



THE CLASSICAL GUITAR
IN SPAIN, PORTUGAL,
ITALY & GERMANY
A General Approach to Its History

EDITED BY DAMIÁN MARTÍN-GIL

The Classical Guitar in Spain, Portugal, Italy & Germany.
A General Approach to Its History

The Classical Guitar in Spain,
Portugal, Italy & Germany.
A General Approach to Its History

Edited by Damián Martín-Gil

© Contributors 2023

All Rights Reserved. Except as permitted under current legislation no part of this work may be photocopied, stored in a retrieval system, published, performed in public, adapted, broadcast, transmitted, recorded or reproduced in any form or by any means, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

First published: 2023.

Publisher: Instituto Nacional de Artes Escénicas y Música (INAEM). With the collaboration of Centro de Documentación de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música (CDAEM).

ISBN: 978-84-9041-483-5

NIPO: (printed edition): 827-23-075-4; (digital edition): 827-23-076-X

Legal deposit: M-29222-2023

The editor and authors have no responsibility for the continued existence or accuracy of URLs for internet websites referred to in this book and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

This book was funded by the Erasmus+ Program of the European Union ‘Let’s Play Classical Guitar Together’ (2020-2023) no. 2020-1-ES01-KA202-082992 created by the Conservatorio Oficial de Música ‘Hermanos Berzosa’ (Cáceres, Spain) in collaboration with the Conservatório de Música do Porto (Portugal), the Musik und Kunstschule Havelland (Falkensee, Germany) and the Liceo Musicale ‘Paolina Secco Suardo’ (Bergamo, Italy).

The support of the European Commission in the production of this publication does not imply any endorsement of its contents, which is the sole responsibility of the authors. The Commission cannot therefore be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

Cover design by Lourdes Germain.

Designed, typeset and printed by Imprenta Taravilla, S.L.

6 Mesón de Paños

28013, Madrid

(Spain)

Recommended citation: Martín-Gil, Damián (ed.), *The Classical Guitar in Spain, Portugal, Italy & Germany. A General Approach to Its History* (Madrid: INAEM, 2023).



To all classical guitar students

Contents

Illustrations & tables | xi
The editor & the contributors | xv
Acknowledgements | xxiii

Introduction | 1
Damián Martín-Gil

I. THE BAROQUE GUITAR (1580-1750)

- 1 · Spain and its figures | 7
Jacinto Sánchez González
- 2 · Some contributions of Portugal to the Iberian aesthetics | 17
João Durão Machado
- 3 · The great Italian guitarists | 27
Redi Lamcja
- 4 · The fashion for plucked instruments in German lands | 39
Marianna Chelidoni

II. THE CLASSICAL-ROMANTIC GUITAR (1750-1850)

- 5 · The role of the Spaniards | 51
Damián Martín-Gil
- 6 · Portuguese figures and sources | 63
Mário Carreira
- 7 · The Italians leaving their mainland | 75
Giulio Gianì
- 8 · The rise of the guitar in German lands | 85
Antje Knobl

III. THE GUITAR FROM 1850 TO THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW MILLENNIUM

- 9 · Music written for guitar in Spain | 99
Ignacio Garrido Herrero
- 10 · Significant guitar figures in Portugal | 111
Paulo Peres
- 11 · Italian contributions to guitar music | 123
Luigi Artina
- 12 · The rebirth of the guitar in German lands | 133
Marianna Chelidoni

IV. THE GUITAR NOWADAYS

- 13 · Guitar festivals in Spain | 147
Jacinto Sánchez González
- 14 · An overview of the guitar activity in Portugal | 157
Paulo Peres
- 15 · Understanding the guitar in Italy in the present day | 169
Christian El Khouri
- 16 · The guitar in Germany: a mixture of tendencies | 179
Katharina Fricke

V. THE GUITAR IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

- 17 · The guitar in the conservatories of Spain | 191
Damián Martín-Gil
- 18 · The specialised artistic education in Portugal | 201
Ricardo Cerqueira
- 19 · Studying music in Italy | 213
Dania Carissimi
- 20 · The music education system in Germany | 225
Michael Hadrisch

APPENDIX

21 · To transcribe or not to transcribe | 239

Christian El Khouri

22 · Leo Brouwer in Portugal | 249

Tiago E. Cassola Marques

Selected Bibliography | 259

Index | 279

Illustrations

- 1.1. Example of the Catalan *cifra* of the ‘Tabla para saber cual dedo ha de tocar la cuerda y en qué traste’ (Table to know which finger has to play in which string and fret), in Joan Carles Amat, *Guitarra española de cinco órdenes* (Gerona: Joseph Brò, 1761-1766), 16. Biblioteca Nacional de España, M.FOLL/422/11 (Reproduced by permission).
- 1.2. Example of Castilian *cifra* in Luis de Briceño, *Método muy facilísimo para aprender a tañer la guitarra a lo español* (Paris: Ballard, 1626), not paginated. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, RES VM8 U-1 (Reproduced by permission).
- 1.3. ‘Canarios’, in Gaspar Sanz, *Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española* (Zaragoza: Diego Dormer, 1697), 8. Biblioteca Nacional de España, M/1884 (Reproduced by permission).
- 2.1. Excerpt from ‘Fantasia 1.^{er} tono de Monteyro’, in M. M. 97, title page, fol. 1, recto. Reservados, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra (Reproduced by permission).
- 2.2. Several short pieces in *O livro do Conde de Redondo*, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (Reproduced by permission).
- 3.1. Four-course guitar as illustrated in Guillaume Morlaye, *Le premier livre de chansons, gaillardes, pavannes, branfles, almandes, fantaisies* (Paris, 1552), title page. Kantonsbibliothek Vadiana, St. Gallen, Sammlung der Ortsbürgergemeinde, VadSlg P 3050 (Reproduce by permission).
- 3.2. ‘Alfabetto’, in Girolamo Montesardo, *Nuova inventione d’intavolatura per sonare li balletti sopra la chitarra spagnuola senza numeri* (Florence: Christofano Marescotti, 1606), n.p. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, 1843/10 (Reproduced by permission).
- 3.3. Extract from ‘Corrente’, in Giovanni Paolo Foscari, *I quatro libri della chitarra spagnola* (c1635), 19. Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/5669 (Reproduced by permission).
- 3.4. Extract from ‘Chacona’, in Francesco Corbetta, *Varii scherzi di sonate per chitarra spagnola* was published (Brussels, 1648), 28. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, VM7-6217 (Reproduced by permission).
- 4.1. Excerpt from Silvius Leopold Weiss, ‘Zwölftle Lection des Music Meisters’, Georg Philipp Telemann, *Der getreue Music-Meister* (Hamburg: The author, 1728), 45. Sächsische Landesbibliothek Staats und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, Digital Coll., Mus.2392.B.1 (Reproduced by permission).

- 4.2. Extract from 'Balletto', in Giovanni Battista Granata, *Novi capricci armonici musicali* op. 5 (Bologna: 1674), 8. Bibliotheca Musica Bononiensis, IV/183 (Reproduced by permission).
- 5.1. Beginning of the guitar part of 'Sonata II', in *Six sonates pour la guitare avec accompagnement de violon dédiées à Monsieur Launay* (Paris: Boyer, 1791-1793), 4. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, VMA-3392 (Reproduced by permission).
- 5.2. 'Variazione 12', in Salvador Castro de Gistau, *Variations de las Folias d'Espagne* op. 10 (Paris: The author, 1805), 6. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Vm9-3531 (Reproduced by permission).
- 6.1. Drawing of an *English guitar* in António da Silva Leite, *Estudo de guitarra* (Porto: Antonio Alvarez Ribeiro, 1796), 30. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, C.I.C.34 A- CFG2 (Reproduced by permission).
- 6.2. Sketches copied by Burney in Vienna while listening to Antonio da Costa, in Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*, vol. 1 (London: T. Becket et al, 1773), 286. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, M. 55 V. (Reproduced by permission).
- 7.1. Extract from 'Ah! vous dirai-je Maman', theme and nine variations for guitar, Francesco Alberti, *Nouvelle méthode de guitare* (Paris: Camand, 1786), 19. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Vm8u.15 (Reproduced by permission).
- 7.2. Extract from 'Introduzione', in Mauro Giuliani, *Le Rossiniane per la chitarra* no. 1, op. 119 (Vienna: Artaria, 1820), 1. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, 4 Mus.pr. 2011.3024 (Reproduced by permission).
- 7.3. Excerpt from 'Primavera', in Antonio Maria Nava, *Le stagioni dell'anno* (Milan and Torino: Ricordi, n.d [1808]), 2. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, VMA-3392 (22) (Reproduced by permission).
- 8.1. Mr. de L.y.r (Antoine de Lhoyer?), 'Allegro', in *Journal de musique allemand, italien & français pour le chant* (Hamburg: Gulnther and Böhme, c1800), 6. Statens Musikbibliotek of Stockholm (Reproduced by permission).
- 8.2. Excerpt from 'Agitato ma non troppo, Allegro', in Simon Molitor, *Grosse Sonate für die Gitarre allein* op. 7 (Vienna: Artaria, 1807), 18. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, 2 Mus.pr. 2282. (Reproduced by permission).
- 9.1. Photograph showing Fernando Gausente, Enric Sanfeliu, Andrés Segovia, Emilio Pujol, Ramón Pujol (Emilio's father), Pepita Roca and Miquel Llobet (from top and left), Museo de la Música de Barcelona (Reproduced by permission).
- 9.2. Excerpt from Manuel de Falla 'Homenaje à Debussy', first page of the Manuscript no. LVI, Archivo Manuel de Falla in Granada (Reproduced by permission).

- 10.1. 'Aria do Opera La Traviata', in Manoel Nunes Aguedo, *Methodo geral para a viola franceza* (Porto: n.p., 1856), 34. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, M.2156 V (Reproduced by permission).
- 10.2. Duarte Costa in the 1960s, from his family collection (Reproduced by permission).
- 11.1. Excerpt from Goffredo Petrassi, *Suoni notturni*, in Miguel Ablóniz, *Antología per chitarra* (Milan: Ricordi, 1961), 1. Hal Leonard Europe BV (Italy) (Reproduced by permission).
- 11.2. Excerpt from Franco Donatoni, *Algo* (Milan: Zuvini Zerboni, 1978), 1 (Reproduced by permission).
- 12.1. Extract from the 'Study no. 1, Grave for the first finger and thumb of the right hand', in Leonard Schulz, *L'indispensable* (London: Wessel & Co., c1840), 2. Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna, X 49826 (Reproduced by permission).
- 12.2. Ferdinand Rebay, Extract from Sonata in Em for Guitar and Oboe, 1, author's manuscript, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, F40.Rebay.12 (Reproduced by permission).
- 13.1. Andrés Segovia teaching at the International Courses of 'Música en Compostela'. Fundación Andrés Segovia (Linares, Spain) (Reproduced by permission).
- 14.1. Extract from 'Invenção 1', in Cândido Lima, *Cadernos de invenções guitarra II* (Paredes: CIMP/PMIC, 2014), 1 (Reproduced by permission).
- 14.2. Excerpt from 'Vai indo, amor, vai indo', in Fernando C. Lapa, *Canções populares transmontanãs* (Porto: Edições Conservatório de Música do Porto, 2015), 3 (Reproduced by permission).
- 15.1. Ruggiero Chiesa in 1983 (Reproduced by permission).
- 15.2. Michele Pittaluga, promoter of the 'City of Alessandria' Classical Guitar Competition. Photograph kindly provided by Micaela Pittaluga (Reproduced by permission).
- 17.1. Regino Sainz de la Maza in 1958 photographed by Alfonso Sánchez Portela. Courtesy of Paloma Sainz de la Maza (Reproduced by permission).
- 20.1. Verband der Musikschulen, *Lehrplan Gitarre* (Kassel: Gustav Bosse, 2012), title page (Reproduced by permission).
- 21.1. Excerpt from 'Ricercare', Francesco Spinacino, *Intabolutura de lauto* (Venice, 1507), 39. Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Mus. ant. pract. P 680 (Reproduced by permission).
- 21.2. Excerpt from Issac Albéniz, *Asturias for solo guitar* (transcribed by Andrés Segovia) (Buenos Aires: Ricordi, 1956), 3. Melos Ediciones Musicales S.A. (Reproduced by permission).

- 21.3. Excerpt from Isaac Albéniz, *Asturias*, arranged by Carles Trepal (copied by Christian El Khouri).
- 22.1. Leo Brouwer (conductor), watching Eduardo Isaac playing *Paisaje cubano con campanas*, during the 1st Festival Internacional de Guitarra de Santo Tirso. Encore moment, after the *Concierto de Aranjuez*. Auditório Engº. Eurico de Melo, Santo Tirso (Portugal), 1 July 1994. Photograph kindly provided by Litó Godinho (Reproduced by permission).
- 22.2. Leo Brouwer conducting the Guitar Orchestra during the performance of *Concierto Tricastín* (Augusto Pacheco and Rui Gama, soloists), II Estádio Internacional de Cordas Dedilhadas da Cidade de Braga. 7 October 2018, Theatro Circo, Braga (Portugal). Photograph kindly provided by Sérgio Gomes (Reproduced by permission).

Tables

- 18.1. Table with number of students of the SAE-M system in the two types of institutions (public and private). Data from Direção-Geral de Estatísticas da Educação e Ciência (2022), 'Perfil do aluno 2020/2021', <https://www.dgeec.mec.pt> (Accessed 9 Feb. 2022).
- 18.2. Table showing the percentage of students attending the SAE-M, out of the total number of students in the Portuguese educational system in the school year 2018/2019. Data from the Direção-Geral de Estatísticas da Educação e Ciência, collected from the Report (2021) prepared under the scope of the Working Group for Specialised Artistic Courses, created by Despacho n.º 435-A/2021.
- 18.3. Table showing the number of students attending Specialised Artistic Education in Music in the academic year 2020/21 (Direção-Geral de Estatísticas da Educação e Ciência, 2022).

The Editor

Damián Martín-Gil (Spain) is a classical guitar teacher at the Conservatory of Music 'Hermanos Berzosa' in Cáceres (Spain) and a member of the Cambridge Consortium for Guitar Research (United Kingdom). He has received grants from institutions such as the Antonio Gala Foundation, The Research Council of Norway, the Caja Badajoz Foundation and the University of Poitiers. His articles have been published in journals including *Eighteenth-Century Music*, *Revue de Musicologie*, *Soundboard Scholar*, *Il Fronimo* and *Roseta*, and he has presented his research at numerous international conferences organised by the Irish Musicological Society, Royal Musical Association, Société Française de Musicologie, Sociedad Española de Musicología and The Guitar Foundation of America. Among several grants and awards he has received the Andrew Britton fellowship awarded by the Cambridge Consortium for Guitar Research.

Martín-Gil holds a diploma in Classical Guitar, a master's degree in Classical Guitar Performance with *maestro* Ricardo Gallén, a master's degree in Historical Musicology (Award with Special Distinction) and a degree in Physical Education and Sports Sciences. His main interest is the study of the guitar from a socio-cultural point of view with a focus on France in the period 1740-1840, with in-depth studies of figures such as Giacomo Merchi, Vidal, Pierre Jean Porro or Charles de Marescot. He is currently pursuing his doctoral studies at the University of Poitiers (France), with a thesis on the collections of music for voice and guitar published in Paris between 1750 and 1800. This university awarded him a scholarship to visit the Faculty of Music at the University of Cambridge in the autumn of 2022 to study the archives of the Royal Academy of Music and the British Library in London.

The Contributors

Luigi Artina (Italy) studied classical guitar at the Conservatory 'G. Rossini' in Pesaro. He initially studied with Alirio Diaz, and later with David Russel and Manuel Barrueco, and took courses by Angelo Gilardino. At the same time, he studied harmony, counterpoint and composition with Vittorio Fellegara, and Alberto Colla, combining these lessons with studies in the piano. He deepened his understanding of guitar composition by participating in masterclasses at the Festival de la Guitarra de Córdoba with Cuban composer and guitarist Leo Brouwer. He obtained a second level degree in instrumental teaching with a thesis on composition for teaching. He plays mainly in chamber music ensembles, collaborating with many musicians including the Japanese soprano Satoko Shikama. He has recorded music and videos by Bach, Villa-Lobos, Carulli, Tarrega, Turina and Petrassi, some of which are published under the Ema Vinci labels. As well as his concert activity, he also works as a composer and arranger, writing music mainly for guitar, now published by Berben (Curci). He also studied economics at the University of Bergamo before devoting himself to musical studies.

Dania Carissimi (Italy) was born in Bergamo and began studying classical guitar with Giovanni Podera. She received her diploma in 2000 and master's degree at the ISSM 'G. Donizetti' in Bergamo in 2010, studying with Luigi Attademo. She has attended masterclasses with Giorgio Oltremari, Liliana Pesaresi, Andrea Dieci and Bruno Giuffredi. She has received numerous awards, earning the first prize in National Competitions. In 1997 she started teaching guitar and alongside her didactic commitment she dedicated her time to musical activity as a soloist and chamber musician. Since 2007, she has deepened her contemporary and nineteenth-century music repertoire, paying particular attention to chamber music for the guitar and flute. In 2019, she formed the Gynaika Trio in collaboration with Domenica Bellantone (harp) and Chiara Di Muzio (piano). This Trio is an innovative and original musical project with strings as the common denominator aiming to promote an original repertoire for guitar, harp and piano and stimulate new generations to create compositions without restriction of form and genre. Since 2018 she has been a guitar teacher at Liceo Musicale 'P. Secco Suardo' in Bergamo.

Mário Carreira (Portugal) studied classical guitar at the National Conservatoire of Lisbon and at the University of Évora with Manuel Morais (a student of Emilio Pujol) and in Caen/France, with Louis Marie Feuillet, Santiago Kastner, Hopkinson Smith, Cristina Pluhar, Enrico Onofri, Jakob

Lindberg, Brian Jeffery, Thomas Heck, Erik Stenstadvold and Alberto Ponce and chamber music with Anner Bylsma (L'Archibudelli). He has published several articles in the Italian guitar magazines *Il Fronimo* and *GuitArt* and in Tecla Editions (London). In 2013 he was honoured by the city of Bisceglie (Italy) and gave many concerts in Portugal, Spain, France, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, Italy and New Zealand. He has been a guitar teacher at the Conservatório de Música do Porto since 1987. His special areas of interest include nineteenth-century guitar music, the *terz-guitar* and Spanish music from Tárrega to Manuel de Falla, all on period instruments.

Tiago Cassola (Portugal) was born in Aveiro and soon became interested in music, studying classical guitar at his hometown conservatory with Carlos Abreu and Miguel Lélis, and later in Lisbon with Paulo Amorim and Dejan Ivanović. He completed his music degree at the Conservatorio Superior de Música de Salamanca (Spain), under the guidance of Hugo Geller. With the Erasmus program, he also attended the Perugia Conservatory in Italy, studying with Leonardo de Angelis. Then, he obtained a master's degree in music pedagogy at the University of Aveiro. He has taught guitar and guitar ensembles at the Conservatório de Música do Porto since 2010. He has a remarkable concert career both as a soloist and as a chamber music player. He toured intensively with the Baltar Cassola Guitar Duo in Portugal, France, Italy and Spain. He has also been a member of the Portuguese Guitar and Mandolin Orchestra (OPGB) since 2017.

Ricardo Cerqueira (Portugal) was born in Braga and began his musical studies at the Conservatório de Música Calouste Gulbenkian, having guitar lessons with Carlos Meireles. Under the guidance of José Pina – ESMAE, Porto – he was awarded the Engenheiro António de Almeida Foundation Prize for completing his guitar degree with the highest distinction. He studied with Ricardo Gallén at the Escuela Luthier d'Arts Musicals in Barcelona and was awarded the first master's in Guitar and Musical Interpretation in Cáceres. He performs regularly, both solo and in several chamber and orchestral groups, having played in Portugal, Spain and France, having been conducted by Leo Brouwer, Piero Bellugi or Charles Roussin, in duo with the soprano Maria João Matos, in duos with the guitarists Vincent Maurice, Vítor Gandarela and Mário Carreira or as concertmaster of the Orquestra de Cordas Dedilhadas do Minho. Today he teaches at the Conservatório de Música do Porto.

Marianna Chelidoni (Greece) became very passionate about classical guitar from a young age, starting playing from the age of ten. She formally commenced her music studies at the State Conservatory of Athens, graduating with the highest distinction. She then continued her studies in Brussels under the guidance of Antigoni Goni (2018), and has recently finished her

master's degree in classical guitar with a special interest in Baroque music and instruments such as Baroque guitar and theorbo in the University of Arts in Berlin. Along with her musical studies, she studied International and European Economics graduating from the Athens University in 2014.

João Durão Machado (Portugal) was born in Porto and began to study guitar in his hometown with Cristina Bacelar, Artur Caldeira and José Pina. In 2005, he obtained a degree from the University of Aveiro, under the guidance of Josef Zsapka and Paulo Vaz de Carvalho, having been distinguished with a merit scholarship in 2002. During his studies, he also attended masterclasses with Leo Brouwer, José Pina and Ken Murray. As a soloist, he premiered Ana Moura's *Halmahera* (for guitar and electronics) in 2001, and Fernando C. Lapa's *Duas Canções Populares Transmontanas* in 2005. In 2007 he gave the Portuguese première of Leo Brouwer's *Retrats Catalans* with the Orquestra Clássica do Centro (Coimbra). He has also played in several concerts as a chamber musician with the Trissonância guitar trio, and recently in a duo with the violinist Malgorzata Markowska, having written several transcriptions for both formations. As an academic, João Durão Machado has a keen interest in creating innovative pedagogical materials; he has held a guitar teaching position at the Conservatório de Música do Porto since 2012.

Christian El Khouri (Italy) graduated *magna cum laude* from the Conservatory 'Giuseppe Verdi' in Milan under Paolo Cherici. He also achieved the didactic diploma at the Conservatory 'Giuseppe Verdi' in Como under Maurizio Grandinetti. He attended masterclasses with Enea Leone, and enhanced his musical experience with classes by Roberto Masala, Carlo Marchione, Jukka Savijoki, Oscar Ghiglia (reaching the merit diploma at the Accademia Chigiana in Siena). He has achieved positive results as a soloist at several international competitions ('Claxica' in Castel d'Aiano, 'N. Paganini' in Parma, Sernancelhe International Guitar Competition, Gargnano International Competition, 'R. Chiesa - Città di Camogli'). His lively performing activity has led him to give numerous concerts in Italy and abroad, as a soloist as well as collaborating with ensembles and chamber music orchestras. He has recorded for Seicorde (*Sonata*, 2011) and Dynamic (*Le Bouquet Emblématique*, 2020) and has edited music for Armelin Musica. His last recording was launched in September 2022, performing the complete Variations of Fernando Sor with the label Dynamic. Christian El Khouri is currently a guitar Professor at the Conservatorio 'A. Scontrino' in Trapani and official endorser of Aquila Corde Armoniche.

Katharina Fricke (Germany) began playing the guitar at the Musik- und Kunstschule Havelland (Germany) at the age of ten. Since then, playing together with other people has been an important part of her life. She completed her Bachelor in year 2016 at the University of the Arts in Berlin and

began teaching the guitar at the Musik- und Kunstschule Havelland in 2013. She plays in a guitar ensemble in Berlin Spandau, with which she has performed in Sweden, the Netherlands and Germany. She joined the program 'Klasse: Musik in Brandenburg' in 2019 and began to lead classes in music in elementary school. In 2021 she received certification as a music educator for the elderly from the Fachhochschule Münster and Landesmusikakademie Berlin, offering this type of education, for example, to people with dementia or other impairments.

Ignacio Garrido Herrero (Spain) is currently a classical guitar teacher at the Conservatory of Cáceres (Spain) and he has previously taught at various conservatories and music schools. He has teaching experience of more than twenty-five years. He is a member of the Classical Guitar Association 'Ángel Iglesias' of Extremadura and has collaborated in the organisation of the 'Norba Caesarina' International Guitar Festival (Cáceres, 2005-2020) and the 'Ciudad de Badajoz' Spanish-Portuguese Guitar Composition Contest (2006-2007). He was born in Zaragoza (Spain) at whose conservatory he studied guitar with Santiago Rebenaque, analysis with Pedro Purroy and History of Music with Álvaro Zaldivar. Later he moved to Barcelona to study at the prestigious 'Escola Luthier' with Àlex Garrobé. He has participated in masterclasses with the most important guitarists of his time. As a soloist and as a member of chamber music groups, he has performed concerts throughout Spain as well as in Portugal and France.

Giulio Gianì (Italy) started playing saxophone at the age of eight in the marching band of his hometown, in southeastern Sicily. He graduated with a degree in saxophone from the conservatory of Messina in 2010 and in 2014 he got his master's degree in musicology at Cremona, with a thesis on Giacinto Scelsi's music for solo wind instruments. In 2016 he obtained the Master in Music Didactics at the Conservatory of Alessandria, qualifying to teach saxophone in public schools. At the same institute, in 2018 he obtained the Master in Music Performance under the guidance of Claudio Lugo. He is interested in the versatility of the saxophone, ranging from Western classical music to jazz, from punk rock to Brazilian choro, from Klezmer to creative extemporaneous music. Since 2019 he has been teaching saxophone and ensemble music at the Liceo Musicale 'Paolina Secco Suardo' in Bergamo.

Michael Hadrisch (Germany) began playing the guitar when he was fourteen years old. Then he studied classical guitar and jazz guitar at the University of Potsdam, Germany and the Crane School of Music in Potsdam, New York, USA. From 2003 to 2007 he was a faculty member of the music department at the University of Potsdam, teaching Jazz Theory and Jazz Improvisation. As a musician he plays mostly with small jazz ensembles. In addition, he

performs solo as well as with larger groups such as the Police Orchestra of Brandenburg. As a conductor he has led the Schwungkollegium, the Big Band of the University of Potsdam. In addition to jazz and classical music he is also interested in bluegrass music, playing the banjo, dobro and double bass. He teaches guitar, electric guitar and ensembles at the Musik- und Kunstschule Havelland (Germany).

Antje Knobl (Germany) was born in Falkensee, near Berlin. Her father worked as a musician at the Komische Oper Berlin, so she had early contact with music. After taking piano lessons at first, she soon discovered the guitar at the age of 13. After school she studied to become a dental technician and worked as such for a few years. From 1990 to 1995 she studied classical guitar and jazz singing at the Hanns Eisler Academy of Music in Berlin, graduating with a diploma. Since 1988 she has been teaching guitar and ukulele at the 'Musik- und Kunstschule Havelland'. At this institution she is head of department for guitar and vocals and leads several guitar orchestras and choirs, writes children's musicals and carries out various musical-creative projects. On stage she plays and sings in different ensembles in the genres of jazz and gospel.

Redi Lamçja (Italy) started his musical studies in guitar and mandolin at the age of eleven, studying with Pietro Ragni. He graduated with a degree in mandolin from the Conservatory 'G. Verdi' of Milan under the guidance of Ugo Orlandi in 2016. He has participated in numerous mandolin masterclasses given by Ugo Orlandi, Carlo Aonzo and Avi Avital. He joined the guitar class of the Conservatory 'G. Donizetti' of Bergamo where he studied under the guidance of Luigi Attademo and Nicola Jappelli, graduating in 2020. He has also participated in further guitar masterclasses given by Giulio Tampalini, Javier Riba and Marco Tamayo. He plays in various mandolin orchestras in Italy and Switzerland. In 2022 he published six original studies for mandolin solo with Les Production d'Oz.

Paulo Peres (Portugal) graduated with a degree in guitar from Porto's Escola Superior de Música e Artes do Espectáculo, studying with José Pina. He has attended masterclasses with guitarists such as Alberto Ponce, David Russel, Manuel Barrueco, Roberto Aussel, Eduardo Isaac and Leo Brouwer. In 1988 he won the first prize for guitar (higher level category) at the Concurso Nacional da Juventude Musical Portuguesa. In his solo concert activity, he has paid special attention to contemporary guitar music. In chamber music, he has worked namely with the flutist Luís Meireles and with the guitarist Paula Marques, with whom he has been pursuing a project of Portuguese original works for two guitars dedicated to them. He is also member of the Portugal Guitar Quintet 5G5C. He has played in the most important Portuguese events and concert-halls. He has conducted several guitar masterclasses and has been

a jury member at guitar competitions. He is currently editing and publishing original Portuguese pieces for guitar and has taught at the Conservatório de Música do Porto since 1990.

