the prominent type.

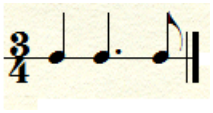
The last type was the slow French saraband. It had no ostinato, and it featured the slowest tempo of the three types. It appeared in France around 1631, and gradually resulted in the main French type. The following illustration shows the main rhythmic figures of the two types of French saraband:[74]

[74]Richard Hudson, *The Sarabande*, vol.2 of *The Folia, the Saraband, the Passacaglia, and the Chaconne: The Historical Evolution of Four Forms that Originated in Music for the Five-Course Spanish Guitar* (Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1982), xvi.

Ex.3a: Rhythmic Figure of the Fast Type of French Saraband
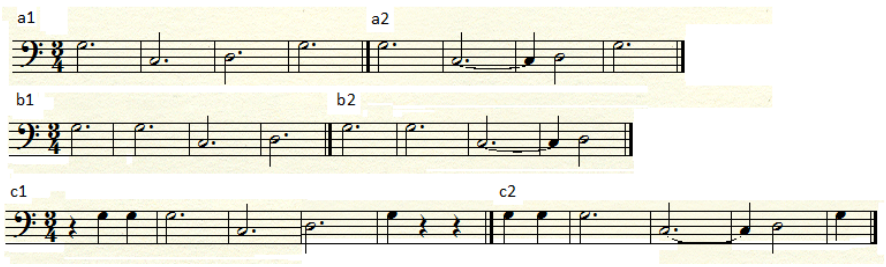


Ex.3b: Rhythmic Figure of the Slow Type of French Saraband



Among the four forms in discussion, the passacaglia was the most explored in the guitar books of the Baroque. With few exceptions, the guitar passacaglias before 1640 portray a steady succession of eighth notes performed with a constant pattern of down-down-up strokes. The triads of a passacaglia in the major mode were usually major, while both the tonic and the subdominant triads are minor in the other mode.

Occasionally, the minor subdominant triad would appear in the major mode, or a major subdominant would be used in the minor one. In fact, both types of subdominant chords would eventually occur in the same phrase. Regardless of these alternatives, the most regular harmonic framework of the passacaglia was I-IV-V-I (or i-iv-V-i). The main rhythmic structures used in conjunction with the basic harmonic or bass schemes of the passacaglia are given below:[75]

Ex.4: Examples of Rhythmic Structures for the Bass Scheme or the Passacaglia
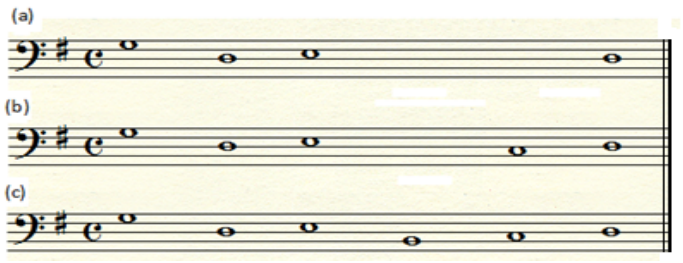


[75]Richard Hudson, *The Passacaglia*, vol.3 of *The Folia, the Saraband, the Passacaglia, and the Chaconne: The Historical Evolution of Four Forms that Originated in Music for the Five-Course Spanish Guitar* (Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1982), xvi.

The combination of guitar and percussion instruments was used to accompany a text that was sung in the Spanish *chaconas*. The phrases that compounded the guitar accompaniment were repeated as an ostinato for the individual lines of the text. The variation *chacona* was particularly important after 1625 in vocal music. After the emergence of the *punteado* style, the form gradually disappeared in guitar music at the end of the century.

Two main trends resulted in distinct types of *chaconnes* in France. The earlier type occurred in lute and keyboard music, while the later was an orchestral form. The guitar *chaconne (ciaccona)* prior to 1640 was always in triple meter, constantly depicting four measures in 3/4. Opposed to the famous chaconne later composed by Bach and so well known to modern guitarists as a result of Andrés Segovia's transcription, the majority of the early *ciacconas* for the guitar were written in the major mode.
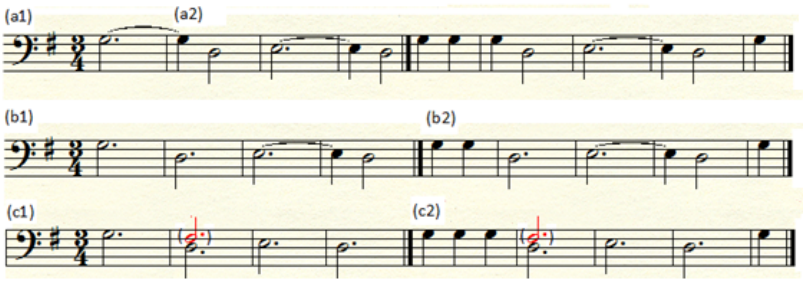
Three distinct but related patterns represented the fundamental harmonic patterns of the *ciaconnas*. Each one of them would be associated with various rhythmic structures. The next illustrations show each one of the three bass schemes followed by two selected rhythmic structures.[76]

Ex.5a: Chaconne Bass Schemes



[76]Richard Hudson, *The Chaconne*, vol.4 of *The Folia, the Saraband, the Passacaglia, and the Chaconne: The Historical Evolution of Four Forms that Originated in Music for the Five-Course Spanish Guitar* (Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1982), xiv-xv.

Ex.5b: Rhythmic Structures of the Three Chaconne Bass Schemes of Ex.5a



The emergence of the six-string guitar was a forward step in the evolution of the instrument. The process that led to the appearance of the instrument, as well as the main changes in construction, the repertory, the composers, and other aspects will be addressed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: The Guitar in the Classic and Romantic Periods

Towards the Six-String Guitar

The transition between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries revealed a new context for the guitar. The socio-political context of Spain under the leadership of Philip V (the first member of the House of Bourbon to rule as king of Spain) brought significant changes to the status of the guitar in the Spanish society. After arriving in Madrid in 1701, Philip V embraced foreign influences, notably French and Italian, and repressed any national forms of expression, gradually affecting the guitar and its practices. The publication of new guitar music was largely suppressed and Spanish guitar music from the period could be found only in manuscript form. The guitar became an instrument of low-class people, associated with drinking, dancing, and singing in the streets or in bars, a lifestyle which was considered inappropriate for the fashionable layer of society. [77]

Substantial developments for the guitar took place during the second half of the eighteenth century. The preference for the *style galant* led the guitar to embrace the role of accompanying melodies, which was mainly done through arpeggiating chords. This new context required the downbeats of the measures to depict bass notes, marking the harmonies more efficiently. As a result, the fourth and fifth strings received bourdons and the guitar became a favored instrument to accompany the voice.

The change was a major mark in the development of the instrument because it changes the guitar from a treble instrument to one with basses. However, it was not the only important change that took place during that period. Another one was the

[77]Tyler and Sparks, 193.

abandonment of the tablature system and the adoption of the staff notation for the guitar. Italian guitarists were most likely the first ones to use staff notation for the guitar. Two important names in the transition from tablature to staff notation in France were those of Giachomo Merchi and Michel Corrette. The latter published *Les Dons d'Apollon, méthode pour apprendre facilement à jouer de la guitarre* (Paris 1762). The method displayed both tablature and staff notation, confirming the gradual change from one system to the other.[78]

The most important developments were the addition of the six-course and the subsequent abandonment of the courses in favor of six strings. The addition of the six-course was present not only in the mainstream type of guitar, but also in other peculiar types. One of them was the *English guittar* (or simply *guittar*). This instrument had metal strings arranged in six courses (the sixth and fifth courses were replaced by single strings) and was tuned to a C major-chord (c-e-gg-c'c'-e'e'-g'g'). The other example, a guitar tuned to a D-major chord: D-A-D-F#-A-D, is documented in a German publication by Joseph Bernhardt Kaspar Majer titled *Neu eroffneter theőretischer und praktischer Music – Saal* (1741).[79]

Six-course guitars became more common in Italy and Spain during the two last decades of the eighteenth century. The earliest known example of a six-course guitar dates from 1759 and it is in the Gemeentenmuseum in The Hague. The instrument, also

[78]Tyler, 202.
[79]Faucher, François. "The Eighteenth Century." Classical Guitar Illustrated History, http://www.classicalguitarmidi.com/history/guitar_history.html#18th_Century (accessed on September 16, 2006).

the first guitar to display a fan-strutting system to strengthen the table, is labeled 'Francisco Sanguino me fecit. En Sevilla año de 1759.' [80]

Abandoning the use of courses resulted from the congruence of two important factors. The first one was that a new type of bass strings, made of metal, and started to be manufactured. They had more volume and clarity of sound than the traditional gut strings, and allowed the instrument to fulfill more efficiently the role of accompanying the voice. The second factor was that with one single string, the problem of keeping both strings of a course in tune was solved.[81]

The acceptance of metal strings did not occur so promptly by guitarists. Many players were resistant to the change. Eventually, the advantages of the metal strings spoke louder than the bias against their use, and it was just a matter of time until the courses turned obsolete and single strings became standard.[82] Merchi, for example, had already indicated the use of single strings in 1777 in his *Traité des Agrèments de la Musique execute sur la Guitarre.*[83]

Evidence confirming the trend towards the use of single strings in the guitar is also present in other important publications of the late decades of the eighteenth century. Among them were Antonio Ballestero's *Obra para guitarra de seis órdenes* (1780), the earliest source of published music for the six-course guitar, and *Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis órdenes* (1799), by Federico Moretti (b. unkown-d.1838). According to the latter, single strings were already favored by players in Italy and France.

---

[80]Harvey Turnbull and Paul Sparks, "The Early Six-String Guitar," in Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., Vol.10 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 563.
[81]Tyler, 207.
[82]Resistance to new developments is an aspect not only of guitarists of that time. Proof of this fact is the current discussions about the increasing use of two new types of treble strings: "carbon" and "titanium." While many players praise the sound of such strings, others defend that they produce a sound that is highly artificial.
[83] Wade, 69.

A little digression is necessary in order to illustrate the importance of Moretti. He was one of the earliest Italian guitarists who left his home country to promote the guitar in another. He served in the Royal Walloon Guards of the Queen of Spain, and at the time of his death, he was a general.[84]

Moretti's main contribution to the history of the guitar relates to his particular treatment of the guitar notation. He made a clear distinction between melody and accompaniment through using stems in different directions. Merchi also had used stems in a similar manner, but his use was sporadic while Moretti's was consistent.

Returning to the transition to six single strings, the use of courses was still in vogue in Spain. This fact is documented by Fernando Ferandiere (ca.1740-ca. 1816) in his *Arte de Tocar Guitarra Española*, published in Madrid in the same year of Moretti's book. Ferandiere was a composer, teacher, guitarist, and violinist. In fact, he published a violin treatise twenty years earlier than issuing his guitar publication.[85] He was also the editor of an anthology published in Spain during the 1830's titled *Imprenta nueva de música*, containing guitar solos, duets with guitar and voice, and some flamenco.[86]

An overview of the content of Ferandiere's book may lead to a better understanding of its contribution to the history of the instrument. Ferandiere's book was in many respects, similar to that of Amat's, which means that it aimed to provide simple instruction about how to play the guitar:

---

[84]Thomas Heck, "Mauro Giuliani: Virtuoso Guitarist and Composer" (Columbus, OH: Editions Orphée, Inc., 1995), 21.
[85]Alfredo Vicent, "Fernando Ferandiere," in Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., Vol.8 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 677.
[86]José Subirá, *El Teatro Del Real Palacio (1849-1851)* (Madrid: Instituto Español de Musicologia, 1950), 116-122.

> My sole concern is to enable those who love the Spanish guitar to learn how to play it; for with these first rudiments, teachers will be spared the necessity of providing many lessons for their pupils…[87]

The book follows with a short section explaining the number of frets, the use of courses, and basic information about the left and right hands. In this section the reader is informed about the use of the nails, and it can be deduced that the standard procedure for the right hand was to use the thumb, index, and middle fingers, although Ferandiere's description implies an eventual use of the ring finger:

> To continue: our guitar is played with at least three fingers of the right hand, without any more nail than is necessary to strike the string; and the left hand should have no nails, for otherwise the strings would break.[88]

The tutor follows explaining the major and minor keys, note-values, rests, accidentals, other signs of music, and the scale. Only after all that information is given, there is the "first lesson." The next lessons include dances such as an allemande, and a menuet, among others. The simplicity of the book is further reinforced by the brief one-paragraph explanation about modulation, which Ferandiere calls "the most difficult art in music."[89] A Socratic dialogue between a teacher and a student about counterpoint and composition concludes the written part of the book.

The end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries experienced the concomitant use of six-course and six-string guitars.[90] Nonetheless, it was just a matter of time until the instrument that we know as "classical" or "classic" guitar (tuned to *E-A-d-g-b-e'*) became the standard type of guitar, a definite step in the

---

[87]Fernando Ferandiere, *The Art of Playing he Spanish Guitar from Music, Written and Set in Order by Fernando Ferandiere, Professor of Music at the Court* (Madrid, 1799), 74.
[88] Ibid, 77.
[89] Ibid, 80.
[90]Another evidence is a list of guitars dating from 1750-1815 provided by Graham Wade *A Concise History of the Classic Guitar* (see pages 63-64). The list contains several six-course and six-string instruments, which emphases the transitional character of that period to the evolution of the instrument.

evolution of the instrument.[91] Improvements in guitar construction were decisive to the change in the number of strings in the guitar.

The definite shift to the construction of six-string guitars was already clear in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Among distinct luthiers of the period were José Pagés in Cádiz, Lorenzo Alonso in Madrid, José Martinez in Málaga, Louis Panormo in London, and Renés François Lacôte in Paris. By the 1830's, other important changes occurred in the guitar.

The neck, for example, became narrower and it was common to have between fifteen to seventeen frets. Metal frets became common, surpassing those made from ebony or ivory. An open hole replaced the rosette and machine heads substituted the wooden pegs of the older guitar types. The instrument was able to hold strings with higher tension because of a new fan-strutting system. The dimension of the body, in comparison with the older types of guitar, increased resulting in the placement of the twelfth fret at the junction of the neck and the body. Yet, the guitar was smaller than the modern type: the body size was circa 44 cm, and the string length about 62-64 cms.[92]

All the significant changes mentioned would also demand, from the guitarists of the period, a new methodology towards the study of guitar technique. However, the improvements in this area would appear later. Many guitarists of the period continued to rely on earlier practices such as supporting the little finger of the right hand on the table while playing. Rest stroke was rarely, if at all, used.[93]

The establishment of the six-string guitar as the mainstream type of guitar opened a new set of possibilities and questions related to the instrument's technique. Thus, the

[91]Wade, 61.
[92]Sparks, 14.
[93]Turnbull and Sparks, 563.

pursuit of a more appropriate approach to guitar technique became an important issue during the nineteenth century. Players had to rethink their approach from idiomatic aspects such as the use of arpeggio figures and chords to expressive devices such as vibrato and the exploration of the higher register. At the same time, the challenges also represented a trump to the new generation of composers/performers.

It can be said that it was a privileged time for the guitar. The instrument was going through several improvements, and players had a new horizon to explore in regards to its technique. These aspects certainly contributed to the revival of the interest for the instrument that occurred in Europe during the early nineteenth century.

Among the countries that experienced that revival was Spain. The country had a new generation of leading guitarists influenced by a monk called Padre Basílio.[94] Although he was an organist and composer, his main contribution to music history was as a guitarist. He also held a position in the Spanish court as the guitar tutor of Queen Marie-Louise.

Opposed to accepting the guitar as a mere strumming instrument, the Spanish monk revived the intricacies of the *punteado* style of playing. He has been considered the initiator of the modern school of guitar. He influenced several prominent guitar personalities of the time such as Moretti, Ferandiere, Fernando Sor (1778-1839), and Dionisio Aguado (1784-1849), among others.[95]

Composer Luigi Bocherini (1743-1805) is also important to the discussion. He went to Spain in 1768 and resided forty years there. He employed the guitar in several

[94] I noticed a discrepancy in relation to the real name of Padre Basílio. Nineteenth-century musicologist Mariano Soriano Fuentes indicates the name 'Manuel García.' This information is given by Marin Montero in Wade's *A Concise History of the Classic Guitar*' (see page 68). On the other hand, Turnbull's book presents the name 'Miguel García' (see page 82).
[95] Wade, 68.

symphonies, wrote three quintets for guitar and strings, and eventually devoted much time to the composition of guitar solos and songs with guitar accompaniment.[96]

The names of Moretti and Ferandiere have been already introduced to the reader earlier, when the topic of the six-course guitar was presented. More known to us are those of Sor and Aguado, both virtuoso players and prominent guitar composers. Indeed, all the important guitar composers of the period were also performers on the instrument. It was not until later in the evolution of the instrument that the task of composing for the instrument became common among non-guitarists. With this in mind, the next section will present the lives and the contribution of the principal names of the guitar during this flourishing period of the guitar history.

[96]Gilbert Chase, *The Music of Spain* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1959), 117-118.

Guitar Personalities of the Nineteenth Century

One of the great icons of the guitar in the transitional period between the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries was Spanish Fernando Sor. He not only had a central role in the development of the guitar technique, but he was also one of the responsible for raising the credibility of the guitar as a "concert instrument." The legacy of his pedagogical ideas and the importance of his guitar compositions to modern guitarists are undoubtedly evident in our times.

Descendant of a family from Catalonia, Sor's actual date of birth is unknown. What is known is that he was baptized as 'Joseph Fernando Macari Sors on February 14, 1778 in the Barcelona Cathedral.[97] From a very early age, his parents had in mind a military career for him. As a result, music initially did not occupy a prominent position in his education.

According to an article written in 1835 by A. Ledhuy and H. Bertini, the situation changed when after the young Sor began to compose music for the words of his grammar exercises in Latin. Not long after this event, he started to study music under the tutelage of the leader of Barcelona Cathedral's orchestra, who had heard about Sor's natural inclination towards music. Before he had started his formal musical training, Sor had created a notational system of his own to write music, and was also playing the guitar and the violin. It seems that Sor, while a precocious child, was already in pursuit of his own artistic path.

After the death of his father and the financial burden that it caused to Sor's family, he almost interrupted studies in music. A solution came by moving to the

[97]Brian Jeffery, *Fernando Sor: Composer and Guitarist* (London: Tecla Editions, 2nd ed., 1994), 1.

Monastery of Monserrat to continue his musical education in response to an invitation made by Josef Arredondo, Abbot of Monserrat. There, mainly under the tutelage of a certain "Father Viola," Sor studied music theory, composition, sang in the choir, and remained there until he was about seventeen years old.

After Sor left the monastery, he took a military commission as sub lieutenant in Barcelona. His musical abilities soon resulted in a promotion to full lieutenant. It is believed that the composer spent from 1796 to1800 at the military school of the Catalan regiment close to Barcelona. Music was well considered in the Spanish military circle, which was favorable to the development of Sor's activities as a performer and composer. The premiere of his first opera, *Telemaco*, for instance, occurred at the Barcelona Opera on August 25, 1797. According to Ledhuy, the successful repercussion of the opera was a combination of Sor's young age and the fact he was from the city.[98]

The next step in the life of Fernando Sor was to move to Madrid. There, he found that his reputation as a fine guitarist was well established. In the new city, he continued as an army's commissioned officer, and at some point he was taken under the protection of the Duchess of Alba, who also patronized the painter Goya. After her death in 1802, he returned to Barcelona, and divided his military duties with a position as the administrator of a Catalonian property of the Duke of Medinaceli.