Jacinto Sánchez González (Spain) was born in Cáceres where he has been a guitar teacher at the Professional Conservatory of Music 'Hermanos Berzosa' of this town since 2006, and for more than fifteen years has been a professor at the University of Extremadura. He was the director of the Encuentro Internacional de guitarra clásica 'Norba Caesarina' for fifteen years, and is now in the same position at the recently created 'Arroyo de la Luz' Guitar Festival. He presides over the Asociación de Guitarra Clásica de Extremadura. He was coordinator and co-director for six years of the Master of Classical Guitar at the University of Extremadura, taught by the master Ricardo Gallén, a pioneer master's program at the time in Spain. As a performer he has played in many festivals all over Spain and in other countries such as Portugal, the United Kingdom, France and Germany. He collaborates with different musical groups on the national scene, has been in a duo for more than fourteen years with the soprano María Eugenia Boix as the Duo Orpheo.

Acknowledgements

Several persons and institutions deserve to be acknowledged in these lines. I would like to first thank Sarah Kirby for her thorough revision of the English text. Her accuracy saved us from multiple mistakes of a language that is not ours as well as giving consistency to the text. Jan de Kloe, who made the complex index of this book, was also invaluable in proofreading the text. Mário Carreira noted some errors while kindly reading various chapters related to his field of research. I am most grateful to Paulo Peres and Redi Lamçja who, during the advanced stage of the preparation of the book, contributed two chapters. The staff of the Taravilla printing house in Madrid, Javier Iglesias in particular, should be acknowledged for their proficiency in preparing the typesetting and layout of this volume. Ana Fernández Valbuena, director of the CDAEM (Documentation Centre for Performing Arts and Music), deserves special recognition for making this publication possible with the INAEM (National Institute of Performing Arts and Music), and so does Noelia Molanes Costa, communication coordinator of the latter institution, for greatly facilitating this process. Multiple libraries and collectors were most helpful by allowing us to publish the numerous illustrations included. Finally, I would like to thank all the contributors for their participation in this project. They all became good friends.

1 July 2023
Damián Martín-Gil

INTRODUCTION

Damián Martín-Gil

In November 2019, two guitar colleagues at the Conservatorio Profesional de Música ‘Hermanos Berzosa’ (Cáceres, Spain) encouraged me to create an international program between different music academies in Europe. After a month thinking about it, I decided to apply for funds through the Erasmus+ program to the Ministry of Education of Spain with the aim of creating a classical guitar orchestra made up of students aged fourteen to eighteen from different countries. After pulling some strings in my circles, I managed to engage in the idea, besides my own conservatory, the Conservatório de Música do Porto (Portugal), the Musik und Kunstschule Havelland of Falkensee (Germany), and the Liceo Musicale ‘Paolina Secco Suardo’ of Bergamo (Italy).

The project aimed to imprint such a good experience on the students that it would elevate their motivation levels with the goal of increasing the number of those courageous enough to devote their lives to the guitar professionally. The project was also intended to strengthen the pedagogical abilities of the teachers involved, not only by letting them get to know the different educational systems – something that could redound on their way of teaching – but also by improving their English skills, and particularly, deepening their knowledge of the history of the guitar in a serious way. To my surprise, and to that of all my colleagues, the project was awarded 125,000 € in September 2020, precisely in the middle of a global pandemic, something that would put the project itself in jeopardy, although it would only end up extending its initial duration by a year.

In a nutshell, the project was divided into four meetings distributed over two years, each one held in a different country where the students, normally six per academy, rehearsed as a guitar orchestra over a week. The title of the project was, therefore, ‘Let’s Play Classical Guitar Together’. The students ended up, as planned, playing a concert at the end of the week and performing a different repertoire in each country, with four different repertoires in total. If that was not enough, the teachers involved in the project, besides preparing the repertoire, making arrangements, and carrying out an excessive number of rehearsals months in advance, presented lectures related to the history of the guitar in these four countries, as a way of making the students aware of the evolution of their instrument. The book you have in your hands is the result of these lectures – as well as some that were not given but devised to

complete it – transformed into chapters aiming to provide the reader, novel or expert, with an overview of the most significant figures of the guitar – either composers or guitarists – from the late sixteenth century to the present day in the four countries involved in the project.

Probably the advanced reader may think that such a book is not necessary and that an overview is not in any way worth the effort. We certainly have today an important bibliography on guitar history, either published in books and general music journals, or in the several important guitar journals that have been on the market for many years such as *Guitar Review*, *Soundboard Scholar*, *Soundboard*, *Il Fronimo* and *Roseta* among others. However, given the number of sources in the present day, those interested in the history of the guitar – particularly students – begin to focus on each tree along their path instead of looking at the complete forest. An example of this is that today we tend to listen once and again to the music of the same composers in concerts and recordings, while others of great quality continue to be unknown to the public. This book aims to provide a *symphony of names*, to which the reader can address while avoiding the excessive amount of information that we find in in-depth musicological studies, a way to continually refresh the internet browser or music provider to have new aural experiences. Additionally, those wanting to deepen their knowledge of the numerous figures mentioned will find more information in the selected bibliography presented in the abundant footnotes that extend across the book.

In this spirit, Part I is devoted to *The Baroque guitar (1580-1750)*, a way to revisit the most recent studies of the five-course guitar not only considering guitarists such as Francesco Corbetta, Giovanni Paolo Foscarini, Gaspar Sanz or Santiago de Murcia – music that seems to me more and more fresh every time I have the chance to listen to it – but also figures such as Silvius Leopold Weiss or Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberger who, even though they devoted their lives to other related plucked instruments, have exerted much influence on the repertoire of the guitar.

Part II deals with *The Classical-Romantic guitar (1750-1850)*, a period of transformation not only in the organology of the instrument – evolving from five double-courses to six single strings – but also in the production of music for this instrument, particularly with a significant output of guitar tutors, laying the foundations of guitar technique in the present day. In these four chapters it is particularly surprising to see how what we could call the *travelling guitarists*, particularly those from the countries of the south, tried their luck in the most important cultural centres of Europe, such as Paris, Vienna and London, being influential in, as well as influenced by, these new places.

Part III aims to revisit *The guitar from 1850 to the beginning of the new millennium*, in a quest to highlight the figures that introduced new musical values to the guitar. Even though the influence of Andrés Segovia is accentuated in the twentieth century, the reader will find that other prominent figures

followed different trends to that marked by the *maestro*, which lead to a rich and varied repertoire of guitar music. Therefore, this section aims to rediscover an immense corpus of music composed in the last 150 years with a galaxy of composers mostly known in their respective countries but almost unheard of in the rest of the world.

In Part IV, *The guitar nowadays*, we aim to provide an overview of the situation of the guitar in the present day, analysing not only the rise of guitar festivals in these four countries, but also the different societies created around the guitar, guitar journals, or even what we could call the ‘business of the guitar’ that revolves around guitar makers, string makers, or even YouTube figures. Certainly, new technologies have changed the way guitar music is perceived and also how it is taught. Adapting to these new trends is definitely the key to progress.

The guitar in the educational system forms Part V, a section that offers an overview of the guitar in education, particularly of the conservatories in the different countries. The status of the guitar as an instrument that can be studied in these institutions in the present day has been the final step in considering the instrument to be serious and worthy of study, contrary to what most of the critics thought before World War II. The reader will find how learning the guitar, particularly in official institutions, is organised in these four countries, an interesting way to compare how music education functions in each country.

Finally, in the *Appendix* we find two chapters that, although related to the main topics of the book, approach them in a different direction, either because they cover a wide range of music from different countries, as is the case of ‘To transcribe or not to transcribe’, aiming to provide some thoughts on the ever present dichotomy of the transcription by guitarists, or the chapter ‘Leo Brouwer in Portugal’, a text focused in probably the most important composer for guitar of the last fifty years, and his relationship with Portugal.

I hope this book can contribute to providing the reader with an overview of the evolution of the music written for guitar and the history of this instrument and be a stimulus to the creation of similar projects, not only guitar related, but considering other musical instruments. My only regret is not to have been able to engage in this project, and therefore in this book, two more countries where the guitar has been truly fashionable in one way or another throughout history: France and Great Britain. The connection between these countries and the project would have been of great value.

I. THE BAROQUE GUITAR (1580-1750)

Chapter 1

SPAIN AND ITS FIGURES

*Jacinto Sánchez González**

The instrument commonly known as the ‘Spanish guitar’ was, in the Baroque period, one of the most popular in Europe, reaching high levels of virtuosity in the hands of acclaimed musicians in several of the most important courts of the old continent. This small instrument – at that time consisting of five double courses¹ – acquired great musical relevance in Spain, becoming a socio-cultural phenomenon that crossed borders, determining, in a certain sense, part of the aesthetics of the Spanish nation.² In this chapter I offer an overview of the history of the instrument in this country between 1596, the year in which the first method for guitar was published, and 1750, when a new period in the history of the instrument can be seen to begin, highlighting both the importance of the instrument in Spanish society and the role of its main guitarists who published their music in this country across all of this period.

The guitar as a popular instrument

There is no doubt that the guitar was the distinctive instrument of the lower classes if we study the references to this instrument that appear throughout the seventeenth century. Particularly, during this period, we find multiple references to its use in barbershops, which were meeting places of the humblest classes and where this instrument seems to have accompanied the daily life of this profession.³ As Francisco de Quevedo suggested in his *Sueño del infierno* (Dream of Hell) in 1608:

I passed there and saw (what an admirable thing and what a just grief!)
The barbers tied up and their hands loose, and on their heads a guitar,

* I would like to thank Damián Martín-Gil for his advice and encouragement during the preparation of this article.

¹ On the tuning of this instrument in this period see Monica Hall, *Baroque Guitar Stringing: A Survey of the Evidence* (Guildford: Lute Society, 2003).

² On this issue see Fernando García Antón, ‘La guitarra española en la conformación de una identidad sonora nacional entre ilustración y romanticismo (1789-1833)’, PhD diss. (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2017), 139-66.

³ Adolfo Salazar, ‘Música, instrumentos y danzas en las obras de Cervantes’, *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 2/2 (1948), 118-73. See also Alberto del Campo Tejedor and Rafael Cáceres Feria, ‘Tocar a lo barbero. La guitarra, la música popular y el barbero en el siglo XVII’, *BLO* 3 (2013), 9-47.

and between their legs a chess set with the pieces of a game of draughts, and when he went with that natural eagerness to play, the guitar fled from him, and when he returned down to feed a piece, the chess set was buried, and this was his grief. I got out from there laughing.⁴

In a similar vein, when speaking of the damage that the popularity of the guitar was causing to vihuela music, Sebastián de Covarrubias, in his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (1611), stated that ‘now the guitar is nothing more than a cowbell, so easy to play, especially when strumming, that there is no horseboy who is not a guitar player’.⁵ Paradoxically, however, some of the most important personalities of the Spanish aristocracy, particularly women, became as passionate about this instrument as they had been in the past about the vihuela as the repertoire for the guitar progressed in quality.⁶ Among them we can highlight the two very important Spanish figures, Marie Louise of Orléans (1662-1689), queen of Spain between 1679 and 1689, and Maria Luisa Gabriella of Savoy (1688-1714), queen between 1701 and the year of her death.

The first guitar methods

One of the earliest surviving sources of five-course guitar music in Spain is a simple method for this instrument by the Catalan-born physician Joan Carles Amat (c1572-1642),⁷ an amateur guitarist who must have begun to study music at a very early age, since, according to Fray Leonardo San Martín, at the age of seven he ‘played and sang with a beautiful air’.⁸ Amat moved to Valencia, where he studied medicine and graduated in 1595. Amat published a treatise related to his profession entitled *Fructus Medicinae*, as well as *Quatrecentos aforismes catalans*, a work that contained a multitude of sayings and phrases,

⁴ ‘Pasé allá y vi (¡qué cosa tan admirable y qué justa pena!) Los barberos atados y las manos sueltas, y sobre la cabeza una guitarra, y entre las piernas un ajedrez con las piezas de juego de damas, y cuando iba con aquella ansia natural de pasacalles a tañer, la guitarra se le huía, y cuando volvía abajo a dar de comer a una pieza, se le sepultaba el ajedrez y esta era su pena. No entendí salir de allí de risa’, Francisco de Quevedo, *Sueños y discursos de verdades descubridoras de abusos vicios y engaños en todos los oficios y estados del mundo* (Barcelona: Estevan Liberos, 1627 [1st ed. 1608]), 43.

⁵ ‘ahora la guitarra no es más que un cencerro, tan fácil de tañer, especialmente en lo rasgado, que no hay mozo de caballos que no sea músico de guitarra’, Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (Madrid, 1611), 74. On the use of the guitar in the lower classes, see Salazar, ‘Música, instrumentos y danzas’.

⁶ Richard Pinnell, ‘Women and the Guitar in Spain’s Upper Classes’, *Anuario Musical* 53 (2009), 165-89.

⁷ For an account of the bibliography on Joan Carles Amat see Craig H. Russell and Monica Hall, ‘Amat, Joan Carles’, *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 6 Dec. 2022).

⁸ ‘tocaba y cantaba con lindo aire’, Leonardo San Martín, ‘Carta del Padre Maestro Fray Leonardo de San Martín al autor’, in Joan Carles Amat, *Guitarra española de cinco órdenes* (Barcelona: Lorenço Dèu, 1639), not paginated.

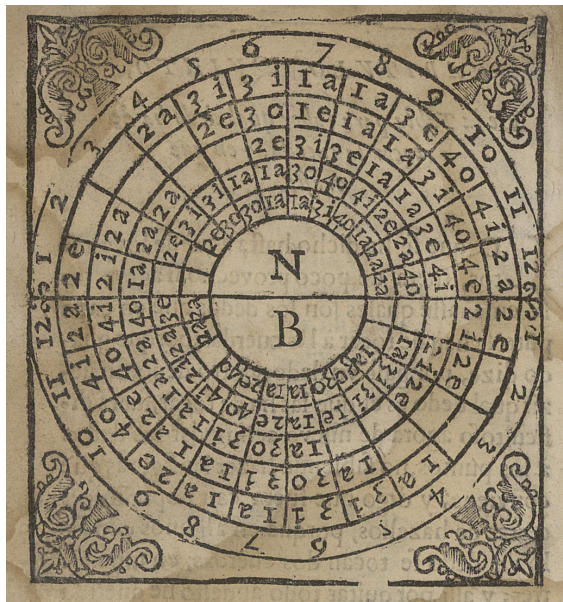


Illustration 1.1. Example of the Catalan *cifra* of the ‘Tabla para saber cual dedo ha de tocar la cuerda y en qué traste’ (Table to know which finger has to play in which string and fret), in Joan Carles Amat, *Guitarra española de cinco órdenes* (Gerona: Joseph Brò, 1761-1766), 16.

Biblioteca Nacional de España, M.FOLL/422/11 (Reproduced by permission).

although other works have also been erroneously attributed to him. His treatise *Guitarra española de cinco órdenes* was published in 1596 in Barcelona, of which no copy has survived, with later reprints in Girona, Lérida, Barcelona and Valencia.⁹ The book is divided into two parts, the first written in Spanish with nine chapters discussing the strings and frets of the guitar, the way to tune it, the definition and variety of different chords, as well as the guitar’s role in the accompaniment of the singing. The second part is written in Catalan and occupies five short chapters. In his short method Amat uses what is known today as the Catalan *cifra*, a form of alphabet which – unlike the Italian version that uses letters – employs numbers to refer to chords by indicating the name of the chord followed by a letter defining whether the chord is major (N) or minor (B) (Illustration 1.1).¹⁰

⁹ The first one that has been located was published in Girona in 1626 and is in the Newberry Library (Chicago, USA) under catalogue number V737.028. On this method see Monica Hall, ‘The “Guitarra Española” of Joan Carles Amat’, *Early Music* 6/3 (1978), 362-73. See also the introduction by the same author to the facsimile edition published by Chanterelle in 1980 of the copy in the Biblioteca Nacional de España published by Joseph Bró in Gerona between 1761 and 1766.

¹⁰ Monica Hall and June Yakeley, ‘El estilo castellano y el estilo catalan: An Introduction to Spanish Guitar Chord Notation’, *Journal of the Lute Society* 35 (1995), 28-61.

**LOS PUNTOS O AQUERDOS.
DE LA GUITARRA.**

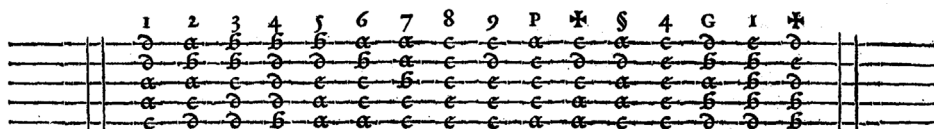


Illustration 1.2. Example of Castilian *cifra* in Luis de Briceño, *Método muy facilísimo para aprender a tañer la guitarra a lo español* (Paris: Ballard, 1626), not paginated. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, RES VM8 U-1 (Reproduced by permission).

Another author of great importance in the development of the guitar was Luis de Briceño (fl. 1619-1630),¹¹ one of the first figures to introduce the five-course guitar in France, specifically in Paris.¹² He is believed to have come from Galicia, although little biographical information is known about him. Briceño was associated with courtly circles in France and Spain and is often referred as a significant figure of the guitar at the time. His *Método muy facilísimo para aprender a tañer la guitarra a lo español* (Very easy method for learning to play the guitar in the Spanish style) was published in Paris in 1626, and contained a series of romances and seguidillas, together with sixty different lessons to learn the instrument.¹³ Briceño uses the Spanish alphabet composed of sixteen chords indicated by numbers, letters and symbols (Illustration 1.2). The book contains vocal pieces, in which the lyrics of the songs are indicated beneath the chords in alphabet, as well as instrumental pieces including dances such as *españoletas*, *villanos*, *folias*, *chaconas*, *gallardas*, *seguidillas* or the dance of the axes.

Although of Portuguese origin, Nicolao Doizi de Velasco (c1590-c1659),¹⁴ deserves to be mentioned in this chapter since he published his *Nuevo modo de cifra para tañer la guitarra* (Naples, 1640) in what was then Spanish territory. In his prologue dedicated to Margaret of Austria, Velasco states that the intentions of his book are, on the one hand, to demonstrate that the guitar is not an imperfect instrument, pointing out that such imperfection ‘is not born of it, but of those who do not know the perfection it has’, and on the

¹¹ On this author see Barton Hudson and Monica Hall, ‘Briceño [Brizeño], Luis de.’, *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 6 Dec. 2022).

¹² James Tyler, ‘The Spanish Guitar (c.1600-c.1750)’, in James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and Its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 100.

¹³ On this method see José Castro Escudero, ‘La méthode pour la guitare de Luis Briceño’, *Revue de Musicologie* 51 (1965), 131-44.

¹⁴ On this figure see Robert Stevenson and Monica Hall, ‘Doizi de Velasco, Nicolás’, *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 18 Dec. 2022).

other, ‘to make a new mode of cipher’.¹⁵ Later, in an attempt to establish a brief history of the guitar, he writes:

The [news] that I have been able to find is that it is a very old instrument in Spain. Although it has only four strings (I say four, at a different point each one, as they are not counted in these, those that are doubled, in unison, or in octave) and that Espinel (whom I met in Madrid) added the fifth, which we name prima, and for these reasons they call it justly in Italy, the Spanish guitar.¹⁶

The statement of Velasco attributing the addition of the fifth string of the guitar to Vicente Espinel (1550-1624) is certainly erroneous, bearing in mind that as early as 1555, Juan Bermudo pointed out the existence of this type of guitar.¹⁷ Velasco claimed that the guitar was considered an ‘imperfect’ instrument because it could not cover all the chords in the twelve keys (due to its limited number of courses), although it is difficult to affirm that he brought the guitar out of its supposed imperfection as he claimed.

Two lesser-known authors at the end of the seventeenth century

A frequently cited author in the history of the baroque guitar in Spain is Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz (pre.1626-post.1677),¹⁸ who describes himself as an amateur musician. Ribayaz began his musical studies in the service of the Count of Lemos, with whom he apparently travelled to Peru around 1677. That same year his *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* was published in Madrid, a work that according to James Tyler ‘consists mainly of guitar music by Sanz plagiarized and simplified by Ruiz de Ribayaz to suit the tuning and stringing arrangement he favoured’.¹⁹ Certainly the musical works contained in his treatise, as Ribayaz himself points out, belong to

¹⁵ ‘no nace della, más de aquellos que no conocen la perfección que tiene [...] hacer un nuevo modo de cifra’, Nicolao Doizi de Velasco, *Nuevo modo de cifra para tañer la guitarra* (Naples, 1640), no page number. The new cipher system to which Velasco refers is formulated in a complex system of letters and numbers that does not seem to have been used by other guitarists.

¹⁶ ‘La [noticia] que he podido hallar, es ser instrume[n]to, muy antiguo en España. Si bie[n] solo de quatro cuerdas (digo quatro, en diferente punto cada una, pues no se entienden en estas, las que se duplican, en uni sonus, o en octaua) y que Espinel (a quien yo conoci en Madrid) le acrecentò la quinta, a que llamamos prima, y por estas razones la llama[n] justamente en Italia, Guitarra española’, Doizi de Velasco, *Nuevo modo de cifra*, 2.

¹⁷ On this author see Juan Carlos Alaya Ruíz, ‘Vicente Espinel: Evidencias de una obra musical hoy desconocida’, *Revista del Conservatorio Superior de Música de Málaga* 4 (2006), 5-23.

¹⁸ Robert Strizich and Craig H. Russell, ‘Ruiz de Ribayaz, Lucas’, *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 18 Dec. 2022). See also the entry on this author in the Real Academia de la Historia, <https://dbe.rah.es> (Accessed 17 Dec. 2022).

¹⁹ James Tyler, ‘Review of Francisco Guerau’s *Guitar Music* Edited by Thomas Schmitt’, *Early Music* 30/2 (2002), 296.

other authors, mainly composers such as the organist Andrés Lorente (1624-1703), the organist and violinist Juan Bautista del Vado y Gómez de la Cruz (1625-1691) and the guitarist Gaspar Sanz, an author we will see below. *Luz y norte musical* is divided into two parts, the first of which includes music in the *rasgueado* style, and the second in the *punteado* style. The author uses the Castilian alphabet, and includes dances such as *folías*, *zarabandas*, *jácaras*, *pavanas*, *gallardas* and a long etcetera.

Another important composer at the end of the century was the Mallorcan guitarist Francisco Guerau (1649-1722).²⁰ When he was only ten years old, in 1659, Guerau entered the school of singing boys of the Royal Chapel of Madrid where he would later obtain a position as a ‘cantor’ in 1669, and later still as a presbyter, chamber musician and master of singing boys. He seems to have spent most of his life in Madrid, and in 1694 he published there his book for guitar entitled *Poema harmónico*. He dedicated this book to Charles II, the Spanish king known by the nickname of ‘the bewitched’, in whose service he spent more than thirty-five years. Santiago de Murcia himself, a figure we will deal with later, refers to the book of Guerau in the following terms:

Nor do I stop to explain the graces, which are the salt of what is played, (although they are figurative), persuaded that there will be no aficionado who has not seen the very singular book, which Don Francisco Garaú (de Tañidos de España, y Pasacalles primorosos) in which he puts at the beginning all the explanation with notable light and knowledge for those who want to handle this instrument, with all the ornaments that can fit in the last dexterity.²¹

Poema Harmónico, a work written entirely in *punteado* style, is without doubt one of the highest quality publications for guitar in Spain.²² This work contains a prologue that provides explanations about performing the pieces included in the book, indications of the meaning of the different signs and figures in the tablature, the measure of the notes or proportion, indications about the technique of both hands, the interpretation of glosses, as well as

²⁰ On this author see Gerardo Arriaga, ‘Francisco y Gabriel Guerau, músicos mallorquines’, *Revista de Musicología* 7/2 (1984), 253-99. See also Joan Parets i Serra, ‘Guerau [Garau Fe-menial], Francisco’, *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 2 Dec. 2022).

²¹ ‘Tampoco me detengo en explicar las gracias, que hay en executar, la cuales son la sal de lo que se tañe, (aunque vãn figuradas) persuadido, a que no avrà Aficionado, que no aya visto el Libro tan singular, que diò à la estampa Don Francisco Garaú (de Tañidos de España, y Pasacalles primorosos) en el qual pone al principio toda la explicacion con notable luz, y conocimiento para el que quisiere manejar este instrumento, con todas las feligranas, que pueden caber en la última destreza’, Santiago de Murcia, *Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra* ([Madrid], 1714), prologue.

²² This book was published in a facsimile edition by Brian Jeffery (London: Tecla, 1977) and later edited in staff notation by Thomas Schmitt (Madrid: Alpuerto, 2000).

different types of ornaments (*extrasinos*, trills, mordents or vibrato).²³ Then, in the first part, there are a series of variations (*diferencias*) on passacaglia in various keys, while the second part provides variations on different dances such as *jácaras*, *pavanas*, *gallardas*, *marizápalos*, *canarios*, *españoletas*, *folias* or *marionas*.

The essence of the Spanish baroque guitar

Without a doubt, the guitarist Gaspar Sanz (1640-1710),²⁴ from Calanda (Teruel) is the best known of the Spanish composers for guitar of the Baroque period in Spain. Sanz was trained in his native country and later in Naples, studying with Cristóforo Carisani (master of the Royal Chapel of Naples), Lelio Colista, Orazio Benevoli and Pietro Andrea Ziani. He also studied theology and became a bachelor of music in Salamanca. In 1674 he published in Zaragoza *Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española*, a method where, according to the author, we can find ‘the first rudiments, until it is played with skill, with two ingenious labyrinths, a variety of sones and rasgueado and punteado dances, in the Spanish, Italian, French and English style’.²⁵ Gaspar Sanz’s book is undoubtedly the most important guitar book in Spain, and Sanz was influenced, as he himself indicates, by his contact with the best masters during his stay in Rome and Naples, where he became acquainted with the music of Foscarini, Pellegrini, Granata and Corbetta.

Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española is divided into three volumes, all of them published in Zaragoza. The first contains pieces in *rasgueado* style of the main dances of the time such as *gallardas*, *villanos*, *jácaras*, *pasacalles*, *españoleta*, *folias*, *pavanas*, *rugero*, *paradetas* or *zarabandas*.²⁶ In addition, these also appear in *punteado* style and in mixed style. The first volume also provides an explanation of *basso continuo* for the guitar. The second volume, published in 1675, also contains dances in *punteado* style, repeating the dances of the first book and including some passacaglia. Finally, the third volume, published in 1697, presents the most complex repertoire with passacaglias in various keys in *punteado* style, using strummed chords on some occasions.

²³ On the ornamentation on the Spanish baroque guitar see Thomas Schmitt, ‘Sobre la ornamentación en el repertorio para guitarra barroca en España (1600-1750)’, *Revista de Musicología* 15/1 (1992), 107-38.

²⁴ An approach to the life and bibliography of this author can be found at Robert Strizich and Richard Pinnell, ‘Sanz, Gaspar’, *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 2 Dec. 2022).

²⁵ ‘los primeros rudimentos, hasta tañerla con destreza, con dos laberintos ingeniosos, variedad de sones y danzas de rasgueado y punteado, al estilo español, italiano, francés e inglés’, Gaspar Sanz, *Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española* (Zaragoza, 1674), title page.

²⁶ An analysis of the music of this author can be found in Andrés Sánchez Serrano, ‘El pasacalle en la Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española” de Gaspar Sanz (1640-ca. 1710)’, *Revista de Musicología* 38/1 (2015), 326-31.



Illustration 1.3. 'Canarios', in Gaspar Sanz, *Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española* (Zaragoza: Diego Dormer, 1697), 8. Biblioteca Nacional de España, M/1884 (Reproduced by permission).