The biographical accounts of the composer reinforce the notion that he had no conflicts managing administrative duties and musical activities. For example, he directed the concerts promoted by the American Consul in Málaga while still continuing his work as an administrator in Andaluzia. The balance provided a calm period in the life of the composer, which was interrupted by a main event that occurred in Spain at the end of the

[98]Ibid, 6.

first decade of the nineteenth century: the arrival of the troops of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1808.

With the insertion of the Frenchmen in Spain, Sor joined Spanish resistance forces. At first he joined a regiment that had expelled the French troops from Madrid at the turn of the second half of the year 1808. The French retook Madrid at the end of that year. Sor then went to Andaluzia and became a captain in a resistance group called Cordovan Volunteers.

Music played an important role in the time of the resistance against the French invasion, as it generally does during major turmoil events of all societies in history. One of the ways the antagonistic sentiment was expressed was in the form of patriotic songs. Sor composed four of them. An emphasis on folkloric elements as a tool to nurture the sense of national identity was also another path used by Sor. That approach can be seen in his *Seguidilla Bolleras*. The verses in the beginning of this paper were extracted from one of them.

In spite of the efforts of resisting the invasion, the Spanish were defeated, and a new reality was imposed to the lives of the Spaniards. Perhaps moved by a belief that the ideals of the French revolution would culminate with the transformation of the Spanish society, several intellectuals accepted positions under the French. Among them was Sor, who at some point took a position as the main commissary of police in Jerez de la Frontera until the Spaniards expelled the French in 1813.

The shift occurred after Spain won the Battle of Vitoria in June 1813, forcing the French army to leave Spain. The victory over France further nurtured the feeling of nationalism in the Spanish people. Not surprisingly, a hostile attitude towards those who

had made alliances with the old occupiers became part of the Spanish society. Most likely fearful of this context, Sor left to Paris.

Even though Sor arrived on good terms with the French, he had to adjust himself to the new challenges of the French capital. *Telemaco*, for instance, was considered too Italian and therefore unsuitable for the French theatres. Ironically Sor, whose musical mind was accustomed to work free since a very early age, was advised by the poet Marsollier to look for a French expert who could help him to learn how to compose properly in the French style.[99] He never followed the advice, and criticized the experts, which only made his acceptance in the French musical scenario harder.

During his first years in France, the Catalan composer faced the difficulty to acquire the recognition that he earned in Spain. Yet, he managed to have four works published in 1814 (*Six Petites Pièces, Boléro de Societè Op.5, Marche Patriotique Espagnole,* and *Fantasie Op.7*) and applied for a position as a violist in the court of Duke of Fleury in 1815, which he did not get. Sor then moved, in the same year, to England, where he lived for six years.

In England, Sor expanded his activities as a guitarist and also concertized as a solo singer and as a member in small ensemble vocal groups. There is even evidence that he performed at the Pianoforte. Although he was a versatile musician, the guitar was the instrument that opened Sor's horizons in that country. Advertised as the 'the most celebrated performer in Europe on the Spanish Guitar' by the newspaper *The Morning Post*, he gave what is known to be his first performance in London on April 20, 1815.[100]

[99]Ibid, 33.
[100]Ibid, 40.

The concert was a success and Sor was soon booked with several performances. The high demand of Sor as a guitarist is illustrated by the fact that he played at least six recitals in a span of two weeks in June of that same year. It seems that by 1819 he began to limit his public appearances as a guitarist and shift the focus of his activities to the composition of ballet music. With a firmly established reputation as a musician, he had no difficulties to have his music published by the London presses.

The guitar activities of Sor in London were very important to the process of social acceptance of the guitar as a concert instrument in England. When he arrived there, the favored type of guitar was the English guitar. That was the same instrument mentioned in this paper during the discussion about the transition between courses to single strings and the changes in the material from which the strings were made. By 1822, Sor had raised the reputation of the Spanish guitar and was made an Honorary Member at the Royal Academy of Music and was even praised as 'the most perfect guitarist in the world' by John Erbers, the manager of the King's Theatre.

In this fruitful period of his life, Sor was also focused on composing ballet music. In fact, Jeffery points that ballet was 'a principal entertainment of London society."[101] During July 1821 two of his ballets, *La Foire de Smyrne* and *Le Seigneur Généreux* were performed in the English capital. The year is also the same of the first edition of Sor's most celebrated guitar work: the Variations on a Theme of Mozart Op.9. The apogee of his ballet music was reached in 1822 with *Cendrillon*, one of the few works performed more than a hundred times at the Paris Opera. In August of that same year, two of his songs were featured in the operatic drama *Gil Blas*.

[101]Ibid, 66.

The musical trajectory of Sor continued with a three-year period in Russia after he followed the ballerina Félicité Hullin, with whom he became involved while in England and who received the invitation to be the first ballerina of the Moscow ballet. On the way to Moscow, he spent some time in Paris, Berlin, and Warsaw. Owner of a solid reputation as a composer and guitar virtuoso, he did not have any difficulties to perform in these places. Indeed, his fame as a guitarist led him to play for the family of the Russian Tzar Alexander I.[102]

The last phase of Sor's life is marked by his return to Paris, where he lived from either 1826 or 1827 until his death in 1839. In this phase of his mature years, he dedicated himself fully to the guitar by composing, teaching, and performing. The instrument was experiencing a time of revival, and he was a leading personality in that process. The fondness of the French society attracted other important guitarists. Among them was Dionisio Aguado (1784-1849).

Both Sor and Aguado resided for a period of their lives at the Hôtel Favart in Paris. They developed a friendship that resulted in performing together. Sor's duet *Les deux amis* Op. 41 was dedicated to Aguado. The first edition had two distinct guitar parts which were not labeled as "first" and "second" guitars, but were headed "Sor" and "Aguado." Both guitarists diverged from each other in respect to how the strings were to be plucked- if with the nails or by just using the flesh. Nonetheless, the difference did not diminish their respect and admiration for each other as artists.

At the end of his life, Sor was struck by the death of his daughter Caroline on June 8, 1837. The event led him into a great depression from which he did not recover. A year later, he became ill and remained in that condition until his death in July 1839.

[102]Ibid 81.

With him at the moment of his death were an exiled Spanish politician by the name of Antonio de Gironella, and José de Lira, an old friend to whom Sor dedicated his work *Souvenir d'une Soirée à Berlin*.[103]

Sor's legacy to the guitar is not only represented by the accounts of his performance activities, but also by the broad catalog of compositions that are still highly performed in our times. He also left a milestone work in the area of guitar pedagogy. The publication was titled *Method for the Spanish Guitar*. It was first published in Paris (1830) and two years later was released in English. The publication goes far beyond just dealing with guitar technique. It is a synthesis of Sor's refined approach to the instrument.

The deep concern that Sor had about raising the status of the guitar to that of a concert instrument can be perceived already in the introduction of his method. He was not only opposed to limiting the guitar to the sole function of accompanying, but also criticized how poorly the instrument was played even within that role:

> At first, I took up this instrument merely as an instrument of accompaniment; but, from the age of sixteen years, I was shocked to hear it said by those who professed to have but little talent, "I only play to accompany". I knew that a good accompany supposes in the first place a good base, chords adapted to it, and movements as much as possible approximating those of an orchestral score or those of a pianoforte; things which, in my opinion, afforded a much greater proof of mastery on the instrument than all those sonatas which I heard with long violin passages, without harmony or even devoid of base, excepting the base found on the open strings.[104]

After the introduction, Sor's method gives basic information about the instrument, its positioning, the right and left hand fingers, how to pluck the strings, etc. Sor also

---

[103]Ibid, 112.
[104]Fernando Sor, *Method for the Spanish Guitar: A complete reprint of the 1832 English translation with a preface by Brian Jeffery* (London: Tecla Editions, 1995), 5-6.

describes that the tone quality of a guitar is deeply affected by the use of suitable-length strings tuned in accordance to its dimensions. He also advocated the use of the thumb, index, and middle fingers as the default procedure for the right hand. On the other hand, it is clear in the text that the ring finger, which Sor called 'the fourth finger,' had some applicability, considering that Sor stated "I shall speak of the use of the fourth finger when I shall have developed all the resources that I have discovered with the three."[105]

Later Sor explains that the ring finger is to be used to play the top note of a four-note chord, when the other three fingers are required to play other notes at the same time. However, "when the upper voice is not accompanied by three others," he recommends not using the ring finger. The explanation for this limited use is based on two aspects. The first one is the difference of the ring finger's size compared to that of the middle finger. The second reason is the weakness of that finger. Although the use of the ring finger became a standard procedure in modern classical guitar technique, this section provides good insight about performance practices related to the guitar in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Sor's approach to the use of timbre reflected his ideal that the guitar was to be taken as a type of "orchestra in itself". The description about how to emulate the sound of different orchestral instruments enhances the understanding of Sor pieces. Also interesting is the section titled "fingering on the left hand in regard to melody," where he states that his fingerings of melodic passages are always dependent of those he employs for his harmony. The textual part of the method ends with a summary in the form of twelve general maxims that Sor describes as 'the result of all that has been said'.[106]

[105]Ibid, 20.
[106]Ibid, 48.

Sor's friend Dionisio Aguado was another leading artist of the guitar during the early nineteenth century. He also made a substantial contribution to the history of the guitar, as a player, composer, and pedagogue of the instrument. Born in Madrid in 1784, he was a pupil of Padre Basilio. Deeply influenced by Moretti, he embraced the use of staff notation. Aguado's notation was more organized than Moretti's, and included the indication of rests and the use of stems in distinct directions to better indicate different voices.[107]

Contrary to Sor, Aguado did not pursue any position with the French government and remained in the small village of Fuenlabrada where he had been living since 1803. There, he spent nineteen years of his life, concentrating on teaching the guitar and on refining his technique. After the mother of his mother, he went to Paris in 1825 and shortly acquired a respectable reputation as a player and teacher.

During that year, before leaving for France, Aguado's method *Escuela de guitarra* was published in Spain. The method was translated and published in French under the title *Méthode complete pour la guitar*. Sor was still in Russia at that period. Aguado remained in Paris until 1838, one year before his 'amie' died. He returned to Madrid and spent the rest of his life teaching the guitar.

Aguado's second guitar method, *Nuevo metodo para guitarra*, was released in 1843, and was a revised version of his first method. An English translation more than a century later exemplifies the relevance of this publication to the history of the guitar. Aguado was also responsible for the invention of a device called "tripedisono" (also known as "tripodison", or simply, "tripode"), a type of guitar support that allowed the

[107]Thomas Heck, "Dionisio Aguado," in Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 234.

instrument to vibrate more by freeing its sides and back from the contact with the player's body. The advantages of the device to the sound projection of the guitar were suppressed by its impracticality.

A look at the 1981 translation of his revised method is perhaps the best way to understand Aguado's legacy to the pedagogy of the instrument. The book is lengthier than Sor's method and it is divided into two parts and five sections. Part one is titled "Theoretical and Practical." It addresses subjects such as the concept and nature of the instrument, the names of its parts, and a series of pre-requisites related to the player, the instrument, and the suitability of a place in terms of guitar performance. The author also explains the benefits of the use of the tripod in this part of the book.[108]

The second part is only "practical" and it is subdivided into five sections. The first one comprehends fifty lessons. Section two features a series of exercises for both hands. Twenty-seven studies for the application of the concepts from the previous sections compound the next one. The fourth section is the shortest of the method and addresses the issue of "expression."

The playability of root-position chords and their inversions throughout different regions of the fingerboard, and indications on how to build dissonant chords (which are called 'discords') are discussed in the last section. The section ends with guidelines on how to play major and minor triads in root position and inversions, in closed and opened positions.

The recognition of Aguado's method as a major publication in the history of guitar is not difficult to be understood if one considers the following: its organization into "theoretical and practical" parts; the gradual increase in the level of difficulty in the

[108] Dionisio Aguado, *New Guitar Method*, Brian Jeffery, ed., 2nd ed. (London: Tecla Editions, 2004): 1-12.

lessons and exercises, which provide a step-by-step path for the mastery of guitar technique, and the level of details included in the discussion of the theoretical concepts. All these aspects can be associated with Aguado's large experience as a teacher.

The active music life of the French capital during the early 1800's attracted many players from several nationalities, who changed their countries in pursuit of a performing career. The flux of composer-guitarists there generated a phenomenon known as *la guitaromanie* ("guitar mania"). Guitar became the fashion in the metropolis, and the Parisian bourgeoisie considered the study of the instrument a suitable activity for well-educated people.

Aguado and Sor were, without a doubt, the most celebrated Spaniards reputed as guitar virtuosos in Paris during that period. Nonetheless, other guitarists from different nationalities also contributed to the increase of the popularity there. Among the Italian composers that went to Paris were Ferdinando Carulli (Naples, 1770-1841), Francesco Molino (Florence, 1775-1847), Matteo Carcassi (1792-1853), and Fillipo Gragnani (Livorno, 1767-1812).

Ferdinando Carulli is known as one of the main guitar composers of the nineteenth century, and is considered one of the greatest guitar teachers of all times. Although his early musical training was on the cello, under the tutelage of a priest, the guitar became the focus of his life between sixteen to twenty years old.[109] The lack of accomplished tutors in Naples at the turn of the eighteenth century led him to a period of reflection and deep study of the instrument on his own. The experience allowed him to

[109]Marco Bazzotti, "The Guitar in Italy in the Nineteenth Century: Sixty Biographies of Italian Composers and Guitarsists," Ebookcafe. http://www.ebookcafe.it/zip/800Ebook.en.pdf (accessed on November 7, 2005). During my research, I came across with two ages: In Bazzottti's the age is sixteen years old, while in *The New Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians* the age is twenty years old.

formulate important concepts that influenced the entire way in which the guitar was taught in the nineteenth century.[110]

The composer left Naples and moved to Livorno, where he married and had a son, named Gustavo, with Marie-Joséphine-Boyer. Later, Gustavo Carulli performed, taught the guitar, and even wrote a guitar method. His activities with the guitar never gave him a similar status as that of his father. Perhaps, trying not to live in his shadow, Gustavo chose a different path, becoming a voice teacher. He must have been a good singer, because at some point he was a voice teacher at the Paris Conservatoire. He also tried, unsuccessfully, to establish himself in the operatic scene as a composer.

It is not out of question that Carulli may have spent some time in Vienna before definitely settling in Paris in 1808. There, he impressed audiences with his playing abilities, calling the Frenchmen's attention to the musical expressiveness of the guitar. In 1810, Carulli's *Méthode complete op.27* was published. The method brought him a leading reputation as a guitar pedagogue.

Teaching and performing were not the only two activities that Carulli engaged in. A leading composer for the instrument, he also had a large amount of his works available thanks to Raffaele Carli, a Neapolitan who was one of the main publishers in Paris at the time and with whom Carulli became a friend. Carli was probably, at some level, an influential figure in Carulli's life, because the composer himself became a publisher for a short period. Gragnani, for example, was one who benefitted from Carulli's activities in that area.

Carulli's achievements as a performer, publisher, teacher, and composer made him a standing name of the guitar in Paris. This notoriety also opened up room for other

[110]Ibid, 8.

accomplished guitarists to question and eventually to oppose themselves to some of his ideas regarding guitar technique. One controversy in particular relates to Carulli's use of the left hand thumb. It seems that a group of guitarists who agreed with Carulli on that practice and those who were opposed to it, battled over the issue. The episode was portrayed in *La Guitaromanie*, a book by French guitarist Charles de Marescot published in France in 1829 and which contains several interesting pictures depicting the guitar in the Parisian society.[111]

The participants of the controversial debate became known as "Carullists" and "Molinists." The latter term is associated with Italian guitarist Francesco Molino (1768-1847). Born in Ivrea, a region close to Turin, he went to Paris in 1818 to work as a violinist, although he was also an oboist, a violist, and a guitarist. In fact, he had already written two guitar methods before he arrived in Paris and soon he became a prominent composer and teacher of the guitar. His production comprises over sixty pieces for guitar and is better known for his chamber music pieces with guitar.

The Neapolitan master's legacy to the guitar is represented by more than four hundred works, some of them with opus numbers, and others without. The large amount of chamber works featuring the guitar also contributed to the development of a taste for the instrument, primarily in Paris but also in other important musical centers. Representative of his production are his works for the unconventional formation of guitar and pianoforte, which reveal Carulli also as an experimentalist. His pedagogical works

[111]Matanya Ophee, "A Short History of the Left Hand Thumb: Some considerations of its practical use in performance today," http://www.guitarandluteissues.com/LH-Thumb/LH-thumb.htm (accessed on March 1, 2008). Another source that mentions the book, http://www.klassiskgitar.net/marescot-laguitaromanie.html, brings the date of the publication as 1825.

and treatises, all first published in Paris, even include an "anti method" *(L'anti-méthode op.272)* and a harmony treatise for the guitar *(L'harmonie appliqué a la guitare)*, both published in 1825.

Another Italian guitarist famous in Paris during that period was Matteo Carcassi. Born in Florence, he initiated his musical studies on the piano, but while still young turned to the guitar and soon became a virtuoso. His first critical acclamation as a guitarist occurred in Germany, in 1810. While the Florentine was beginning his career, Carulli had already settled in Paris two years before, and in that year was already having his first method being published.

Carcassi moved to Paris around 1820. His virtuosity with the guitar led him to a series of trips, some short and others a little longer. First, he traveled to London in 1822 only for a series of concerts. In 1824 he returned to Germany, and then moved to London, that time to reside for a period. When he finally settled in the French capital, Carulli's public appearances were already more limited due to his aging. The Parisians switched their allegiance to Carcassi, who was younger and also an impressive player.

With the exception of a piece for guitar and piano, Carcassi's compositional output was restricted to pieces for solo guitar. He is best remembered by his *Méthode complete pour la guitar, op.59*, and for the *25 études op.60*. The first is one of the most popular published guitar methods in the history of the instrument. It has been used by generations of guitarists since its publication, remaining in print today. The latter represents an essential part of the student's repertoire during the beginning and intermediate years of study.

The last guitarist to be included in this discussion about Italian guitarists in Paris is Fillipo Gragnani. His name has already been associated with Carulli's printing activities. A virtuoso guitarist from Livorno, he moved to Paris only two years after Carulli's arrival in that city. The two masters became friends and worked together on several occasions, and Carulli even dedicated some of his pieces to Gragnani. In spite of the collaboration with Carulli, Gragnani's production was timid, and is represented by twenty pieces, from which fifteen have been published.

The mentioned biographical accounts make evident that France was not the only place to absorb the growing popularity of the six-string guitar. Indeed, other European cities such as Vienna and London welcomed guitarists from various nationalities, most notably from Italy. An analysis of the position of the guitar in the Italian musical scene may clarify the reasons for the exodus of Italian guitarists to these musical centers.

In Italy, the guitar mainly had the role of accompanying the voice. Opera was the principal vehicle of musical entertainment. As a result, large theatres were built to accommodate the needs of operatic attractions. The aspect was unfavorable to the guitar, whose sound was not loud enough to fill the halls. Solo performers turned their focus to places like Vienna and Paris because of the fondness for music activities in the salons of the nobility in these centers.

Aside acoustical problems, there were also financial considerations. The guitar was not only more suitable to the small salons, but guitarists could find patronage in these cities. The lack of political stability of the Italian peninsula and the fact that the best

publishing companies were located in Vienna, Paris, Leipzig, and London were also relevant.[112]

Considered the other leading exponent of the guitar aside from Fernando Sor, Italian virtuoso Mauro Giuliani (1781-1829) developed the bulk of his guitar activities in Vienna. Born in Bisceglie, Giuliani initiated his studies on the cello at a very early age. During his early years, he moved with his brother Nicola to Barletta, where he also studied counterpoint and the six-string guitar, rapidly becoming a skillful player.