Another of the most important guitarists of the Baroque period in Spain is Antonio de Santa Cruz (fl.1700) of whose life we know practically nothing.²⁷ His *Libro donde se veran pazacalles de los ocho tonos i de los trasportados*, which appeared in c1700, was written for 'Biguela hordinaria' (ordinary vihuela), a term the author used to refer to the guitar to differentiate it from the 'vihuela de mano' (hand vihuela). The book is an undated manuscript of thirty-eight pages preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid, encompassing almost thirty minor works. It contains a brief explanation 'Del tañer con limpieza' (of performing with precision), the rules of the Italian alphabet, and the passacaglia are written in *punteado* style, as well as dances, as in the other treatises for guitar already mentioned such as *canarios*, *jácaras*, *españoletas* or *gallardas*. In the second part we find *pazacalles* on different tones, followed by *fantasias*.

Finally, the figure of Santiago de Murcia (1673-1739),²⁸ although to a lesser extent than that of Sanz, is well known within the sphere of the baroque

²⁷ Craig H. Russell, 'Santa Cruz, Antonio de', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 28 Nov. 2022).

²⁸ On the life of this composer see Alejandro Vera, 'Santiago de Murcia (1673-1739): New Contributions on His Life and Work', *Early Music* 36/4 (2008), 597-608.

guitar and is considered by some to be ‘possibly the most brilliant of all Spanish guitarists’.²⁹ Born in Madrid, from a humble family, Murcia appears as a musician in the household of Queen María Luisa de Saboya as her guitar master. He produced three significant books on the guitar, *Resumen de acompañar la parte con guitarra* (1714), *Cifras selectas para guitarra* (1722)³⁰ and *Pasacalles y obras para guitarra* (1732).³¹ Published in Madrid, *Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra* is divided into two parts. It could be said that the first part is a treatise on *basso continuo* for baroque guitar, while the second offers diverse pieces and different dances, including three suites. As its name suggests, *Pasacalles y obras para guitarra* contains *passacalles* and other compositions of great difficulty in all natural and accidental tones. The first part is written in mixed style and makes use of the Italian alphabet. In the second part we find suites, generally composed of a prelude and an allegro; combined with dances taken from other composers such as Campion, Le Cocq or De Visée. The third book corresponds to the ‘Saldívar Codex N° 4’, a manuscript discovered in Mexico by the musicologist Gabriel Saldívar (1909-1980). In this book Santiago de Murcia presents the three different contemporary styles: Italian, French and Spanish. The dances included are very varied and include: *jácaras*, *tarantelas*, *folias*, *marionas*, *españolitas*, *villanos*, *canarios*, *marizápalos*, *gaitas*, *cumbees*, *zarambeques*, *fandangos* and *jotas*, among others. Towards the end, *allemandas* and *menuets* are also included. The book does not contain a prologue, but it does contain references to the Italian alphabet and some formulas for the construction of *passacaglia* in strumming style that appear throughout.

Conclusions

In Spain, the guitar played the role of both a popular and an erudite instrument, a double vision from which it has never been detached. A number of factors contributed decisively to the dissemination of music for this instrument outside the borders of this country: the high quality of the works by authors who composed for the guitar in Spain, the use of popular themes and particularly the strumming style so well known in other parts of Europe that it has become known as ‘a la española’ in various sources. It is not in vain that many dictionaries referred to this instrument as ‘Spanish guitar’, an adjective that still persists today.

²⁹ Tyler, ‘The Spanish Guitar’, 158.

³⁰ On this book see Alejandro Vera and Rachel Conning, ‘Santiago de Murcia’s *Cifras Selectas de Guitarra* (1722): A New Source for the Baroque Guitar’, *Early Music* 35/2 (2007), 251-69.

³¹ A manuscript discovered in Leon (Guanajuato) in 1943 by Gabriel Saldívar (1909-1980) known as ‘Codex Saldívar n° 4’ contains music supposedly from Murcia. (Vera and Conning, ‘Santiago de Murcia’s *Cifras Selectas*’, 251-52).

Chapter 2

SOME CONTRIBUTIONS OF PORTUGAL TO THE IBERIAN AESTHETICS

João Durão Machado

When discussing the topic of Iberian music outside the academic realm, there is a tendency to make the Spanish and the Iberian cultural identities almost entirely overlap. This is even more true if the discussion directs its focus to the guitar literature, as this instrument is still widely recognised today as an *ex libris* of Spain, mainly through its close association with Spanish folklore and *flamenco* music. It is undisputed that, within the context of the Iberian Peninsula in the Renaissance and the Baroque period, Spain held the lion's share of contributions to the repertoire of art music for the guitar. As so, and for reasons that will later be explained in this chapter, very little has been said and written about the music for the guitar composed by Portuguese musicians of the same period. However, the Portuguese baroque pieces for the guitar that have been recently brought to light undoubtedly deserve to be studied, edited, played and heard, in part for their intrinsic artistic and aesthetic value, but also for their cultural relevance for a better understanding of the time and place that produced them.

Historical context and cultural atmosphere

From the moment of its foundation as a sovereign and independent nation state, Portugal started to weave its own identity. This identity was closely intertwined with that of Spain, sometimes formed in opposition to it, while at other times by interfusing with elements of it. In the twelfth century, Castilla and León recognised the Kingdom of Portugal in the *Treaty of Zamora* (1143), with Pope Alexander III ratifying Afonso I as king and Portugal as a country, with the right to conquer lands from the Moors granted later in 1179. The *Reconquista* ended nearly one hundred years later, under Afonso III, with the last Muslim communities removed from Portuguese soil in 1272. By this time, Portugal had finally established its boundaries, which helped establish grounds for Portuguese expansion. Thus, in 1415, under King John I, Portugal conquered Ceuta (North Africa) from the Moors and began to move further south through the African west coast. Shortly after Christopher Columbus discovered the New World of the Americas in 1492, the *Treaty of Tordesillas* was signed between Portugal and Spain (1494), dividing the colonisable world

into two halves. After the discovery of Brazil by Pedro Álvares Cabral in 1500, Portugal began to be widely recognised as one of the two most powerful nations of the world, alongside with Spain. However, with the succession crisis that followed the death of King Sebastian I in the battlefield of Alcácer Quibir in Morocco (1578), the two peninsular kingdoms merged under the same crown, with Philip II of Spain being acclaimed as King Philip I of Portugal, and Portugal losing its *de facto* independence to Spain in 1580. Spanish rule lasted for sixty years, until in 1640 Portugal regained its independence, with the acclamation of King John IV. The end of the subsequent Restoration War (1668), with Spain recognising Portuguese possessions overseas, together with the discovery of gold in Brazil (1697), granted a period of peace and prosperity in Portugal that saw the flourishing of an atmosphere of prolific cultural and artistic creation. This golden era would come to a sudden and violent close with the Great Earthquake of Portugal in 1755, which destroyed numerous villages and towns in the south of the country, including the capital, Lisbon.

The social significance of the guitar in the Iberian Peninsula

In order to fully understand the context in which the Portuguese repertoire for the guitar from the Baroque period was formed, apart from being acquainted with the significant historical facts previously mentioned, two other considerations are important. On one hand, one should consider the cultural legacy inherited from the Renaissance. On the other, the instrument should be regarded as a bridge between opposing realms, namely the upper and lower social classes, sacred and profane forms of expression, and art and popular music.

From the early sixteenth century, the *vihuela de mano* (literally hand-violin) began to be established as a peninsular instrument, and was regarded as playing an important role in the education of young noblemen.¹ This instrument was much more popular than the lute in these lands, perhaps due to the fact that the latter had strong Moorish connotations – the Portuguese word for lute being *alaúde*, from the arabic *‘ūd* – the Moors having been expelled from the Peninsula in 1492. This popularity, however, was not only confined to the upper social classes, such as the nobility and the clergy, but was also a reality amongst common people and the instrument was often associated with bohemianism. One such example can be found in this extract from a document from the Lisbon Court in 1459:

¹ On this instrument see Victor Coelho, *Performance on Lute, Guitar and Vihuela* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); John Griffiths, *Tañer vihuela según Juan Bermudo* (Zaragoza: Excelentísima Diputación de Zaragoza, 2003); John Griffiths, ‘At Court and at Home with the Vihuela de Mano’, *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 22 (1989), 1-27; John M. Ward, ‘The “Vihuela de mano” and Its Music, 1536-1576’, PhD diss. (New York University, 1953).

Twenty men gather together and bring a viola. Three or four of them play it and sing, and the others climb the walls of the houses and steal the men's belongings. As for some wives, mothers and maids of ill repute who like to hear the viola playing, these men go indoors, sleep with them and take away something when leaving.²

It is well known that King Dom Afonso V of Portugal (1432-1481) 'ordered that anyone caught in the streets with a *viola* from 9 p.m. to dawn, provided that there was no feast or wedding, should be arrested and have his *viola*, guns and clothing confiscated'.³ Giving an account of the guitar as the favoured plucked string instrument of both aristocrats and the lower classes, Miguel de Cervantes y Saavedra (1547-1616) even referred to it as 'the easiest and less expensive of the instruments',⁴ features that certainly contributed to its widespread use. It was probably due to this double character of being both a noble and a popular instrument that many renaissance and baroque works for the guitar were based upon popular songs.

As for the association of the guitar and guitar-like instruments with sacred versus profane music in Portugal, sources are somewhat contradictory. Many authors who wrote works for the guitar in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were clergymen or in some way connected to the Church, and many continued the practice of transcribing polyphonic sacred pieces for guitar initiated in Spain during the sixteenth century with its ancestor, the *vihuela de mano*. In contrast, a regulation of 1605 limited the playing of *bandurra*⁵ to some specific places, including forbidding it inside monasteries.⁶ This goes to show that the guitar must have also been regarded with some suspicion as far as its suitability for playing sacred music was concerned. This was

² 'Ajuntãse dez e dez homẽs E leuom hua viola E tres e quatro estam tamgendo E cantando E os outros Entom escallam as cassas E Roubã os homẽs de suas fazemdas, E outros que tem mãas molheres E mãas filhas ou criadas como ouuem tanger a viola vamlhes desfechar as portas e dormem com ellas E quando se espedem leuom alguua coussa', Rogério Budasz, 'The Five Course Guitar (*Viola*) in Portugal and Brazil in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', PhD diss. (University of South California, 2001), 10.

³ Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro, As "*Guitarras de Alcácer*" e a "*Guitarra Portuguesa*" (Lisbon: Bertrand, 1936), 25-26, in Budasz, 'The Five Course Guitar', 10.

⁴ Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Complete Works*, vol. 2, *Novelas ejemplares* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1975), 161.

⁵ An instrument 'characterized by its round soundhole, profuse ornamentation and a pair of additional sympathetic strings, [that] was popular in the district of Castelo-Branco', Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco and Manuel Carlos de Brito, 'Portugal, Republic of', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 28 Dec. 2022). James Tyler refers to this instrument as a 'five-course treble range instrument related to the guitar', James Tyler, 'The Spanish Guitar (c.1600-c.1750)', in James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and Its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 157.

⁶ *Autos do Defintorio [...] de 605*, f. 20v, in Ernesto Gonçalves de Pinho, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra, Centro de actividade musical nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Gulbenkian, 1981), 78-79 and 148-49.

probably linked to the fact that it was used in many non-religious occasions and contexts, such as folklore or the mundanities of court life.

The sources

The sources of Portuguese baroque music for guitar are scarce and remained almost unheard of until the last decades of the twentieth century. The three main sources now available for study consist of collections of both original Portuguese pieces and transcriptions of Spanish, French and Italian music.

The first source is a manuscript held at the Music Service of Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, a set of ninety-seven folios (310 x 220 mm) containing music for *viola*, *bandurra* and harpsichord. It is written in Italian tablature and includes works by Francesco Corbetta, Robert de Visée, and Gaspar Sanz, alongside an interesting duo for *violas*.

The second source, entitled *O Livro do Conde de Redondo* (The Guitar Book of the Count Redondo), was discovered in 1984 by the *Instituto Português do Património Cultural* (Portuguese Institute of Cultural Heritage). It consists of a set of fifty-seven folios (270 x 160 mm), dating from between 1710 and 1730 that, after being edited in 1987,⁷ have been kept in the National Library of Lisbon. Comprising mainly marches and minuets written in Italian and mixed tablature, this set also includes works with African and Brazilian influences, such as *Camzinho de Sofalla* (Sofala being a region of what is now Mozambique) or *Cumbe*. These influences were a consequence of the habit of Portuguese sailors of carrying guitars in their ships to their overseas possessions in America, Asia and Africa.

The third source, being the first manuscript to be assembled, is a collection of works now kept at the General Library of Coimbra University (Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra) under the catalogue number M. M. 97. It is a set of 137 folios (310 x 210 mm) containing 330 works for guitar, *machinho*, five-course *bandurra*, theorbo and *rabeca* (violin), compiled by Joseph Carneiro Tavares Lamacense. This collection is the largest manuscript of its kind in the whole Iberian Peninsula, albeit several of the pieces contained in it appear in other Spanish and Italian compilations from the same period. Written in Italian *punteado*-style tablature, with only sparse indications of strummed chords, it opens with thirty-three *Fantésias* and goes on with variations on Spanish dances, including sets of variations on presumably Portuguese popular grounds (such as *Magana*, *Maricota* and *Marinheira*) and pieces connected to the New World. Its folios were all handwritten, except for the first twenty-two and are in a generally good condition.

⁷ João Manuel Borges de Azevedo, *Uma tablatura para guitarra barroca: O Livro do Conde de Redondo* (Lisbon: Instituto Português do Património Cultural, 1987).



Illustration 2.1. Excerpt from 'Fantasia 1.º ton de Monteyro', in M. M. 97, title page, fol. 1, recto. Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra (Reproduced by permission).

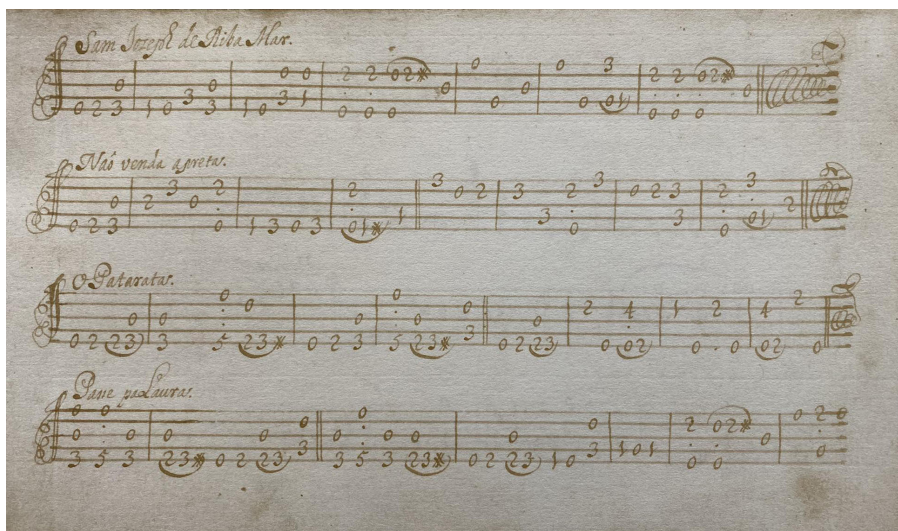


Illustration 2.2. Several short pieces in O Livro do Conde de Redondo, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (Reproduced by permission).

Notation

All the pieces contained in these manuscripts are written in *cifra* (a Portuguese and Spanish word meaning ‘number’), a notation system inherited from the sixteenth century that, rather than indicating the notes or sounds to be played, gave a graphic representation of the way to produce them by means of lines, letters and numbers. The Italian tablature, in particular, consisted of five lines representing the strings, with numbers indicating the frets on which those strings should be pressed (the letters *x*, *y*, *d* and *T* corresponding to the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th frets, respectively). There were numerous indications of ornaments and types of articulation (trills, *apogiature*, slurs, arpeggios, *tenuto*, *rasgueado*), and even of fingering (e.g., *barrées* were signaled by numbers written across multiple lines), but very few markings regarding tempo or metre. Vertical single lines indicate motives, phrases or sections, double lines indicate a repetition, and triple lines signal the end of a piece. Letters were also used for indicating a certain chord which, combined with the lines and numbers described above, gave body to what is called a mixed tablature. Unfortunately, these documents are largely devoid of rhythmic signs, and the rhythms are not made explicit but rather suggested by vertical lines, special writing, form, harmonic rhythm and stylistic analysis.

The instruments

By the mid-seventeenth century, the word ‘vihuela’ no longer referred to the lute-like instrument of the Renaissance, but to the guitar. In Portugal, in the three manuscripts mentioned above, the term most commonly used is ‘viola’ (the Portuguese word for the five-course guitar), although the word ‘guitarra’ is also present in some pieces. This instrument had an eight-shaped body and a string length of 63 or 65 cm, with a neck of at least thirteen frets.⁸ Its five double strings were tuned according to a pattern of mainly perfect fourths (a-d’-g’-b’-e’’) in which the fourth and the fifth strings could be doubled by a higher octave.⁹ According to instructions in the M. M. 97 manuscript, some different *scordature* were also possible.

Although the majority of the pieces contained in the three manuscripts referred to above were written for the guitar, other instruments of the same family of plucked string instruments were provided with some repertoire. Amongst these was the theorbo, also known as *arqui-alaúde* (arch-lute). This instrument, like the lute, had a vaulted back sound box, but its neck was much longer. Usually with fourteen courses (although this number could be as high as nineteen), most of them single, the theorbo had a very broad range,

⁸ João Duarte Tavares, ‘Ensaio sobre a música para guitarra barroca em Portugal (1640-1740)’, PhD diss. (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2004), 59-60.

⁹ On the tuning of the baroque guitar see Monica Hall, *Baroque Guitar Stringing: A Survey of the Evidence* (Guildford: Lute Society, 2003); See also Tyler, ‘The Spanish Guitar’.

from which the lower notes stood out. Not very widespread in Portugal, it was more used and popular in Spain, where professional musicians deployed it extensively for the *continuo*, and also, although less frequently, for solo repertoire.

Another instrument mentioned in these manuscripts is the *machinho*. This was a smaller four-course (or even five-course) guitar, probably the descendent of the sixteenth century four-course guitar.¹⁰ The M. M. 97 manuscript refers to and illustrates a way of tuning a guitar with a *machinho* and includes a tuning table for a five-course *machinho* entitled ‘como se tempera a viola com machinho’ (how to tune a *viola* with the *machinho*),¹¹ with the latter sounding a second or a ninth higher than the former. Given that these two instruments used the same tuning interval pattern (based upon perfect fourths), they could share part of their repertoires. This was also the case with the *bandurra*, another treble-range instrument related to the guitar, with five double strings and a similar tuning (c#'-f#'-b'-e''-a'').

The music and its forms

The original pieces contained in the three manuscripts present themselves in a considerable variety of forms, some being rather flexible and improvisatory while others follow pre-existing melodies, harmonic patterns or rhythms.

Generally accepted as the most highly regarded form of art music of its time in the Iberian Peninsula, the *Rojão* can be defined as ‘a Portuguese prelude from the eighteenth century’.¹² Written almost exclusively for the baroque guitar in Spanish or Italian style, *rojão* has a semi-improvisatory character, consisting of a set of variations on presumably Portuguese popular melodies. The most common metre for a *rojão* was probably ternary. This assumption, together with harmonic analysis, leads us to conclude that these pieces were cycles or four-measure variations, always following the same harmonic pattern (the most common being i [VII] - iv [i] - V [i] :| |). Due to this structure of a succession of variations on a harmonic bass, to a certain extent, the *rojão* resembled the *passacalla* and was also technically demanding for instrumentalists, partly because of its contrapuntal writing.

An even more improvisatory form was the *Fantasia*, which could assume a great variety of guises (e.g., a prelude, a fugue, a *toccata*, *diferencias* or a dance). Deploying a myriad of techniques, such as imitation, scales or *sesquiáltera*,

¹⁰ ‘The machinho, later known as machete, was a guitar-like instrument of dimensions approximating those of the modern ukulele’, Rogério Budasz, ‘Black Guitar-Players and Early African-Iberian Music in Portugal and Brazil’, *Early Music* 35/1 (2007), 20. See also John King, ‘A Few Words about the Madeiran “Machete”’, *The Galpin Society Journal* 58 (2005), 83-88, 217-19.

¹¹ Budasz, ‘The Five Course Guitar’, 31.

¹² Teresa Picado, ‘Rojão, Um prelúdio português no século XVIII’, PhD diss. (University of Coimbra, 2004), 1.

this free form tended to be quite harmonically sophisticated – the *fantasia de falsas* treated dissonance with sheer creativity and as an expressive resource, consequently producing some unusual chord progressions.

Corresponding to the Castellan *marizápalos*, the simpler and shorter *marisápolas* was based on a very popular song and *baile* (popular dance) that served as a melodic-harmonic progression for successive variations. Its two repeated sections (the first with eight measures and the second with ten) developed harmonically following the cycle of fifths, with phrygian cadences to the dominant at the end of each section preparing the beginning of the next. Their austere atmosphere, reinforced by a slow pace and heavy ornamentation, was close to that of the *espanholeta*, a slow ternary *dança* (noble dance) of three sections of eight measures each. Dating from the sixteenth century, this form could have been a predecessor of the *marisápolas*, as it was also based on a very similar melody and harmonic progression. The *espanholeta* evolved in the eighteenth century to become more often played than danced, assuming increasing importance as an instrumental form in its own right.

The Portuguese imperial colonies were another source of inspiration for writing innovative material for the guitar in the Baroque era. As already mentioned, sailors had the habit of carrying guitars or guitar-like instruments with them on their journeys overseas. This made it possible for them to bring back some original rhythms that would give their names to new forms, such as *Cubanco*, *Meya Dança*, *Cumbe*, *Arromba* (possibly a forerunner of the Rhumba¹³), or *Camzinho*.

The composers

Very little is known about the Portuguese composers whose works are amongst the pieces contained in these manuscripts. While in many cases, there is not even an indication of the author, some other compositions have merely a single surname. For example, the works assigned to a certain Marques were possibly composed by António Marques Lésbio (1639-1700), master of the Royal Chamber Musicians from 1668 onwards. The majority of the named authors are indicated in this way (Abreu, Barros, Gomes, Monteyro, Sylva). Nonetheless, some scores do have their author's full name (D. Diogo Doria, Joseph Ferreira Cordovil, Pepo Licete, Friar John). This circumstance may seem a little odd in the present day, but we should bear in mind that the issue of authorship was not as important in the Baroque era as it came to be regarded later in the nineteenth century. The composer as a creative, original and unique individual was a concept that only fully established itself with the Romantic artistic movement. The status of a musician from the seventeenth or the eighteenth century seems to have been something in between that of a craftsman and an artist. Tradition prevailed over innovation and the collective

¹³ Tyler, 'The Spanish Guitar', 156.

came ahead of the individual. This was a mindset according to which music transcended the person who created it, in the same manner as, so to speak, a given object and its function are considered far more important than the person who created it and whose name we rarely know.

Portuguese versus Iberian musical identity

Before trying to draw some conclusions about whether a Portuguese musical identity in the Baroque period distinct from that of Spain existed, it is very important to observe that the music from this period that survives today only did so by having been perpetuated in written supports. For this very reason, the sources we have today are almost exclusively samples of art music. The persons who had the intellectual and material means for perpetuating this music in a physical support were therefore members of the upper classes (namely the clergy and the aristocracy), which is to say from very small and exclusive networks. Bearing this in mind, we must also be aware of the strong bonds between Portugal and Spain, at the level of the highest social circles.

From a historical angle, the most important political fact was that Portugal lived under Spanish rule from 1580 to 1640, but even after the Portuguese regained their independence, the links between the two crowns did not cease to exist. To name some of the most noteworthy ones, King John IV of Portugal (1604-1656) married Spanish noble woman Luisa de Guzmán. In turn, King John V of Portugal (1689-1750) was the father of Bárbara, Queen of Spain, who would marry King Fernando VI of Spain. Also King Joseph I of Portugal (1714-1777) married Mariana Victoria of Spain, daughter of King Philip V.

Relevant figures

Since the Portuguese and the Spanish courts were strongly connected to one another, they shared many of the same musicians. The musical elites of both countries were thus closely linked and aware of each other's works, as is shown by the following examples: Luys de Milán (1500-1561) dedicated his *El Maestro* (Valencia, 1536) to King John III of Portugal (in this book, there are six Portuguese *villancicos*); Francisco Guerrero (1528-1599) dedicated his first book of masses (1566) to King Sebastian of Portugal; King Sebastian may have hosted Miguel de Fuenllana (c1500-1579) in his court;¹⁴ Alonso Mudarra (c1510-1580) transcribed a polyphonic work by the Portuguese Pedro Escobar (also known as Pedro do Porto) for *vihuela de mano*; Nicolao Doizi de Velasco (c1590-1659) was at the service of the King of Spain; Domenico Scarlatti (1685-1757) was head of the Royal Chapel in Lisbon (1719-1728) before moving to Madrid, following his pupil María Bárbara when she married King Fernando VI of Spain. Probably the most important Portuguese figure

¹⁴ Budasz, 'The Five Course Guitar', 50.

in the Baroque period, however, may have been Nicolao Doizi de Velasco (c1590-c1659) (see Chapter 1). Gaspar Sanz referred to him in these terms:

There was also a Portuguese, Nicolao Doici, chamber musician at the service of the Lord Infant Cardinal; he printed in Naples a book about the guitar, teaches very good rules to writing the *cadenzas*, brings an alphabet and ingenious circles [...]¹⁵

Conclusions

Based on the similar social and cultural context of the original pieces contained in the three previously mentioned Portuguese manuscripts and the works of Francisco Guerau or Gaspar Sanz, and furthermore, considering the shared forms, patterns and themes upon which variations or other types of pieces were written by composers of both Portugal and Spain, one is led to conclude that there is stronger evidence of a common Iberian musical language than of a distinctly Portuguese identity during the Baroque period. Despite recent academic interest, there is still much to be done in order to recover this music from the long oblivion into which it has been cast. Due to the almost complete lack of rhythmic indications in the tablatures, this is a highly demanding task, but it is certainly a very fascinating and rewarding one, too. Portuguese baroque music for guitar is surely worthy of new critical editions and of being thoroughly studied, listened to, and played.

¹⁵ ‘También hubo un portugues, Nicolao Doici, Musico de Camara del Señor Infante Cardenal; este imprimió en Napoles un Libro sobre la Guitarra, enseña muy buenas reglas para formar las clausulas, trae un Abecedario y circulos ingeniosos’, Gaspar Sanz, *Instruccion de musica sobre la guitarra española* (Zaragoza, 1674), 5.

Chapter 3

THE GREAT ITALIAN GUITARISTS

*Redi Lamçja**

The guitar grew increasingly fashionable in the Italian peninsula from the mid-sixteenth century. While the first printed music for this instrument dates from the 1550s, from the 1580s, the guitar became a frequent companion to poets and singers. It continued to gain popularity through the seventeenth century, undergoing a period of great splendour from the 1620s onwards. The number of compositions for guitar published by Italian composers (both in Italy and abroad) during this period is almost twice the number of compositions from other countries,¹ which clearly shows the esteem that this instrument had in Italian lands. Primarily used to accompany songs, increasing interest in the guitar as a serious instrument allowed a significant repertoire for solo guitar to flourish. In this chapter I will discuss the most important developments for the five-course guitar by Italian figures, highlighting those relating to guitar notation and focusing on the remarkable amount of music produced – either as printed music or in manuscripts – for this instrument in the Baroque period.

Italian precedents

During the second half of the sixteenth century the so-called four-course renaissance guitar (see Illustration 3.1) was in use in Italy, as in other countries in Europe (particularly Spain and France). The earliest Italian source for the study of this instrument is *Opera intitolata continua* (Venice, 1549) by Melchior de Barberiis, a priest from Padua, ‘a mecca for lutenists’,² who in the title page of this work presents himself as a great musician and lute player.³ Barberiis ‘composed or intabulated books 4, 5, 6, 9 and 10 in Girolamo

* I would like to thank Damián Martín-Gil for his advice and encouragement during the preparation of this article.

¹ James Tyler, ‘The Spanish Guitar (c.1600-c.1750)’, in James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and Its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 49.

² James Tyler, ‘The Guitar in the Sixteenth Century’, in Tyler and Sparks, *The Guitar and Its Music*, 30.

³ ‘Composta per il Reverendo M. pre Melchioro de Barberis Padoano, Musico, et suonator di Lauto eccellentissimo’, Melchior de Barberiis, *Opera intitolata continua* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1549), 1.