According to Filippo Isnardi, the first biographer of Giuliani, the reason for the composer to move to Vienna was not only the goal of a career as a guitarist, but also the pursuit of better musical training:

> At the age of 18, *his ardent eagerness to have better instruction led him to travel* (italics are mine). In Vienna he perfected himself in counterpoint, in the art of playing the cello, and above all the guitar…[113]

The composer married very young with Maria Giuseppe del Monaco. In 1801 they had a son, Michel. He went to Vienna without his wife and son to enhance the prospects for a musical career. In the Imperial city, he was rapidly noticed as a virtuoso, and achieved a notoriety that surpassed that of local guitar personalities such as Alois Wolf (1775-1819) and Simon Molitor (1766-1848).

One important event that contributed to the development of Giuliani's prestige was the success of the premiere of his Concerto Op.30 for guitar and orchestra. He became then reputed as the greatest guitarist alive and his fame spread all over Europe. The fame also allowed him to be acquainted with other musical celebrities in Vienna such as Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778-1837), Louis Spohr (1784-1859), Joseph Mayseder

[112]Heck, 20-6.
[113]Heck, 18.

(1789-1863), possibly Franz Schubert (1797- 1828), and Ludwig Van Beethoven (1770-1827). In fact, Giuliani even played cello in the premiere of the German's composer seventh symphony.

Teaching was another facet of Giuliani while in Vienna. The two most notable pupils of Giuliani who became successful instrumentalists were two guitarists from Poland: Jan Nepomucen Bobrowicz (1805-c.1860) and Feliks Horecki (1800-1871). The former received public acclaim in 1833 as the "Chopin of guitarists". The latter concertized throughout Europe, in places such as London, Vienna, and Edinburgh.[114]

The most important publishing houses in Vienna such as Artaria, Weigl, Mollo, and Mechetti qm Carlo issued Giuliani's works.[115] The leading publishing company in Vienna belonged to Anton Diabelli (1781-1858), who was responsible for several first editions of Giuliani's works. Himself a guitarist, composer, and pianist, Diabelli composed pieces for solo guitar, duos, and pieces for guitar with other instruments, particularly guitar and pianoforte. Diabelli initially ran his firm in partnership with Pietro Cappi under the name "Cappi & Diabelli". Six years later, in 1824, the partnership ended and the firm became "Diabelli & Co".

After enjoying a solid reputation as a composer and virtuoso guitarist, Giuliani left Vienna in 1819 never to return after a citizen by the name of Jakob Scholze pressed charges against the composer requesting to be paid 660 Gulden,[116] which we can assume was a large amount of money at the period.[117] Since he was unable to pay his debt,

---

[114]Graham Wade, Traditions of the Classical Guitar (London: John Calder Publishers Ltd.), 129.
[115]Heck, 85-6
[116]Heck, 99.
[117]As a matter of curiosity, I searched about the currency used in Austria during Giuliani's time. According to http://wiki.answers.com/Q/What_currency_was_used_in_Austria_in_the_late_19th_century, in 1819, the Gulden was equivalent to 60 Kreuzer, or about 2 Marks. The value of the Gulden changed to 100 Kreuzer after 1892.

Giuliani had his household goods seized and sold in an auction. For someone who only few years earlier had become an Honorary Chamber Virtuoso of Empress Maria-Louise, Napoleon's second wife, it was a misfortune. The composer then returned to Italy, where he went to Venice, Trieste, and Rome, and Naples.

The reputation of the guitar as a concert instrument in Italy was not the same as in Vienna, and Giuliani spent the last decade of his life bravely trying to change that situation. The experience in Rome, where he stayed from 1820 to 1823 was not the most successful in the composer's life. It is possible that the conditions in which he left Vienna affected his credibility with some publishers. In Rome, he became a friend of composer Gioacchino Rossini (1792-1868), and composed the first three *Rossiniane* (Op. 119-121).

The next step in the life of the composer occurred after he moved to Naples at the second half of 1823. He left for Naples in pursuit of better conditions for his musical activities, but also because of the benefit of Naples' climate to his health, which was not at its best. The end of Giuliani's life was marked by his financial struggle. He died on May 8, 1829.

The impact that Giuliani caused in the guitar scene was very strong. Proof of this is that four years after his death, former colleagues of the composer from Vienna issued a guitar magazine that carried his name. The *Giulianiad* initiated in London, was published from 1833 to 1835. Giuliani's legacy to the guitar repertory include 150 compositions with opus numbers and others without, including pieces for solo guitar, duets, trios, quartets, quintets, concertos, voice and guitar (or piano), and guitar and flute (or violin). He also left a pedagogical material that has been used by generations of

guitarists, to present: the 120 Right Hand Studies, an exhaustive study of arpeggio formulas.

Another Italian guitarist to be included in the list of virtuosos during the nineteenth century was Luigi Legnani (1790-1877). His initial musical studies included the guitar and the voice. He performed as a tenor in Ravenna, singing arias of Rossini, and Donizetti. His debut as a concert guitarist occurred in Milan in 1819, the same year in which Giuliani left Vienna. His virtuosity is confirmed by his success in that city three years later, where he was considered Giuliani's "worthy successor".

In the same year he launched his performing career as a guitarist, Legnani had his first compositions published by Ricordi of Milan. An interesting aspect of his performances was that he would eventually accompany himself singing on the guitar. After living in Vienna until 1823, he resided in Germany, Switzerland, and Russia, with short stays in Italy, again in Vienna, and Paris. By 1835, he had returned to Italy, where he stayed in Genoa. There he met the virtuoso violinist Niccolò Paganini (1782-1840), and together they planned a series of concerts in Turin. Unfortunately, due to Paganini's health problems at the time, the concerts were cancelled.[118]

The friendship with Paganini was certainly influential in Legnani's life. The fact that he composed *36 Caprices* for the guitar covering all major and minor keys probably relates to his acquaintance with Paganini's *24 Caprices* for the violin. Legnani retired from his playing activities in 1850 and settled in his hometown and dedicated himself to building guitars and violins. Considered "the Paganini of the guitar", his legacy

[118]Giuseppe Gazzelloni, "Luigi Legnani," in Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., Vol. 14 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 482.

comprises over 250 works published among the leading companies in Milan, Florence, Vienna, and Paris.

Niccolò Paganini, who considered Legnani the "the leading player of the guitar" was himself an accomplished guitarist. Although he is known more as the greatest virtuoso of the violin of the nineteenth century, he left over 200 pieces for the guitar, including solos, duets with violin, and quartets with guitar, most of which were not published for decades because the composers was reluctant to publish them. Only in the last two decades the solo pieces became available to the public, after more than 150 years of legal disputes for their ownership.

Another icon of the guitar during the nineteenth century was Italian guitarist-composer Giulio Regondi (1822-1872). He was a prodigious player, and at age eight he gave his debut in Lyons. Shortly after his performance he moved to Paris, where he soon became a famous player. The decisive step in his career was taken after his family moved to London in May 1831.

Regondi also went to Dublin in 1834, where he performed in important centers. A year later he started learning the concertina, an accordion-like instrument invented by Sir Charles Wheatstone in the same year of Giuliani's death. A quick learner, he was soon a virtuoso on that instrument. His concerts from that point on included performances on both the guitar and the concertina. His virtuosity on both instruments led composers to dedicate works to him. In the case of the concertina, Regondi received a concerto for that instrument and orchestra from Bernhard Molique (1802 – 1869). Fernando Sor also dedicated his Fantasia Op.46, titled "Souvenir d'amitié" to Regondi.

During the years 1840 and 1841, he toured in duo with cellist Joseph Ledel. They performed in Vienna, Munich, Frankfurt, and Darmstadt. In Prague, he took part of a beneficent concert promoted by composer and virtuoso Clara Schumann in February 1841. Back to London, he gave continuity to his concert activities with a new partner, the pianist Dulken, starting in 1844. Regondi was more a performer than a composer, and only occasionally wrote for the guitar.

The amount of Italian guitarists mentioned in the paper undoubtedly reveals Italy as the main source of representative guitarists in the nineteenth century, followed by Spain. On the other hand, other countries also had their own virtuosos. In the case of France, the leading figure of the instrument was Napoleon Coste (1805-1883).

A pupil of Fernando Sor, Coste was born in the province of Amondans, near Besançon. He initiated his guitar studies under his mother and as a teenager was already teaching the instrument and playing concerts. In 1829, he moved to Paris where he studied with Sor, becoming the most prominent French guitarist of the period. His presence in Paris obviously allowed him to develop a relationship with leading guitarists other than Sor, such as Aguado, Carulli, and Carcassi.

Regarding a perfoming career, Coste faced a different reality than his virtuoso friends. The French capital not only was already inflated with guitar celebrities, but also the instrument experienced a lack of interest during the second and third decades of the nineteenth century. For various years he managed to have his teaching and composing activities parallel to working as a civil servant.

Coste was a successful pedagogue, and funded the publication of his own works, since the demand for guitarists was diminishing. He participated in a guitar composition

contest promoted by Russian Guitarist Nikolai Makaroff (1810-1890) in Brussels in 1856. He was awarded second prize for the following pieces: *Le Passage des Alpes* Op.27 (The Trail in the Alps); *Fantaisie Symphonique* Op.28b (Symphonic Fantasy) *La Chasse des Sylphes* Op.29 (The Hunt of the Sylphes), and *Grande Serenade* Op.30 (Grand Serenade).[119]

A parenthesis in Coste's biography is appropriate to mention the winner of the contest, guitarist and composer Johann Kaspar Mertz (1806-1856). Born in Pressburg (now Bratislava, Slovakia) but residing in Vienna since about 1840, he was an active performer and considered a first-rate virtuoso. Unfortunately, he died before he could receive his award for the winning composition, *Fantaisie Hongroise* Op.65 (Hungarian Fantasy).[120] The piece has been constantly featured in recital programs and has been recorded by fine guitarists of our times such as David Russell, David Leisner, and others.

Mertz's music was primarily written for solo guitar, although he also composed works for guitar and piano. Those pieces may have been inspired by his marriage to a virtuoso pianist. In fact, Mertz's writing resembles that of piano pieces. His more than 100 pieces are arrangements of operas, folk songs, sets of theme and variations and eventually some original compositions.

Back to Napoleon Coste, a milestone in his life occurred in 1863 when he broke his arm. The incident led to the end of his performing activities. His contribution to the guitar repertory contains about fifty works with opus numbers and ten without, for the six and seven string guitars. Coste also edited and republished Sor's method under the title *Méthode complète pour la Guitare par Ferdinand Sor, rédigée et augmentée de*

[119]Wade, *Traditions of the Classical Guitar*, 128.
[120]Wade indicates Op.65 as the piece, but calls it a "Concerto for solo guitar".

nombreux exemples et leçons par N. Coste. He is known to be a pioneer in transcribing seventeenth-century guitar music from tablature to staff notation, as in the case of compositions by Robert de Visée found in his *Méthode* and in *Le livre d'or du guitarist* op.52.

In spite of the large number of guitarists who left their original countries in pursuit of a career, some others chose a different path. One such case is of the Spanish guitarist-composer Antonio Cano (1811-1897). An official archivist to Queen Isabella the Second, he was a medical doctor prior to dedicating himself to teaching the guitar, which he did at the Madrid Conservatoire.

He was a pupil of Aguado, and his main addition to the guitar world was his *Método de Guitarra*, written in 1852. The method was reissued sixteen years later with an added harmony treatise adapted for the guitar. Although there is no real documentation, it is believed that he taught some lessons to Francisco Tárrega (1852-1909) and was influential in the development of the tremolo technique.

The titled "Paganini of the guitar" has already been mentioned in this paper to Legnani. Apparently the Italian master was not the only one who had his abilities compared to the virtuoso violinist. Spanish guitarist-composer Trinidad Francisco Huerta y Caturla (1800-1875) was also acclaimed as such. A music critic for La Revue musicale declared at the time of a review that he had never heard a better guitarist than Huerta. Composer Hector Berlioz (1803-1869) and French writer Victor Hugo (1802-1885) also praised him for his musicianship. His virtuoso reputation is further confirmed in the

Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, in which the Spaniard is described as the greatest living guitarist of his time.[121]

Huerta is fairly unknown to modern guitarists. His contribution may have been faded by the decline in the popularity of the instrument. Nonetheless, there are interesting aspects that differentiate him from the other guitar virtuosos of his time. For instance, he was the first classical guitarist to play concerts in the United States, which occurred in 1825. He also concertized in Cuba, Martinique, Portugal, England, France, and even in the Middle East. His name is cited as a reference of guitar virtuosity in Berlioz's *Grand Traité d'Instrumentation*, together with the names of Fernando Sor and Marco Aurelio Zani de Ferranti (1802-1878).

Born in a wealthy family, Zani de Ferranti started studying the guitar as a teenager, and soon he had a successful debut as a performer. Moving to Paris in 1820, he was well received by the public but not by the members of the guitar circle there. He was heavily criticized because of his technique. The hostility may have been the reason for his move to St. Petersburg, where he continued refining his technique and congruently held positions unrelated to music

Zani de Ferranti returned to the scene after a successful performance in Hamburg, which led to other recital engagements. From 1825, he played in Paris, London, and Brussels. He lived in the latter for a while and divided his time between teaching the guitar and Italian literature. Only in 1832 he restarted playing concerts, traveling to Holland, France, England, and following the path taken by Huerta, the USA.

---

[121]Len Verrett, ed., "Guitar Composers of the Classical and Early Romatic Period Circa 1780-1900," Early Romantic Guitar Information Web Page, http://www.earlyromanticguitar.com/erg/composers.htm#Huerta (accessed on October 10, 2007).

Back to Italy after his travels, he met Paganini and nurtured a close relationship with him. His reputation as a virtuoso at the time was well established, and he was even named an "honorary guitarist" by King Leopold I of Belgium (1790-1865). With the decreasing interest for the guitar, Zani de Ferranti settled in Brussels by 1846 and abandoned the instrument, devoting himself to teaching Italian at the Royal Conservatory of Music. At the end of his life, he moved to Pisa, where he died in unfavorable financial circumstances. His compositions comprise 30 works. Among them are nocturnes and fantasias for solo guitar, and two polaccas for three guitars.[122]

There were several guitarists in the nineteenth century that also could have been included in this discussion. However, the provided biographical accounts are sufficient to confirm the popularity that the instrument experienced during the early part of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the last biographies make evident to the reader that the instrument lost its popularity over the years.

There were several reasons for the decline of the guitar as a concert instrument, some artistic and others of sociological reasons. The limited capability of the instrument regarding its loudness represented a crucial factor. This aspect put the guitar in a marginal position in respect to chamber music activities. At the same time, by not having too much volume, the instrument could not be well listened by large audiences in the concert halls. The weakness must have been even more obvious to the public in face of the astonishing popularity of virtuoso pianists and violinists.

The piano and the violin could also produce a much louder sound than the guitar, and the high level of technical requirements for virtuoso players on those instruments was

[122]Marco, Bazzotti, "The Guitar in Italy in the Nineteenth Century: Sixty Biographies of Italian Composers and Guitarsists." Ebookcafe. http://www.ebookcafe.it/zip/800Ebook.en.pdf.

far more impressive than what a guitarist could perform. Another aspect was the general trend in music favoring a more complex harmonic vocabulary, which contrasted with that commonly found in the compositions for the guitar, representing a barrier to the majority of the guitar players.

Another reason may be the difficulty attributed to the composing for the guitar. Berlioz himself, in his orchestration treatise writes that for one to compose well for the instrument, it is necessary to play it. One may disagree with Berlioz's point of view, but the fact is that most of the representative composers of the period neither played nor wrote for the guitar while he did.

At the social level, the guitar gradually became confined to domestic and folkloric musical manifestations. It was largely used as an accompaniment for dancing, and it became favored of the proletarian class, gypsies and people of all ethnic groups. This fact created a stigma related to the guitar in the dominant classes of society. In fact, the guitar is still approached with reservation in the dominant circles of classical music.

In some respects, those factors were intimidating, and discouraging to the continuity of the guitar as a concert instrument. On the other hand, they also provided new goals to be pursued in order to reestablish that status. The first step that opened new horizons for the instrument occurred with improvements in construction that led to the appearance of the modern concert guitar. Those changes and the legacy of the pioneers of the modern instrument will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Five: The Transition to the Twentieth Century

Throughout its entire history, one of the main limitations of the guitar, if not "the main", was its lack of volume. The aspect excluded the guitar from the major musical circles, and limited its inclusion as a member of chamber music groups. With the appearance of its modern version the guitar increased its capability of being heard, and expanded its possibilities of inclusion in the music scenario.

The guitar was going through an experimental period related to its construction. Several builders were looking for ways to improve the instrument, and it would be naïve to expect that they would not take the instrument's limited volume into account. Changes in the neck, frets, increase in size, as well as the inclusion of an open hole, mechanical machine heads, and the new fan- strutting system have been presented to the reader. However, the information about the person who became known as "the father of the modern guitar" was purposefully reserved for this chapter.

The contribution of Spanish guitar maker Antonio de Torres Jurado (1817-1892) revolutionized the field guitar construction, to the extent that it undoubtedly led to the appearance of a distinct type of guitar. Torres was initiated into carpentry at age twelve. It is speculated that sometime in 1842 he went to work for the guitar maker José Pernas in Granada, and in a short time learned how to make guitars. He then opened a guitar shop in Sevilla.

The contact with guitarist-composer Julián Arcas (1832-1882) was especially significant to his career. During the 1850's Arcas advised Torres to become a professional guitar builder and instigated him to pursue new improvements in guitar

construction. The Spanish master concluded that the key was the soundboard. In order to increase its volume, he made the soundboard thinner, and therefore lighter, and fitted it into larger guitars. This type of soundboard arched in both directions, as a result of his bracing system of putting seven light 'fan-struts,' pointing at the 12th fret of the guitar in the back of the soundboard, for strength.

The new structure reinforced by the radial lattice below the soundboard improved the distribution of the sound waves. Torres thus abandoned the light and fragile design of the romantic period and increased the size of his guitars to 65cm, which became a model, and elevated the fingerboard. These changes resulted in a more powerful instrument, with distinct character, richness of timbres, and directed projection.

One could righteously point to the fact that Torres was not the inventor of the fan-strutting system, and that other makers of the period had already used the idea. On the other hand, it is undeniable that Torres refined it from his predecessors. Indeed, it was the major differential that was added to the guitar. At some point, to confirm his theory that the sound of the guitar was a mainly a consequence of the top, and not of its back and sides, Torres built a guitar with back and sides of papier-mâché. [123] Between 1852-1869, and 1875-1892, Torres built around 320 instruments, setting new standards for classical guitar construction that are still taken into consideration in our current times.

The guitar has always been strongly associated to Spain, even though a multitude of outstanding performers and composers came from other countries. After its decline during the nineteenth century, it seems but "right" that Spain would be the place for its rebirth. Arcas's contribution to this process was not only his advice for Torres to become

[123]John Moorish, "Antonio de Torres: Father of the Modern Guitar," in Tony Bacon et al., *The Classical Guitar Book* (San Francisco, CA: Backbeat Books, 2002), 16-17.

a luthier. He also taught the person who was the last of the "three sides of the triangle" involved in the modernization of the guitar: Francisco Tárrega (1852-1909).

Tárrega was born in Vilarreal, in the northern province of Castellón. He started playing the guitar still young, at age eight. In fact, his early music studies seem to have been partially a way to cope with a permanent condition in his life. An irresponsible nanny threw him into an irrigation channel when he was a young child. The unfortunate event caused him to impair his eyesight.[124] In 1862, Julián Arcas, on tour, became impressed with the ease that Tárrega displayed on the instrument and offered to teach him, if his parents allowed him to go to Barcelona. Tárrega's father agreed with the condition that his son would still study the piano.

The period in which Tárrega studied with Arcas did not last long. It finished shortly after the former moved to Barcelona and the latter went on touring again. Interestingly, ten-year-old Tárrega tried to make him known as a guitarist in the bars and restaurants in Barcelona. He was soon sent back home to live with his parents. He ran away from home twice after that, once in 1865 to live with some gypsies in Valencia, and another to go again to Valencia.

By the time he enrolled to study at the Madrid Conservatory in 1874, he was a proficient player in both the piano and the guitar. Sponsored by a wealthy businessman by the name of Antonio Canesa, he initiated his studies in that prestigious institution with a new instrument made by Torres. The unquestionable superiority of that instrument resulted in a new set of possibilities for Tárrega to raise the level of the guitar among other musical instruments.

[124]Emilio Pujol, *Tárrega: Ensayo biográfico* (Valencia: Artes Gráficas Soler, 1978), 28.

The collaboration of the triangle Torre-Arcas-Tárrega was essential to the development of the new type of guitar. Nonetheless, Tárrega was responsible for two other important contributions in the establishment of the modern guitar. Firstly, he helped to increase its repertory. Secondly, he reformulated the instrument's technique.

Tárrega's chosen path to the renewal of the guitar repertory and to raise the status of the instrument was via transcriptions, as a way to reveal to the musical world that the guitar was able to handle a more consistent musical discourse. Although he also composed close to 80 original pieces for the guitar, he transcribed more than 100 works by composers such as Beethoven, Schumann, Chopin, Verdi, and Mendelssohn and of Spanish contemporaries such as Isaac Albéniz (1860-1909). To current guitarists, the two most known works by Tárrega are perhaps the lyrical *Capricho Árabe* and the tremolo piece *Recuerdos de la Alhambra.*

It took Tárrega a long period to systematize the fundamental principles of guitar playing during his process of reformulating the technique of the guitar. He selected what was the best in terms of technical practices for the guitar left by his antecessors and adapted it to the reality of the new instrument. He advocated the use of the guitar on the left leg with a footrest.

The use of the pinky resting on the soundboard was abolished once for all by Tárrega, making possible for the right hand to act free to explore more thoroughly the different tone colors of the instrument. He expanded the concept of fingering favoring the expression of tone colors. During the nineteenth century, guitarists were more accustomed to finger with open positions and open strings, probably in order to compensate the lack of brilliance and amplitude of their instruments. The Spanish master

developed a type of fingering that would extend through the fingerboard, similar to the one used in violin technique, exploring a warmer and cantabile sonority, which permitted the guitar to explore more expressively the nuances of the musical phrasing.

One of the most representative aspects of Tárrega's style of playing was the use of glissandos, allowing the melodic line to be performed without caesuras. The inclusion of the rest stroke in guitar technique is also associated with him. All these technical improvements, and others, were a trademark of his style of playing, documented by his pupils and admirers.

There is no documentation available to us to make a deeper analysis of the real man and the myth that was left to us. The only exception is a fragment with Tárrega performing one of his own compositions. However, two of his pupils, Miguel Llobet and Emilio Pujol, left a significant number of recordings that are highly relevant to one to understand the influence of Tárrega in the guitar scenario.[125]

Francisco Tárrega was a cornerstone in the process of revitalizing the popularity of the instrument. His name is also connected to an important aesthetic current known as Spanish Romanticism, which rejected the Italian influences in order to reestablish Spain's national identity. The Romantic Movement arrived late in Spain due to the political situation in existence. Spain had been ruled under the French dynasty for almost a century and a half, from 1700 to1833. During that period, the Spanish people saw their national identity being suppressed by foreigner influences (most notably from France and Italy) in the courtly arts. When the despotic king, Ferdinand VII died in 1833, the liberals, and hence, Spanish romanticism returned to its home.

---

[125]A Arte do Violão: "Programa No.1: O Legado de Tárrega," http://aadv.radio.googlepages.com/zanon_aadv-01.html (accessed on February 18, 2005).

The reaction against Italianism gave rise to the flourishing of the popular *zarzuelas* under Francisco Asenjo Barbieri (1823-1894), Tomás Bretón (1850-1923), and Felipe Pedrell (1841-1922). The *zarzuela* was a lyric-dramatic genre, a type of light opera that alternated between spoken and sung scenes. Later it also incorporated operatic and popular song, as well as dance. The term derives from the *Palacio de la Zarzuela* near Madrid, where the Spanish court saw for the first time this type of entertainment.

Pedrell and his nationalism in turn stimulated Tárrega as well as two important Spanish composers also relevant to this paper: Isaac Albéniz and Enrique Granados (1867-1916). They were composing during a period labeled "Post-Romanticism," which in Spain is more closely related to the Romantic period. During this time, the Spaniards experienced the *costumbrismo*, a trend in which literature and painting portrayed a simplified, romanticized interpretation of local everyday life.[126] In poetry, the rebirth of nationalism was allied to figures such as José Zorrilla y Moral (1817-1893), José de Espronceda (1808-1848), and Ángel de Saavedra y Ramírez de Baquedano, known as Duque de Rivas (1791-1865).

The simplicity of the Spanish life, with its mannerisms and customs was also paralleled in music, with Tárrega exclusively writing for the guitar, and Albéniz and Granados writing for the piano and opera. They formed a national Spanish contemporary school of music, embracing the traditional Spanish idiom, which incorporated lyricism, popularism, and realism.

Albéniz took the guitar as his model and drew his inspiration from Andalucian folk music, without using actual folk themes. He achieved a style that has the traditional

[126]Wikipedia, "Costumbrismo," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Costumbrismo (accessed on January 20, 2008).

Spanish, yet gives an impression of spontaneity. He was a romanticist in its fine aspects and created lyrical masterpieces for the piano. After hearing Tárrega's transcriptions of his own music, he affirmed that he preferred them to some of his originals for the piano. His books titled "Iberia" contains studies of the characteristic rhythms and effects from different Spanish provinces, developed with a great sense of poetical suggestion.

Albéniz's *Asturias (Leyenda)*, the fifth piece from the *Suite Española* Op.47, is without doubt one of the most popular pieces of the modern classical guitar repertory, with numerous transcriptions being made. It is almost impossible for a modern guitarist or guitar student not to have heard or played some arrangement of the piece. Among his works also stand *Torre Bermeja* (the last piece from *12 Piezas Características* Op.92), *Mallorca (Barcarola)* Op.202, and the other movements from the mentioned *Suite Española*.

The art of Francisco Goya (1746-1828) influenced the compositional style of Enrique Granados. Inspired in Goya's art, Granados concentrated on the romantic and the picturesque, not the realistic and satiric. His opera *Goyescas* was originally a group of piano pieces. Granados reveals himself a romanticist in its frank melody, pathos, poetical suggestions, and complex harmonic schemes, which are original but relate to the style of Chopin, yet in a Spanish idiom.

Both Liszt and the nineteenth-century German texture were influential to Granados. Nevertheless, the composer had a style of his own, rambling on and making his points by emphasizing repetition, like the Spanish poets, saying the same things in a delightful variety of ways. As he did with Albéniz's music, Tárrega also transcribed Granados'. Among his works that have been transcribed for the guitar and are popular to

modern guitarists are the tonadilla *La Maja de Goya*, *Valses Poéticos*, and *Danzas Españolas* Op.37.

Another Spanish composer who, in spite of a very small production for the guitar, was relevant to the nationalistic production of that country was Manuel de Falla (1876-1946). The citation below, from Falla himself, makes evident that he envisioned a bright future for the guitar. He believed that one of the biggest trumps that composers had at their disposal during that period of reawakening of the guitar was tied to the exploration of harmony and its effects in the instrument:

> The guitar as popularly used in Spain represents two distinct musical effects: that of rhythm, which is apparent and immediately perceptible; and that of harmony. The former, in conjunction with certain forms of cadence has been for long the only effect employed in more or less cultivated music, while the imparting of the latter- the effect of which is tonal-harmonic- has hardly been recognized by composers, except Domenico Scarlatti, until recent times in the *Ibéria* of Albéniz.[127]

Under the influence of Pedrell, who was his professor of composition in Madrid, Falla became deeply involved with the native music of Spain, more specifically the flamenco from Andalusia. His early pieces display a number of zarzuelas and his first prominent work, *La vida breve*, an opera in one act was written in 1905 and premiered in 1913.

The next step in the life of the composer was Paris. Although the city did not have the same appeal for guitarists as it did in the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was one of the main European centers for composers. It was there in the French metropolis that impressionistic composers Maurice Ravel (1875-1937), Paul Dukas (1865-1935), and Claude Debussy (1862-1918) influenced Falla.

---

[127]J. B. Trend, *Manuel de Falla and Spanish Music* (New York: Alfred A. 1929), 31.

Debussy's admiration for the guitar prompted Falla to compose his only piece for solo guitar, titled *Homenaje pour le tombeau de Claude Debussy*. It was written in memory of the French composer two years after his death, for issue #20 of the *Revue Musical*. The piece was the first one written to Segovia, who eventually recorded the piece (although he never included it in his repertoire).[128] Another work that is popularly featured in recitals today is *Seven Popular Songs*, for voice and guitar accompaniment. In the set, Falla used actual folk songs, but the accompaniments were his own.

Returning to Tárrega, it is important to mention his contribution as a pedagogue of the guitar. Several of his pupils become important concert players, traveling and disseminating his new concept of guitar playing. Nevertheless, he himself never left any guitar method to the posterity, and others did not write by him, but the books that came to us nowadays under the title "The School of Tárrega". Because of this fact, such methods should be approached with caution, because they belong from a time in which many people took advantage of the legacy and reputation of the Spanish master.

Among Tárrega's pupils, two of them are worthy of being included in this discussion, because of their impact in the development of the guitar: Miguel Llobet (1878-1938) and Emilio Pujol (1886-1980). They had distinct musical temperaments. Nonetheless, each one in their own way left a contribution to the guitar world, opening new doors to the subsequent generations.

Sometimes regarded as the "guitarist of the impressionism," Miguel Llobet was extraordinarily talented and from an early age was supported by his family that had artistic inclinations. He studied with Tárrega during many years and then enrolled in the

[128]Silvio José dos Santos, "Guitar Music Composed for Segovia," *Notes* Vol. 63, No.1, (September 2006), 201-207.

Barcelona Conservatory were he made friends such as Pablo Casals, Ricardo Viñes and Gaspar Cassado. His debut was in Malaga in 1900. With the support of Ricardo Viñes, Llobet established himself as a member of the musical elite in Paris, and had direct contact with Debussy, Fauré and Ravel, composers who attended his concerts and who influenced his style as a composer.[129]

After 1900, Llobet performed all over Europe, and North and South Americas. He came to live in Argentina for a period, and there he made some of his recordings between 1926 and 1929. Although he was not the first guitarist to record, his recordings were the first ones in which the guitar used the technology of the microphone instead of wax cylinders.

Llobet's ideals related to the quality of the sound on the guitar differed from Tárrega's, although he was the latter's most prominent pupil. His right hand technique included the use of the nails. Tárrega, on the other hand, opted to play with the flesh, regarding the nails as "dead material." Pujol agreed with Tárrega, and later addressed the issue of tone production in his *El dilema del Sonido en la Guitarra.* He defended that the use of the flesh made sense because the player would employ the fingertips, which were the most sensitive part of the body, resulting on a sound that was more rounded and pungent.[130]

Pujol's artistic path included musicology and research. He initiated his career performing folkloric music. In 1900 he began to study with Tárrega, rapidly projecting himself as a solo concert player and composer.

---

[129]Ronald Purcell, "Miguel Llobet," in Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., Vol. 15 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 25.
[130]A Arte do Violão: "Programa No.1: O Legado de Tárrega," http://aadv.radio.googlepages.com/zanon_aadv-01.html (accessed on February 18, 2005).

In 1924 he discovered an ancient vihuela in a museum in Paris, and instigated by the instrument started an arduous research on the repertory of ancient instruments such as the vihuela, lute, and Baroque guitar. Max Eschig in Paris, starting in 1925, published the results of this research and it represented a pioneer example in the process of historical reconstitution that is in vogue nowadays.

Pujol's legacy made works by Milan, Mudarra, Sanz, Le Roy, and other composers, available to guitar players. In fact, many of the works that came to us through Pujol's research have become milestones of the guitar repertory. He was also a successful teacher and produced three classics of the guitar literature called *Escuela Razonada de la Guitarra*. Many pedagogues consider the publication as the most important reference about the early stages of the modern guitar, and it is still adopted in many conservatoires around the globe.

Pujol wrote a biography of Tárrega. He also composed more than a hundred original pieces for the guitar. Composer Joaquin Rodrigo (1901-1999) composed *Sarabande Lontaine* (1926) to him. Unfortunately, several of his achievements were suppressed by the stellar fame of the most important personage in the history of the guitar in the twentieth century, Spanish virtuoso Andrés Segovia (1893-1987).

The contribution of Andrés Segovia to the history of the guitar is so important that his name became associated to the guitar in the same way that Paganini's is linked to the violin or Liszt's is coupled with the piano. Throughout his career, Segovia established and pursued the concretization of five goals. He outlined them in issue #32 of *Guitar Review*, in 1969.

The first was to separate the guitar from the old stigma of being a folkloric instrument. The second was the creation of an original repertory for the instrument. He also envisioned expanding the appreciation for the guitar among the public of philharmonic works. The creation of "unifying medium for those interested in the development of the guitar" was another goal. Ultimately, he sought to secure the future of the guitar by inserting it in the music programs of the most important conservatories of the world.

He was born in Linares, a region connected to the agricultural and mining activities in the south of Spain. His early life is not well documented, but some of the facts lead to the impression that his infancy was not an easy period of his life. While still very young, he was separated from his brothers and sent to his uncles in Granada to be raised there. Apparently, the guitar came into his life after his uncle began to teach him some chords, to help Segovia cope with the distance from his family.[131]

The musical environment of Granada at the end of the nineteenth century was rich and attractive to music students, and favorable to the guitar. Segovia's early involvement with the guitar was molded by the influences of the Moorish culture, with its mystical architecture, the flamenco, and the gypsies. In fact, he would skip school to go hear the gypsies play the guitar.

As a teenager, he decided to live by himself, and to study the guitar, music theory and solfeggio. Segovia described himself as a self-taught guitarist in his autobiography. The issue is controversial among guitarists because the biography was written at the climax of his career.

---

[131]A Arte do Violão: "Programa No.3: Andrés Segovia Gravações 1927-1939," http://aadv.radio.googlepages.com/zanon_aadv-03.html (accessed on February 18, 2005).

His debut as a guitarist occurred at age sixteen. In 1913, he played at the *Teatro Ateneo* in Madrid, displaying a technical level that impressed the audience. The repercussion opened several opportunities, and Segovia soon amplified his performing career all over Spain. Cuban-born Ernesto de Quesada (1886-1972) managed Segovia's performing activities for some time.

In the beginning of the 1920's Segovia visited Argentina and Uruguay. In 1922, Segovia firmed a contract in Madrid with Quesada for a series of forty concerts in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Mexico.[132] In 1924, Segovia played in Paris. The performance represented a mark to his career. Several prominent figures of the musical scene of the French capital attended the recital and were highly impressed by Segovia's degree of artistry. As a result, the Spaniard almost instantly became a celebrity.

Historically, it was also a unique time in the lives of musicians, with the advent of electrical recordings in 1925 amplifying the possibilities of the dissemination of their art. Segovia established himself as an international artist performing in Belgium, Germany, Austria, URSS, and the USA. His debut in the USA was in 1928, just one year after his first recordings. His fame even brought him to Japan in 1929.

Moved on one hand by his sudden public notoriety and on the other by his decided personality, Segovia made contacts with prominent composers to start writing for the guitar, and in this case, specifically for him. One of such composers was Federico Moreno-Torroba (1891-1982). He was the last master of the zarzuela in Spain and wrote several works of that genre, from which the most famous was *Luisa Fernanda* (1932).

---

[132]EDQ Blog, "Ernesto de Quesada: Biography," http://homepage.mac.com/erlin1/iblog/C527043545/E20050811211613/index.html (accessed on February 18, 2008).

Early in life Torroba was exposed to music. His first music teacher was his father, the organist José Moreno Ballesteros, who was also a music teacher at the Madrid Conservatory. The first of Torroba's zarzuelas, *Las Decididas* (1912) was written in collaboration with him.

Later he studied at the Royal Conservatory, where he studied composition with Conrado del Campo (1878-1953). In 1924 he married Pilar Larregla. Torroba's father in law was a composer from Navarra, and he was then closely exposed to the folk music of Navarra, which influenced his own style of composition.[133]

During the 1920's he developed a friendship with Segovia that motivated him to compose for the guitar. The piece that has been accepted as the first one that Torroba composed for Segovia was the last movement of the *Suite Castellana* titled *Danza*. The date was 1923, although Segovia himself said that it was from 1919. One of his most popular works that has been widely recorded and included in the repertory of several recitalists is *Sonatina* (1924). Segovia recorded its first movement in 1927.

Torroba wrote for guitar during all his productive life, enriching the guitar repertory of the twentieth century with some eighty works represented by impressionistic pieces, sonatas, sonatinas, suites, dances, compositions for four guitars, and pieces for guitar and orchestra. Among his solo works are *Piezas características* (1931), *Sonata Fantasia* (1953), *Aires de la Mancha* (1966), *Castillos de España I* (1970) and *Castillos de España II* (1978)

The year of 1956 was particularly fruitful to the guitar as Torroba composed more than thirty pieces for the instrument, such as *Romance de los Pinos*, *Segoviana*, *Sevillana*,

[133]Walter Clark and William Krause, "Federico Moreno-Torroba," in Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., Vol.17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 112-113.

and *Sonata y variacíon*. His guitar ensemble works were all produced in his mature years. The first two guitar quartets, *Ráfagas* and *Sonata Fantasia II* were composed in 1976. Three years later he composed another one, titled *Estampas*.

The last two works were the quintet *Invenciones*, and the quartet *Sonatina trianera*, both written in 1980. The output of orchestral works involving the guitar includes *Concierto de Castilla* (1960), *Concierto en flamenco* (1962), *Concierto Ibérico* (1976), and *Tonada Concertante*. The latter was written in 1982, the year of the composer's death.

Aside from Moreno-Torroba, other composers wrote for the guitar instigated by Segovia. Among them were Manuel Maria Ponce (1882-1948), Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco (1895-1968), Joaquin Turina (1882-1949), Alexander Tansman (1897-1986), and Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887-1959). A brief overview of each one and the main works which became the core of a new repertory for the instrument will aid the reader to understand the significance of their contribution to the history of the guitar.

Born in Fresnillo, Mexico, Manual Maria Ponce (1882-1948) began to study piano and solfege with his sister Josefina. At age five, he composed his first piece, *Dance of the Small Pox*, while he was recovering from small pox. He also studied with a certain Cipriano Avila.

In the beginning years of the twentieth century, he moved to Mexico City, were he studied piano with Vicente Mañas and harmony with Vicente Gabrielli. He enrolled in the Conservatorio Nacional, but soon got bored with the pedagogical system there and moved to Aguascalientes. There he taught piano and solfege and bought a grand piano with the money that he earned from teaching.