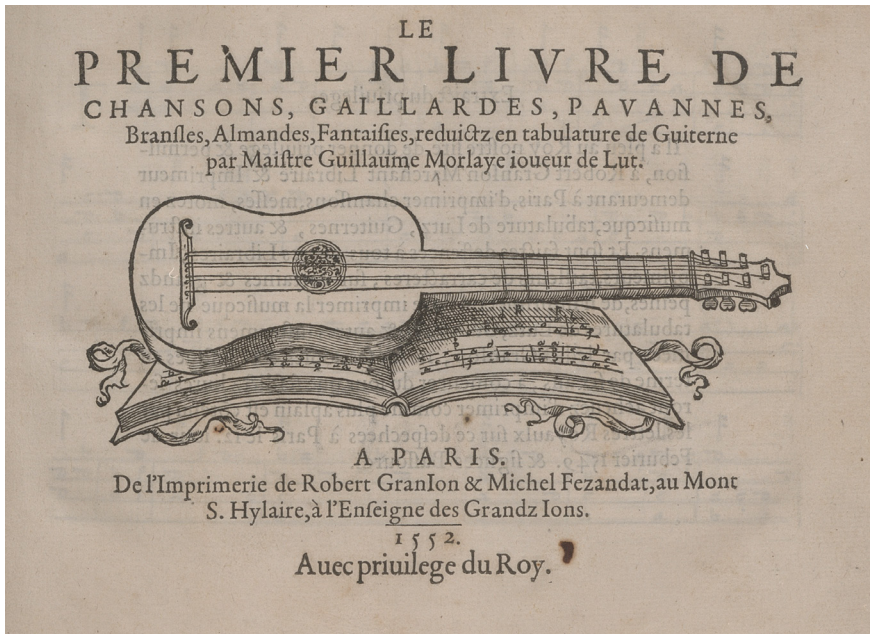


Illustration 3.1. Four-course guitar as illustrated in Guillaume Morlaye, *Le premier livre de chansons, gaillardes, pavannes, branles, almandes, fantaisies* (Paris, 1552), title page. Kantonsbibliothek Vadiana, St. Gallen, Sammlung der Ortsbürgergemeinde, VadSlg P 3050 (Reproduced by permission).

Scotto's ten volume series of lute tablatures (Venice, 1546-9), which also included tablatures by Francesco da Milano, Rotta, Giovanni Maria da Crema and Borrono'.⁴ *Opera Intitolata Contina*, the tenth book, contains music for lute in tablature, and at the end, four pieces for a four-course guitar that the author calls *Fantasia per sonar sopra la chita[r]ra da sette corde* (for a seven string guitar), that is to say, a guitar with four courses (three with double courses and one with a single string). Given the importance of Padua at that time, it is possible that some of Barberiis's lute students could have shown to him the four-course guitar, at the time used in France and Spain.⁵

A second early source is a manuscript preserved in the Brussels Bibliothèque du Conservatoire (MS Lit. XY no. 24135). Written over the span of three or four decades, it begins in the 1540s as a partbook for madrigals and motets, and develops until the 1570s, with the addition of some pieces for guitar written in Italian tablature. This manuscript is an interesting anthology of the most famous dances of the time and contains twenty pieces for guitar.⁶

⁴ Arthur J. Ness, 'Barberii, Melchior de', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 28 Jan. 2023).

⁵ This theory is proposed in Tyler, 'The Guitar in the Sixteenth Century', 30.

⁶ Tyler, 'The Guitar in the Sixteenth Century', 31.

The guitar made an important appearance in one of the most significant events of the era: the wedding of the Grand Duke Ferdinando de' Medici and the French Princess Christine of Lorraine in Florence in 1589. For this important occasion, Girolamo Bargagli's comedy *La pellegrina* was performed, with six *intermedi* given in between the acts. The final *Intermedio*, composed by the artistic director of the event Emilio de' Cavalieri, was built in different sections, alternating between three singers and a choir. These three singers accompanied themselves with three instruments: a tambourine ('cembalino adornato di sonagli'), a 'chitarrina alla napoletana'⁷ and a 'chitarrina alla spagnuola'.⁸

The rise of the five-course guitar

When studying the rise of monody in Italy during the second half of the sixteenth century,⁹ the 'Florentine Camerata' (Camerata Fiorentina) is usually described as the cultural circle in which the most important musical figures of the time created the genre of Opera. Other, less commonly discussed factors leading to this music innovation, however, include the fact that the basis for the birth of monody came from the many singers and composers working in Florence that were trained in the south of Italy.¹⁰ By the 1520s, some vocal types of music created in Rome and Naples were becoming increasingly popular, including the *napolitana*, *canzone alla napoletana*, *villanesca*, *villanella* and *villotta*. These genres were usually written for three or four voices, but we also find examples of solo songs with instrumental accompaniment. It is, however, difficult to estimate the role of the guitar at this point. In the case of the lute, a much more fashionable instrument at that time, we can ascertain that, if 'the scarcity of sources of lute song between 1530 and 1570 suggests

⁷ Sometimes the four-course guitar was referred as 'chitarra napoletana' (Neapolitan guitar), like in Filippo Tomassini, *Conserto vago di balletti, volte, correnti ed gagliarde, con la loro canzone alla francese: Nuovamente posti in luce per sonare con liuto, tiorba et chitarrino a quatro corde alla napoletana insieme, o soli ad arbitrio, e diletto de' virtuosi et nobili professori o studiosi di questi instrumenti* (Rome: Filippo Tomassini, 1645).

⁸ Tyler, 'The Guitar in the Sixteenth Century', 32-33. The indications on the instrumentation can be found in Cristofano Malvezzi, *Intermedii et concerti, fatti per la commedia rappresentata in Firenze nelle nozze del serenissimo Don Ferdinando Medici, e madama Christiana di Loreno, gran duchi di Toscana* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1591).

⁹ By the term 'Monody' I mean an 'accompanied Italian solo song, especially secular, of the period c1600-40. The term can either denote an individual song or define the entire body of such songs (and solo recitatives in operas and other works can also be described as monodic)', Nigel Fortune and Tim Carter, 'Monody', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 28 Jan. 2023).

¹⁰ See James Tyler, 'Italy: the Role of the Guitar in the Rise of Monody', in Tyler and Sparks, *The Guitar and Its Music*, 37-45. Tyler refers to John Walter Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles around Cardinal Montalto*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965); and Howard Mayer Brown, 'The Geography of Florentine Monody: Caccini at Home and Abroad', *Early Music* 9 (1981), 147-68.

low consumer interest, then the abundance of sources from 1570 to around 1600 reveals just the opposite'.¹¹ A study of the sources reveals that around this time, lute manuscripts began to include songs with lute accompaniments alongside solo repertoire. It is reasonable to suggest that the guitar would also have joined this fashion. By the 1570s and 1580s, arrangements of madrigals and canzonettas became numerous, and it is then that the five-course Spanish guitar began to flourish.

Also at this time, a new type of notation began to appear: the *Alfabeto*, a tool that led to the growing fashion for the guitar. A manuscript located in the Biblioteca Universitaria of Bologna with an estimated date of 1585-1600 is the first known source that contains songs with an accompaniment written in letters. The *Alfabeto* system is 'a short-hand method of notating chords: each letter of the alphabet (or a symbol) represents a specific left-hand chord shape'.¹² In this way, the singer could have a simple way to read the harmony of the song to accompany him or herself. This became important in the next decades because the guitar suited very well the new style of monody singing, and this coincided with the decline of the lute and its contrapuntal style. The use of the Spanish guitar with the *Alfabeto* system seems to have been very popular in the performance of Italian solo songs.¹³

Many publications of songs using *Alfabeto* for guitar appeared in the seventeenth century,¹⁴ with publication numbers peaking in the 1620s in Rome and Venice.¹⁵ The first known printed music using this system is *Nuova inventione d'intavolatura* by Girolamo Montesardo (fl c1606-1620) published in 1606.¹⁶ This work is interesting not only as the first printed music with *Alfabeto* in Italy,¹⁷ but also because it has a system for writing strokes precisely,

¹¹ Kevin Mason, "'Per cantare e sonare": Accompanying Italian Lute Song of the Late Sixteenth Century', in Victor Anand Coelho (ed.), *Performance on Lute, Guitar and Vihuela. Historical Practice and Modern Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 74.

¹² Nina Treadwell, 'Guitar Alfabeto in Italian Monody: The Publications of Alessandro Vincenti', *The Journal of the Lute Society* 33 (1993), 12.

¹³ 'Of over 300 publications, roughly one third suggests the use of *Chitarra Spagnuola* on their title page, most often specifically referring to the *lettere dell'Alfabeto*', Treadwell, 'Guitar Alfabeto in Italian Monody', 12.

¹⁴ A general list with all the known publications and manuscripts for guitar during the sixteenth century in Italy can be seen in James Tyler, 'The Spanish Guitar', 85-99. For a list containing all the works published with *Alfabeto* between 1610 and c1665 see Cory Michael Gavito, 'The alfabeto Song in Print, 1610-ca. 1665: Neopolitan Roots, Roman Codification, and "Il gusto popolare"', PhD diss. (University of Texas, 2006), 176-84.

¹⁵ Treadwell, 'Guitar Alfabeto in Italian Monody', 12.

¹⁶ Girolamo Montesardo, *Nuova inventione d'intavolatura per sonare li balletti sopra la chitarra spagnuola senza numeri, e note; per mezzo della quale da se stesso ogn'uno senza maestro potrà imparare* (Florence: Christofano Marescotti, 1606).

¹⁷ It is difficult to ascertain when this system was invented. We know that Spain had a similar system that first appeared in print in 1596 by Joan Carles Amat, although instead of letters, Amat used numbers (See Chapter 1).



Illustration 3.2. 'Alfabetto', in Girolamo Montesardo, *Nuova inventione d'intavolatura per sonare li balletti sopra la chitarra spagnuola senza numeri* (Florence: Christofano Marescotti, 1606), n.p. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, 1843/10 (Reproduced by permission).

where the letters of the *Alfabeto* are written above or below a line to indicate the direction of the stroke. Montesardo also used a system where, 'when large letters are found, that is to say capitals [upper case letters], the strokes will be played very slowly, giving them twice the amount [of time] that you would give them when a small letter is found'.¹⁸ However, this work does not include any text or vocal line for the songs. In his *I Lieti giorni di Napoli* published six years later, in 1612, Montesardo included compositions that present a melody, bass line, and the alphabet, a format that 'became standard for many monodic publications of the following decade'.¹⁹

After Montesardo, other figures followed suit, adding new elements of notation. Giovanni Ambrosio Colonna, for example, published his *Intavolatura di chitarra alla spagnuola* in 1620 in Milan, another important city for guitar publications. This book contains *passacaglias* in all the keys and many dances. The last part, called 'Regola per incordare le chitarra per sonare di concerto' (Rules to tune the guitar to play together), describes the tuning of guitars of three different sizes, and which letters they must play in order to play in harmony. This is interesting because it shows one advantage of the *Alfabeto*,

¹⁸ Monica Hall, 'Girolamo Montesardo', <https://monicahall.co.uk> (Accessed 20 Jan. 2023).

¹⁹ Treadwell, 'Guitar Alfabeto in Italian Monody', 13.

that it can be used by many different guitars. Colonna would publish three other books, the latest in 1637.

Another book published in 1620 in Milan is Benedetto Sanseverino's *Intavolatura facile delli passacalli, ciaccone...* a book that uses precise indications for the rhythm: metre signs, bar lines, note heads and stems. It is one of the few books to have such a precision in writings these indications. Giovanni Abatessa's *Corona di vaghi fiori* (1627) was also published in the 1620s, where the author gives many details on the technique of the guitar. He prompts the student to play the guitar near the neck, explains how to play *trillo* and *repicco*, and gives tuning instructions. In addition, in 1627 Fabritio Costanzo published *Fior novello. Libro primo di concerti di diverse sonate*, a collection of pieces not only for solo guitar but also guitar duos and guitar quartets. In his quartets, Costanzo explains three different sizes of guitars and their tunings. In the scores we find different letters for each guitar, but they are written in a way that allows the four guitars to play together.

Several other works were based on the *Alfabeto* system, such as Antonio Carbonchi's *Le dodici chitarre*, a very uncommon book published Florence in 1643, which contains forty pieces for solo guitar and thirty-two pieces for an ensemble of twelve guitars, each with different tunings. In 1646, Carlo Calvi published in Bologna his *Intavolatura di chitarra e chitarriglia*, a book with two sections: the first one is written in *Alfabeto* and the second one in lute-style tablature. The second part contains an indication that it has to be played with guitar, but could also be played with *chitarriglia*. This is not the only source that uses the term *chitarriglia*. This term may describe a smaller and higher pitched guitar, as there are manuscripts dated around the same year that explain the tuning differences between *chitarra* and *chitarriglia*.

Another figure, Foriano Pico, published in Naples the book *Nuova scelta di sonate per chitarra spagnola*, which was once considered the second printed music with *Alfabeto* because it shows 1608 as its date of printing. Recent studies, however, have proved that this work was in fact published later, as it contains materials taken from other later published works.²⁰ This work has similar stroke indications to Montesardo's, attempting to improve this system by adding other vertical signs. The printer made many mistakes, however, that the music is hard to read.

New ways of notation

Works with music using *Alfabeto* continued to be written until the end of the seventeenth century, with some later editions published up to 1737. Due to the high level of specialisation of some guitarists, in addition to the increasing

²⁰ Gary R. Boye, 'The Case of the Purloined Letter Tablature: The Seventeenth-Century Guitar Books of Foriano Pico and Pietro Millioni', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 11/1 (2005), <https://sscm-jscm.org> (Accessed 20 Jan. 2023). See also Tyler, 'The Spanish Guitar', 55.

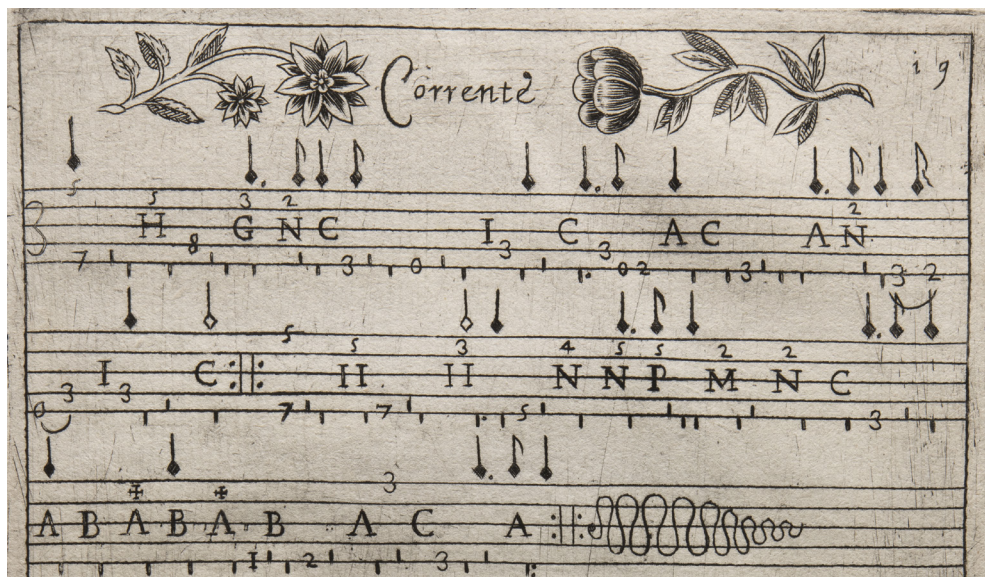


Illustration 3.3. Extract from 'Corrente', in Giovanni Paolo Foscari, *I quattro libri della chitarra spagnola* (c1635), 19, R/5669 Biblioteca Nacional de España (Reproduced by permission).

demand of more and more complex music for amateurs, some figures felt the need to develop a system that could show both the plucked style (*pizzicato*) and the strummed or *rasgueado* technique (*battuto*). This led to the development of the so-called mixed tablature, which was an improvement on the *Alfabeto* because it enabled composers to write many techniques that were previously impossible to notate (such as single line passages, rhythmic strumming, and trills). In the preface to *Il primo, secondo e terzo libro della chitarra spagnola* published in Rome c1630, Giovanni Paolo Foscari (fl 1629-47) described three distinct guitar styles: 'the older *battuto* style; the strict *pizzicato* style, which he claimed is more appropriate to the lute than the guitar; and a style combining the two, which he particularly emphasized and which may have been his own innovation'.²¹ Foscari, considered one of the most important guitarists in Europe at that time having served as a professional guitarist and lutenist in Brussels, Rome, Paris and Venice, was probably the one who introduced this invention in these books as he himself claimed.²² There are several different versions of these books, as Foscari apparently printed them himself,²³ and while the first edition

²¹ Gary R. Boye, 'Foscari, Giovanni Paolo', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 28 Jan. 2023). See also Peter Danner, 'Giovanni Paolo Foscari and His "Nuova Invention"', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 7 (1974), 4-18.

²² In the first book there is only music written in *Alfabeto*. Music written in mixed tablature can be found from the second book onwards.

²³ Explanations on how to understand better baroque tablature, including that of Foscari, can be found in Monica Hall, 'Was Foscari Also Weird? Baroque Guitar Tablature for the Perplexed', *The Journal of the Lute Society* 49 (2009), 49-69.

of the first book is lost, the first edition of the second book (1629) includes different material to a later edition. Over the following years Foscarini continued to work on his compositions, adding different dedications to the first page of his works as he travelled through different cities. During this time, he added a fourth and a fifth book, continuing to improve this collection until 1649.²⁴

The genius of Francesco Corbetta

Probably the most important figure of the guitar in the Baroque period in Europe was the Italian Francesco Corbetta (c1615-1681).²⁵ The renowned Spanish guitarist Gaspar Sanz even referred to him as ‘the best of all’ guitarists.²⁶ One of the most important scholars on Corbetta, Richard Pinnell, explains his career and achievements around Europe:

Corbetta became a major attraction at continental courts. His first court position was for Charles II of Mantua, and the book published for him in 1643 contained Corbetta’s portrait ‘at the age of 28’. Subsequently Corbetta served Philip IV of Spain, Archduke Leopold William of the Low Countries, Christian Louis and his brothers of Hanover, Louis XIV of France, and Charles II of England, and he published a collection of music for each sovereign (that of Hanover is lost). Corbetta thus became a high-ranking diplomat, even better known and travelled than the Dutch statesman Constanijn Huygens, a lutenist who became a guitar aficionado and Corbetta’s advocate in his letters.²⁷

The works of Corbetta were of very high quality from the first book *De gli scherzo armonici...* (Bologna, 1639). This book is written mainly using the *Alfabeto* system, but it also contains eight pieces written in mixed tablature. Corbetta’s second book, *Varii caprici per la ghitarra spagnola* (Milan, 1643), was written entirely in mixed tablature. It has a toccata, sixteen *passachali* (passacaglias) using advanced harmonies, eight suites and a ‘Follia’ with three variations. It ends with what is probably the first chart for reading the basso continuo for guitar. His third book, *Varii scherzi di sonate per chitarra spagnola*, published in Brussels in 1648, contains an *Alfabeto* chart, ten passacaglias, a very well written ‘Chiacona’, five suites where the last is written using scordatura as in lute-style tablature, and a continuo chart. Corbetta continued to gain fame in the years that followed, and he travelled to many Courts of

²⁴ In 2012 Monica Hall edited, published and transcribed herself in modern tablature notation the five books by Foscarini published in 1640 as *Li cinque libri della chitarra alla spagnola*.

²⁵ On this author see mainly Richard Keith, ‘La Guitarre Royale: a Study of the Career and Compositions of Francesco Corbetta’, *Recherches sur la musique française classique* 5 (1966), 73-93, and Richard Pinnell, *Francesco Corbetta and the Baroque Guitar*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980).

²⁶ ‘el mejor de todos’, Gaspar Sanz, *Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española y método de sus primeros rudimentos hasta tañerla con destreza* (Zaragoza, 3/1674) f. 6.

²⁷ Richard Pinnell, ‘Corbetta, Francesco’, *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 29 Jan. 2023).

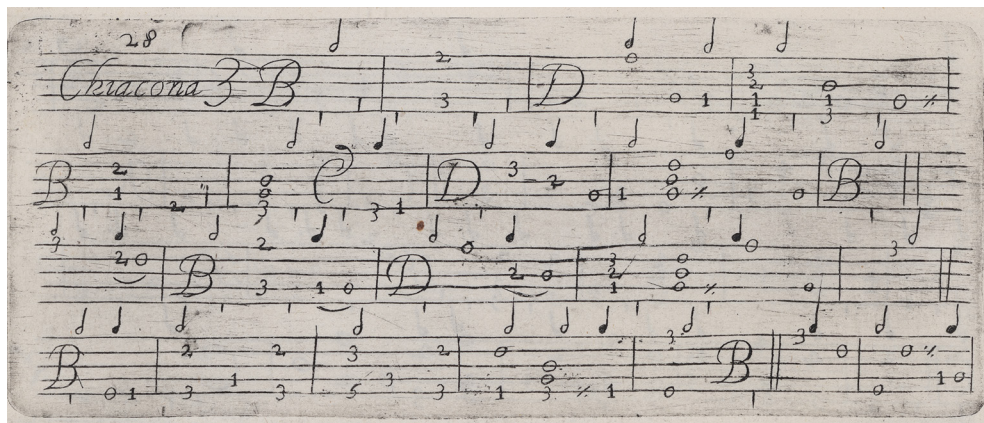


Illustration 3.4. Extract from 'Chacona', in Francesco Corbetta, *Varii scherzi di sonate per chitarra spagnola* was published (Brussels, 1648), 28. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, VM7-6217 (Reproduced by permission).

Europe. His genius reached its peak in his last two books published in France, both called *La guitare royale* (1671 and 1674).

Corbetta's music is full of 'virtuosic techniques, and coloristic effects, such as overlapping tones of campanelas or flashy repicco strumming, [which] converged in his guitar music to make it the most brilliant if challenging of the era'.²⁸ It was this quality that led other guitarists in Europe to pay homage to him by including some of his works in their own manuscripts.

Other significant figures

Although not so brilliant as Corbetta, other figures deserve attention in this overview. For example, Angelo Michele Bartolotti, who published his *Libro primo di chitarra spagnola* in Florence in 1640. This book contains various sets of passacaglias in which the key in which one ends becomes the starting point of the next. He also uses a fascinating technique where different notes of a scale are sounded on different courses, creating the 'campanella' effect theorised thirty-four years later by Gaspar Sanz. Bartolotti's second book is even better, because the music written is imaginative and full of different musical ideas.

Another Italian composer of music for guitar was Antonio Carbonchi, who published *Sonate di chitarra spagnola con intavolatura franzese* in Florence in 1640. This book is unusual because all the music is written in French-style lute tablature ('intavolatura franzese'), regardless of whether it is played with strumming style or in pizzicato style. In turn, Ferdinando Valdambrini published two extraordinary books in Rome: *Libro primo d'intavolatura di chitarra a cinque ordini* in 1646 and *Libro secondo d'intavolatura* in 1647. The

²⁸ Pinnell, 'Corbetta, Francesco'.

first of these provides much information on how to play the pieces, but most interestingly also discusses the tuning needed to play the works. Valdambrini required a tuning without bourdons, creating a re-entrant tuning. The second book also contains much information and, beside the great compositions, describes how to play *mordente*, *trillo* and *tremolo* and gives a scheme to convert *Alfabeto* chords in French tablature.

The most prolific composer of music for guitar in the seventeenth century was, however, Giovanni Battista Granata (c1620-1687).²⁹ Granata was 'liutista sopranumerario' in the Concerto Palatino at Bologna between 1651 and 1653 and, by 1659, 'had become a licensed barber-surgeon, and records indicate that he ran a bottega di barbitonsore from 1661 to 1668'.³⁰ Granata published seven books of which his fourth book, *Soavi concerti di sonate musicali*, provides a representative example. This book contains music for guitar, violin and figured bass, a work that 'with 168 pages, is one of the longest guitar tablatures of the period and also one of the most varied' as well as 'pieces for chitarra attiorbata (a guitar with extended bass strings), and a continuo treatise'.³¹

Finally, we can highlight Ludovico Roncalli, active at the end of the seventeenth century, who published *Capricci armonici sopra la chitarra spagnola* as late as 1692 in Bergamo. This work concludes the period of music written in mixed tablature. It consists of nine 'sonatas' or suites for five-course baroque guitar notated in Italian guitar tablature; each one comprises from five to seven movements.³² Roncalli's work is perhaps one of the most important and well written works of the time.

Conclusions

There is no doubt that Italy was the place where compositions for the Spanish guitar obtained the highest levels of virtuosity, mainly due to the many musicians who took a great interest in the instrument at the time. Italian guitarists left an enormous corpus of music for this instrument full of creativity what inspired other musicians across Europe. However, and even though the seventeenth-century vogue for the five-course guitar has been studied in great depth, very little is known about the fashion for this instrument between 1700 and c1780 in Italy, a period at the end of which we can observe a new wave of interest. During the first half of the eighteenth century, we

²⁹ On this author see Gary R. Boye, 'Giovanni Battista Granata and the Development of Printed Guitar Music in Seventeenth-Century Italy', PhD diss. (Duke University, 1995).

³⁰ Gary R. Boye, 'Granata, Giovanni Battista', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 29 Jan. 2023).

³¹ Boye, 'Granata, Giovanni Battista'.

³² Robert Strizich, 'Roncalli, Conte Ludovico', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 29 Jan. 2023). The quality of this book is outstanding and regained the interest of guitar community in modern times. Oscar Chilesotti published a transcription in 1881 and the great composer Ottorino Respighi arranged the *passacaglia* of the last suite. See Mario dell'Ara, *Manuale di storia della chitarra* (Ancona: Bèrben, 1988), 47.

rarely find publications for this instrument in Italy (as in other countries). Mario dell'Ara suggests some factors that could have led to this situation, including the new interest in the violin school, the increasing importance of harpsichord for the realisation of figured bass or the fall of the intabulation (still used by guitarists at that time).³³ More research is still needed in this field. In the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the guitar regained interest, leading to another golden era at the dawn of the following century. Here the Italians, again, would have much to contribute to the new vogue of the guitar.

³³ Dell'Ara, *Manuale di storia*, 47.

Chapter 4

THE FASHION FOR PLUCKED INSTRUMENTS IN GERMAN LANDS

Marianna Chelidoni*

It is no exaggeration to claim that the Spanish guitar was practically unknown in German speaking lands in the first half of the seventeenth century.¹ While the first references to the guitar appear in 1650, it is extremely difficult to ascertain exactly when and where the guitar made its first appearance in this region, and even by the end of the eighteenth century the instrument seems to have had little impact. Johann Mattheson's 1713 classification of plucked instruments provides some insight into the position of the guitar in Germany, with critics saying 'we would fain [...] leave the insipid guitars and their strum-strum to the Spaniards for their garlic feasts, [...] the searing pandoras [...], the loathsome cittern and the vulgar cithrinchen'.² However, other plucked instruments related to the guitar, such as the theorbo and the lute, enjoyed much popularity in these regions during the Baroque period, where we find a remarkable production of music composed for them. In this chapter I present an overview of the German figures and their repertoire devoted to these other plucked instruments, focusing particularly on the guitar whenever references to this instrument are found.

* I am indebted to Damián Martín-Gil for his advice and encouragement during the preparation of this chapter.

¹ Germany, as we know it today, does not correspond to what it was then. For a clearer understanding, I follow James Tyler's suggestion and divide the region into North Protestant Germany, Catholic South Germany, Bohemian possessions (now the Czech Republic) and Austria (James Tyler, 'The Spanish Guitar (c.1600-c.1750)', in James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and Its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002], 139).

² 'Wir wollen [...] die platten Guitarren aber mit ihrem Strump-Strump den Spaniern gerne beim Knoblauch-Schmauß überlassen, [...] reisende Pandoren [...], die wiedrige Citter und das abgeschmackte Citrinchen [...]', Johann Mattheson, *Das neu-Eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1713) (Reprint Olms, Hildesheim, Zürich, New York, 1997), 279 f., in Stefan Hackl, 'Molitor/Klingers, S[imon]; Klinger's Versuch einer vollständigen methodischen Anleitung zum Guitare-Spielen in the context of the first flourishing of classical guitar', Introduction to the facsimile edition of Molitor/Klingers, *Versuch einer vollständigen methodischen Anleitung zum Guitare-Spielen* (1812) (Vienna/Munich: Doblinger, 2008), xi.

Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberger, ‘Il tedesco de la tiorba’

The Austrian-Italian composer Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberger (c1580-1651),³ also known as Johannes Hieronymus Kapsberger, was a virtuoso lutenist and theorbist of the early Baroque period who spent most of his life in Italy. His father was a military officer of the Imperial House of Austria who had settled in Venice, a city where Kapsberger was probably born. In 1624 he entered the service of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, nephew of the newly elected Pope Urban VIII, a position that allowed him to interact professionally with many important composers, such as Girolamo Frescobaldi and Stefano Landi. Kapsberger published four books for chitarrone, the so-called ‘Roman theorbo’,⁴ under the title *Libro d’intavolatura di chitar[r]one* (1604, 1616 [lost], 1626, 1640) and two books for lute entitled *Libro d’intavolatura di lauto* (1611, 1619 [lost]). Composed for both technical and musical purposes, the extremely diverse pieces contained in these books have rightly earned a place of choice in the repertoire of theorbists and lutenists, and in many cases have been transcribed for the guitar. It is noteworthy that Kapsberger also composed much music not devoted specifically to any of these instruments, such as books of madrigals and motets to name but a few. In this regard, Kapsberger was the recipient of controversial criticism during his lifetime for both his abilities as a performer and his strength as a composer. Modern assessments of his music recognise that his creative activity occupied a transitional period between the Renaissance and the Baroque periods, when the evolution of instruments and compositional methods were radically changing the musical landscape. Currently, his works for the lute and theorbo are considered vital for their contributions to the development of music for these instruments.⁵

The lute in German speaking regions

Lutes in the Baroque era differed not only in construction but also in stringing, compared to their Renaissance counterparts. These aspects varied at different times, and certain areas encouraged the use of different models.⁶ According to Dolata ‘even lute music composed at exactly the same time in

³ Victor Anand Coelho, ‘Kapsberger, Giovanni Girolamo’, *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 3 Nov. 2022).

⁴ On the organological differences of these instruments see Robert Spencer, ‘Chitarrone, Theorbo and Archlute’, *Early Music* 4/4 (1976), 407-23. See also Ian Harwood, Robert Spencer and James Tyler, ‘Theorbo’, *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 25 Dec. 2022).

⁵ Orlando Cristoforetti, ‘Preface’, in *Libro primo d’intavolatura di chitaronne*, facsimile edition (Florence: Archivum Musicum, 1982).

⁶ A reference book in the history of the lute in the Renaissance period is Douglas Alton Smith, *A History of the Lute from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (n.p.: The Lute Society of America, 2002). On the evolution of the making of lutes in Germany in the baroque period see Robert Lundberg, ‘The German Baroque Lute, 1650 to 1750’, *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 32 (1999), 1-34.

different nations sounds noticeably better on an instrument designed to take into account that area's musical tastes'.⁷ In other words, the music essentially reflected both national characteristics or preferences and differences between them. The most popular lute in the German lands in the period under consideration here was the eleven-course French lute. Its construction exploited the French interest in texture and timbre; however, this instrument in theory did not meet the requirements of a German aesthetics that demanded clear counterpoint. In Germany 'two more strings were added to the eleven-course baroque lute, first by attaching riders to the bass string of the pegbox, and later, from 1732, the complete pegbox was replaced by a swan-neck'.⁸ It may have been Sylvius Leopold Weiss, a composer discussed below, who created and promoted this new instrument by attaching riders to the bass strings of the pegbox in 1718 – Thomas Edlinger was probably the first maker to do this – and then added the swan neck.⁹ After these 'improvements', the so-called German baroque lute with thirteen courses began to be played frequently in these areas, an instrument that shared the same tuning as the French model except for the added lowest strings.

Another feature of the lute in German lands was the use of the so-called German tablature, a system used almost exclusively in the German speaking regions that had developed in the late fifteenth century for the five-course lute.¹⁰ This particular system of writing music for plucked instruments – denoting the positions on the different frets and strings on the neck of the instrument – was significantly different to those used in other countries. In Germany, this system was particularly complex, with each course and fret having a different sign in the score, with no lines indicating the strings.¹¹ In other countries, only ten to twelve numbers or letters were used, and these were written in lines to represent the courses of the lute. The German tablature was in use until the register of the lute was extended to nine

⁷ David Dolata, 'Review of Andreas Schlegel, *Die Laute in Europa: Geschichte und Geschichten zum Geniessen* (Menziken: The Lute Corner, 2006)', *Notes* 66/1 (2009), 96.

⁸ 'Es wurden 2 weitere Chöre der 11-chörigen Barocklaute hinzugefügt, zunächst durch Anbringen von Reitern auf der Basssaite des Wirbelkastens, später ab 1732 wurde der komplette Wirbelkasten durch einen Schwanenhals ersetzt', German Lute Association, 'Geschichte der Laute', www.lautengesellschaft.de (Accessed 20 Dic. 2022). According to this association 'The model for the Swan-neck lute was the Angélique built by the Hamburg lute maker Joachim Tielke in 1680'. On this author see Friedemann and Barbara Hellwig, *Joachim Tielke. Neue Funde zu Werk und Wirkung* (Berlin/Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2020).

⁹ Robert Lundberg, 'Weiss's Lutes: The Origin of the 13-Course German Baroque Lutes', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 32 (1999), 35-66.

¹⁰ Andreas Schlegel and Joachim Lüdtke, *Die Laute in Europa 2: Lauten, Gitarren, Mandolinen und Cistern* (Menziken: The Lute Corner, 2011), 69.

¹¹ On this system see Christoph Dalitz and Christine Pranzas, 'German Lute Tablature Recognition', *Proceedings of the 10th International Conference on Document Image Analysis and Recognition* (NW, Washington: IEEE Computer Society, 2009), 371-75.

courses. After the first quarter of the seventeenth century, its use began to fade, probably due to its complexity as well as the expansion of French music for lute in these areas.

Silvius Leopold Weiss, an important composer and performer

Silvius Leopold Weiss (1786-1750) was born in Grottkau – today Wrocław in Poland, part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at his time of birth – and was the son of Johann Jakob, an acclaimed lutenist of the time. He came to be one of the most important figures of the baroque lute in Europe and ‘perhaps the most prolific composer for lute of all time’.¹² He was employed as a chamber musician by many aristocrats such as Count Carl Philipp of the Palatinate, the Polish Prince Alexander Sobiesky, and the Prince Elector of Saxony August the Strong in Dresden, where he eventually became the highest paid musician. He managed to have patrons throughout his entire life, including the Imperial Count Hermann von Keyserlingk, who coincidentally was the person who commissioned Johann Sebastian Bach’s famous *Goldberg Variations*.¹³ The two most important sources of Weiss’s music are the London manuscript, today held at the British Library in London, and the Dresden manuscript, held at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden,¹⁴ although many other manuscripts are preserved in various libraries around the world. According to Tim Crawford

The two manuscripts [...] contain most of Weiss’s surviving music. Together they provide us with musically reliable texts for 60 out of his oeuvre of over 100 sonatas – twelve of which appear in both sources – as well as almost three dozen other pieces, amounting to just under 400 individual movements, of which around 90 (15 sonatas) appear in both manuscripts. Most of these sonatas survive in no other source. The significance of these two manuscripts is further enhanced by the fact that a sizeable quantity of the music is written in the composer’s hand. Numerous annotations in each of them make clear that both

¹² On the biography of this composer see Douglas Alton Smith, ‘A Biography of Silvius Leopold Weiss’, *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 31 (1998), 1-48 (here at the ‘Introduction’, n.p.); Frank Legl, ‘Between Grottkau and Neuburg: New Information on the Biography of Silvius Leopold Weiss’, *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 31 (1998), 49-77. Apart from all the bibliography mentioned in these articles see Edward R. Reilly, Douglas Alton Smith and Tim Crawford, ‘Weiss, Silvius [Sylvius] Leopold’, *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 22 Dec. 2022). It is worth noting that Markus Lutz has created a webpage that contains much information about this composer: www.slweiss.de.

¹³ Norman Rubin, ‘Goldberg [Gollberg, Goltberg, etc.], Johann Gottlieb’, *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 22 Dec. 2022).

¹⁴ On these manuscripts see Tim Crawford, ‘Silvius Leopold Weiss and the Dresden and London Manuscripts of His Music’, *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 39 (2006), 1-74. Claire Madl, ‘Johann Christian Anthoni von Adlersfeld: The Original Owner of the Weiss London Manuscript’, *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 33 (2000), 33-46.



Illustration 4.1. Except from Silvis Leopold Weiss, 'Zwölfte Lektion des Music Meisters', in Georg Philipp Telemann, *Der getreue Music-Meister* (Hamburg: The author, 1728), 45. Sächsische Landesbibliothek Staats und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, Digital Coll., Mus.2392.B.1 (Reproduced by permission).

manuscripts were intended to be preserved for posterity as collections devoted exclusively to Weiss's music.¹⁵

It is plausible that Weiss was not interested in publishing his music, as the only work published during his lifetime was a short piece entitled 'Zwölfte Lektion des Music Meisters' for lute. This appeared in the volume *Der getreue Music-Meister* published by G.F. Telemann in 1728 and served as example of music for this instrument (see Illustration 4.1). This is probably the main reason why much of his music has not survived.

First references to the guitar

German composer, theorist and organist Michael Praetorius (1571-1621), considered 'the most versatile and wide-ranging German composer of his generation and one of the most prolific, especially of works based on Protestant hymns',¹⁶ provides what it perhaps the first mention of the guitar in the German-speaking countries. In 1582 he went to the University in Frankfurt an der Oder, near Berlin, and around 1587 he obtained his first job as an organist in Frankfurt. Around 1595 he entered into the service of the court of the Duke Heinrich Julius of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel as an organist, where around 1604 he became Kapellmeister. After the death of his patron in 1613,

¹⁵ Crawford, 'Silvis Leopold Weiss', 1.

¹⁶ Walter Blankenburg and Clytus Gottwald. 'Praetorius [Schultheiss, Schultze], Michael', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 25 Dec. 2022).

he spent much time in Dresden, a cultural and musical center at that time, and he also travelled much throughout Germany. Praetorius devoted most of his life to church music. He published more than twenty collections (around 1,000 works), most of which were settings of Lutheran chorales, although one volume, *Terpsichore*, was devoted to French dance music. His most important work, though, for which he is known, is the encyclopedic music treatise in three volumes *Syntagma musicum* (Dresden, 1619). It is interesting to note that the first volume of this treatise is written in Latin, while the next two are in German. According to Jeffery Kite-Powell, Praetorius used Latin in the first volume because he was mostly writing for the Lutheran clergy or other learned readers. As the other two volumes were devoted to practical musicians and choir directors, it was more accessible to everyone in German.¹⁷ In his *Syntagmatis musici tomus secundus: De organographia* (organology) published in 1618, Praetorius describes and classifies many ancient and modern musical instruments. It is here that he provides the first description of a four-course guitar in Germany. The sources he used to write this encyclopaedia were mainly Italian. As a Kapellmeister, he had access to quite a large body of literature, and his purpose was essentially to communicate to the German-speaking regions the new style of musical composition being contested at the time. Precisely for this reason, and according to James Tyler, it is very surprising that Praetorius refers to a four-course guitar rather than a five-course one, which, at that time, was the guitar most popular in Italy.¹⁸ In the second volume, he shows two different tunings for a four-course guitar with a bourdon on the fourth course. The first tuning he proposes is a fourth lower than the second, and he seems to suggest a larger instrument than what existed in other countries where the guitar was used such as Spain, France and Italy. From his exclusive references to the four-course guitar, it is obvious that Praetorius had no knowledge of the existence of the five-course guitar. It is quite possible, then, that he had never come into contact with this instrument, but had simply read about it.

The role of Princess Henriette Adelaide of Savoy

On 8 December 1650, Henriette Adelaide of Savoy (1636-1776) married, at the age of fourteen, Ferdinand Maria, the future Elector of Bavaria. Henriette was of French descent on her mother's side and Italian on her father's (she never actually met her father, as he died soon after her birth). She grew up in the Valentine castle in Turin and her upbringing was strongly influenced by French and Italian culture, which she brought with her to Bavaria. The princess managed to elevate the Munich court to be one of the most important courts in Europe by holding elaborate Italian-style parties and

¹⁷ Jeffery Kite-Powell, 'Michael Praetorius in his Own Words', *Early Music America Magazine* 10/1 (2004), 27.

¹⁸ Tyler, 'The Spanish Guitar', 141.



Illustration 4.2. Extract from 'Balletto', in Giovanni Battista Granata, *Novi capricci armonici musicali* op. 5 (Bologna, 1674), 8. Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, IV/183 (Reproduced by permission).

bringing poets, musicians and master builders from her home in Italy. She played a decisive role in the reconstruction of the palace of Nymphenburg and the Theatine Catholic church. These two buildings were the first examples of Italian high Baroque in Munich, with Italian architects and master builders such as Agostino Barelli, Enrico Zuchali and Antonio Viscardi undertaking these projects. It seems that Adelaide was a great supporter of culture through the arts, introducing Italian opera to the Bavarian court. The princess and her husband also seem to have had a special affinity for the Spanish guitar. According to James Tyler 'the music in her guitar manuscript reflects her mixed heritage [Italian and French]'.¹⁹ There is evidence that proves that she took guitar lessons, at least in the last years of her life, being taught by Belgian musician, guitarist and composer, François Le Cocq.

Her husband, the Elector of Bavaria, seems to have been particularly fond of the Spanish guitar as well. He can be seen as dedicatee ('al serenissimo Ferdinando Maria Duca Delle Baviere') of famous Italian guitarist Giovanni Battista Granata's *Novi capricci armonici Musicali* op. 5 (Bologna, 1674), a book of pieces written for the ensemble of Spanish guitar, violin and viola da gamba, which also includes sonatas for solo guitar.²⁰ Illustration 4.2 shows an excerpt from Granata's *Balletto* included in this work, using Italian tablature (with numbers used to refer to the frets, and the upper courses of the guitar located in the lower part of the tablature). Apart from this exception, the guitar seems to have had little or no place in German social life. Nevertheless, the interest of this royal couple highlights the starting point of the guitar as a domestic instrument in the German-speaking lands.

Jakob Kremberg and his *Musikalische Gemüths-Ergotzung oder Arien*

The composer, lutenist and music copyist of Polish birth, Jakob Kremberg (c1650-1715) enrolled at the University of Leipzig in 1672 and in 1677 became a chamber musician for the Duke of Magdeburg.²¹ He worked as a chamber

¹⁹ Tyler, 'The Spanish Guitar', 142.

²⁰ On Granata see Gary R. Boye, 'Giovanni Battista Granata and the Development of Printed Guitar Music in Seventeenth-Century Italy', PhD diss. (Duke University, 1995).

²¹ On this author see Peter Holman, 'Kremberg, Jakob', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 26 Dec. 2022).

musician and flautist in the Electorate of Saxony from 1682, and in 1689 he published in Dresden *Musikalische Gemüths-Ergötzung oder Arien* (Musical emotional delight or arias), a collection of forty German arias, with some verses written by Kremberg himself. The accompaniment to these arias is primarily intended for the basso continuo (harpsichord), although it can also be performed by the lute, angelica,²² viola da gamba and guitar, and is the only printed source of guitar music – as opposed to music for lute or other plucked instruments – published in German lands during this time. This music can be played with the instruments alone or in a kind of orchestral interplay between all of them.²³ In some pieces, the accompanying part is written in French tablature and, as the title emphasises, is ‘close to each instrument nature and property quite comfortably placed in the hand’.²⁴ In describing the guitar part, Kremberg specifies that the instrument has to be stringed with bourdons on both the fourth and fifth courses, and requires a tuning in d’. Adolf Koczirz sheds more light on the guitar as a domestic instrument at this time in the German-speaking regions, although much more research needs to be done:

As the type of accompanying instruments indicates, the arias are dedicated to chamber and domestic music. Although Kremberg is not an exceptional composer, he is nevertheless a good German song composer, remarkable for his time. Hugo Riemann describes the ‘Musikalische Gemüths-Ergötzung’ as one of the few worldly German song compositions of that time that shows a found melodic line [...] In any case, the ‘Musikalische Gemüths-Ergötzung’ proves that towards the end of the seventeenth century, the guitar was not an unknown phenomenon in the domestic music of the better classes in Germany.²⁵

The guitar in Austria and Bohemia

Throughout the seventeenth century, it was very common for lute players to be also interested in the guitar, which was certainly the consequence of Italian

²² ‘A two-headed lute with ten single strings on the lower head and six or seven on the upper’, Ian Harwood and Tim Crawford, ‘Angélique (i)’, *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 26 Dec. 2022).

²³ Adolf Koczirz, ‘Alte Gitarrenmusik’, *Die Gitarre*, Jan. (1922), 35-36.

²⁴ ‘Nah eines jeden Instruments Natur und Eigenschaft ganz bequem in die Hand gesetzt’, Jakob Kremberg, *Musikalische Gemüths-Ergötzung oder Arien* (Dresden, 1689), title page.

²⁵ ‘Wie die Art der Begleitinstrumente erkennen läßt, sind die Arien der Kammer und Hausmusik gewidmet. Kremberg ist zwar kein außergewöhnlicher, immerhin jedoch ein für seine Zeit bemerkenswerter, gut deutscher Liederkomponist. Hugo Riemann bezeichnet die „Musikalische Gemüths Ergögung“ als eines der wenigen weltlichen deutschen Liederwerke jener Zeit, das einen gesunden Melodiensinn zeigt [...] Jedenfalls beweist uns die „Musikalische Gemüths-Ergötzung“, daß die Gitarre gegen Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts in den Hausmusiken der besseren Stände Deutschlands keine unbekannte Erscheinung war’, Adolf Koczirz, ‘Alte Gitarrenmusik’, *Die Gitarre*, Jan. (1922), 35-36.

cultural influences. For instance, during the reign of Leopold I at the court of Vienna, Italian was the official language in the court. Most of the musicians employed by Leopold were of Italian origins and Leopold himself was an amateur composer and multi-instrumentalist. One of his employees was a famous theorbist named Orazio Clementi, who wrote a little guitar manuscript for Leopold using French tablature with *Alfabeto* notation.²⁶ This manuscript consists of three *ciaccone*, and four other pieces, one in the strummed style and the others in the mixed lute and strummed style, demonstrating how this instrument was slowly becoming known in these lands. Yet, the guitar did not play a prominent role in aristocratic life.²⁷ In the other Austrian regions, however, French influence predominated. Driven by this, these regions developed their own identity and style. Even though lute remained the more common instrument, with prominent lutenists such as Christoph Franz von Wolkenstein and the Count Jan Anton Losy, these musicians were aware of the existence of the Spanish guitar and some of them made attempts either to write for it or, more commonly, to transcribe works from lute to guitar.

Conclusions

Certainly, the guitar was cultivated very little in German lands, as opposed to other European countries between c1580 and c1800. In fact, in several German-speaking regions it was barely known. At the time, there was more interest in the Spanish guitar in southern Germany and Austria than in the north. Nevertheless, plucked instruments such as lute, theorbo, bandora and others had an important presence in social life, leaving a significant repertoire for these instruments. This in turn most probably influenced the arrival of the guitar in these lands. Plucked instruments were very popular for the accompaniment of songs, but also in solo and chamber music, laying the foundations for the Spanish guitar to later be much loved and played. Today, much of the music written for lute and theorbo by composers such as Kapsberger and Weiss is transcribed for the modern guitar. The most outstanding case of this is the music written for lute by Johann Sebastian Bach, BWV 995, 996, 997, 998, 999 and 1000, works composed between c1707 and c1740. These works are probably the best music ever written for such an instrument, played in concerts and recorded on many occasions, making it difficult to understand the guitar today without this repertoire.

²⁶ Tyler, 'The Spanish Guitar', 142.

²⁷ See Adolf Koczirz, 'Eine Gitarrentabulatur des Kaiserlichen Theorbisten Orazio Clementi', in *Mélanges de musicologie offerts à M. Lionel de la Laurencie* (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1933), 107-15.

II. THE CLASSICAL-ROMANTIC GUITAR (1750-1850)

Chapter 5

THE ROLE OF THE SPANIARDS

*Damián Martín-Gil**

In his *Seconde méthode de guitare à six cordes* published in Paris around 1815, the French guitarist and harpist Guillaume Pierre Antoine Gatayes (1767-1846) included a section entitled 'Note sur différens professeurs' (A remark on the different professors) where he stated:

We are assured that it is to the Spaniards that we owe the Guitar; I do not contradict this opinion, but I dare to say that this nation is not the one that makes this instrument worth its value. In general, playing the guitar in the Spanish style is not the most pleasant way. They usually play the instrument noisily, since they only play it by strumming the thumb up and down over the strings, without care, without nuances and without principles.¹

As we see by his words, Gatayes, a figure who would have known the Parisian guitar scene of his time very well, had a very disrespectful idea of the way the guitar was played in Spain, assuming that it was mostly confined to using the *rasgueado* technique on simple chords. However, his assessment may have been based on only a superficial knowledge of the guitar in Spain; he probably never visited the country,² although he may have been acquainted with some treatises published in Spain and had contact with some Spaniards performing on this instrument in France. Gatayes made a similarly disrespectful claim

* I would like to express my most sincere gratitude to Erik Stenstadvold who kindly read my manuscript offering valuable advice for the final text.

¹ 'On nous assure que c'est aux espagnols que nous devons la Guitare ; je ne contrebalance pas cette opinion ; mais j'ose avancer que cette nation n'est pas celle qui fait valoir cet Instrument. En général pincer de la guitare à l'espagnole, n'est pas la manière la plus agréable. Communément, ils la font chaudronner, vu qu'ils n'exécutent cet Instrument qu'en passant et repassant le pouce sur les cordes, sans ménagement, sans nuances et sans principes', Guillaume Pierre Jean Gatayes, *Seconde méthode de guitare à six cordes* (Paris: Frère, c1815), 3.

² On the life of Gatayes see Mario Dell'Ara, 'Antoine Gatayes', *Il Fronimo* 156 (2011), 7-15 and Ricardo Barceló, 'Gatayes e Sor: Professori di chitarra in scuole per fanciulle a Parigi?', *Il Fronimo* 156 (2011), 37-44. To this can be added that he got married on 16 June 1798 in Bordeaux – where he was staying at rue St Remy no. 16 at the age of 'environ trente ans' (around thirty years old) – to Marie Marguerite Desvillers, an 'interprète de la langue française' native of Whitehaven in Cumberland County who was also staying in this town (État civil, Archives de Bordeaux, Ref. 246).

regarding the guitar in Italy, concluding that ‘it is only in France that this instrument has all its charm, its grace, its purity and its sensitivity’.³

After such allegations, it is surprising that Gatayes nevertheless praised two guitarists of Spanish origins in Paris as some of the most important guitarists of his time. First, a Mr. Vidal was described by Gatayes as one of the most prominent guitarists of the previous generation, with ‘a learned and bold execution’.⁴ Second, Fernando Sor, whom Gatayes listed as being among ‘the virtuosos that appear these days’ in about 1815 – only two years after Sor’s arrival in the French capital.⁵ While Gatayes only mentions these two Spanish players, Spain had fostered a number of other guitarists by the time Gatayes wrote these words, and many more would enter the scene in the years to come.⁶ This chapter will discuss a number of guitarists born and raised in Spain between 1750 and 1850, several of whom were among the most celebrated players of their time although they may be largely forgotten today.

The guitar across different social strata

The great guitarists of the Baroque era in Spain, such as Gaspar Sanz (1640-1710), Antonio de Santa Cruz (fl.1700), Francisco Guerau (1649-1722) and Santiago de Murcia (1673-1739), created a significant repertoire for the instrument at the end of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. After this time, however, a decrease in the publication of music for the guitar can be observed, not only in Spain, but all over Europe. According to James Tyler, the only such music published in Spain between 1700 and 1750 is Murcia’s

³ ‘Ce n’est qu’en France que cet Instrument a tout son charme, sa grâce, sa purté [sic] et sa sensibilité’, Gatayes, *Seconde méthode*, 4. Certainly, we observe in France a significant output of music for guitar during the second half of the eighteenth century, mostly devoted to *le beau monde* of the French capital. For an overview of the production of guitar music in Paris see Paul Sparks, ‘The Origins of the Classical Guitar’, in James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and Its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 191-297. A more specific account can be seen in Damián Martín-Gil, ‘A Bibliographical Study of Periodicals for Voice and Guitar in Paris, 1758-1803’, *Revue de Musicologie* 107/2 (2021), 247-86. On the guitar methods published in this period in France see Erik Stenstadvoll, *An Annotated Bibliography of Guitar Methods, 1760-1860* (Hillsdale, NY and London: Pendragon Press, 2010). As we know, in the first decades of the nineteenth century, often referred as the time of ‘La Guitaromanie’ in France, this production reached astonishing new levels. An overview of this production can be seen in Christopher Page, Paul Sparks and James Westbrook (eds.), *The Great Vogue for the Guitar in Western Europe: 1800-1840* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2023).

⁴ ‘par une exécution savante et hardi’, Gatayes, *Seconde méthode*, 4.

⁵ ‘nos virtuoses paraissent aujourd’hui, Messieurs Sor, Messonnier [sic], Carulli, Porro, Doisy, Lintant ; tous avec un talent fait, quoique d’un genre différent’, Gatayes, *Seconde méthode*, 4-5.

⁶ For a general overview of Spanish guitarists of this period see Javier Suárez-Pajares, ‘Las generaciones guitarrísticas españolas del siglo XIX’, in Emilio Francisco Casares and Celsa Alonso González (eds.), *La música española en el siglo XIX* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1995), 325-73.

Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra, which appeared in 1714, although several manuscripts have been found containing Spanish music for guitar that can be dated to the reign of Philip V.⁷ Yet, very little is known about the role of the guitar in the first half of the eighteenth century, especially after the death of Queen Maria Luisa Gabriela de Savoya in 1714, a figure who had shown some interest in this instrument.

According to Ricardo Aleixo, the guitar was common across all the social classes of Spain during the second half of the eighteenth century. He claims that it was the preferred instrument of the lower classes, used to accompany all kinds of popular songs and for playing *contradanzas* and *fandangos* with a few chords strummed in the *rasgueado* style to which Gatayes referred. But the guitar appeared also at the court, reflecting the curiosity of the elite for the customs of the lower classes. The guitar also was played in the private sphere, at open-air events, and even used in theatre performances.⁸ There was further a group of more ambitious guitarists who composed music in a learned style. These guitarists created a repertoire devoted to those *aficionados* who could read musical notation and wanted to attain a higher level of performance using a more refined *punteado* style, a repertoire that also necessitated some knowledge of the rudiments of music theory. Towards the end of the century, some guitar methods were published that reflect this playing style.

It is worth noting that the instrument itself evolved differently in Spain than in other countries. Instead of retaining five courses of strings as in France, where the guitar kept this formula until the last decade of the century, a sixth course was added in Spain sometime around 1760, and the use of double strings remained common well into the following century. This provided a wider range for the instrument, perhaps inspired by the old vihuela, which shared this feature.

Guitarists in Spain during the second half of the eighteenth century

Few prominent guitarists are known to have lived in Spain for much of the second half of the eighteenth century. Among the guitarists sometimes noted are Pablo Minguet y Yrol who published his *Reglas y advertencias* for ‘La Guitarra, Tiple, Vandola, Cythara, Clavicordio, Organo, Harpa, Psalterio, Banderria, Violin, Flauta travesera, Flauta Dulce, y la Flautilla’ (Madrid, 1753),⁹ a method that contains one of the first examples of guitar music in staff

⁷ James Tyler, ‘The Spanish Guitar (c.1600-c.1750)’, in James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and Its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 161-63.

⁸ Ricardo Jorge de Sousa Aleixo, *La guitarra en Madrid (1750-1808)* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2016), 17.