At age 23 he went to Italy, where he enrolled in the Liceo Rossini in Bologna and studied composition under the tutelage of Luigi Torchi and later with Dall'Olio. From that period are his first piano sonata, four mazurkas, and the two first movements of his Trio for piano, violin and viola. Always looking for improvement, he decided to leave for Germany, where he studied in Berlin at the Stern Conservatoire. There he completed his piano studies guided by Martin Krause.

Ponce performed at the Beethoven Hall in Berlin with great success, but the performance did not change the difficult financial circumstances he was under, leading him to return to his country in 1908. He took over a professorship in piano in 1909, replacing the vacant position left by the death of Ricardo Castro at the Conservatorio Nacional. He remained in the position until 1915. At that point of his life, he had already set his mind on exploring the Mexican folklore as a main source for his compositions.

In 1913 he gave the lecture "Music and the Mexican Song," addressing the issue of the use of folklore in music and the notion of a national identity among the Mexican intellectuals. Two years later, as a consequence of the delicate political context brought by the Mexican Revolution, he voluntarily went into exile in Cuba. He stayed in Havana, with two friends, the violinist Pedro Valdes Fraga (1872-1939) and poet Luis G. Urbina (1868-1934). Naturally, he absorbed several influences of the music from Cuba and became friends with the leading artists and intellectuals of the island.

In 1916 he performed a full recital of his works in New York. A year later he returned to Mexico, after he was named professor at the Conservatorio Nacional. The fact he enjoyed a solid reputation in his country can be further confirmed by the fact that

the National Symphony orchestra played during his wedding to Clementine Maurel in 1917. The Mexican composer became the director of that orchestra until 1919, and devoted himself to composing and teaching piano at the conservatoire, which he did until 1922.

Prolific as a writer, Ponce also got involved with music magazines. He was the director of the *Revista musical de Mexico* during 1919 and 1920. He also founded the *Gaceta Musical*, a magazine written in the Spanish idiom when he was in Paris. Later, in 1936, he was editor for the magazine *Cultura Musical*. Always committed to the folklore of his country, later in his life the composer suggested to the Mexican government the creation of a committee in charge of recovering and cataloguing folkloric music from different regions of Mexico with the objective of being published and preserved.

Segovia and Ponce met each other when the former went to Mexico to perform. Ponce was impressed by the artistry of the Spanish virtuoso. After hearing Moreno-Torroba's *Sonatina* at the end of Segovia's performance, Ponce felt inspired to write for the guitar. The first piece was the *Sonata Mexicana*. It was not a surprise that the piece was built upon Mexican folkloric themes. Ponce and Segovia nurtured a relationship that lasted their entire lives, and they wrote to each other on many occasions. The correspondences have been edited by Miguel Alcazar and translated into English by Peter Segal and published by Orphee Editions.

With a well-established reputation in Mexico, Ponce felt that he needed to improve his compositional technique. Eager to study the new musical tendencies of the period, he left with his wife to Paris in 1925. There, he became comfortable composing

for the guitar, which he called "an exquisite instrument, containing a singular world, sensitive, delicate, mysterious."[134]

Ponce's works for the guitar are precious gems of the early twentieth-century repertory for the instrument. Aside from the mentioned works, Ponce left a representative addition to the guitar literature. Among his most important works are three other sonatas: *Sonata III* (1927), *Sonata romántica* (Homage to Schubert, 1929), and *Sonata clásica* (Homage to Fernando Sor, 1930).

The core of his production for the guitar took place in Paris between 1925 and 1932. Aside from the sonatas, other pieces from this period include *Tema Variado y Final* (1926), *Suite en la Mineur* and *Variations and Fugue on 'La Folia.'* (1929), *Homenaje a Tárrega,* and *Sonatina Meridional* (1932). The latter marks the end of Ponce's guitar works in Paris. He continued composing for the instrument in Mexico, and in 1941 he wrote the *Concierto del Sur* for guitar and orchestra. His last known work, *Variations on a Theme of Cabezón* dates from 1948, just a few months before his death.

Italian composer Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco left a vast number of compositions for the guitar. His production was unparalleled by any other composer of the period. It contains close to one hundred pieces featuring solo works, duets including the guitar, chamber works, and guitar concertos.

Born in Florence, from a Jewish family that had been expelled from Spain centuries earlier, he initiated his education at his home because his father was concerned with the precarious health conditions of the public schools in Florence. At an early age,

[134]Corazón Otero, *Manuel Ponce and The Guitar*, J.D. Roberts, trans. (The Bold Strummer Ltd.: Westport, CT, 1994), 22.

he was highly influenced by his grandfather Bruto, a lover of Italian operas who constantly sang for the young Mario. At age 14 he composed three suites for piano and at the same year enrolled in the Instituto Musicale Cherubini to study the piano.

After obtaining a degree on that instrument in 1914, he became a pupil of Italian composer Ildebrando Pizetti (1880-1968) for four years, until he received a diploma in composition. An admirer of the literary works, especially William Shakespeare (bapt.1564-1616) Tedesco got inspiration from a comedy in five acts written by Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527) to compose his first opera, *La Mandragora*. The opera was premiered in 1926.

It did not take long for his works to become noticed and included in the repertory of important performers such as piano virtuosos Walter Gieseking (1895-1956), Ernesto Consolo (1864-1931), and violinist Jasha Heifetz (1901-1987). The composer wrote his second violin concerto, titled *The Prophet*, based on Hebrew themes and dedicated it to Heifetz. The work was an expression against the anti-Semitism that was in vogue in Europe at the period. Impacted by the deepness of the work, conductor Arturo Toscanini (1867-1957) invited the composer to come to Milan to look at the score with him. Tedesco's trip to work with the conductor was the first step towards a solid friendship.

The contact with Segovia occurred in 1932, at the International Festival of Venice. Segovia and Manuel de Falla attended Tedesco's concert at the festival, and although they had constantly seen each other at the festival, the subject of the guitar was not addressed between them. Indeed, Segovia did not ask directly that the composer write for him. He encountered Tedesco's wife Clara on the last day of the festival and asked her to let the Italian composer know his desire to play a composition by him.

Tedesco replied to Segovia, but let him know that he had no idea about how to write for the guitar. Segovia sent him a copy of Sor's *Variations on a Theme by Mozart* and Ponce's *Variations and Fugue on 'La Folia'*. After studying the two sets of variations, the composer wrote his own: *Variazioni attraverso i secoli* (Variations across the centuries).[135] Segovia played the piece in Italy for the first time on April 3, 1934, in a program that also included the first Italian performance of Ponce's *Sonatina Meridional*. On the following day, he asked Tedesco to compose a four-movement sonata in honor of Luigi Bocherini. In that same year he composed the *Sonata 'Omaggio a Boccherini" Op.77*.

Segovia's pursuit of establishing a new repertory for the guitar led him to ask Tedesco to write another "homage-piece." This time, the composer in question was Nicòlo Paganini, and Tedesco composed another masterpiece for the instrument: The *Capriccio Diabolico Op.85b* (1935). The piece portrays two majestic themes that join each other at the last section of the piece, prior to the gesture that quotes the theme from Paganini's second violin concerto, known as the *Campanella*.[136] The piece was later adapted for guitar and orchestra.

As a result of the anti-Semitism in Europe, Tedesco left Italy and went to the USA, close to the outbreak of the World War II. It was Toscanini who encouraged him to move to America. In the new country, he embraced the opportunity to compose music for Hollywood, thanks to the help of his friend Heifetz. He also became a teacher of the Los Angeles Conservatory and had among his pupils, composers Henri Mancini (1924-1994), John Williams (b.1932), and André Previn (b.1929)

---

[135]Corazón Otero, *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: His Life and Works for the Guitar* (United Kingdom: Ashley Mark Publishing Company, 1999), 44.
[136]Ibid, 46.

Three concertos and a serenade represent Tedesco's output of works for guitar and orchestra. The first concerto was *Concerto No.1 in D, Op.99*, which he started composing in 1938 and concluded in 1939. It was the second guitar concerto composed in the twentieth century and was premiered by Andrés Segovia in Montevideo. Although the work has been said to be the first guitar concerto of the last century, another one was performed some nine years priors to Tedesco's, which is pointed out by Corazon Otero:

> The first guitar concerto of the 20th century is now generally understood to have been written by the Mexican composer Rafael Adame (1906-1963). It was first performed on July 19 1930, with the orchestral part arranged by Adame himself for piano.[137]

The acceptance of Adame's *Concerto clásico* as the first guitar concerto of the twentieth century is questionable. The date of its premiere leaves no doubt that it was written before Tedesco's. However, the orchestra was not included in the first performance of the *Concerto clásico*, which was not the case of Tedesco's *Concerto in D*. Thus, while Adame's can indeed be considered the first guitar concerto of the twentieth century, Tedesco's may be regarded as the first one to have been premiered in its original form.

A gap of fourteen years separates the work form his *Concerto No.2 in C, Op. 160*, which was premiered by Christopher Parkening in California. The last of the concertos, titled *Concerto in E Op.201*, was written for two guitars during the last years of his life. It was first performed by the Presti-Lagoya duo in Toronto.[138]

Tedesco's *Sonatina for flute and guitar, Op.205* was the only work for that combination. Similarly, he composed only one work for guitar and choir, *Romancero*

[137]Ibid, 122.
[138]Ibid, 143.

Gitano Op.152 (1951), based on poems by Federico Garcia Lorca (1898-1936). Another instrument that was featured with the guitar and represented by a single work was the piano. The piece was *Fantasia Op.145* (1950).

Tedesco's works for voice and guitar include *Platero y Yo Op.190* (1960), written for narrator and guitar, *The Divan of Moses-Ibn-Ezra Op.207* (1966), a song cycle in English, and *Die Vogelweide* Op.186 (1959), for baritone and guitar. The majority of his production for the guitar is represented solo works. Aside from the ones already mentioned, some became more popular among guitarists such as *Tarantella Op.87a* and *Aranci in Fiori Op.87b* (1936), *24 Caprichos de Goya Op. 195* (1961), and a work containing several easy preludes and studies organized in two books and titled *Appunti Op.210* (1967).

Tedesco also wrote several pieces for a new generation of guitarists in his Op.170. Among them are *Cancion Venezuelana* ('on the name of Alirio Díaz'), *Cancion Cubana* ('on the name of Hector Garcia'), *Cancion Argentina* ('on the name of Ernesto Bitetti'), and *Brasileira* ('on the name of Laurindo Almeida'). Tedesco's last concerto was not the only work for two guitars. He also composed *Sonata Canonica Op. 196* (1961), and *Les Guitares Bien Tempérées Op.199* (1962). His last work for two guitars was the homage to the memory of virtuoso Ida Presti titled *Fuga Elegiaca Op.R210a* (1967).

Another composer who wrote for the guitar who produced guitar works in collaboration with Segovia was Joaquin Turina. He wrote only five works for the guitar. The first three were composed in the 1920's. The first one was *Sevillana, Op.29* (1923), followed by *Fandanguillo Op.36* (1925) and *Ráfaga Op. 53* (1929). The last two works

were written in the next decade. They were *Sonata Op.61* (1931) and *Homenage a Tárrega Op.69* (1932).

Earlier in his life, he was persuaded by Albéniz and Falla to seek a style rooted in material from Spanish popular music instead of following the compositional models learned from his professor Vincent D'Indy during his studies at the Schola Cantorum in Paris.[139] Written when he was already a mature composer, Turina's guitar pieces reveal a strong Spanish character. In spite of the modest number, they are a significant part of the solo guitar repertory produced in the early decades of the twentieth century.

The events of World War II brought radical changes to the course of millions of people's lives around the world. Castelnuovo-Tedesco was just one among several artists and intellectuals who fled from Europe during the war. Others include the writer Thomas Mann (1875-1955) and the composers Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951), Darius Milhaud (1892-1974), Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971) and Polish composer Alexander Tansman. The latter was responsible for contributing fine works to the guitar in the last century.

Born in an upper middle class Jewish family in the city of Łódź, he spent his childhood and adolescence in his country. As part of his education, he learned to speak four languages other than his native Polish (Russian, German, French and English). He started to play the piano when he was four or five, motivated by his family who was musically educated. In fact, one of his aunts was a pupil of famous pianist Arthur Rubinstein (1887-1982), who was from the same city.

Tansman began to compose when he was eight or nine years old. During a period of twelve years, from 1902 to 1914 he concentrated on studying piano, counterpoint, and

[139]Carlos G. Amat, "Joaquin Turina," in Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., Vol.25 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 904-905.

harmony at the Łódź Conservatoire. In 1915 he left his town and went to Warsaw where he studied composition with Piotr Rytel (1884-1970).

Parallel to his musical studies, he obtained a doctorate in law and philosophy in 1918. A year later he was awarded the first three prizes in a national composition contest in Poland. Ironically, he had submitted the three winning works (*Romance*, for violin, and *Impression* and *Prelude in B major*, both for piano) using three distinct names. The momentum caused by that event led him to move to Paris in the same year.

In Paris, he worked in a bank thanks to his versatility with languages, and soon was well established. Nonetheless, his principal reason for moving to the new country was his music and he was able to support himself teaching piano and performing. He actually toured Germany, Austria, Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland as a concert pianist. In Paris he met composers Maurice Ravel (1874-1937), Jacques Ibert (1890-1962), Darius Milhaud, and others.

The family had to flee to France in 1940 because of the threat of Hitler troops to the Jewish community. The next year, a committee that included Toscanini, Heifetz (the same two who helped Tedesco), and Charlie Chaplin (1889-1977) helped Tansman to immigrate to the United States. Following the path of other artists forced into exile by the war, Tansman moved to Los Angeles. There he found the film industry of Hollywood to be a good opportunity for him, as he could not only provide for his family, but also could work on other compositions.[140]

Most of Tansman's compositions for the guitar were written for Segovia. His production for guitar was not as large as Tedesco in quantity, but his pieces have become

[140]Gerald Hugon, "Alexander Tansman," Patricia Wheeler trans., Musica et Memoria, http://www.musimen.com/tansman_eng.htm (accessed on December 5, 2007).

part of the standard repertory of modern guitarists. Among his works are *Suite in modo polonico* (1962, a collection of Polish dances composed for Segovia, who often performed it), the four-movement *Cavatina* (1950), *Variations sur un thème de Scriabine* (1972), *Hommage à Chopin* (1966), and his last composition for the guitar, *Hommage to Lech Walesa* (1982).

The astonishing success achieved by Segovia reached composers from several different countries, either living in Paris or introduced to Segovia on one of his tours. The last composer to be included in the discussion about the increase of the repertory through the influence of the Spanish master is Brazilian Heitor Villa-Lobos.

He had met Andrés Segovia in 1924 at a reception at the home of Olga Moraes Sarmento Nobre, a member of the Brazilian high-society in Paris. Segovia described Villa-Lobos as a bad guitarist, but an excellent musician:

> He made several attempts to begin playing the guitar but then gave up for lack of daily practice, something which the guitar is less ready than any other instrument to forgive, his fingers had grown clumsy. Despite his inability to continue, however, the few bars that he did play were enough to reveal, first, that this stumbling performer was a great musician…[141]

Villa-Lobos composed a set of studies that became one of the main pillars of the guitar repertoire of the twentieth century. The *12 Etudes* were composed between 1924 and 1929. They were dedicated to Segovia, who wrote the foreword of the 1953 publication by Max Eschig.

After eleven years had passed, he composed the *5 Preludes*. At the time he was already considered the main name of Brazilian Musical Nationalism. He was the model music educator in Brazil and had popularized the study of music, making important

[141]Gerard Behague, "Villa-Lobos, the Search of the Brazilian Music Soul" (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1922): 83.

changes in the music educational system of his country. He conducted a choir of 40,000 students, products of this reformation.[142]

Owner of a renowned reputation in Brazil, Europe and the USA, he saw his ballet *Mandu-Carara* and the orchestral piece *New York Skyline* published by Max Eschig in the same year as his composition of the Preludes for guitar.[143] Initially, the composer had written six, not five preludes. The sixth one mysteriously disappeared. It is believed that it got destroyed at Segovia's house during the Spanish Civil War. Another speculation for the incident is that it could have been mislaid in a publisher's office during the process of being printed, or an admirer stole it. The most fantastic explanation suggests that the composer actually composed only five preludes, failing to preserve the set of six pieces typical from the musical tradition. Because of this, he would have invented the existence of the sixth prelude.[144]

Max Eschig published the preludes in 1954. Each one of them contains a subtitle referring to a specific Brazilian musical portrait. The first one honors the figure of the *sertanejo*, the inhabitant of the arid habitat in the northeast of Brazil known as *sertão*. It mixes a genre called *modinha* and evokes an instrument that is related to the guitar, called the *viola caipira*.

The second had the subtitle "*Capadocia* (Rogue) and *Capoeira* (Ruffian)-Homage to the *carioca* hustler." The *Capadocia* describes the genre of the *Chôro*, while the central section *Capoeira* shows an African style of dance introduced in Brazil during the

[142]Vasco Mariz, *Heitor Villa-Lobos compositor Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: MEC/DAC/Museu Villa-Lobos, 1977): 87.
[143]Lisa M. Peppercorn, *Villa-Lobos, Collected Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 42-43.
[144]Turibio Santos, *Heitor Villa-Lobos and the Guitar* (Ireland: Wise Owl Music, 1985), 31.

period of slavery. The berimbau, instrument used in *Capoeira* performances, arouses the rhythmic language of the piece.

The third prelude was written in honor to J.S. Bach. Villa-Lobos nurtured a deep fascination and respect for the German composer. Later, that sentiment was maturely expressed in his *Bachianas Brasileiras*. Like Segovia, Villa-Lobos had a strong personality and was vehemently decided in his ideas. At some point in his life, he did not show any humility when he limited the existence of great composers in the world to only two people: Bach and himself.[145]

The fourth Prelude gives a portrait of the Amazon region, in homage to the Brazilian Indian. In fact, the composer met some Indian tribes in his earlier expeditions through the Amazon when he went to collect sources for his music. The atmosphere of the last prelude describes a different picture of Brazil, emphasizing the Brazilian social life at the beginning of the twentieth century. A romantic waltz featured in the prelude has its seed in the European waltz, keeping the elegance of the classic model in a placid and cordial melody. It reminds one of the urban activities of Rio de Janeiro's bourgeoisie, people habituated to going to concerts, and theaters of that city.

Villa-Lobos's musical expression grew from the research of Brazilian music heritage and the ethnic-geographic studies of his land and other countries. In Europe, Wagner, Franck, Puccini, Tchaikovsky, the Russian Five, and others influenced him. His guitar literature denotes specific influences of Bach, Debussy, Chopin and *fin de siècle* salon music. In spite of those influences, he traced his career with originality and never allowed himself to imitate other composers.

---

[145]Lisa Peppercorn, "Some Aspects of Villa-Lobos Principles of Composition," *The Music Review* 4:3 (1943): 28.

The synthesis of Villa-Lobos' language for the guitar was expressed in his *Concerto for guitar and small orchestra*. Finished in 1951, it was originally conceived as *Fantasia Concertante for guitar and small orchestra*. It became a concerto after Segovia asked the composer to add a cadenza between the second and third movements. Among the guitar production of the Brazilian composer are also *Brazilian Popular Suite* (1908-1912), *Chôros No.1* (1920), *Modinha* (1925, originally for voice and piano, and adapted for voice and guitar), an arrangement for flute and guitar of the *Aria* from his *Bachianas Brasileiras No.5* (1938), *Introduction to Chôros* (1929), *Sextet Mistique* (1917. The guitar is featured with harp, saxophone, oboe, celesta, and flute), and *Distribution of Flowers* (1937, for female choir, flute, and guitar).