⁹ On this method see Aleixo, *La guitarra en Madrid*, 215-26.

notation.¹⁰ Two other figures often cited are Andrés de Sotos, who authored the *Arte para aprender con facilidad* (Madrid, 1760),¹¹ and Juan Antonio Vargas y Guzmán and his *Explicación para tocar la guitarra de punteado* (Cádiz, 1773). It seems that these musicians' approach to the instrument was mostly what we might call 'popular', and they used the *rasgueado* technique in many of their compositions. It is only towards the end of the century that we find advertisements of music scores for guitar begin to be published, and composers with a more sophisticated view of such music become prominent. Among these composers is Fernando Ferandiere, who published his *Arte de tocar la guitarra* in Madrid in 1799, and who claimed to have composed six concertos for this instrument, although none of these has been found. Another is García Rubio, who published his *Reglas y Escalas Armónicas* in 1799. Other guitarists of this period, such as Juan de Arespacochaga, Manuel Ferrou and Isidro de Laporta, still need in-depth musicological study.¹²

In 1799, two guitar methods were published by foreigners who developed their art in Spain. These were Antonio Abreu, a Portuguese guitarist who published a method in collaboration with Victor Prieto entitled *Escuela para tocar con perfección la guitarra de cinco y seis ordenes* (Salamanca, 1799), and Federico Moretti, an Italian guitarist who published his *Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis órdenes* (Madrid, 1799) after settling in the capital of Spain in 1794.¹³

Another figure that seems to have had a prominent role in the development of the guitar in Spain was the enigmatic Miguel García, also known as Padre Basilio.¹⁴ García was a guitarist important enough for Luigi Boccherini to write a Fandango 'in the manner of Padre Basilio', and was the teacher of the famous master Dionisio Aguado.¹⁵ Although several advertisements for his music appeared in the Spanish press, very little material has survived to allow for an estimation of the quality of his works.¹⁶

¹⁰ Erik Stenstadvold, 'The Evolution of Guitar Notation, 1750-1830', *Soundboard* 32/2-3 (2006), 13.

¹¹ This method is a plagiarism of previous authors such as Juan Carlos Amat and Pablo Minguet e Yrol, see Aleixo, *La guitarra en Madrid*, 227.

¹² A first brief mention of these composers can be found in Luis Briso de Montiano, *Un fondo desconocido de música para guitarra* (Madrid: Ópera tres, 1995).

¹³ On this guitarist see Ana Carpintero, 'Vida y obra del músico Federico Moretti: Estudio documental y artístico', PhD diss. (University of Zaragoza, 2015).

¹⁴ On this guitarist see Franco Poselli, 'L'enigmatica figura di Padre Basilio', *Il Fronimo* 3 (1973), 27-29; Javier Suárez-Pajares, 'García, Miguel (III) (padre Basilio)', *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, vol. 5 (Madrid: SGAE & INAEM, 2000), 408; Richard Savino, 'The Enigmatic Miguel García, or, Padre Basilio Part II. Newly Discovered Works and a Dilemma for the Modern Transcriber', *Soundboard* 38/4 (2012), 26-35.

¹⁵ See Julio Gimeno, 'Dionisio Aguado (1784-1849) y la Escuela de guitarra de 1820', *Roseta* 0 (2007), 44-62.

¹⁶ One piece attributed to Padre Basilio is transcribed by Savino in 'The Enigmatic Miguel García', 34-35. Savino also claims that he has 'uncovered a number of hitherto unknown works attributed to Padre Basilio and a certain Del Padre Don Miguel' (p. 29).

Two Spanish guitarists in Paris

In 1785, a certain Mr. Vidal was advertised in the *Tablettes de renommée des musiciens*, a publication listing musicians active in Paris, in these terms:

Vidal, one of the most famous and most skillful guitar masters in Europe, has composed a method for this instrument, and several duos, sonatas and collections of airs, with variations in a learned style worthy of the execution of the greatest masters.¹⁷

Vidal was a guitarist of Spanish origin who arrived in the French capital no later than 1769, staying until his death in 1803.¹⁸ Without any doubt, Vidal was the most prolific guitarist in Paris during this period, composing four methods for this instrument, publishing several periodicals for voice and guitar,¹⁹ and a number of collections for voice and guitar and violin and guitar. Among his most important contributions was *Les soirées espagnoles*, a weekly periodical on the market between 1776 and c1783, and his *Journal de guitar*, published between 1786 and c1801, albeit with several interruptions. His most significant composition is perhaps the *Concerto pour la guitarrre avec accompagnement de deux violons, alto, et basse* (Paris, 1793), the very first guitar concerto ever published. According to several sources, Vidal was praised as ‘particularly distinguished for his rare talent for difficulty’²⁰ and several contemporary guitarists referred to him as the foremost master of the guitar of his time. (An example of this complex music is provided in Illustration 5.1). The French guitarist Antoine de Lhoyer referred to him as ‘the famous Spanish artist’,²¹ thereby revealing his origins.

Another guitarist born in Spain, Salvador Theodoro Castro de Gistau,²² also deserves to be recognised as an important Spanish representative of the guitar in the first decades of the nineteenth century. He arrived in Paris c1801 and by 1803 was described by a critic in these terms:

¹⁷ ‘Vidal, un des plus célèbres et les plus habiles maîtres de guitare de l’Europe, a fait une Méthode pour cet instrument, & plusieurs des Œuvres de Duo, Sonates, & Recueils d’Airs, avec des Variations d’un genre Savant & digne de l’exécution des plus grands Maîtres’, *Tablettes de renommée des musiciens*, not paginated.

¹⁸ On this guitarist see Damián Martín-Gil, ‘“The famous Vidal”: New Light on the Life and Works of a Guitarist in Late Eighteenth-Century France’, *Eighteenth-Century Music* 18/1 (2021), 123-49.

¹⁹ On periodicals published in Paris during this period see Damián Martín-Gil, ‘A Bibliographical Study of Periodicals for Voice and Guitar in Paris, 1758-1803’, *Revue de Musicologie* 107/2 (2021), 247-86.

²⁰ ‘M. Vidal s’est particulièrement distingué par son rare talent pour la difficulté. Ses ouvrages ont toujours été accueillis du Public’, *Annonces, affiches et avis divers* (29 Nov. 1792), 4938.

²¹ ‘Le célèbre artiste espagnol’, Stenstadvold, *Guitar Methods*, 194.

²² His complete name, including his middle name spelled in this way, appears in the Register of Burials in the West of London and Westminster Cemetery.



Illustration 5.1. Extract from the beginning of the guitar part of ‘Sonata II’, in *Six sonates pour la guitare avec accompagnement de violon dédiées à Monsieur Launay* (Paris: Boyer, 1791-1793), 4. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, VMA-3392 (Reproduced by permission).
The violin part has not been located.²³

In some private societies, we have heard with pleasure M. Castro, a Spaniard, on the guitar. This artist, who modestly announces that he is in Paris for his education, is well aware of the resources of his instrument and knows how to make the most of them, especially as regards the favorite genre of his nation. He is the author of several works [...].²⁴

By then, Castro de Gistau had already published some music in Paris, and was soon in demand ‘by the highest society of Paris’, leading him to gain ‘illustrious students’.²⁵ His works are dedicated to important figures such as The Count of Pac, The Countess of Muy, Joseph Martínez de Hervás and Leon

²³ I would like to thank François-Pierre Goy at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France for valuable information on the publication of this work.

²⁴ ‘Dans quelques sociétés particulières, on a entendu avec plaisir M. Castro, espagnol, sur la guitare. Cet artiste qui annonce modestement qu’il est à Paris pour son instruction, connoit bien les ressources de son instrument et sait les faire valoir, surtout en ce qui tient au genre favori de sa nation. Il est auteur de quelques ouvrages dont nous parlerons’, *Correspondance des amateurs de musiciens*, 28 May 1803.

²⁵ Alexandre Étienne Choron and François Joseph M. Fayolle, *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens, artistes et amateurs, morts ou vivans*, vol. 1 (Paris: Valade, Lenormant, 1810), 123.

de Baykoff.²⁶ In 1808 he was asked to come to Valençay where he played and sang for the deposed king of Spain, Fernando VII, who stayed there during the French occupation of Spain between 1808 and 1814 as Napoleon's detainee.²⁷ Castro's published output consists of at least nineteen opus numbers (several of which contain music by other Spanish guitar composers), highlighting his collections of *seguidillas* and *boleros*, *Variations sur l'air du Minuet Afandangado*, *Variations de las Folias d'Espagne* op. 10 (see Illustration 5.2),²⁸ and a *Méthode de guitare ou lyre* (Paris, c1810).²⁹ Perhaps his most important contribution is the *Journal de musique étrangère pour la guitare ou lyre* of 1809,³⁰ a periodical collection of music for guitar issued bi-weekly, containing three pieces per issue: a Spanish song, an Italian song and an instrumental piece.

Sometime after 1815 Castro 'was engaged for some years as *Hofguitarist* at the court of Prince William, *Prince d'Orange*, in the Netherlands',³¹ certainly an important achievement for a guitarist, and it seems that he moved to England for good around 1829, probably with his son Mariano, who was also a guitarist.³² Until recently, the precise place and date of the birth and death of Salvador Castro were unknown.³³ The *Dictionnaire* by Choron and Fayolle claims that he was born in 1770;³⁴ however, a masonic document from 1805 gives his birth date as 9 November 1771.³⁵ He died in London on 15 February 1844 where he was staying at 59 St. Fitzroy Square, and was buried the following day in a common grave at the Cemetery of Westminster.³⁶ Both

²⁶ Castro has been referred as dedicating works, among others, to the Duke of Noailles, see M. Bergadà, s.v. 'Castro de Gistau, Salvador', in Joël-Marie Fauquet, *Dictionnaire de la musique en France au XIX^e Siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2003).

²⁷ *Gazette nationale ou le Moniteur universel*, 2 June 1808.

²⁸ Many of his publications appeared in a facsimile edition by Studio per Edizioni Scelte in 1981.

²⁹ On this method see Stenstadvoid, *Guitar Methods*, 73-75.

³⁰ *Mercure de France*, 3 June 1809, 477. A brief listing of the pieces included in this journal can be seen in Imogen Fellinger, *Periodica musicalia (1789-1830)* (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1986), 274-76.

³¹ Erik Stenstadvoid, 'Mariano Castro de Gistau (d 1856) and the vogue for the Spanish guitar in nineteenth-century Britain', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 16 (2017), 181.

³² An advertisement states that 'Castro de Gistau, Professor of the Spanish Guitar, has the honour to announce his arrival in London' (*Morning Post*, 28 April 1829), although it seems impossible to ascertain if the reference is to the father or son. On Mariano Theodoro Castro de Gistau, the son, see Stenstadvoid, 'Mariano Castro de Gistau', 177-97.

³³ These dates were first announced in Martín-Gil, 'Periodicals', 281.

³⁴ Choron and Fayolle, *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens*, vol. 1, 123.

³⁵ Fichier Bossu du Fonds maçonnique. In Martín-Gil, 'Periodicals', the date is mistakenly given as 9 September 1771.

³⁶ Register of Burials in the West of London and Westminster Cemetery. According to this register, Castro was 75 when he died. This conflicts somewhat with the birth date given in the masonic document. The most likely explanation is that in London they would not have known the precise age of the deceased Spaniard although it is, of course, also possible that the masonic document was incorrect.



Illustration 5.2. ‘Variatione 12’, in Salvador Castro de Gistau, *Variations de las Folias d’Espagne* op. 10 (Paris: The author, 1805), 6. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Vm9-3531 (Reproduced by permission).

the masonic document and the Choron and Fayolle *Dictionnaire* state that Castro was born in Madrid, although Choron and Fayolle also describe him as being of a noble Aragonese family.³⁷

‘Les deux amis’: Fernando Sor and Dionisio Aguado

When the Belgian musicologist François-Joseph Fétis stated in 1844, in his *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, that the guitar music of Fernando Sor ‘had little success because his habit of composing music almost always in four parts, made it very difficult for the amateurs’,³⁸ he described a guitar composer of a quality unmatched in his time. In a similar vein, Francesco Molino, another important guitarist of the Paris scene in the first half of the nineteenth century, described Sor’s music as having ‘so much harmony, that we may think that it is music [composed] for the Piano-Forte’.³⁹ The Catalan-born guitarist and composer Fernando Sor (1778-1839) has received the most attention by musicologists in recent years of any guitarist of the first half of the nineteenth century,⁴⁰ being considered as one of the greatest guitar composers of all time.

³⁷ On his family see Valeriano C. Labara Ballestar, ‘Los Castro de Gistau, un linaje de Laluenga y otras poblaciones’, *Emblemata* 5 (1999), 143-51. Unfortunately, this article does not offer any information about the guitarist.

³⁸ ‘Il avait écrit aussi beaucoup de musique pour la guitare ; mais elle avait peu de succès, parce que son habitude de composer presque toujours à quatre parties, la rendait trop difficile pour les amateurs’, François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, vol. 8 (Brussels: Meline, Cans et Compagnie, 1844), 233.

³⁹ ‘Qu’on voye la musique de M.^r Sor, si pleine d’harmonie qu’on le prendrait pour une musique de Piano-forté’, Francesco Molino, *Grande méthode complète pour guitare ou lyre* op. 33 (Paris: The author, 1823), 15.

⁴⁰ Several of the most important studies on this guitarist are Luis Gásser (ed.), *Estudios sobre Fernando Sor*, (Madrid: ICCMU, 2010); Kenneth Angus Hartdegen, ‘Fernando Sor’s Theory of Harmony Applied to the Guitar. History, Bibliography and Context’, PhD diss. (University of Auckland, 2011); Brian Jeffery, *Fernando Sor. Composer and Guitarist*, 3rd ed. (London: Tecla, 2020); Brian Jeffery, ‘Sor in Trouble with the Spanish Inquisition, 1803 to 1806’, *Soundboard* 38/3 (2012), 15-20; Brian Jeffery, *España de la guerra* (London: Tecla, 2017); Josep Maria Mangado, *Fernando Sor*, vol. 1, *Aportaciones biográficas* (Sant Feliu de Llobregat: The author,

Even though he tried to achieve a career as an opera and ballet composer, it is his guitar music that constitutes his most important legacy. Called the ‘Beethoven of the Guitar’ by his student Napoléon Coste,⁴¹ his output for this instrument comprises more than sixty opuses, featuring fantasies, sonatas, sets of variations, duets for two guitars and a wide variety of didactical pieces as well as music for voice and guitar. Perhaps, his most significant work is the *Méthode pour la guitare*, published in 1830. In the words of Stenstadvoll, one of the foremost specialists on this composer:

With its over eighty pages of text (type-set), and fifty pages of illustrations and musical examples (engraved), this is one of the most detailed guitar tutors of the period. It is quite different from the majority of concurrent methods in that, instead of the standard selection of progressive pieces, the music examples invariably concern specific technical or musical problems discussed in the text. The book is an invaluable source of information on Sor’s ideas on technique, fingering principles, etc.⁴²

Another Spanish guitarist – and close friend of Fernando Sor – who made his mark in the history of the guitar is Dionisio Aguado (1784-1849), considered an excellent guitarist in his own time.⁴³ In his method, Sor referred readers who wished to improve their *détaché* skills to Aguado who, ‘excelling in this kind of execution, is in a position to provide the most considered and

2020); vol. 2, *Documentos inéditos. Reflexiones e hipótesis* (Sant Feliu de Llobregat: The author, 2018); vol. 3, *La actividad guitarrística en París (1825-1839)* (Sant Feliu de Llobregat: The author, 2020); Damián Martín-Gil, ‘La partida de matrimonio de Fernando Sor (Granada, 1812)’, *Roseta* 16 (2021/22), 42-55; Wolf Moser, *Fernando Sor. Versuch einer Autobiographie und gitaristische Schriften* (Köln: Hennwack, 1984); Emili Olcina i Aya, *Apuntes sobre Ferran Sor y la creación romántica en la España de Goya* (Barcelona: Laertes, 1993); Christopher Page, ‘New Light on the London Years of Fernando Sor, 1815-1822’, *Early Music* 41/4 (2013), 557-69; Erik Stenstadvoll, ‘Fernando Sor on the Move in the Early 1820s’, *Soundboard Scholar* 1 (2015), 16-25; Erik Stenstadvoll, ‘A Newly Discovered Letter from 1827 by Fernando Sor’, *Soundboard Scholar* 3 (2017), 4-12; Erik Stenstadvoll, ‘Fernando Sor (1778-1839)’, in Page, Sparks and Westbrook (eds.), *The Great Vogue for the Guitar*, 203-20. It is worth mentioning the site www.fernandosor.es by Luis Briso de Montiano, which contains valuable information about this guitarist.

⁴¹ Ari Cornelis van Vliet, *Napoléon Coste: componist en gitarist in het muziekleven van het 19e-eeuwse Parijs. Biografie, thematische catalogus* (Utrecht: Stichting Cumuli, 2015), 90, in Mangado, *La actividad guitarrística*, 683.

⁴² Stenstadvoll, *Guitar Methods*, 182.

⁴³ Some important studies on Aguado are Luis Briso de Montiano, ‘Una parte de la biblioteca personal de Dionisio Aguado en el legado de Rosario Huidobro’, *Roseta* 12 (2018), 115-64; Luis Briso de Montiano, ‘Dionisio Aguado: El hijo’, *Roseta* 15 (2020), 6-51; Luis Briso de Montiano, ‘Dionisio Aguado. Los escritos a Santiago de Masarnau’, *Roseta* 16 (2021-22), 6-41; Gimeno, ‘Dionisio Aguado’; Luis Briso de Montiano, ‘Aguado. Testamento y memoria’, *Roseta* (2023), forthcoming; Luis Briso de Montiano, ‘Dionisio Aguado (1784-1849)’, in Page, Sparks and Westbrook (eds.), *The Great Vogue for the Guitar*, 221-36; Pompeyo Pérez Díaz, *Dionisio Aguado y la guitarra clásico-romántica* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2003) and José Luis Romanillos, ‘Dionisio Aguado. The Man’, *Guitar* 12/9 (1984), 13-16.

best studied rules on the subject'.⁴⁴ Aguado had devoted most of his energy to the evolution of guitar technique and performance and, in consequence, had published several important guitar methods. The very first, his *Colección de estudios* (Madrid, 1820), shows 'the germ and the different models of what will be the technical conception that Aguado had of the guitar',⁴⁵ and is a work aimed at those wanting to master the instrument, not just to accompany songs (as was relatively common at that time). Aguado continued offering his conception of the instrument in other subsequent methods, such as the *Escuela de guitarra* (Madrid, 1825), also published in French a year later, his *Nouvelle méthode* (Paris, 1834) and his *Nuevo método para guitarra* (Madrid, 1843). Of particular interest for the history of the instrument itself is his *La guitare fixée sur le Tripodison ou fixateur* (Paris, 1837) in which he presented a stand, attached to the guitar, to give as much freedom as possible to both hands. Even though Aguado is mostly known as a pedagogue, he also composed several works that deserve to be rated among the highest quality guitar pieces of this period, such as his *Trois rondo [sic] brillants* op. 2 or his *Le Fandango Varié* op. 16.

Conclusions

Several other guitarists, born after 1789 and active during the first half of nineteenth century, also deserve to be acknowledged. Some noteworthy figures are Miguel Carnicer (1793-1866), a student of Aguado, and Félix Ponzoa y Cebrián (1799-?), who allegedly gave guitar lessons to Francisco Tárrega.⁴⁶ Another important figure was Trinidad Huerta (1800-1874), who modestly called himself 'the Paganini of the guitar'.⁴⁷ He maintained a brilliant concert life during the second quarter of the century, claiming to have performed in France, England, Malta, Egypt, USA, Canada and Cuba among other countries, and was probably the first guitarist with such an international career. We should also call attention to a woman, Dolores Nevaes de Goñi

⁴⁴ Fernando Sor, *Méthode pour la Guitare* (Paris: The author, 1830), 32. The translation into English is taken from Matanya Ophee, *Fernando Sor, Method for Guitar* (Columbus: Orphée, 2010), 29.

⁴⁵ Luis Briso de Montiano, 'Dionisio Aguado. La Colección de estudios en el bicentenario de su aparición: algunas notas y reflexiones sobre sus inmediatos precedentes', <http://guitarra.artepulsado.com> (Accessed 22 Jan. 2023).

⁴⁶ On this guitarist see Isabel Lozano Martínez and Miguel Ángel Jiménez Arnáiz, 'Sucintas nociones de armonía y composición aplicadas a la guitarra por Félix Ponzoa y Cebrián. Manuscrito de música m/1003 de la Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid)', *Revista de Musicología* 29/2 (2006), 587-616.

⁴⁷ On this guitarist see James Radomski, 'Some Notes Towards the Biography of Trinidad Huerta', *Soundboard* 31/2-3 (2006), 39-50; Javier Suárez-Pajares and Robert Coldwell, *A.T. Huerta (1800-1874). Life and Works* (n.p: DGA, 2006) and Norberto Torres, 'Trinidad Huerta y la guitarra rasgueada', *Música oral del sur* 11 (2014), 120-40.

(c1815-1892), a brilliant concert guitarist who performed in France, England and the USA.⁴⁸

It is curious indeed that, in the following statement by the music historian Fétis from 1830, of the four guitarists who ‘have recently made it [the guitar] a concert instrument’, three were of Spanish origin, while simultaneously reiterating the claim that guitar playing was generally of a poor standard in that country:

In France, Germany and England the art of playing the guitar has been brought to a very high point of perfection; in recent times Messrs. Sor, Aguado, Huerta and Carcassi have recently made it a concert instrument, and have succeeded in performing very complicated music with several parts; but in Spain, the country of origin of this instrument, it is only used to accompany boleros, tiranas and other national tunes, and those who use it play it instinctively by striking the strings or scraping them with the back of the hand.⁴⁹

Certainly, the fact that Spanish figures such as Vidal, Padre Basilio, Castro de Gistau, Sor, Aguado and Huerta, to name a few, were among the most prominent guitarists and composers for this instrument in this period, makes it likely that, as Aleixo claims, the guitar was cultivated seriously in some circles and not only used ‘to accompany boleros, tiranas and other national tunes’. Unfortunately, a kind of animosity towards Spain – what some scholars have called the ‘Leyenda Negra’ (Black Legend)⁵⁰ – may underlie the prejudices expressed by Fétis and Gatayes, rather than an in-depth study of the quality, musical or technical, of the guitar playing in this country. In addition, the scarcity of printed publications for guitar in Spain would have made such a study difficult,⁵¹ and may have also contributed to the spread of this notion.

⁴⁸ Jan de Kloe, ‘Dolores Nevares de Goñi’, *Soundboard* 44/4 (2018), 15-24.

⁴⁹ ‘En France, en Allemagne et en Angleterre, l’art de jouer de la guitare est porté à un très haut point de perfection ; dans ces derniers temps, MM. Sor, Aguado, Huerta et Carcassi en ont fait un instrument de concert, et sont parvenus à y exécuter de la musique très compliquée à plusieurs parties ; mais en Espagne, pays originaire de cet instrument, il ne sert qu’à accompagner les boleros, les tirannas et autres airs nationaux, et ceux qui s’en servent en jouent d’instinct en frappant les cordes ou les raclant avec le dos de la main’, François-Joseph Fétis, *La musique mise à la portée de tout le monde* (Paris: Alexandre Mesnier, 1830), 111.

⁵⁰ On this phenomenon see Judith Etzion, ‘Spanish Music as Perceived in Western Music Historiography: A Case of the Black Legend?’, *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 29/2 (1998), 93-120.

⁵¹ An overview of the periodical publications during this period in Spain can be seen in Luis Briso de Montiano, ‘Colecciones y periódicos de música para guitarra en Madrid (1788-1830)’, *Roseta* 14 (2019), 20-50. On the guitar music advertised in the press of Madrid see Fernando García Antón, ‘La guitarra española en la conformación de una identidad sonora nacional entre ilustración y romanticismo (1789-1833)’, PhD diss. (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2017).

Chapter 6

PORTUGUESE FIGURES AND SOURCES

Mário Carreira

To write about the guitar in Portugal between 1750 and 1850 proves to be both a challenge and an arduous task.¹ The classical guitar in Portuguese lands during this period has been very little researched² and, as a consequence, very little seems to be known about the practice of this instrument in this particular country. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the state of the classical guitar in Portugal from the late eighteenth century, when the first figures composing music for this instrument are found, until the mid-nineteenth century, when the popularity of guitar in Portugal seems to more widely emerge. In doing so, I will revisit the life of some of the most relevant figures, as well as the music written for this instrument that it has been possible to trace.

Scarcity of sources

Only a few Portuguese guitarists active during second half of the eighteenth century have been discussed in musicological studies, but surprisingly the first half of the nineteenth century – despite its proximity in time – seems to be even less studied, probably due to a lack of materials and documentation. According to Maria João Durães Albuquerque, only five methods for guitar were published in Portugal between 1750 and 1834,³ which may indicate a lack of interest in Portuguese society for this instrument. In fact, only 5.1 per cent of the music published in this period is devoted to plucked instruments, which seems to corroborate this theory.⁴ Interest in the guitar in Portugal may

¹ Due to the organological variety attributed to the term ‘guitar’ in this country, I shall refer to a ‘guitar’ as the octoform body instrument with gut strings that evolved from five double courses to six single strings in the last quarter of the eighteenth century in Europe. In this chapter, the instrument commonly known as ‘Portuguese guitar’ is excluded, although I am aware of its importance in this country, particularly the great heritage of instrument makers in Portugal.

² One of the few musicological studies is Manuel Morais, ‘A viola de mão em Portugal 1 (c.1450-c.1789)’, *Nassarre* 12 (2006), 393-462.

³ Maria João Durães Albuquerque, *A edição musical em Portugal (1750-1834)* (Lisbon: INCM, 2006), 197, 341. See also Maria João Durães Albuquerque, ‘La edición musical en Portugal (1834-1900): un estudio documental’, PhD diss. (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2014).

⁴ Albuquerque, *A edição musical*, 36.

have been left behind the rest of Europe owing to the geographic isolation of the country, which may have also caused the lack of substantial repertoire published for it (particularly for solo guitar), with Antonio Abreu and Manoel da Paixão Ribeiro among the few authors for guitar cited in the history of Portuguese music.⁵

During this period, the most typical musical composition was the *modinha*, a type of sentimental song in vogue in Portugal, often described by foreign travelers. The English nobleman William Beckford (1760-1844), who wrote a journal during his stay in Portugal and Spain in the years 1787 and 1788, left us several accounts worthy of mention:

Those who have never heard modinhas must and will remain ignorant of the most voluptuous and bewitching music that ever existed [...] As to myself, I must confess that I am a slave to modinhas, and when I think of them I cannot endure the idea of quitting Portugal [...].⁶

Alongside the *modinha*, the minuet, the *bolero* and the *fandango* were occasionally danced and played in court and social life, as seen in the musical iconography of the period and documented in reports published in the *Gazeta de Lisboa*. Several plucked instruments were associated with these songs, being used almost exclusively as accompaniments, and this may have led, as in other countries, to a poor reputation for these instruments. This would have been the case for those who read *La musique mise à la portée de tout le monde* (1830) by François-Joseph Fétis, translated into Portuguese by José Ernesto d'Almeida in 1845, where the translator himself uses the word 'modinha', stating that 'Everyone knows how much the guitar is limited in its capacities; it seems only destined to give light support to the voice, in small pieces like Romances, Modinhas, Boleros, etc'.⁷ The situation in Portugal does not seem to have improved at all towards the end of the century, with Alves Rente, in his guitar method dated in 1880, noting that 'The guitar is an instrument that among us, Portuguese people, is

⁵ João de Freitas Branco, *História da música portuguesa* (Lisbon: Europa-América, 1959); Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos musicais populares portugueses* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1966); Rui Vieira Nery and Paulo Ferreira de Castro, *História da música*, coll. *Sínteses da cultura portuguesa* (Lisbon: IPNCM, 1991) and Manuel Carlos de Brito and Luísa Cymbron, *História da música portuguesa* (Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 1992).

⁶ 'Quem nunca ouviu cantar modinhas ignora as mais voluptuosas e feiteiras melodias que jamais existiram [...] Por mim confesso, sou escravo das modinhas, e quando me lembro delas não posso com a ideia de abandonar Portugal', William Beckford, *Diário de William Beckford em Portugal e Espanha* (Lisbon: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1957), 219.