The list of composers who wrote for Segovia includes names such as Arnold Schoenberg (who in 1923 wrote Serenade Op.24, for clarinet, bass clarinet, violin, viola, cello, mandolin, guitar, and baritone) Egon Wellez (1885-1974), Frank Martin (1890-1974), Federico Mompou (1893-1987), Albert Harris (b.1938), and others. Many of the pieces written for him did not come to be known by the public. Example of this is that in 2001, Italian guitarist and composer Angelo Gilardino discovered several manuscripts of works dedicated to Segovia at the Andrés Segovia Foundation in Linares, Spain that were never publicly performed.

Among the discovered works were two written by Catalonian composer and musicologist Jauhme Pahissa (1880-1869): *Cançò en el mar* (1919, one of the first pieces dedicated to Segovia) and *Tres temas de recuerdos* (c.1938–39. It reached Segovia only in 1979). Other composers found by Gilardino's in Segovia's archives were Cuban Pedro Sanjuán (1886–1976.), Spanish composers Gaspar Cassadó (1897–1966), Vicente

Arregui (1871–1925), British Cyril Scott (1879–1970), French Raoul Laparra (1876–1943) and Henri Martelli (1895–1980), and also three composers from Switzerland: Fernande Peyrot (1888–1978), Hans Haug (1900–1967), and Aloÿs Fornerod (1890–1965).[146]

All these names are sufficient to reveal the broad spectrum of composers who dedicated works to Segovia. The list confirms that Segovia was indeed the most notorious guitarist of his time. In more than fifty years of career, he was involved in tours of more than 100 concerts a year, taught in festivals in Santiago de Compostela and Siena, and also made several recordings. From 1949 to 1977, around 40 LPs had been released.

In spite of Segovia's large recording production, the first classical guitarist to use the guitar in commercial recordings was Paraguayan virtuoso Agustín Barrios Mangoré (1885-1944). He recorded for the labels *Atlanta* and *Artivas* in Montevideo as early as 1914, and also took part of several recording sessions for the label *Odeon* between 1921 and 1929.[147] He made both live and gramophone recordings.

He was born in San Juan Bautista de las Misiones. Fifteen years prior to his birth, his country lost a war against the *Triple Alianza*, constituted by Uruguay, Argentina, and Brazil. The consequences of the war to the artistic activities in Paraguay were devastating. There was no financial support and the practice of art music was basically inexistent. In face of this context, it is impressive to realize that Barrios overcame all odds and became one of the most significant guitar composers of the twentieth century.

[146]Silvio José dos Santos, "Guitar Music Composed for Segovia (Review)," *Notes*, Vol.63, No.1 (September 2006): 201-207.
[147]Wade, *Concise History of the Classic Guitar*, 111.

Agustín Barrios was introduced early to the music of composers such as Tárrega, Sor, and Aguado thanks to his first guitar teacher, Gustavo Sosa Escalada (1877-1943).[148] At age fifteen he was already an accomplished player and received a music scholarship to study at the *Colegio Nacional de Asunción*. After he finished his studies, he devoted himself to music and poetry.

The limitations of his own country led him to pursue opportunities in other countries in South America. In 1910 he went to Buenos Aires, where he could be in contact with important names of the guitar such as Julio Sagreras (1879-1942) and Antonio Jimenes Manjón (1866-1919). He then traveled to Chile, and Peru, and in 1912 he went to Montevideo, where he was supported by a certain Martin Borda y Pagola, who was a rancher of livestock and an amateur guitarist. In 1916 he obtained great success in Brazil, after a performance in Rio de Janeiro. From that year until 1920 he settled in the Brazilian metropolis of São Paulo.

As an interpreter, Barrios mixed compositions of his own with transcriptions of works by composers such as Bach, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Schuman, among others. He also played other standard guitar pieces such as *Capricho Árabe* by Tárrega. Barrios returned to Montevideo in 1920, and had to endure the prejudice of Segovia and other guitarists for playing with steel strings. After another short period in Chile and Brazil, he went back to Paraguay with a well-established reputation.

Barrios remained traveling to Argentina and Uruguay until he met the resistance of the guitar public in Buenos Aires in 1928. He was highly criticized for the use of metal strings and for his repertoire. Basically rooted in the aesthetic of the nineteenth

[148]Richard D. Stover, *Six Silver Moonbeams: The Life and Times of Augustín Barrios Mangoré* (Clovis, CA: Querico Publications, 1992), 10.

century, the pieces of his program were considered antagonist to the new trend promoted by Segovia, which favored a brand-new repertory by composers as it has already been pointed out in this paper.

The rejection in Buenos Aires led Barrios to change his name in order to promote himself. He thus invented the character of Nitsuga Mangoré, "the messenger of the Guarani race… the Paganini of the guitar from the jungles of Paraguay." He started to perform fully dressed as an Indian, with feathers, and even bow and arrows. Nitsuga was the backwards spelling of his first name. Mangoré was the name of a legendary Indian from the Guarani tribe who resisted the Spanish occupation.

Barrios's strategy opened up new performance venues for him. After touring in Brazil again until August 1931, he traveled to the French Guyana, Martinique, Trinidad, and Venezuela. In May of 1932 he became ill and only performed again six months later, in Bogota. Following his success in the Colombian capital, he went to Panama, Costa Rica, and El Salvador.

In 1934, he found a new patron, Tomás Salomoni, ambassador of Paraguay in Mexico. The contact finally allowed him to go to Europe, where he stayed from 1934-1936. On the way to the old continent he performed in Cuba. After his arrival, he performed in England, Belgium and Spain.

In Belgium, he was nervous to perform at the Royal Conservatory of Music because Segovia had played a recital there only three months earlier. He also went to Berlin, yet he never performed there. In Spain, he met Sainz de la Maza and the poet

Garcia Lorca. With the approach of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, Barrios returned to Venezuela.[149] Several artists lost their lives in the war, including Barrio's friend Garcia Lorca and composer Antonio José (1902-1934), who left his *Sonata* in the literature of the guitar.

The last years of his life were marked by financial struggle, health problems, leading to the diminution of his public performances, until he finally settled down in El Salvador, where he eventually played, but remained more focused on teaching. Barrios was an artist whose identity was in a diametrical opposed position from the tendencies of his time. Nonetheless, the authenticity of his style and his perseverance led him to occupy a privileged position in the history of the modern guitar. Although he composed more than three hundred pieces for the guitar, only about a third of his production has survived. His most celebrated composition is *La Catedral*, a piece with a lyricism that transports listeners to a world of sadness, conflict, and victory.

The fact that Barrios got nervous to play in Belgium after Segovia is only one example of how the persona of the Spanish icon was intimidating other guitarists during that time. Indeed, Segovia's stellar career and his achievements were unmatched in his time. On the other hand, he certainly was not the only guitarist of that period to contribute to the establishment of the status of the guitar as a concert instrument. Like Barrios, other performers were important for the dissemination of the instrument's repertory and responsible for building up a public for the guitar outside of the larger centers where Segovia dominated.

Among the guitarists who developed a more modest performing career, but in no way of lesser quality, are Austrian guitarist Luise Walker (1910-1998), Argentinean

[149]Stover: 111-156.

Maria Luísa Anido (1907-1996), Uruguayan Josefina Robledo (1887-1931), Cuban Rey de la Torre (1917-1994), and the Spaniards Narciso Yepes (1927-1997), Ángel Iglesias (1917-1977), Daniel Fortea (1878-1953) and Regino Sainz de la Maza (1896-1981).

Sainz de la Maza has a special relevance to the discussion because of two factors. First, he was responsible for the inclusion of the modern guitar in the academia, being named Professor of Guitar at the Madrid Conservatory in 1935. The second factor is that he premiered a concerto dedicated to him, and which became the most popular concerto of the twentieth century: the *Concierto de Aranjuez*, by Joaquin Rodrigo (1901-1999).

Another guitarist who constantly performed Rodrigo's masterpiece was Narciso Yepes. In fact, he performed the concerto in his debut in Madrid, in 1947. The Spaniard had a solid performing career, although he was always under the stigma of 'being the second after Segovia'. He had many guitar works dedicated to him and raised the interest of audiences by performing on a ten-string instrument, which allowed him to expand his arranging possibilities on the instrument.

Joaquin Rodrigo was a prolific composer. His sight was irreversibly affected by diphtheria when he was only three years old. The condition could have represented a limit to his musical studies. However, he did not render himself and learned to play the violin, piano, and to solfege when he was eight. At age sixteen he was already deeply involved with the study of harmony and composition.

A former student of Francisco Antich in Valencia, he went to Paris where he studied with Paul Dukas. In 1925 he won the National Prize for Orchestra for his piece *Cinco piezas infantiles*. Although the composer never mastered the guitar, he became one of the most prestigious guitar composers of the last century.

His *Concierto de Aranjuez* is the most recorded concerto of the last century, which is a very representative fact because it takes into account not only concertos written for the guitar, but for all instruments. It was and continues to be recorded by fine players all over the world. The masterpiece is full of virtuosic passages, demanding a high level of technical control from the player.

Borrowing a term used by Canadian composer Murray Shafer, we can understand the music of Rodrigo as a latent 'soundscape' of Spain. Listening to his music, one may be easily transported to an ambiance dominated by the 'bravura-spirit' and the passionate lyricism indigenous to the Spanish culture. That ambiance is also portrayed in his other guitar concertos.

Following *Aranjuez*, he composed *Fantasia para un Gentilhombre* (1954), *Concierto Madrigal* for two guitars and orchestra (1966), *Concierto Andaluz* (1967), for four guitars and orchestra. Solo guitar was again featured in *Concierto para una Fiesta* (1982), his last concerto for guitar. Guitarist Pepe Romero adapted a work originally composed for harp and orchestra titled *Sones en la Giralda* (1963).[150]

In spite of the finest musical quality of his guitar works, Rodrigo's writing for the instrument at times imposes obstacles for the guitarists, who end up having to make some decisions in order to be able to play his pieces. Among his most known solo works are *Invocación y danza* (the winning composition for guitar of the *Coupe International de Guitare,* a contest promoted by the *Office de Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française*), *Tres Piezas Españolas (Fandango, Passacaglia,* and *Zapateado), Elogio de la Guitarra, En Los Trigales, Sonata Giocosa,* and *Sonata a la Española.*

[150]Cecilia Rodrigo Camhi, "Joaquin Rodrigo Home Page," http://www.joaquin-rodrigo.com/obras.html (accessed on May 3, 2007).

A major improvement to the guitar occurred with the appearance of nylon strings. The events suggest that the primary reason for the invention was related to the shortage of suitable materials for the manufacturing of guitar strings. With the war, there was a large demand for quality silk and gut to make surgical sutures, directly affecting the activities of string makers. At the same time, gut strings became unavailable because the Germans manufactured them. In face of such crisis, guitarists needed to seek an alternative.

Nylon strings appeared as a combination of the resources of Danish guitar maker Albert Augustine (1900-1967), the expertise of Andrés Segovia and his contact with the chemical company DuPont. Augustine tried using fishing nylon strings on the guitar. With the assistance of Segovia, who happened to be Augustine's tenant and had been in contact with the company Du Pont, the first nylon strings were developed and started being produced in large scale in 1947. The advantages of nylon strings over those made from gut are various: they are much more easily and quickly produced, they are more efficient of keeping the pitch, and they are more resistant.

Another development that has aided the popularization of the guitar was the invention of the electric guitar. The instrument may have been partially created to address the main weakness of the instrument: its lack of volume. During the big band era, jazz orchestras of the 1930's and 1940's started to have a larger number of players, and then there was a need to make the guitar more audible. Although the repertory of the electric guitar is mainly related to rock, jazz, and other popular styles, the instrument displays the same fingerboard logic as the classical guitar. It is not uncommon to find

classical students who initiated on the electrical guitar before developing an interest for the classical guitar.

The status of the guitar in the first half of the twentieth century needs to be understood in context with the emergence of new technologies that irrevocably transformed life on our globe. Improvements in transportation aided performers to be able to reach audiences in different places much faster. This aspect allied to the appearance of the mass media with the TV, radio, and the recording industry expanded the reaching capabilities to a level that was before unimaginable. The next chapter, the conclusion of this paper, will address the continuity of the guitar's new context and provide a summary of relevant events related to the guitar in the later part of the twentieth and beginning of the twentieth first centuries.

Chapter 6: The Guitar in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century and in the Twenty-First Century

During the earlier periods of its history, the guitar's main activities, its prominent performers-composers, and the principal advancements in technique and construction were limited to a few countries. Even though the guitar was also present in other countries in Europe and in their colonies in the New World, its activities in these places were strongly tied to the events of the main centers. In the twentieth century, the context was changed.

The inclusion of the guitar in the academia, the impact of the recording industry, and the acceptance of the guitar as a concert instrument broadened the horizons of composers and performers in several countries rather than just a few. A new generation of guitarists, composers, guitar makers, pedagogues, and admirers of the instrument in all the continents followed the momentum initiated in the first half of last century.

Notable Performers

It would be out of the scope of this book to discuss in detail the lives and accomplishments of every single guitarist and composer who at some extent contributed to the guitar since the second half of the last century. Thus, in the first section of this chapter will focus on those whose contribution was (in many cases still are) above the ordinary. They can be understood as milestones of the instrument. Their names represent a synthesis of the victory of the guitar in the period.

The following selected interpreters of the guitar will be discussed: Julian Bream (England), John Williams (Australia), Turíbio Santos (Brazil), Ernesto Bitetti (Argentina), Alirio Diaz (Venezuela), Kazuhito Yamashita (Japan), Manuel Barrueco (Cuba), and David Starobin (USA).

Julian Bream was born in 1933 in Battersea. His first guitar teacher was his father, a jazz guitarist. He also received formal education at the Royal College of Music in composition, piano, and cello. He gave his guitar debut in Cheltenham in 1947 when he was only thirteen years old, and five years later he combined both the guitar and the lute in his recital at the Wigmore Hall. Moved by his interest for the lute, he created the *Julian Bream Consort* in 1960, an ensemble devoted to the music of the Elizabethan era in which he was the lutenist.

During the early 1950's Bream toured extensively in Europe, and from the end of that decade on, captivated audiences in the USA, Far East, Australia, India, and other countries. Many contemporary composers have been inspired by Bream to compose new works for the guitar. Benjamin Britten, for instance, wrote the famous *Nocturnal after*

John Dowland. German composer Hans Werner Heinze (b.1926) wrote *Royal Winter Music* and *Drei Tentos*.

Ballad-Phantasy by Tom Eastwood (1922-1999) and *El Polifemo de Oro* by Reginald Smith Brindle (1917-2003) were composed for Bream. In fact, Brindle still composed several other pieces that included five guitar sonatas, all of them for the British virtuoso. Lennox Berkley (1903-1989) is also part of the list for *Sonatina*, *Theme and Variations*, and the *Guitar Concerto Op.88*. Both Malcolm Arnold (1921-2006) and Richard Rodney Bennett (b.1936) wrote other concertos for guitar and orchestra for Bream. Bream's recording of William Walton's *Five Bagatelles* (also composed for him) is recognized as a notorious contribution to the classical guitar.

In addition to his performances and recordings, Bream's popularity has been also aided by video productions, another technological asset of our times. Currently, DVD's and videos featuring guitar performers are widely available by the click of a button over the Internet. In this context is the DVD *Julian Bream: My Life In Music* about Breams career, which displays three hours of material alternating performances and interviews.

Bream has a large list of awards that includes an Honorary Doctorate from the University of Surrey, two Grammy Awards for the performance of chamber music and two others as a solo performer. He made numerous recording for RCA and EMI classics. In the last decade, RCA released a compilation of Bream's recordings in a box set titled *The Ultimate Guitar Collection*.[151]

Another guitarist with an impressive number of recordings is John Williams. Including original recordings, compilations and re-editions, he has been featured in over a

[151]Wikipedia, "Julian Bream," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julian_Bream (accessed on December 15, 2007).

hundred fifty LP's and CD's since his first recording by the label Delysé in 1958, confirming his leading position in the modern classical guitar scenario. Born in Melbourne, Australia in 1941, he started learning the guitar from his father and later received his general music education at the Royal College of Music. Because the institution did not include the guitar in its curriculum, Williams needed to go to Italy when he was twelve years old to study guitar with Segovia in the master classes held by the Spanish virtuoso in Siena.

His debut occurred at the Wigmore Hall when he was seventeen, and since then he became one of the most important guitarists in the world. His contribution to the guitar has been made not only through his performances and recordings, but also especially through his commissions of new guitar works. Several composers wrote works for Williams. Stephen Dodgson (b.1924) wrote *Concerto No.1 for Guitar and Orchestra* in 1956. Fifteen years later it was André Previn who composed his *Concierto for Guitar*. English composer Patrick Gowers (b.1936) wrote two concertos for the Australian virtuoso: the *Chamber Concerto for Guitar* and the *Rhapsody for Guitar, Electric Guitars and Electric Organ*.

Williams also looked for new works among composers of his native country. Among them were Peter Sculthorpe (b. 1929), and Nigel Westlake (b.1958). The former composed, in the early 1990's, the solo guitar works *From Kakadu* and *Into the Dreaming*, while the latter wrote *Nourlangie* (for solo guitar, strings, and percussion) and *Antartica* (a four-movement suite for guitar and orchestra). Outside of the classical guitar circle, he became known for his recording of Stanley Myer's *Cavatina* (the soundtrack of

the movie *The Deer Hunt*), and for having integrated an unusual duo with rock fusion guitarist Pete Townshend, from the rock band *The Who*, in 1979.[152]

The impact of leading figures of the guitar such as Barrios and Segovia in South America led to an increase of the popularity of the instrument and of the number guitarists in that continent. An interesting aspect was the co-existence of elements from European traditional music and those originated from folkloric roots of countries such as Venezuela, Chile, Uruguay, Argentina, and Brazil. The latter, for example, produced an entire generation of guitarists who became important in the world guitar scenario. Such was the case of Turíbio Santos (b.1943).

He was born in São Luis, the capital of the state of Maranhão, in the northeast region of Brazil. His contact with the guitar came initially because of his interest for the genre of the *Seresta*. The guitar was a favorite instrument to accompany pieces of the genre. He moved to Rio de Janeiro, where in 1955 he watched a movie about Segovia in the Embassy of the United States that inspired him to pursue a formal training on the instrument.

Synthesizing the classical guitar with the idiom of the Brazilian chôro and seresta, he became one of the most important performers in his country. Two years after the death of Heitor Villa-Lobos, in 1961, he was invited by the Brazilian composer's second wife Arminda to record the first version of the *Douze etudes pour la guitare*. Since then, the music of Villa-Lobos has been one of the main interests of his career. He wrote an authoritative publication about the guitar works of the Brazilian maestro titled *Heitor*

[152]Wikipedia, "John Williams," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Williams_(guitarist) (accessed on December 15, 2007).

Villa-Lobos e o Violão (1975). He has been the director of the Museu Villa-Lobos since 1986.

His international career came after he won the first prize of the international contest promoted by the *Office de Radiodiffusion et Television Française* in Paris in 1965. He resided in Paris and developed a career as a performer all over Europe. He returned to Brazil and settled in Rio de Janeiro in 1975, although he continued his international tours until 1980, when he decided to focus on other projects for his career.

In the Brazilian metropolis, he established the guitar in the curriculum of two important universities: the UFRJ (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro) in 1981, and the UNIRIO (Federal University of the State of Rio de Janeiro), in 1982. With the inclusion of the guitar in the academia of Rio de Janeiro, he created the Orquestra de Violões do Rio de Janeiro (Rio de Janeiro Guitar Orchestra). He is still an active performer in Brazil, and a recording artist for labels such as Sony and Quarup, among others.[153]

Another prominent guitarist of the period is Argentinean guitarist Ernesto Bitetti. A former pupil of Graciela Pomponio and Jorge Martinez Zarate in Santa Fé, he made his debut in Rosario at age fifteen and since then has unfolded a career as one of the principal interpreters of the guitar in the twentieth and in the present centuries. Bitetti went to Madrid in 1968. In the land where the instrument is considered a reason for national pride, he built a solid reputation as a virtuoso that led him to record with the main European recording labels such as EMI, VOX, and Deutsche Gramophone, among others.

Throughout his career, he has received numerous prizes such as the International Television Prize in Prague for the program *Bitetti from the Aranjuez Palace*, and the *Orden del Conquistador de Bronce*, awarded by the Argentinean government for his

[153]Turibio Santos, Turibio Santos Home Page, http://www.turibio.com.br (accessed on December 7, 2007).

work in service of culture. The quality of his performances, both solo and with prominent orchestras in Europe and the USA, has inspired many notorious composers such as Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Torroba, Rodrigo, John Duarte (1919-2004), Astor Piazzolla (1921-1992), and Anton Garcia Abril (b.1933) to write and dedicate works for him.[154]

His contribution to the modern guitarists includes an edition of the complete works of Gaspar Sanz and the book *Between the Notes: Conversations with Ernesto Bitetti*. The latter contains a series of interviews that provide important insight about his activities and artistic philosophy. The Argentinean master currently resides in the USA, where he is the chairman of the guitar department at Indiana University Jacobs School of Music in Bloomington, one of the most prestigious music institutions of the world.

The leading name of the guitar in Venezuela, Alirio Diaz was born in1923 in Carora. His first contact with the guitar was to accompany popular music from his country. In 1945 he started his formal studies at the Escuela Superior de Música "José Ángel Lamas." He studied guitar under the guidance of composer Raúl Borges, and music history and harmony with musicologist, composer, and educator Vicente Emilio Sojo (1887-1974).

His successful debut in Caracas led the Venezuelan government to grant him a scholarship to study in the Madrid Conservatory with Sainz De La Maza. After attending Segovia's master classes in Vienna, he became the assistant of the Spanish virtuoso and later the regular professor.

[154]Ernesto Bitetti, http://www.music.indiana.edu/department/guitar/ernestobitetti/bitetti.htm (accessed on October 4, 2007).

He was awarded the *Premio Interamericano de Música* in 1987 by the Organization of the American States, as well as the title of *Doctor Honoris Causa* from the University of Carabobo for his extraordinary artistic abilities. He is particularly known outside of Venezuela for the international guitar competition that carries his name. Committed to the research of the folkloric music of Venezuela, he is also considered one of the main interpreters and disseminators of the works of Venezuelan composer Antonio Lauro (1917-1986).[155]

A controversial figure in the modern guitar scene is Kazuhito Yamashita. The artistic persona of this Nagasakyan guitarist raises debates among the admirers of the guitar because of two aspects. The first one is his unconventional approach to guitar technique. The second is his choice of repertoire, which includes arrangements of works such as Mossurgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition*, Stravinsky's *Firebird Suite*, and Dvorak's *New World Symphony no. 9 in E Minor.*

The main criticism to Yamashita refers to the fact that he seems to place himself and his 'juggling' technique ahead of the music and its coherence. He has been called "a typewriter," accused to mutate musical works into technical studies. Nevertheless, there are others who consider him a true artist who has expanded the limits of virtuosity.

His discography, from important labels such as BMG (RCA), Japan Victor, and Crown Classics, comprises some 16 CDs and include complete works of Sor, his arrangements of J. S. Bach's works for solo violin, cello, flute, and lute. He won the

[155]Wikipedia, "Antonio Lauro," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antonio_Lauro (accessed on March 15, 2008).

Deutsche Grammophon Award in 1981 for his recording of Mussorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition*.[156]

Cuban guitarist Manuel Barrueco is one of the main names of the guitar in the USA. A former pupil of Aaron Shearer at the Peabody Conservatory, he was the first classical guitarist to win the Concert Artist Guild Award at age 22. The accomplishment was relevant because it confirmed the status of the guitar among the more traditionally accepted instruments in the classical music scene.

Over the years, he acquired a reputation of displaying great accuracy in his performances. The same aspect has led him to be criticized as "too mechanical." In spite of the controversy, he is a leading artist of the guitar, featured in the most important musical centers of the USA, Europe, South America, and Asia. He has been broadcasted on TV in Japan, Germany, Spain, and USA.

His versatility in the last years has led him to perform and record with artists such as the tenor and conductor Plácido Domingo, jazz guitarist Al Di Meola, and rock stars Steve Morse (guitarist of the band Deep Purple), and Andy Summers (from The Police). He recently recorded new works for guitar and orchestra by composers Arvo Pärt (b.1935) and Roberto Sierra (b.1953). He has also shown to be interested in the expansion of the guitar repertory through his collaborations with composers such as Toru Takemitsu (1930-1996) and Michael Daugherty (b.1954). In addition to his active concert career, he is a faculty member at the Peabody Conservatory in Baltimore, Maryland. [157]

---

[156]Wikipedia, "Kazuhito Yamashita," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kazuhito_Yamashita (accessed on March 15, 2008).
[157]A Arte do Violão: "Programa No.21: Manuel Barrueco e David Starobin," http://aadv.radio.googlepages.com/zanon_aadv-21.html (accessed on November 25, 2007).

Another former pupil of Aaron Shearer relevant to the discussion is David Starobin. In a similar fashion of Segovia, Bream, Williams, and others, he has been crucial to the process of the expansion of the guitar repertory for the last two decades of the twentieth century on. He concentrates in contemporary music written for the guitar, exploring non-traditional approaches and allowing experimentalism as part of the process. Although he is an active performer of nineteenth-century music on period instruments, he is more famous for his commitment with contemporary music for the guitar.

Starobin was the chairman of the guitar studies of several institutions such as Brooklyn College, North Carolina School of the Arts, and Manhattan School of Music, among others. He is the founder and president of the record label *Bridge Records Inc.*, specialized in twentieth-century classical music. His series *New Music with Guitar* compiles an outstanding list of compositions written for him such as *Composition for Guitar* (1984) by Milton Babbitt (b.1916), *Changes* (1983) by Elliott Carter (b.1908), *Mundus Canis* (1998) by George Crumb (b.1929), *Valse en Rondeau* (1997) by John W. Duarte (1919-2004), and *Da'ase* (1996), by Richard Wernick (b. 1934).[158]

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, there are many prominent performers who have contributed to the success of the guitar as a concert instrument in current times. One only needs to listen to recordings from players such as Roberto Aussel, Eduardo Fernández, Eduardo Isaac, Jorge Cardoso, Oscar Ghiglia, Vladimír Mikulka, Laurindo Almeida, Christopher Parkening, Sharon Isbin, David Tanenbaum,

---

[158]Bridge Records Inc., "David Starobin," http://www.bridgerecords.com/ds_artist.htm (accessed on March 15, 2008).

Angelo Gilardino, Elliot Fisk, José Maria Gallardo del Rey, Flávio Cuchi, David Russell, Álvaro Pierri, Carlos Barbosa-Lima, Marcin Dylla, Fábio Zanon, and many others to realize that discussing all of them in detail would go beyond the scope of this handbook.

The Guitar as an Ensemble Instrument

From the second half of the last century on, audiences saw an increase in the popularity of guitar ensemble, most notably guitar duos and quartets. Historically, the tradition of the guitar duo formation leads to names such as Sor and Aguado, and also Emilio Pujol and his wife Matilde Cuevas. One of the pioneer guitar duos in the twentieth century was the *Presti- Lagoya Duo* compound by guitarists Alexandre Lagoya (1929-1999) and Ida Presti (1924-1967). Brazil produced two of the finest guitar duos of the period: the *Duo Abreu*, formed by brothers Sérgio (b.1948) and Eduardo (b.1949), and the *Duo Assad* also by brothers, Odair (b.1956) and Sérgio (b.1952).

The significance of Ida Presti and Alexandre Lagoya for the consolidation of the duo guitar formation in the twentieth century is similar to that of Andrés Segovia for the solo guitar. Presti and Lagoya had both promising careers as soloists. However, they decided to dedicate exclusively to playing together. Affinity was not an issue, as they were married to each other.

The *Presti- Lagoya Duo* was active for fifteen years. They performed over two thousand recitals, and recorded several LPs with the label Phillips. They amazed audiences with their unpredictable phrasing, robust sonority, and astonishing control of dynamics. The career of the duo was sadly ended with the death of Ida Presty in 1967.[159]

Also considered a mark in the ensemble formation for two guitars are Sérgio and Eduardo Abreu. They started learning the guitar with their father and grandfather, who were both guitar teachers. Later they became pupils of Argentinean guitarist, lutenist,

[159]A Arte do Violão: "Programa No.7: Duo Presti Lagoya," http://aadv.radio.googlepages.com/zanon_aadv-07.html (accessed on March 10, 2008).

and pianist Adolfina Raitzin de Távora (known as "Monina" Távora. Although their debut was in 1963, they began to have international prominence in 1967, when Sérgio won the prestigious *Concours Internationaux de Paris*. In the following year, Eduardo was awarded the second prize. The achievement resulted in invitations from record labels Decca and CBS.[160]

In a short but brilliant career, the Abreu brothers played in the main musical centers of the five continents. They were highly admired by their virtuosity, impeccable synchronism, and fluent performances. They resumed their activities in the 1980's, after Eduardo realized that the demands of an international concert player did not agree with his personality. He moved to the USA and became an engineer. Sérgio Abreu is now an international highly praised luthier.

Sérgio and Odair Assad also studied with Adolfina Távora. They established themselves into the Brazilian musical scenario after winning the *Young Soloists Competition* promoted by the Brazilian Symphony Orchestra in 1973, and launched a career in Europe after winning a major prize at the *Rostrom of Young Interpreters* in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia. They have developed a unique concept of guitar playing displayed in a repertory that blended traditional classical works, with elements of popular music from countries such as Brazil, Argentina, and others.

One of the strategies of the Assads to create an appealing repertory was through arrangements of composers such as Egberto Gismonti (b.1947), and Astor Piazzolla (1921-1992). [161] The latter dedicated his *Tango Suite* to them. Aside from the

[160]A Arte do Violão: "Programa No.17: Sérgio e Eduardo Abreu," http://aadv.radio.googlepages.com/zanon_aadv-17.html (accessed on March 11, 2008).
[161]Jeff Kenyon. "Sérgio and Odair Assad," The Unnoficial Assad Home Page, http://net.indra.com/~jkenyon/assad.html#duo (accessed on March 13, 2008).

Argentinean icon, the list of composers who have written for the duo includes Radamés Gnattali (1906-1988), Marlos Nobre (b.1939), Edino Krieger (b.1928), Francisco Mignone (1897-1986), Nikita Koshkin (b.1956), and Roland Dyens (b.1955).

Another guitar ensemble formation that has become quite popular is the quartet. The combination of four guitars is appealing to the public because of the expanded palette of musical possibilities that place the guitar in a similar artistic status as other more traditional ensembles such as the string quartet. The first guitar quartet to launch a career of international proportions was "Los Romeros".

The group was compound by Spanish guitarist Celedonio Romero (1918-1996) and his three sons Celin (b.1940), Pepe (b.1944), and Angel (b.1946). They immigrated to the USA in 1957 and resided in California. The "Royal Family of the Guitar," as they became known, launched an unrivaled career in the quartet formation. They performed in the major halls in the USA, Europe, and the Far East, and to authorities such as Pope John Paul II, and Prince Charles.

The Romeros were also fundamental to the enrichment of the repertory for four guitars. Distinguished composers such as Rodrigo, Torroba, Morton Gould (1913-1996), Lorenzo Palomo (b.1938) and others have composed for them. The group has endured over forty years of existence, and naturally, has changed its original formation. The most recent one included Celino and Lito, sons of Celin and Angel.[162]

The Romeros were the main inspiration for the appearance of another important twentieth-century guitar quartet: the Los Angeles Guitar Quartet (LAGQ). Under the oversight of Pepe Romero, the group was formed in 1980 at the University of South

[162]The Romeros, "The Romeros: The Royal Family of the Guitar," http://www.romeroguitarquartet.com/frameset.html (accessed on March 17, 2008).

Carolina's Thornton School of Music. The initial quartet was compound by guitarists William Kanengiser, Scott Tennant, John Dearman, and Andrew York. Together, they unfolded a successful career for more than twenty years. The new formation includes guitarist Matthew Greif who replaced Andrew York, who decided to leave the group late in 2006 to pursue individual projects related to his composing activities.

The repertory of the LACG includes original works by composers such as Vince Mendoza (b.1961), Evan Hirschelman (b.1976), Ian Krouse (b.1956) and others. Andrew York himself has composed interesting pieces such as *Pacific Coast Highway*, *Quiccan* and *Bantu* for the quartet. Aside from original pieces, the LACG's repertory includes arrangements of pieces from the mainstream of classical music such as Bizet's Carmen (a suite arranged by Kanengiser including five pieces extracted from the opera), other arrangements of pieces in popular styles such as jazz, Bluegrass, New Age, and others.

Latin American folkloric music is also part of the interests of the group, who has arranged pieces such as *Forrobodó* by Egberto Gismonti and *Fuga y Misterio* by Piazzolla. The discography of the LACG until the end of 2014 contains thirteen CDs. "New Renaissance", the fourteenth CD of the group, will be released in March 2015. Continuing the approach of guitarists in our times, the group seeks the expansion of the repertory through new commissions.[163]

Following this overview on ensembles with guitar, the next section will present important composers of the guitar from the second half of the last century and the beginning years of the present century. Once again, the number of composers who began

[163]Los Angeles Guitar Quartet, "Recordings," http://www.lagq.com (accessed on December 12, 2014).

to write for the guitar has increased to immense proportions, demanding a selection of some largely representative names.

Guitar Composers of the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries

Perhaps the most representative name of the guitar in the second half of the twentieth century is Cuban guitarist and composer Leo Brouwer (b.1939). He was born in the first half of the century, but his contribution to the instrument unfolded in the second. Because of the importance that the guitar has in his creative production, a more detailed account of his life and compositional phases will follow.

He studied guitar with Isaac Nicola (1916-1997) and specialized in composition at both the Julliard School of Music and the Hartt College of Music. Among his teachers at Julliard was Vincent Persichetti (1915-1987). Brouwer's first public performance on the guitar occurred when he was 17 years old. He was already composing for the guitar at that time.

His works composed during the late 1950's and early 1960's is marked by the use of elements from Afro-Cuban folkloric music and traits that reveal an influence of composers such as Bartók and Stravinsky. From this period are *Preludio* (1956), *Danza Caracteristica* (1957), *Fugue No.1* (1959), *Tres Apuntes* (1959), and *Elogio de la Danza*. In the latter, the connection with Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring* is very clear.

Experimentalism was the predominant aspect of Brouwer's second period as a composer. After he went to a winter music festival in Warsaw, he became fond of the avant-garde style of Krzysztof Penderecki (b.1933) and Sylvano Bussotti (b.1931). Brouwer explored techniques such as 12-tone, serialism, post-serialism, and aleatory music. From this period are *Canticum* (1968), *La Espiral Eterna* (1971), *Parábola* (1972), and *Tarantos* (1974).

Approaching the 1980's, the composer shifted back to his Afro-Cuban root, but blended with traits of minimalism and elements of the traditional tonalism. In this period, he composed ten works in which the guitar is featured with orchestra. Most of them consist of concertos for solo guitar and orchestra, as the *Concerto Elegiaco No.3* and the *Concerto de Helsinki No.5*. His *Concerto No.10 Book of Signs* is a double concerto for two guitars. He also composed a double concerto for violin and guitar titled *Concierto Omaggio a Paganini*.

Among Brouwer's solo guitar works from the 1980's are *El Decamerón Negro* (1981), *Variations on a Theme of Django Reinhardt* (1984), *Sonata* (1990), *Paisage Cubano con Tristeza* (1996), and *Hika: In Memoriam Toru Takemitsu* (1996). Widely recorded and featured in the programs of prominent guitarists, many of his compositions have acquired international reputation, standing among the principal works of the contemporary repertory for the guitar.

The Cuban maestro also made an important contribution to the pedagogy of the instrument with his *Estudios Sencillos*, composed in 1973. They were a series of twenty studies that focus on specific musical and technical aspects of the instrument. He probably composed the studies inspired by the historical precedents of composers such as Carcassi, Villa-Lobos, and others. Nonetheless, the idiom used is unmistakably a miniature of the gestures used in his larger works, and they are extremely natural to the instrument.

The ease of his idiomatic writing for the instrument is undoubtedly associated to the fact that he is an accomplished guitarist. The fact also clarifies his favoritism for the instrument in his compositional process. Nevertheless, Brouwer also composed music

for the cinema, wrote orchestral works for other instruments such as the flute and the violin, featured the guitar in chamber works, and arranged works by personalities such as Scott Joplin and the Beatles. He remains active as a composer, conductor, lecturer, and is constantly invited to integrate the panel of judges in renowned guitar competitions around the world.

The name of British composer Stephen Dodgson has already been cited in the discussion about guitarist John Williams. His contribution to the guitar transcended the composition of his guitar concerto for the Australian performer. He also wrote works for solo guitar that have become an important part of the literature of the instrument. The list of solo guitar works includes three partitas for solo guitar (No.1 in 1961, No.2 in 1976, and No.3 in 1981), *Fantasy-Divisions* (1969), *Merlin* (1978), *Three Attic Dances* (1989), and *The Midst of Life* (1994).[164]

Turnbull emphasizes another important contribution of Dodgson: his *Twenty Studies for the Guitar* (1965). The studies were written in collaboration with Royal Academy of Music's faculty Hector Quine.[165] They explore unusual sounds on the guitar, complex rhythms, and require from the performer a sense of imagination and inquisitiveness that is undoubtedly related to the music of the twentieth century.

Spanish composer Antón García Abril has been mentioned in connection to Argentinean guitarist Ernesto Bitetti. He is one of the main active composers in Spain and has a large output of works that include operas, ballets, orchestral music, chamber music, and solo works for guitar, piano, violin, and organ. He was a Professor of Composition and Musical Forms at the Madrid Conservatoire from 1974 to 2003.

[164]Wikipedia, "Stephen Dodgson," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stephen_Dodgson (accessed on March 19, 2008).
[165]Turnbull, 116.

A member of several Academies of Arts in Spain (such as the 'Real Academia de Bellas de San Fernando de Madrid', the 'Academia de Nobles y Belas Artes de San Luis de Zaragoza', and the 'Academia de Bellas Artes Nuestra Señora de las Angustias de Granada'), Garcia Abril received more than thirty prizes for his works, including the title of *Doctor Honoris Causa* from the Universidade de las Artes de La Habana, in Cuba.[166]

García Abril wrote three concertos for the guitar. Two of them were for solo guitar and orchestra, the *Concerto Aguediano* and the *Concerto Mudejar*. The *Concerto Gibralfaro* was composed for two guitars and orchestra. His complete works for solo guitar are represented by the following pieces: *Planto y Tocata*, *Evocaciones*, *Fantasía Mediterránea*, *Vademecum No.1*, *Vademecum No.2*, *Dedicatoria*, *Sonata del Pórtico*, *Tres Preludios Urbanos*, and *Música para Noctámbulos*. The composer is the president of the 'Fundación Jacinto e Inocencio Guerrero,' responsible for one the most notorious guitar contests in Spain. [167]

The tradition of the guitar in South America has brought several composers into evidence. Among the various Argentinean composers who wrote for the guitar are Carlos Guastavino (1912-2000), Alberto Ginastera (1916-1983), Maximo Diego Pujol (b.1957), Antonio Ruiz-Pipó (1934-1997), and Astor Piazzolla (1921-1992). Guastavino wrote three sonatas for solo guitar and *Jeromitas Linares*, a work for guitar and string quartet. Ginastera's *Sonata Op.47*, his only original work for the guitar, has become a favorite piece in the repertory of modern classical guitar players. Maximo Pujol's music is deeply rooted in the Argentinean styles such as the tango and the milonga, as it can be seen in

[166]Wikipedia, "Antón García Abril," http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ant%C3%B3n_Garc%C3%ADa_Abril (accessed on March 21, 2008).
[167]Bolamar Ediciones Musicales, "Antón García Abril," http://www.bolamar.net/biografia.htm (accessed on March 21, 2008).