⁷ 'Sabem todos quanto o Violão seja limitado em seus meios; parece apenas destinado a dar leve apoio á voz em pequenas peças vocaes, como Romances, Modinhas, Boleros, etc. [...]', François-Joseph Fétis, *A musica ao alcance de todos por Mr. Fetis*, José Ernesto D'Almeida (trad.) (Porto: Typographia Commercial, 1845), 230.

lying in the greatest possible neglect [...]; the guitar, presently sidelined, I do not know if it is for a lack of teachers, or for a lack of taste'.⁸

An special instance of the guitar accompanying the voice can be seen in the use of this instrument in the opera *L'oro non compra amore* by the celebrated composer Marcos Portugal (1762-1830). Premiered at the National Theatre of São Carlos in Lisbon in the winter season of 1804, and performed again in early 1810,⁹ a guitar accompaniment appears towards the end of the second act in the aria, *A miei cari state lontani*. A non-autograph manuscript held by the Royal College of Music (London) was recently published in a modern edition by David Cranmer.¹⁰ The opera *L'oro non compra amore* was first presented in Venice in 1794, written by the Neapolitan composer Luigi Caruso (1754-1823), of which three manuscript sources of the aria *Ho veduta una Civetta* survive, scored for two voices, violin, guitar and basso. Since the guitar accompaniment here is very similar to that by Marcos Portugal, it is possible that he knew the work of Caruso. In all the sources described here, the arpeggio patterns follow the tradition of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century guitar accompaniment, as described in the methods of authors such as Federico Moretti (1792) and Mauro Giuliani (1812). Unfortunately, it has not been possible to find out who the musician who played the guitar part in Lisbon was, nor if the guitar was included in other operas by Portuguese composers from this period. The accompanied aria in Marcos Portugal's opera proves to be a wonderful addition to the repertoire, and is probably not a unique case, given similar traditions in Italy through the Neapolitan school.¹¹

⁸ 'O violão, é um instrumento que entre nós, Portugueses, está deitado ao maior abandono possível [...]; o violão, presentemente posto à margem, não sei se por falta de professores, se por falta de gosto', Alves Rente, *Violão sem mestre pelo professor Alves Rente* (Porto: Francisco Guimarães, Filho & C^a, 1921 [1880]), 5.

⁹ 'Friday, January 5, 1810, by the Society of the Royal Theatre of S. Carlos and for the benefit of Marianna Scaramelli, it will be staged once again the famous Burleta *L'Oro non compra amore*, libretto by José Caravita, currently in the service of Your Royal Highness. Music by Marcos Portugal, music Master of Their Royal Highnesses and composer of the Real Camera. The Burleta is conducted by the same author' (Sexta feira 5 de Janeiro de 1810 pela Sociedade do Real Theatro de S. Carlos, em Benefício de Marianna Scaramelli, se ha de representar novamente a famosa Burleta *L'Oro non compra amore*, poesia de José Caravita, ao actual serviço de Sua Alteza Real, musica de Marcos Portugal, Mestre de musica de Suas Altezas Reaes, e Compositor da Real Camera. A dita Burleta he dirigida pelo mesmo autor), *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 4 Jan. 1810.

¹⁰ Marcos Portugal, *L'oro non compra amore* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de Sociologia e Estética Musical, 2012).

¹¹ The composers João de Sousa Carvalho (1745-1798) and Jerónimo Francisco de Lima (1741-1822) studied in Naples between 1761 and 1767, where they had as a colleague Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816).

The use of the *English guittar* in Portugal

An instrument commonly known as *English guittar*, a pear-shape plucked cittern with wire strings tuned in the chord of C major (see Illustration 6.1), was well appreciated in the highest circles of the Portuguese society.¹² It is not known with certainty when this type of guitar was introduced to Portugal; according to Pedro Caldeira Cabral, the *English guittar*, arrived in Porto in about 1760 through the British colonies,¹³ since it was a very fashionable instrument in the British Isles at the time. During the second half of the eighteenth century, several Portuguese composers wrote music for this instrument. Among them were António Pereyra da Costa who wrote *XII Serenatas for the Guittar* (London, c1760) and Manoel Joze Vidigal (c1763-c1827)¹⁴ who composed his *Seis minuettas para guitarra e baxo* (Lisbon, c1796) and his famous modinha *Cruel saudade*,¹⁵ and was a figure important enough to perform a concert at the D. José Lobo palace in Lisbon on 4 January 1796.¹⁶

The prolific composer António da Silva Leite (1759-1833) published his *Estudo de guitarra* (for *English guittar*) in 1795,¹⁷ dedicated to Antonia Magdalena de Cuadros e Sousa in Porto, and was re-published a year later in the same city.¹⁸ According to Silva Leite, the *English guittar* used in Portugal combined single and double courses, being tuned as follows: c', e', g'/g', c''/c'', e''/e'', g''/g''.¹⁹ Then, Silva Leite, whose great skill in counterpoint and sacred music was equal to his mastery of vocal repertoire and chamber sonatas for this instrument, also composed *Six Guitar Sonatas with Violin and Two Horns Ad Libitum* (1792), works that according to Santiago Kastner, are 'extremely well

¹² On this instrument see Panagiotis Pouloupoulos, 'The Guittar in The British Isles, 1750-1810', PhD diss. (University of Edinburgh, 2011).

¹³ Pedro Caldeira Cabral, *À descoberta da guitarra portuguesa* (Santo Tirso: Câmara Municipal de Santo Tirso, 2002), 7.

¹⁴ Dates kindly provided by Pedro Caldeira Cabral.

¹⁵ This list of works is taken from Cabral, *À descoberta da guitarra*, 7; See also Manuel Morais, 'A guitarra portuguesa, das suas origens setecentistas aos finais do século XIX', in Manuel Morais (coord.), *A guitarra portuguesa, Actas do Simpósio Internacional* (Lisbon: Estar, 2002), 114.

¹⁶ Described in A.P.D.G., *Sketches of Portuguese Life, Manners, Costume and Character* (London: Georg B. Whittaker, 1826), 221; Manuel Carlos de Brito, *Estudos de história da música em Portugal* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1989), 183. See also Joaquim de Vasconcellos, *Os musicos portugueses*, vol. 2 (Porto: Imp. Portuguesa, 1870), 233-34 and Ernesto Vieira, *Diccionario biographico de musicos portugueses*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Lambertini, 1900), 393-95.

¹⁷ The method ends with forty duets by Silva Leite for two *English guittars*, mostly comprised of marches and minuets (*Estudo de guitarra*, pl. II-XXII).

¹⁸ Pouloupoulos, 'The Guittar in The British Isles', 209. On this author see Rui Manuel P. da Silva Bessa, 'António da Silva Leite: criatividade e "moda" na música romântica portuense', PhD diss. (Universidade de Coimbra, 2008).

¹⁹ António da Silva Leite, *Estudo de guitarra* (Porto: Antonio Alvarez Ribeiro, 1796), 29. A facsimile edition was published in Lisbon in 1983 by the Ministério da Cultura. We can also see the tuning of this instrument in Luís Henrique, *Acústica musical* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2002), 417.

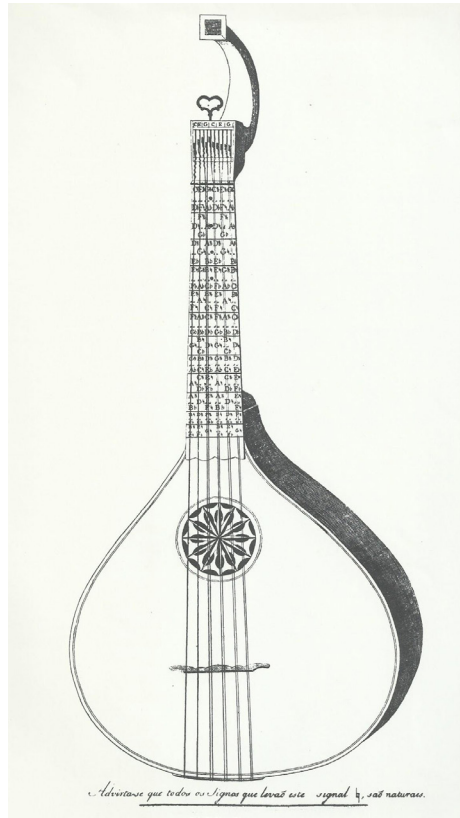


Illustration 6.1. Drawing of an English guitar in António da Silva Leite, *Estudo de guitarra* (Porto: Antonio Alvarez Ribeiro, 1796), 30. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, C.I.C.34 A- CFG2 (Reproduced by permission).

written, following the pattern of the so-called classic Viennese sonata'.²⁰ Silva Leite was chapelmaster in the cathedral of Porto and director of the Real Theatro de São João (inaugurated in 1798),²¹ where two of his operas were eventually performed in 1807.

Promoters of the so-called *Viola Toeira*

A variant of the five-course guitar today known as *viola toeira* seems to have been quite popular in Portugal.²² With its characteristic triple stringing of the

²⁰ Macario Santiago Kastner, 'Preface', in Silva Leite, *Estudo de guitarra*, fac. ed. (Lisbon: Ministério da Cultura, 1983), not paginated.

²¹ Many works were destroyed at the theatre in the terrible fire that occurred on 11 April 1908.

²² The term 'viola toeira' seems to have been adopted in the second half of the nineteenth century. Neither Paixão Ribeiro nor any of his contemporaries call the instrument this, but simply 'viola'. The term 'toeiras' (plural) refers to the third course (g''/g'''), as we can read from Ribeiro himself: 'Rule III. How to mount the strings. [...] we will start to mount the

fourth and fifth courses (the thinner string being the first to be plucked with the thumb), it is described as ‘guitarre à la Rodrigo’ in some French sources,²³ as the guitarist Rodrigo Antonio de Menezes (or Meneses, fl. 1722-1766) seems to have played this instrument. His presence is documented first in Paris, first publishing a method for guitar anonymously under the pseudonym ‘Don ★★★’ in 1758,²⁴ then teaching the guitar in 1759,²⁵ and later in London in the early 1760s. It was in London that the renowned music historian Charles Burney (1726-1814) referred to him in a statement published in *The Cyclopaedia* by Abraham Rees in 1819:

About 45 years ago, soon after the conspiracy at Lisbon, of Malagrida and others, a Portuguese gentleman, or musician, with the appearance of a gentleman, of the name of Menesis [sic], probably involved in the plot, resided some time in London, seemingly as a man of fashion, who performed in a very superior manner on the large Spanish guitar strung with cat-gut or bowel-strings.²⁶

Interestingly, this description by Burney reveals certain similarities with that provided by José Mazza (?-1797)²⁷ in his biographical dictionary, where the author refers to a certain ‘Rodrigo Ant.º’ (without the ‘Menezes’ surname), which may be related to Rodrigo Antonio de Menezes:

Rodrigo Ant.º was the most skillful guitar player that there has been in Lisbon until now. He composed many Minuets and Toccatas for guitar and died in foreign Kingdoms, where he had great applause. Instrumental musician of the Chamber of His Majesty and Nobleman Knight of the Royal House whose forum was granted to him in 1722.²⁸

thirds, commonly known as Toeiras’ (Regra III. Do modo de encordoar a Viola. [...] pôr-lhe-hemos primeiramente as Terceiras, a que vulgarmente chamão Toeiras), Manoel da Paixão Ribeiro, *Nova arte de viola*, (Coimbra: Real Officina da Universidade, 1789), 5.

²³ For instance, Michel Corrette in his guitar tutor *Les dons d’Apollon* (Paris, 1762) discusses the tuning of this instrument (Paul Sparks, ‘The Origins of the Classical Guitar’, in James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and Its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002], 202).

²⁴ Damián Martín-Gil and Erik Stenstadvold, ‘Eighteenth Century Precedents: The Role of Paris’, in Christopher Page, Paul Sparks and James Westbrook (eds.), *The Great Vogue for the Guitar in Western Europe: 1800-1840* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2023), 16.

²⁵ Damián Martín-Gil, ‘A Bibliographical Study of Periodicals for Voice and Guitar in Paris, 1758-1803’, *Revue de Musicologie* 107/2 (2021), 252.

²⁶ Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopaedia, or Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*, vol. 17 (London: Longman et al, 1819), in Christopher Page, *The Guitar in Georgian England: A Social and Musical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), 246.

²⁷ Vasconcellos, *Os musicos*, vol. 1, 248-49; Vieira, *Dicionario*, vol. 2, 76-77.

²⁸ ‘Rodrigo Ant.º foi o mais abil tangedor de viola que ate ao presente ove em Lx.ª. Compos m.to Minuete, e toccatas p.ª o dito Instrumento, morreu nos Reinos estrangeiros, onde teve g.des aplauzos. Muzico Instrumentista da Camara de S. Mag.de e Cavaleiro Fidalgo da Caza Real cujo foro lhe foi consedido no Ano 1722’, José Mazza, *Dicionário biográfico de músicos portugueses, com prefácio e notas do P.E. José Augusto Alegria* (Lisbon: Editorial Império, 1944-1945), 39.

The information provided by Mazza, if correct, is precious in many details, as he refers to Lisbon as the city where Menezes may have been born, and the reference to ‘His Majesty’s Musician’, as well as ‘the Nobleman Knight of the Royal House in 1722’, allows us to deduce that he was at the service of King John V at that time (D. João V). We also know that Menezes was active in Germany. The notable historian and biographer Joaquim de Vasconcellos (1849-1936) informs us that he was a guitarist of high reputation in this country, particularly in Leipzig where he seems to have played concerts in 1766.²⁹ Menezes is also mentioned by Domingo Prat (1934),³⁰ João de Freitas Branco (1959),³¹ and Paul Sparks (2002),³² without adding any new biographical data.

Another Portuguese guitarist that may have promoted this instrument is the Abate António da Costa (Porto? 1714-Vienna, c1780), a priest who also met with Charles Burney in Vienna in about 1772-73.³³ The nineteenth-century historian Joaquim de Vasconcellos was the first to reveal to Portuguese readers a set of very important letters by António da Costa, now held in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal.³⁴ Vasconcellos was also responsible for the entry on Costa in his own dictionary in 1870,³⁵ with Fétis later adding a similar entry on him that appeared in his posthumous *supplément* to the *Biographie universelle des musiciens*.³⁶ Costa’s guitar music remains mostly unknown; however, there is a manuscript for five-course guitar in the collection of Portuguese guitarist Paulo Galvão with the initials ‘A.dC’, allegedly once belonging to Costa (although the authenticity of this manuscript has been recently contested).³⁷ Charles Burney left several accounts of Costa during his

²⁹ Vasconcellos, *Os músicos portugueses*, vol. 1, 269. Clearly Vasconcellos based this information in Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig, 1790), 728.

³⁰ Domingo Prat, *Diccionario de guitarristas y guitarreros* (Buenos Aires: Romero y Fernández, 1934), 203.

³¹ Branco, *História da música portuguesa*, 136-37.

³² Sparks, ‘The Origins’, 204.

³³ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*, vol. 1 (London: T. Becket et al, 1773), 256.

³⁴ The letters, which unfortunately remain untranslated into English, are full of worthy reports and were sent from Rome and Vienna during the years 1752-1780. See Joaquim de Vasconcellos, *Cartas curiosas escriptas de Roma e de Vienna pelo Abbade António da Costa* (Porto: Imprensa Literário-Commercial, 1878). The letters were published later by Fernando Lopes-Graça under the title *Cartas do Abade António da Costa* (Lisbon: Cadernos da Seara Nova, 1946).

³⁵ Vasconcellos, *Os músicos portugueses*, vol. 1, 59-60.

³⁶ Joaquim de Vasconcellos, s.v. ‘Costa, l’abbé’, in François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, supplément et complément, vol. 1 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1881), 203-204. According to Vasconcellos, the date of that supplément is 1878: ‘Na nossa biographia do Abbade Costa, escripta para o Supplemento á Biograph. univ. de Fétis (Paris, Didot, 1878, 203-204), attribuímos o exilio d’elle á influencia do Marquez de Pombal’, Vasconcellos, *Cartas curiosas*, (1878), not paginated.

³⁷ See Andrea Ciacchi and Mariateresa Dellaborra, ‘António da Costa compositore e commentatore della scena musicale italiana settecentesca’, *Fonti Musicali Italiane* 25 (2020), 33-60.



Illustration 6.2. Sketches copied by Burney in Vienna while listening to António da Costa, in Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*, vol. 1 (London: T. Becket et al, 1773), 286. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, M. 55 V. (Reproduced by permission).

stay in Vienna, stating that he played ‘very well on the large Spanish guitar [sic], though in a very peculiar style’, that ‘This Abate is the extraordinary musician [...] both as composer and performer’, and that he was ‘original in his ideas’,³⁸ which is a remarkable comment for such a music historian to make.

Another very intriguing question relates to the type of guitar used by Costa in Vienna.³⁹ Stefan Hackl’s hypothesis that Costa played a Portuguese guitar tuned in C must be seriously questioned.⁴⁰ Although there are no certainties, and while Burney’s description is not sufficient to judge the type of guitar used by Costa, I would like to propose the possibility that Costa played the *viola toeira*, mentioned above. This instrument is described in three sources: the *Liçam instrumental da viola portuguesa* by João Leite Pita da Rocha (Lisbon, 1752), the *Nova arte de viola* by Manoel da Paixão Ribeiro (Coimbra, 1789) and the *Methodo pratico de conhecer e formar os tons*

³⁸ Burney, *The Present State*, 320-21.

³⁹ According to Michel Noiray, the French translator of Burney’s work (1773), there is an instrument similar to the one used by Costa in the Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire de Paris, although without mentioning the instrument itself, see Charles Burney, *Voyage musical dans l’Europe des Lumières* (Paris: Flammarion, 1992), 335.

⁴⁰ Erik Pierre Hofmann, Pascal Mougin and Stefan Hackl, *Stauffer & C^o, La Guitare Viennoise*, (Germolles-sur Grosne: Les Robins, 2011), 240; Stefan Hackl, *Die Gitarre in Österreich, von Abate Costa bis Zykan* (Vienna: Studienverlag, 2011), 26-27.

(Coimbra, 1826), identified with the initials S.M.M.P.⁴¹ It is interesting to note that thirty-seven years before Paixão Ribeiro, the method of Pita da Rocha was already conceived for such an instrument, which he called 'Vió-la Portuguesa'. In the prologue, Pita da Rocha is quite clear regarding the string tuning of this instrument:

The guitar that we commonly use is the one of five-course, in which must be included twelve strings: the first course has two equal strings; the second and the third also two strings; the fourth and the fifth must be mounted with three strings per course with a bourdon, that each one must have, as we ordinarily see.⁴²

According to Manuel Morais, three instruments from the time of Paixão Ribeiro have survived, by Antonio dos Santos Vieyra (Lisbon, c1780?),⁴³ Pedro Ferreira Oliveira (Lisbon, 1790) and Jozé Coelho (Lisbon, c1820?).⁴⁴ Further surviving instruments from the second half of the nineteenth century include those by Joaquim Wladislao Bruno & Irmão (Coimbra, 1865), and Augusto Nunes dos Santos (Coimbra, fl. 1880).⁴⁵

As I have mentioned, another significant figure composing for guitar was Manoel da Paixão Ribeiro (fl. 1789), a non-professional guitarist (as he described himself).⁴⁶ He is the author of a guitar method entitled *Nova arte de viola*, published in Coimbra in 1789 where he tells us that the guitar can be mounted either with gut or metal strings. The book is interesting for its particular string tuning system, and it contains chords and scales, a minuet with variations and two *Modinhas* with guitar accompaniment. No other records have been found on this author.⁴⁷

⁴¹ *Methodo pratico de conhecer e formar os tons, ou acordes na viola por S.M.M.P.* (Coimbra: Real imprensa da universidade, 1826). The abbreviation 'S.M.M.P.' seems to be related to the author Simplicio de Moura Macedo Pinto (Morais, 'A Guitarra Portuguesa', 116).

⁴² 'He a Vióla, de que ordinariamente usamos, de cinco ordens de cordas, nas quaes se devem incluir doze: fc. a primeira ordem, que he a das primas, que se compõem de duas cordas iguaes; a segunda, e a terceira são as que chamamos segundas, e terceiras, que tambem devem ter duas cordas cada huma; e as quartas, e quintas devem ter tres cordas cada huma, entrando nellas o bordão, que cada huma deve de ter, como ordinariamente vemos', Leite Pita da Rocha, *Liçam Instrumental*, 1-2.

⁴³ According to the description in the catalogue of the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), it must have had five courses, gathered in two triple strings and three double, that is to say a Paixão Ribeiro-like guitar.

⁴⁴ Manuel Morais, 'A Viola de arame no contexto Português (Séculos XVIII-XX)', in Maria Elizabeth Lucas e Rui Vieira Nery, *As músicas luso-brasileiras no final do Antigo Regime: Reper-tórios, práticas e representações* (Lisbon: FCG, 2012), 656.

⁴⁵ A guitar owned by this author is currently being restored at Orlando Trindade's guitar workshop (Caldas da Rainha, Portugal).

⁴⁶ On this author see Vieira, *Diccionario*, vol. 2, 259-60.

⁴⁷ Vieira, *Diccionario*, 259-60.

Guitar methods during the first half of the nineteenth century

The activity of some significant Portuguese guitarists is recorded within some of their pedagogical works. Antonio Abreu (c1750-c1820) was active at the very end of the eighteenth century and in the early nineteenth century, and was a guitarist who, according to several sources, was better known in Spain as ‘El portugués’.⁴⁸ He spent many years in Spain and is mostly known for having published a remarkable guitar method in Salamanca in 1799.⁴⁹ According to the tradition in the Iberian Peninsula, all Abreu works were conceived for a five or six-course guitar, an instrument – particularly that of six courses – that according to François de Fossa (1775-1849) remained in use in Spain up to the 1820s.⁵⁰ Some of Abreu’s works have survived in manuscript, and some are available at the Real Conservatorio Superior de Música in Madrid. His guitar music deserves to be played and can be compared to that of his contemporaries such as Fernando Ferandiere or Isidro Laporta.

The Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal possesses several guitar methods published in the first half of the nineteenth century. The earliest of these is the *Compêndio de Música* (Porto: António Alvarez Ribeiro, 1806) by Domingos de S. José Varela.⁵¹ This is a theoretical work, which contains no music, but includes a chapter on guitar measurements entitled ‘Medidas dos braços das Violas, e Guitarras, [...]’. More than thirty years later, an author in Braga with the initials ‘J. P. S. S’ published in 1839 what appears to be the earliest method published in Portugal for a six-string guitar, *Arte de muzica para viola franceza com regras do acompanhamento*. The title page of this work describes the method as ‘For the use of all the people, who will apply to play it by music, and even for those, who do not want to make the said application’.⁵² This method appeared at a very late date considering the so-called *Chitarra Francese* or six-single-string guitar had been fashionable much earlier in other cities, such as in Naples in about 1790.⁵³ The following year, in 1840, the

⁴⁸ Several sources refer to Abreu by this nickname. See Vieira, *Diccionario*, vol. 1, 1-2, and Luis Briso de Montiano, *Un fondo desconocido de música para guitarra* (Madrid: Opera tres, 1995), 43-45.

⁴⁹ Antonio Abreu, *Escuela para tocar con perfección la guitarra de cinco y seis ordenes* (Salamanca: Victor Prieto and Imprenta de la calle Prior, 1799). On this method see Erik Stenstadvold, *An Annotated Bibliography of Guitar Methods, 1760-1860* (Hillsdale, NY and London: Pendragon, 2010), 13.

⁵⁰ ‘It should not be forgotten that Mr. Aguado is writing in Spain where the double courses are still in use’ (Il ne faut pas oublier que M. Aguado écrit en Espagne où la double corde est encore en usage), Dionisio Aguado, *Méthode complète traduite en français par François de Fossa* (Paris: The author, 1826), 31.

⁵¹ Vasconcellos, *Os musicos*, vol. 2, 229-30.

⁵² ‘Para uso de todas as Pessoas, que queirão applicarse a toca la por Muzica, e mesmo para as, que não quizerem fazer a dita applicação’, Anon., ‘J. P. S. S’, *Arte de muzica para viola franceza* (Braga, 1839), title page. On this method see Stenstadvold, *Guitar Methods*, 22.

⁵³ On this instrument see Thomas Heck, ‘The Vogue of the Chitarra Francese in Italy: How

Methodo geral para viola franceza by Manoel Nunes Aguedo was published in Porto, with a second edition appearing in 1856. This method was reprinted in Porto as late as 1862 and was revised by J. A. Ribas, which may explain its editorial success. Resembling the methods of Ferdinando Carulli and Matteo Carcassi (which the author sometimes transcribed literally), this guitar tutor contains several dances for solo guitar (waltzes, polkas, schottische...), melodies on themes by Bellini and Verdi and explanations of natural harmonics. Aguedo was most probably from Porto, as the first edition states that it was 'For sale in Porto at the author's house, Rua das Hortas Nº 154'.⁵⁴ Several smaller methods circulated in Lisbon and Porto after the second edition of Aguedo which, despite a certain editorial success, are generally elementary in nature and definitely poor in content, with many of them only suitable for basic purposes, without the necessity of a master and 'no need to know how to read music'.

Conclusions

Even though I have tried to show the activity and music production of some important figures associated with the guitar in Portugal – some of them developing their professional careers abroad – it is still very difficult to know exactly how the enthusiasm for this instrument flourished across this country. The information available is, as we have seen, scarce and often incomplete. In addition, during the period studied, the few existing publishing houses in Portugal were often devoted to the vogue of the *modinha*, and apparently very little music was published for the Spanish guitar, in contrast to other countries.⁵⁵ Even though Portugal provided a number of great guitarists throughout this period (such as Rodrigo Antonio de Menezes, António da Costa or José Doria [1824-1869]⁵⁶), we find a sad void in their music production, as none of their guitar works seem to have survived, although certainly, more research needs to be done in this field. Perhaps research should be extended to Brazil, a country where, after all, the Portuguese Royal family settled in 1808 to escape the French invasion,⁵⁷ probably followed in their wake by several instrumentalists, and among them, some guitarists.

French? How Italian? How Neapolitan?', *Soundboard* 38/4 (2012), 18-25.

⁵⁴ 'À venda no Porto em casa do autor, Rua das Hortas'. Manoel Nunes Aguedo, *Methodo geral para viola franceza*, 2nd ed. (Porto: The author, 1856), title page. On this method see Stenstadvold, *Guitar Methods*, 21.

⁵⁵ I am aware of the work of João Antonio Ribas (1799-1869), including two sonatas for flute and guitar (c 1820). However, Ribas was born in Ferrol, Galicia and for that reason he has not been included in the present chapter (Vieira, *Diccionario*, vol. 2, 252-53).

⁵⁶ The last great performer of the *viola toeira* that Vasconcellos knew and heard (Vasconcellos, *Os musicos*, vol. 1, 82-91).

⁵⁷ The departure took place on 29 November 1807 and the arrival in Brazil on 8 March 1808.

Chapter 7

THE ITALIANS LEAVING THEIR MAINLAND

*Giulio Gianì **

From the 1750s onwards we can observe a flourishing of original literature for the guitar occurring particularly in France, with a similar rebirth noticeable in other European countries by the end of the century. Many of the most important figures that promoted the guitar in the hundred-year period that followed this new wave of guitar enthusiasm were of Italian origin. Names like Merchi, Moretti, Carulli, Giuliani, Molino, Carcassi or Legnani are among the most notorious composers of music for guitar throughout the period. Alongside them, we can doubtless include characters not commonly known as guitar players, but rather as renowned composers, such as Paganini and Boccherini, who certainly had some impact in the cultivation of guitar music. Most of these figures began their careers in their own homeland but after a few years settled abroad. They played, composed, taught and published their works mainly in France, England, Austria and Spain in a paradox that raises several questions: why did they emigrate from Italy? What was the Italian socio-cultural context that made them leave? Throughout this chapter I will try to offer an overview of the activity of these composers in a search to answer these questions, with the aim of shedding more light on the history of the guitar and of the Italian guitarists of this period.