Trez Piezas Rioplatenses and *Elegia por la muerte de un tanguero*. Ruiz-Pipó composed several works for solo guitar, which include concertos for guitar and orchestra, and chamber works with the guitar.

The most famous Argentinean composer among guitarists is Astor Piazzolla. Regarded as the inventor of the *Nuevo Tango* (the "New Tango"), a step forward in the traditional tango through the incorporation of elements from jazz and classical music, Piazzolla was a virtuoso on the bandoneón. He wrote only few original works for the guitar: *Cinco Piezas* (for solo guitar), *L'histoire du tango* (for flute and guitar), the already mentioned *Tango Suite* (for two guitars), and his *Homenage a Lieja* (a double concerto for guitar, bandoneón, and strings). Nevertheless, his music has been constantly arranged for the instrument and musical gems such as *Adios Nonino*, *Triunfal*, *Lo que Vendrá*, *Escolaso*, *El Gordo Triste*, *Las Estaciones Porteñas*, *La Muerte del Angel*, and *Buenos Aires Hora Zero* have been incorporated in the modern Latin-American guitar repertory for solo guitar and chamber music with guitar.[168]

In the midst of such a fertile period for the composition for the guitar, few composers have been able to establish themselves with such force as Tunisian-born Roland Dyens (b.1955). A former pupil of Spanish guitarist Alberto Ponce at *l'Ecole Normale de Musique* in Paris, Dyens is perhaps the composer who best synthesizes the fusion of different tendencies that are in vogue in the contemporary world of the guitar. His style of composition integrates elements of European tradition classical music with those of jazz, and folk music.

[168]Piazzolla.Org The Internet Home of Astor Piazzolla and his Tango Nuevo, "Astor Piazzolla: Chronology of a Revolution," http://www.piazzolla.org/biography/biography-english.html (accessed on March 23, 2008).

Dyens career began to launch after he graduated from *l'Ecole*, when he was awarded the special prize of the *Michele Pittaluga International Guitar Competition* in Alessandria and received the Grand Prize of the *Charles-Cros Academia* for his recording *Hommage a Villa-Lobos*.[169] Notorious for his improvisational skills, Dyens also attracts the interest of audiences by allowing them to intervene in the choice of the pieces to be performed in his recitals. His programs many times are featured as a type of "menu," from which the public chooses the pieces of their preference during the recitals.

His contribution to the guitar repertory has been substantial and includes works for solo guitar, duos, quartets, and even octets. Among the solo works, the most famous are perhaps his Libra Sonatina and Tango in Skäi, although many others such as *Songe Capricorne*, *Ville d'Avril*, and *Elogie de Leo Brouwer* are also constantly featured by modern guitar performers. Among his ensemble guitar pieces are the duos *Côté Nord* (dedicated to the Assads), the quartet *Brésils*, and the octet *Rythmaginaires*.[170]

A complete list of composers who have contributed to the increase of the guitar repertory would be gigantic. This section of the paper is concluded by a selection of important composers and a representative guitar work of each one. They are: Marlos Nobre (*Momentos 1*), Edino Krieger (*Ritmata*), Maurice Ohana (1913-1992, *Tiento*), Abel Carlevaro (1916-2001, *Preludios Americanos*), Juan Orrego-Salas (1919, *Esquinas Op.68*), Radamés Gnattali (*10 Etudes*), Ned Rorem (1923, *Suite*), Stephan Rak (1945, *Aria di Bohemia*), Axel Borup-Jorgensen (1924, *Preludes For Guitar Op. 76*), Cláudio Santoro (*Fantasia Sul America*), Francisco Mignone (*Brasiliana No.13*), Carlo

[169]Sean Beavers, "Hommage in the Solo Guitar Music of Roland Dyens." (Florida: Florida State University, 2006): 17.
[170]Roland Dyens Official Website, "Biography," http://www.rolanddyens.com/index.php?mod=biography (accessed on March 24, 2008).

Domeniconi (1947, *Koyunbaba*), Guido Santórsola (1904-1994, *Three Airs of Court*), Roberto Sierra (*Piezas Breves*), Ernesto Cordero (*Suite Antillana*), Nikita Koshkin (1956, *Usher Waltz*), and Angelo Gilardino (*Studi di virtuosità e di trascendenza*).

New Improvements in Guitar Strings and Construction

The technology of our contemporary world has deeply influenced several guitar makers over the last sixty years. The velocity in which the novelties take place in modern society sometimes makes guitarists feel "behind" in the process. One example is the new improvements in the manufacturing of guitar strings.

The reader may recollect that for most of its history, strings were made from gut, and sometimes metal. It would be reasonable to expect that nylon strings would remain unmatched as the main type of material for some time in the history of the instrument. Nevertheless, new alternatives have already appeared since Augustine's invention.

One of the new options for the nylon strings are the trebles known as 'carbon trebles'. They are made through a proprietary process that modifies the molecular structure of the strings, making their sound more powerful and brilliant. Another type of strings that has become accepted among guitarists is the 'titanium trebles'. They are made from a dense monofilament material that is analogous to nylon, but that, similar to the carbon trebles, allows a slightly brighter tone and increased projection. Some players argue that, although the carbon and titanium trebles indeed have these qualities, their sound lack the fullness and warmth of the traditional nylon strings.

The bass strings have also expanded their options for the players. The string company D'Addario, for example, manufactures lightly polished basses to reduce finger squeak, and semi-polished basses engineered to reduce extraneous noises during recording sessions. Many companies offer the option of basses covered with silver, bronze or gold.

Technology has also revolutionized the work of guitar makers. The favoritism of the new generation of guitar players is gradually changing towards new systems of guitar construction that represent a step forward from the achievements of Antonio Torres. There have been several attempts to increase the responsiveness, volume, and ease of playing in the guitar. Two construction patterns have been particularly successful. The first one involves the use of a bracing system made of carbon fiber. The second one employs a system known as "sandwich top," "double top," or "composite top."

One of the most sought after makers that embraces non-traditional guitar construction using carbon fiber in his bracing system is the Australian Simon Marty. He began to build guitars in the early 1980's, combining his expertise as an electrical engineer and a science major in mathematics and physics. A grant from the Australian government in 1984 allowed him to apply his discoveries in the construction of a new type of guitar that is louder and more responsive than those built under the Torres tradition.[171]

The use of composite construction for the back guitars is not uncommon among luthiers. Composite construction for the top, on the other hand, was less explored. The pioneers in this type of construction were German makers Matthias Damman and Gernot Wagner. The acceptance of the double-top guitars became easier after important guitarists such as Manuel Barrueco, David Russell, and Scott Tennant started to play that type of instrument.[172] Today, many other makers are seeking their own version of the composite-top. Among them are luthiers Fritz Mueller (Canada), Frederich Holtier (Romania), Keijo Korelin (Finland), and John H. Dick (USA).

---

[171]Simon Marty Guitars, http://www.cia.com.au/simonm (accessed on July 3, 2006).

[172]Fritz Mueller, "Double-Tops," http://www.classicalguitars.ca/doubletops.htm (accessed on July 3, 2006).

Conclusion

The guitar enjoys a position never occupied before in its history. The geometrical expansion of guitar activities and the recent technological innovations in guitar construction confirm the favored status of the instrument in the music world. The number of guitar competitions held in diverse countries at both national and international levels continues to increase. The guitar, in a similar fashion of other instruments that had been historically favored such as the piano and the violin, has become part of the curricula of several conservatories, colleges, and universities al over the globe. The number of specialized journals and magazines for the guitar has increased along with the demand of new guitar music.

The establishment of guitar societies has also contributed to the dissemination of the instrument. The last decades have demonstrated that the compositional process for the guitar is not only limited to guitar players as it was in the past. Suitable instruments are manufactured for children expanding the horizons for future virtuosos to appear. New guitar support devices such as the *Neck-up*, the *Dynarette*, and the *Gitano* allow guitarists to perform maintaining their bodies in a comfortable position, contributing to good posture and healthier playing.

Aside from all the innovations mentioned, the dissemination of the guitar has been highly aided with the advent of the Internet. There are thousands of guitar videos currently available on websites such as *YouTube* and *Vimeo*. Websites of individual performers and composers for the guitar allow their work to be known "by the touch of a button". Above all, a new generation of players continues the mission of expressing

music through the guitar in the new globalizing world. The possibilities seem endless, limited only by the imagination and vision of the new generations to come.

Bibliography

Aguado, Dionisio. *New Guitar Method*. Edited by Brian Jeffery. 2nd ed. London: Tecla Editions, 2004.

Bacon, Tony, et al. *The Classical Guitar Book*. San Francisco, CA: Backbeat Books, 2002.

Barrueco, Manuel. "Biography." Manuel Barrueco Home Page. http://www.barrueco.barrueco.com/pages/bio/.

Bazzotti, Marco. "The Guitar in Italy in the Nineteenth Century: Sixty Biographies of Italian Composers and Guitarsists." Ebookcafe. http://www.ebookcafe.it/zip/800Ebook.en.pdf.

Beavers, Sean. "Hommage in the Solo Guitar Music of Roland Dyens." Florida: Florida State University, 2006.

Behague, Gerard. *Villa-Lobos,* "The Search of the Brazilian Music Soul." Austin, University of Texas Press, 1922.

Bolamar Ediciones Musicales. "Antón García Abril." http://www.bolamar.net/biografia.htm.

Bouterse, Curt. "Medieval Instruments IIIa: Guitarras." Alfonso X: Instruments then & Now. http://home.earthlink.net/~curtis_bouterse/id4.html.

_____. "Guitarra Latina," Alfonso X: Instruments then & Now. http://home.earthlink.net/~curtis_bouterse/id6.html.

Bersaraboff, Nicholas. *Ancient European Musical Instruments; an Organological Study of the Musical Instruments in the Leslie Lindsey Mason Collection at the Museum of Fine Arts*. Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941.

Bitetti, Ernesto. http://www.music.indiana.edu/department/guitar/ernestobitetti/bitetti.htm (accessed on October 4, 2007).

Bridge Records Inc. "David Starobin." http://www.bridgerecords.com/ds_artist.htm (accessed on March 15, 2008).

Camhi, Cecilia Rodrigo. "Joaquin Rodrigo Home Page. http://www.joquin-rodrigo.com/obras.html.

Chase, Gilbert. *The Music of Spain*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1959.

Corona-Alcalde, A. "The Vihuela and the Guitar in the Sixteenth-Century Spain: a Critical Appraisal of some of the Existing Evidence." *The Lute*, xxx (1990): 3-24.

Dearling, Robert, ed. *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Musical Instruments.* New York, NY: Schirmer Books, 1996.

Dyens, Roland. "Biography." Roland Dyens Official Website. http://www.rolandyens .com/index.php?mod=biography.

Dobson, Charles, Ephraim Segerman, and James Tyler. "Further Remarks on the Four-Course Guitar." *Lute Society Journal* Vol. 17 (1975),

EDQ Blog. "Ernesto de Quesada: Biography." http://homepage.mac.com/erlin1/iblog/ C527043545/ E20050811211613/index.html (accessed on February 18, 2008).

Fallows, David. "15th-Century Tablatures for Plucked Instruments: A Summary, a Revision, and a Suggestion." *The Lute Society Journal*, Vol.19 (1977): 8.

Faucher, François. "The Eighteenth Century." Classical Guitar Illustrated History. http://www.classicalguitarmidi.com/history/guitar_history.html#18th_Century (accessed on September 16, 2006).

Ferandiere, Fernando. *The Art of Playing he Spanish Guitar from Music, Written and Set in Order by Fernando Ferandiere, Professor of Music at the Court*. Madrid, 1799.

Frary, Peter Kun. "The Vocal Romances of Luis Milan's El Maestro." *Guitar and Lute* No.26 (1982): 73.

Gásser, Luis. *Luis Milán on Sixteenth-Century Performance Practice*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996.

Gilbert, Chase. *The Music of Spain.* New York, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 1959.

Guerau, Francisco. *Poema Harmónico*. Transcribed by Thomas Schmitt. Editorial Alpuerto: Madrid, 2000.

Guy, Paul. "A Brief History of the Guitar." Guitar Handbook . http://www .guyguitars.com/eng/handbook/BriefHistory.html

Hall, Monica. "The Stringing of the Five-Course Guitar." Robert McKillop Home Page, http://rmguitar.info/Monica/2.Spain.htm#Granada (accessed on September 4, 2006).

Heck, Thomas. "Mauro Giuliani: Virtuoso Guitarist and Composer." Columbus, OH: Editions Orphée, Inc., 1995.

Hudson, Richard. *The Folia*. Vol.1 of *The Folia, the Saraband, the Passacaglia, and the Chaconne: The Historical Evolution of Four Forms that Originated in Music for the Five-Course Spanish Guitar*. Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1982.

_____. *The Sarabande*. Vol.2 of *The Folia, the Saraband, the Passacaglia, and the Chaconne: The Historical Evolution of Four Forms that Originated in Music for the Five-Course Spanish Guitar*. Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1982.

_____. *The Passacaglia*. Vol.3 of *The Folia, the Saraband, the Passacaglia, and the Chaconne: The Historical Evolution of Four Forms that Originated in Music for the Five-Course Spanish Guitar*. Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1982.

_____. *The Chaconne*. Vol.4 of *The Folia, the Saraband, the Passacaglia, and the Chaconne: The Historical Evolution of Four Forms that Originated in Music for the Five-Course Spanish Guitar*. Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1982.

Hugon, Gerald. "Alexander Tansman." Translated by Patricia Wheeler. Musica et Memoria. http://www.musimem.com/tansman_eng.htm (accessed on December 5, 2007).

Kasha, Michael "A New Look at the History of the Classic Guitar." *Guitar Review* No.30 (August 1968), 3-12.

Kenyon, Jeff. "Sérgio and Odair Assad." The Unnoficial Assad Home Page. http://net .indra.com/~jkenyon/assad.html#duo (accessed on March 13, 2008).

Jeffery, Brian. *Fernando Sor: Composer and Guitarist*. London: Tecla Editions, 2nd ed., 1994.

Los Angeles Guitar Quartet. "History." LAGQ Home Page. http://www.lagq.com (accessed on January 12, 2008).

Lorimer, Michael. *Salvidar Codex No.4, Vol.1: The Manuscripts.* Santa Barbara: Michael Lorimer, 1987.

Mariz, Vasco. *Heitor Villa-Lobos compositor Brasileiro*. Rio de Janeiro: MEC/DAC/Museu Villa-Lobos, 1977.

Marty, Simon. "Simon Marty Guitars." Simon Marty Home Page. http://www.cia.com .au/simonm/ (accessed on July 3, 2006).

Mueller, Fritz. "Double-Tops." Fritz Mueller Home Page. http://www.classicalguitars.ca/ doubletops.htm (accessed on July 3, 2006).

Nelson, Martha. "Notes on Musica en Cifra". *Guitar Review* No. 38 (Summer 1973): 23.

Ophee, Matanya. "A Short History of the Left Hand Thumb: Some considerations of its practical use in performance today," http://www.guitarandluteissues.com/LH-Thumb/LH-thumb.htm (accessed on March 1, 2008).

Otero, Corazón. *Manuel Ponce and The Guitar*, J.D. Roberts trans. The Bold Strummer Ltd.: Westport, CT.

_____. *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: His Life and Works for the Guitar*. United Kingdom: Ashley Mark Publishing Company, 1999.

Peppercorn, Lisa . "Some Aspects of Villa-Lobos Principles of Composition," *The Music Review* 4:3 (1943): 28.

Piazzolla.Org. The Internet Home of Astor Piazzolla and his Tango Nuevo. "Astor Piazzolla: Chronology of a Revolution." http://www.piazzolla.org/biography/biography-english.html (accessed on March 23, 2008).

Pivovan, Philip. "Ornamenting Vihuela Music," *Guitar & Lute* No.18 (July 1981): 33.

Pujol, Emilio. *Introduction to Mudarra's Tres libros de musica en cifra para vihuela*. Barcelona, Instituto Español de Musicologia, 1949.

_____. *Tárrega: Ensayo biográfico*. Valencia: Artes Gráficas Soler, 1978.

Sadie, Stanley, ed. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Santos, Silvio José dos. "Guitar Music Composed for Segovia (Review)." *Notes*, Vol.63, No.1 (September 2006): 201-207.

Santos, Turibio. *Heitor Villa-Lobos and the Guitar*. Ireland: Wise Owl Music, 1985.

_____. Turibio Santos Home Page, http://www.turibio.com.br (accessed on December 7, 2007).

Simpson, Glenda and Mason, Barry. "The Sixteenth-Century Spanish Romance: A Survey of the Spanish Ballad as Found in the Music of the Vihuelistas." *Early Music,* No.1 vol.5 (Jan.1977): 51.

Smith, Douglas A. *A History of the Lute from the Antiquity to the Renaissance.* Canada: The Lute Society of America, 2002.

Sor, Fernando. *Method for the Spanish Guitar: A complete reprint of the 1832 English translation with a preface by Brian Jeffery.* London: Tecla Editions, 1995.

Stover, Richard D. *Six Silver Moonbeams: The Life and Times of Augustín Barrios Mangoré*. Clovis, CA: Querico Publications, 1992.

Strizich, Robert. "Gaspar Sanz," in Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., Vol. 22 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 268.

Subirá, José. *El Teatro Del Real Palacio (1849-1851)*. Madrid: Instituto Español de Musicologia, 1950.

The Romeros. "The Romeros: The Royal Family of the Guitar," http://www .romeroguitarquartet.com/ frameset.html (accessed on March 17, 2008).

Trend, J. B. *Manuel de Falla and Spanish Music*. New York: Alfred A. 1929.

Turnbul, Harvey. *The Guitar from the Renaissance to the Present Day.* Westport, CT: The Bold Strummer Ltd.

Tyler, James. *The Early Guitar: a History and Handbook.* London: Oxford University Press, 1980), 15.

_____. "The Renaissance Guitar 1500-1600," *Early Music* Vol.3, No.4 (Oct. 1975): 42.

Tyler, James and Paul Sparks. *The Guitar and Its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Verrett, Len, ed. "Guitar Composers of the Classical and Early Romatic Period Circa 1780-1900." Early Romantic Guitar Information Web Page. http://www .earlyromanticguitar.com/erg/composers.htm#Huerta (accessed on October 10, 2007).

Wade, Graham. *A Concise History of the Classic Guitar.* Pacific, MO: Mel Bay Publications, 2001.

_____. *Traditions of the Classical Guitar*. London: John Calder Publishers Ltd., 1980.

Zanon, Fábio. "A Arte do Violão." Rádio Cultura FM de São Paulo Home Page. http://aadv.radio.googlepages.com/index.html (accessed during 2006 and 2007).

Zayas, Rodrigo de. "The music of the Vihuelists and its Interpretation." *Guitar Review* No. 38 (Summer 1973): 10.