Emigration continues, 1750-1790

Like many other guitarists in the past who spent many years outside Italy, such as Giovanni Paolo Foscari (fl. 1629-1647) and Francesco Corbetta (1615-1681), several guitarists in the second half of the eighteenth century – after a period of around forty years of little interest in this instrument in Europe – tried to find their fortune outside their motherland. Paul Sparks suggests that the main reason to leave their country at that time was the fact that France particularly had a music market that Italy did not:

Music and opera were eagerly patronized by the privileged strata of French society, and this in turn encouraged musicians from throughout Europe (especially from Italy, which at this time was not a united

* I would like to express my most sincere gratitude to Damián Martín-Gil for help and advice during the preparation of this chapter.

country but simply a collection of poor and disparate regions) to seek their fortune in Paris and in France's second city of Lyons.¹

According to Spark's argument, the Italian style became so popular that 'by mid-century it was steadily superseding the grander traditions of the French Baroque',² particularly after the performance of *La serva padrona* by Pergolesi in 1752 in Paris. Then, what we could call an exodus of Italian musicians occurred, and following this trend, several Italian guitarists moved to other parts of Europe. An example of this movement can be seen in the Colla brothers from Brescia, and particularly in Domenico, who seems to have been the more important of the two, performing on an instrument called *colascione* and being most probably accompanied by a guitar played by his brother. They travelled Europe in the 1750s and 1760s performing in the most important courts of the Continent. Probably in a quest to sell the exotism of Italian music with this little-known instrument, the brothers were quite successful, and some works for *colascione* were even published. Another well-known similar case, and coincidentally from Brescia too, is that of the Merchi brothers (Giacomo and Giuseppe) who arrived in Paris in the early 1750s. Certainly, Giacomo Merchi, the more important of the two brothers,³ maintained a similar international career, publishing music – mostly for the guitar – in Paris, Holland and London between c1755 and c1780. Their reasons for leaving their country may have been varied, but a search for fame playing concerts and finding a good position in a court may have been among the main ones. The three main destinations for Italian musicians seem to have been Paris, London, and Vienna, metropolises with emerging publishing businesses in music, and with a demanding market for performers, teachers and composers. Soon after the Merchi brothers settled in Paris, they began a collection of music for voice and guitar that lasted more than twenty years, and during this time, Giacomo published two methods for the guitar, *Le guide des écoliers de guitarrre* (1761) and *Traité des agréments de la musique* (1777), both now considered key works in the development of the instrument at that time.

Another Italian figure that emigrated to Paris was Francesco Alberti, a guitarist about whom we know nearly nothing, only that in 1785, in collaboration with the publisher Camand, he began a weekly *Journal de*

¹ Paul Sparks, 'The Origins of the Classical Guitar', in James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and Its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 198.

² Sparks, 'The origins', 198.

³ On this author see Damián Martín-Gil and Erik Stenstadvold, 'Eighteenth Century Precedents: The Role of Paris', in Christopher Page, Paul Sparks and James Westbrook (eds.), *The Great Vogue for the Guitar in Western Europe: 1800-1840* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2023), 17-19.

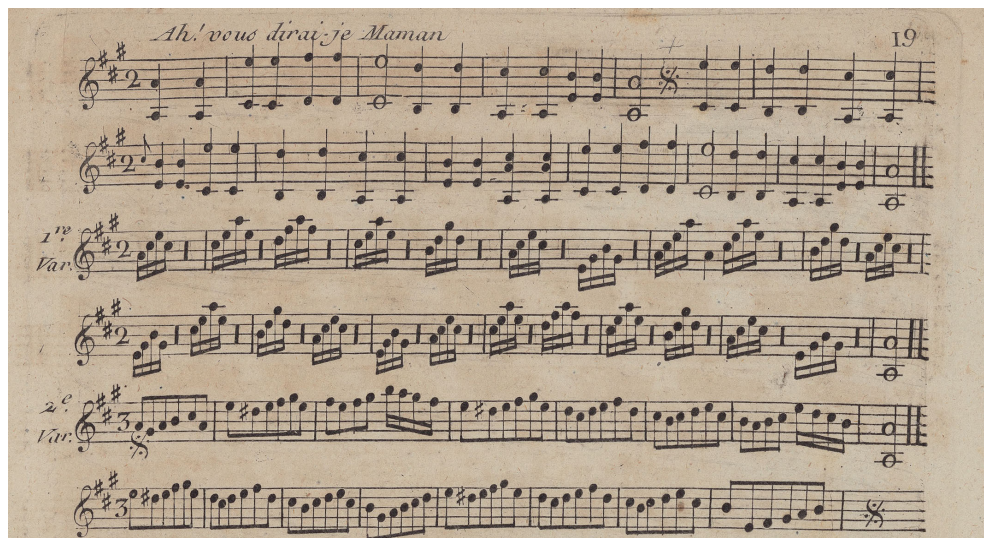


Illustration 7.1. Extract from 'Ah! vous dirai-je Maman', theme and nine variations for guitar, Francesco Alberti, *Nouvelle méthode de guitare* (Paris: Camand, 1786), 19. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Vm8u.15 (Reproduced by permission).

guitare,⁴ with music for voice and guitar, and that a year later also published a method, his *Nouvelle méthode de guitare* (1786),⁵ which contains simple solo music, guitar duets and music for voice, violin and guitar.

A new generation leaving the country, 1791-1820

In his article, 'The role of Italy in the early history of classic guitar', Thomas Heck stated several reasons as to why Italian guitarists might leave their country. First was the need of these musicians 'to make themselves heard', and salons in places like Vienna or Paris offered more opportunities for such performers. Second, a 'keen competition among Italian guitarists' may have led some to find new markets to develop their art. Third, 'the political turmoil wreaked by Napoleon in Italy' may have driven musicians to find shelter in other countries. Lastly, and perhaps the most *decisive* reason, was 'the general lack of competent publishing houses on their native soil'.⁶ Certainly, each musician had their own reasons. For example, the Neapolitan Federico Moretti (1769-1839),⁷ a man who had a considerable impact on guitarists

⁴ Damián Martín-Gil, 'A Bibliographical Study of Periodicals for Voice and Guitar in Paris, 1758-1803', *Revue de Musicologie* 107/2 (2021), 270.

⁵ Erik Stenstadvold, *An Annotated Bibliography of Guitar Methods, 1760-1860* (Hillsdale, NY and London: Pendragon, 2010), 21-22.

⁶ Thomas F. Heck, 'The Role of Italy in the Early History of Classic Guitar', *Guitar Review* 34 (1971), 1-6.

⁷ Ana Carpintero Fernández, 'Federico Moretti (1769-1839), I. Vida y obra musical', *Nassarre* 25 (2009), 110-34.

such a Fernando Sor and Dionisio Aguado, probably did not follow any of these hypotheses. In 1792, Moretti published in Naples the first edition of his guitar method for five-string guitar entitled *Principj per la chitarra*, calling himself ‘Dilettante’.⁸ Around two years later he left Italy for Spain, probably for political reasons, enrolling in the army there and being associated with it all his life.⁹ Before the turn of the century, in 1799, Moretti published what he called a second edition of his method entitled *Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis órdenes*, this time for the type of guitar fashionable in Spain, the six double-course guitar. Moretti published among other music, several methods for guitar, compositions for guitar, voice and guitar, two guitars and apparently, a concerto for guitar and orchestra (op. 12) that has not been located.

Two other guitarists left Italy at the dawn of the nineteenth century to settle in two of the most important cities in Continental Europe at almost the same time: Mauro Giuliani (1781-1829) who settled in Vienna in 1806, and Ferdinando Carulli (1770-1841) who followed suit, moving to Paris in 1809.¹⁰ After two years in Vienna Mauro Giuliani premiered his concerto for guitar and orchestra op. 30, becoming a leading figure in the city.¹¹ There he performed and taught throughout his life, creating a corpus of 150 works with opus number and seventy without it. In his production we find all sorts of music genres, ranging from the complex to the very easy, and dedicated to the most virtuosic guitarists and to beginners. Significant examples of his work include his four concertos for guitar (op. 30, op. 36, op. 70 [for *terz* guitar], and op. 129 [lost]), his *Studio* op. 1 (1812), a work that can be considered his method and where we find the well-known 120 exercises for the right hand, or his *Six Rossinians* for solo guitar (opp. 119-124), based on themes of Rossini, and that as we can see in Illustration 7.2, were extremely complex and virtuosic.

On the other hand, Ferdinando Carulli,¹² considered the most important guitar teacher in Paris, obtained much acclaim at his arrival in this city. Only

⁸ On the methods for guitar by Moretti see Stenstadvoll, *Guitar Methods*, 151-53.

⁹ Ana Carpintero Fernández, ‘El Mariscal de Campo don Federico Moretti (1769 - †1839): vida y obra militar’, *Revista de historia militar* 108 (2010), 77-110.

¹⁰ Romolo Calandrucio, ‘Carulli, ultimo concerto in Italia?’, www.ferdinandocarulli.it (Accessed 28 Dec. 2022).

¹¹ Among the most useful biographies written about this composer are Thomas F. Heck, ‘The Birth of the Classic Guitar and its Cultivation in Vienna, Reflected in the Career and Compositions of Mauro Giuliani (d. 1829)’, vol. 1: *Biography*, vol. 2: *Thematic catalogue*, PhD diss. (University of Yale, 1970); Marco Riboni, ‘Mauro Giuliani (1781-1829): profilo biografico-critico ed analisi delle trascrizioni per chitarra’, PhD diss. (University of Milan, 1992) and Gerhard Penn, ‘Mauro Giuliani (1781-1829)’, in Page, Sparks and Westbrook (eds.), *The Great Vogue for the Guitar*, 187-202.

¹² On the biography and works of this figure see Mario Torta, ‘Ferdinando Carulli (1770-1841)’, in Page, Sparks and Westbrook (eds.), *The Great Vogue for the Guitar*, 173-86; Mario Torta, ‘Ferdinando Carulli (1770-1841) Profilo biografico-critico et catalogo tematico delle opere



Illustration 7.2. Extract from 'Introduzione', in Mauro Giuliani, *Le Rossiniane per la chitarra* no. 1, op. 119 (Vienna: Artaria, 1820), 1. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, 4 Mus.pr. 2011.3024 (Reproduced by permission).

one year later, in 1810, he was already publishing what may be considered one of the most important methods for the guitar of the period, his *Méthode complète de guitare ou lyre* op. 27, a work that, due to its methodology, became a huge success, with six Paris editions published during his lifetime.¹³ According to a journalist in 1812, 'Carulli played things on the guitar that seemed to belong to a completely new art' and that he 'intended to raise the guitar to the rank of harmonic instruments'.¹⁴ Carulli composed more than 360 opuses, which probably makes him the most prolific composer for guitar of his time. Two of his most important works are his concertos for guitar op. 8 and op. 140, the latter entitled 'Petit Concerto de Société'.

In the wake of these two guitarists, two other Italian figures became very influential in Europe after leaving their own country. The first of these was Francesco Molino (1768-1847),¹⁵ a violinist and guitarist that became, with Carulli, one of the most respected teachers in Paris, leaving an important corpus of music in his almost thirty years active in this city. Together with Carulli, he was caricatured in the famous 'Discussion entre le Carullistes et le Molinistes', which shows the followers of both teachers fighting each other.¹⁶ The methods

con numero', PhD diss. (Università degli studi di Roma 'La Sapienza', 1989); Mario Torta, *Catalogo tematico delle opere di Ferdinando Carulli*, 2 vols. (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1993); Romolo Calandruccio, 'Ferdinando Carulli (Napoli, 09.02.1770-Parigi 14.02.1841). Un aggiornamento biografico tra dati storici e ipotesi a 250 anni dalla nascita', *Il Fronimo* 191 (2020), 25-42; *Il Fronimo* 192 (2021), 7-53; *Il Fronimo* 193 (2021), 7-37; *Il Fronimo* 194 (2021), 33-57; *Il Fronimo* 195 (2021), 5-22.

¹³ On a survey of all the methods published by Carulli see Stenstadsvold, *Guitar Methods*, 59-71.

¹⁴ 'Carulli fit entendre sur la guitare des choses qui parurent alors appartenir à un art tout nouveau', 'avait l'intention d'élever la guitare au rang des instruments d'harmonie', *Revue musicale*, 31 Feb. 1812.

¹⁵ Among the biographies of this author we can mention Mario Dell'Ara, 'Luigi, Valentino e Francesco Molino', *Il Fronimo* 50 (1985), 14-42; Mario Dell'Ara, *Francesco Molino: Vita e opere*, vol. 1 (Savigliano: Rosa Sonora, 2014) and Jan W. J. Burgers, *Francesco Molino (1768-1847). Guitarist and Violinist. Life and Works* (Dieren: Bergmann, 2021).

¹⁶ Damián Martín-Gil, 'Unravelling the Discussion entre les Carullistes et les Molinistes (Paris, 1828)', *Soundboard Scholar* 6 (2020), 11-21.

by Molino obtained wide acclaim, being translated into German, Italian and Spanish. His *Méthode de guitare* (Paris, 1817), a guitar tutor that received a subscription of more than 350 persons, and his *Grande méthode complète pour guitare ou lyre* op. 33 (Paris, 1823), are both works where the author questions the use of certain techniques promoted by the most important guitarists of the period (such as the use of the left-hand thumb or the so-called 'écho' or 'vibration' technique). Molino's music has been called 'sweeter and more meditative' than that of Carulli,¹⁷ although this may be subject to personal interpretation. His most important work is probably his *Grand concerto pour la guitare* op. 56, published between 1829 and 1831, a composition that seems to be inspired in Carulli's concerto op. 140 published ten years earlier.

Another Italian figure that has had a significant role in the development of the guitar was Matteo Carcassi (1796-1853), a concert player that toured Europe with great success.¹⁸ With more than seventy opus numbers, Carcassi is mostly known today for his *25 Études mélodiques progressives*, 'probably composed around 1836 although not published until 1852',¹⁹ which are a set of studies that have molded the technique of many generations of guitarists after him.

Guitar music published in Italy: The case of Ricordi

When in 1808 the music publisher Giovanni Ricordi (1785-1853) opened his publishing house in Milan, the first work that he issued was *Le stagioni dell'anno* opp. 4, 5, 6 and 7 (an excerpt of this work can be seen in Illustration 7.3), a composition by the guitarist Antonio Maria Nava (1773-1826).²⁰ Nava is an example of an Italian guitarist who developed his career in his own country and who published many works throughout his life with Ricordi in Milan. Some important examples include his *Modo facile di comporre per mezzo di due tavole una quantità di valzer per chitarra francese* [1808] (a publication aimed at initiating amateur guitarists into composition), the *Nuovo metodo per chitarra* (1812) and his *Metodo completo per la Chitarra o Lira* (1826), although his production for guitar consists of more than seventy opuses as well as several works released without opus number.

¹⁷ 'più dolce e meditativa quella di Molino', Dell'Ara, *Francesco Molino: Vita e opere*, 34.

¹⁸ On this author see Mauro Mariottini, 'Matteo Carcassi (1793?-1853): un aggiornamento bio-bibliografico', *Il Fronimo* 108 (1999), 25-34; Mario Dell'Ara, 'Catalogo delle opere di Matteo Carcassi', *Il Fronimo* 108 (1999), 35-42; and Erik Stenstadvoll, 'Appendix: Matteo Carcassi (1796-1853)', in Page, Sparks and Westbrook (eds.), *The Great Vogue for the Guitar*, 72-75.

¹⁹ Brian Jeffery, 'Introduction', in Matteo Carcassi, *25 Etudes for Guitar* op. 60 (London: Tecla, 2005).

²⁰ On this author see Francesco Biraghi and Paola Carlomagno, 'Alla scoperta di Antonio Nava, chitarrista milanese', *Il Fronimo* 159 (2012), 31-34; 'Antonio Nava. Chitarrista italiano non più sconosciuto' (prima parte), *Il Fronimo* 161 (2013), 17-24; (seconda parte), *Il Fronimo* 164 (2013), 31-44.



Illustration 7.3. Excerpt from 'Primavera', in Antonio Maria Nava, *Le stagioni dell'anno* (Milan and Turin: Ricordi, n.d. [1808]), 2. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, VMA-3392 (22), (Reproduced by permission).

Certainly, the fact that Nava published so many works with Ricordi makes us think that this editor held the guitar in great esteem and found investing in it a source of profit. Cities like Milan or even Turin – where Ricordi had an important sales branch of his publishing house – had a significant musical life. As in other large cities, they had salons – also called Societies – where aristocrats and members of the bourgeoisie met frequently. Coincidentally, Ricordi himself owned a salon where he hosted concerts as a way to promote all the music he published. Salons served to provide artistic gratification for families, and they were a good way to move up through the ranks of society. Music was a very good way to get noticed, especially for ladies, by either playing an instrument, singing, or both at the same time. Salons were the perfect place to demonstrate the progress made by music enthusiasts had made on their instrument by practising at home with their private music teachers. This is undoubtedly one of the reasons why, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, many methods for the guitar were published. In Italy only fifteen methods for guitar were published between 1750 and 1850, among them those by Moretti (1792, 1804), Boccomini (1812), Nava (1812, 1826), Monzino (c1820), Picchianti (c1816, c1821) and Legnani (1847).²¹

There is no doubt that the fashion for the guitar in the first decades of the nineteenth century, in Italy, as in the rest of Europe, was bolstered by increasing access to culture. The guitar, as an instrument previously only heard in the private sphere, opened up to new spaces, and salons may have been a good place for such development. Then, being an instrument easy to learn, in terms of learning to accompany oneself in a song with several

²¹ See Erik Stenstadvold, *Guitar Methods*.

simple chords, attracted the attention of those not wanting to spend much time practicing. Additionally, the fact that it was portable added to the interest in the guitar (perhaps not all salons had a harpsichord or a fortepiano). As the guitar could be easily moved around from one room to another, and could be even transported on open-air excursions, it became the instrument *à la mode* at a time when interest in nature grew with the development of romanticism. In any case, other than theatres, salons were the main places where music was made.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the musical economic machine of Italian *melodramma* was at the beginning of its splendour. Ricordi was one of the first publishing houses in Italy of both national and international importance. It filled the so-called 'publishing lacuna' right in the middle of the *Guitaromanie*,²² and it is still one of the most productive and long-lived.²³ By organising Zecca-Laterza's work on Ricordi's catalogue, Tagliaferri has listed by author the number of editions produced by Ricordi for guitar covering almost four decades (1808-1845).²⁴ As we can observe from his research, Mauro Giuliani produced the most works, with sixty-seven publications between 1818 and 1837. Giuliani came back to Italy in 1819, and his *Rossiniane* were composed between 1820 and 1828. Right after him we find Antonio Nava, who seems to be an important guitarist in the Italian context (thirty-nine publications). Then Pietro Tonassi, composer of many *Pot-Pourris* (thirty-two). Luigi Moretti (Federico's brother), is even more well-represented (twelve) than Carulli (ten). The great Sor, Carcassi and Aguado are completely absent.

In the first year of Casa Ricordi's activity, forty-nine publications were devoted to enthusiasts of the guitar, forty-five per cent of the total 110 publications. Of these forty-nine, the majority are works for solo guitar or two guitars, but there are also works for voice and guitar. Works that include the piano, on the other hand, mainly accompany the voice. Therefore, in terms of editorial choices, the guitar is far better represented than the piano. Ricordi seems to have had good reasons to invest in the guitar market, sensing a new wave of enthusiasm for the instrument. In the first decade of his activity, that is, from 1808 to 1817, publications with guitar made up about a quarter of the total. From the third decade onwards, Ricordi continued to print music for the guitar, but there was another field that was becoming increasingly important within the production system: the opera.

²² A summary of the activity of the guitar in this period in Europe can be seen in Christopher Page, 'The Great Vogue for the Guitar: an Overview', in Page, Sparks and Westbrook (eds.), *The Great Vogue for the Guitar*, 29-40.

²³ On the catalogue of Ricordi see Agostina Zecca-Laterza, *Il catalogo numerico Ricordi 1857 con date e indici*, vol. 1, pref. Philip Gossett (Rome: Nuovo Istituto Editoriale Italiano, 1984).

²⁴ Francesco Tagliaferri, 'Dal teatro alla chitarra. Aspetti compositivi e storico-sociali della trascrizione nel primo Ottocento', BA diss. (Cremona: Facoltà di Musicologia, 2012), 20-21.

Guitar players, composers, arrangers and transcribers began to interact with this world. Browsing the catalogue, opera arrangements were limited in number in the first fifteen years, and they were combined with sonatas, fantasies, variations, duets and other instrumental pieces of all genres. Over time, however, the importance of compositions derived from opera grew exponentially. Not everyone saw these changes enthusiastically. A critic in a newspaper in Bologna stated in 1853 that:

In Italy, there has been an outright protest against any kind of music that is not opera. Farewell chamber music, farewell sacred music! Opera reductions of all: the inimitable trios, quartets, quintets of Haydn, Beethoven and a thousand others have been put aside, and their names have almost been forgotten. Speaking of reductions, it wasn't long ago that I saw *La Tempesta* from Verdi's *Rigoletto* reduced for solo flute! *Keep yourselves from laughing [...]*²⁵

In Ricordi's catalogue, the largest number of opera themes used in compositions for guitar come from Rossini (sixty-two works), perhaps because of the characteristics of the melodies – incisive and rich in embellishments – but also perhaps due to the examples of Legnani and Giuliani (*Rossiniane*). Works in which themes from Bellini (thirty works) and Donizetti (twenty-seven works) are rearranged and adapted they are also present. During the first forty years of Ricordi's activity, we find 390 works with guitar, with 170 of them related to opera, that is, forty-four per cent of the total. The guitar, like all instruments, simply adapted to this trend, and perhaps this was the reason for its 'decline' in the second half of the nineteenth century. The frenetic production of opera arrangements required a more versatile instrument, able to reproduce an entire orchestra without necessarily requiring virtuosity: it found this in the piano. The complexity of a guitar reduction, indeed, required a good knowledge of the instrument. The guitar needed very good players and composers at the same time. *Rossiniane* by Giuliani are a supreme example, but are not accessible to everyone. Thus, amateurs of the guitar quickly became only a small circle, a niche, leaving space for the increasing popularity of the piano.

²⁵ 'In Italia si è assolutamente protestato contro ogni altro genere di musica che non sia teatrale. Addio musica da camera o da accademia, addio musica sacra! Riduzioni teatrali di ogni specie (non escluse le più grottesche e ridicole) tengono il luogo della prima: posti da parte gl'inimitabili trio, quartetti, quintetti degli Haydn, Beethoven e mille altri, e quasi perfino dimenticati i loro venerandi nomi. A proposito di riduzioni, non ha molto che mi è toccato di vedere la *Tempesta* del *Rigoletto* di Verdi, ridotta per flauto solo! *Risum teneatis [...]*', Pier Paolo de Martino, *Le parafrasi pianistiche verdiane nell'editoria italiana dell'Ottocento* (Florence: Olschki, 2003), 5, in Tagliaferri, 'Dal teatro alla chitarra', 31.

Conclusions

The history of music, like that of the guitar, inevitably relates to history, society and the economy. Many questions remain, however, and the history of the Italian guitarist, and particularly that of the guitar in this country in the period covered here, has many lacunae, especially in the second half of the eighteenth century. But we can ascertain one thing with certainty: Italians needed to explore Europe, even though as we have seen in the case of Ricordi, publishing music in their own country was possible in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Notwithstanding, many other Italian guitarists continued colonising Europe with their amazing skills. Figures such as Luigi Castellacci (1797-1845), Bartolomeo Bortolazzi (1772-1846), Matteo Bevilacqua (1772-1849), Francesco Bathioli, Luigi Legnani (1790-1877), Giulio Regondi (1822-1872) or Luigi Sagrini (1809-*post*1850) continued searching for better opportunities, and maybe even experiences, outside Italy.

Chapter 8

THE RISE OF THE GUITAR IN GERMAN LANDS

*Antje Knobl**

The period from 1750 to 1850 was a time of great upheaval in Europe. Historical events such as the French Revolution (1789), and later the Napoleonic wars, had a lasting impact on society in Europe in general and in Germany in particular. These events influenced the development of arts as has always been the case, with the middle classes increasingly being heard and beginning to change society themselves. In this sense, the principles of the Enlightenment ran deep in the population. Social life, which had long been shaped and influenced by France, was changing, and as long as the eighteenth century progressed, the middle classes in Germany, as well as everywhere, became more and more relevant. In German lands, the Enlightenment included various movements such as *Empfindsamkeit* (1740-1790), *Sturm und Drang* (1765-1790), *Weimar Classicism* (1786-1831) and *Romanticism* (1795-1848). During this time, books, paintings and compositions began to be commissioned less and less by the clergy or the nobility, and a publishing industry emerged.

In this spirit, the Age of Enlightenment largely coincided with the musical epoch of Viennese Classicism. A change in style took place, culminating with Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven and the use of new forms and ideas. As in painting and literature, a clear, new image of humanity emerged. The now broader public of amateurs demanded simpler musical forms. In this sense, beautiful, idealised melodies were supported by simple structures, and harmony was put at the service of expression. The complicated compositions of the Baroque with several equal melodic lines and competing voices disappeared. Baroque dances also went out of fashion, and only the minuet survived. But much also changed for the musicians themselves: concerts began to happen in other places, besides the court or in churches.¹ The musician – generally employed and trained by the court or the clergy – could now work as a free musician, although permanent employment provided financial security, which many continued to prefer. Around 1740, various centres emerged as

* I would like to thank the guitar maker Dieter Jung for his help and advice during the preparation of this chapter.

¹ William Weber, *The Great Transformation on Musical Taste. Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

pillars of the growing influence of German music in Europe. These include the Viennese School around Georg Christoph Wagenseil (1715-1777), the North German School around Carl Philipp Emmanuel Bach (1714-1788) and, the Mannheim School around Carl Stamitz (1745-1788), which had a great influence on the development of dynamics and playing instructions in notation. New forms such as the symphony, string quartet and sonata emerged. The main sonata form with exposition, development and reprise became one of the most important compositional forms of this time. Music was the preferred and most popular art of the strengthened bourgeoisie. Brilliant virtuosos became celebrated stars (such as Mozart), increasingly reflecting their own emotional world and that of the composer.

In all this mayhem of events and trends, the fashion for the guitar began to emerge at the end of the eighteenth century, with composers promoting a significant corpus of music for this instrument, which led the German guitarist August Harder (1775-1813) to affirm around 1810 that ‘never has an instrument in so short a time found such a following, and so quickly risen to the ranks of a fashionable instrument, as the guitar in our days’.² In this chapter I will analyse the rise of the fashion for the guitar in German lands, its role in society, as well as the main composers for this instrument between 1750 and 1850.³

The arrival of the guitar in German Lands

Contrary to other countries where the Spanish guitar was fashionable during the second half of the eighteenth century such as Spain, France and Italy, the guitar in German lands – as well as in Great Britain – seems to have been rarely used until the end of the century. The fact that the guitar was spread in Germany seems to be partly due to a woman: the Duchess Anna Amalia of Weimar (1739-1807).⁴ In his treatise *Ueber den Bau der BogenInstrumente*

² ‘Nie hat wohl ein Instrument in so kurzer Zeit einen allgemeineren Eingang gefunden und sich so schnell zu dem Range eines Lieblingsinstruments erhoben, als, in unsern Tagen, die Gitarre’, August Harder, *Neue vollständige theoretische und praktische Gitarre-Schule* (Berlin: A. M. Schlesinger, n.d.), 1.

³ An approach to the history of the instrument in these lands can be found in <https://biedermeiergitarre.jimdofree.com> (Accessed 20 Dec. 2022), a webpage that contains the most important literature on the guitar in this period of study, and is a very important source for this chapter.

⁴ Some recent works on this figure are Annette Seemann, *Anna Amalia, Herzogin von Weimar* (Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 2007); Leonie and Joachim Berger, *Anna Amalia von Weimar. Eine Biographie* (München: Verlag C. H. Beck a.M., 2006); Hellmut Seemann, *Anna Amalia, Carl August und das Ereignis Weimar* (Göttingen: Klassik Stiftung Weimar, 2007); Ursula Salentinn, *Anna Amalia: Wegbereiterin der Weimarer Klassik* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1996); Christina K. Lindeman, ‘Tischbein’s “Anna Amalia, Duchess of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach”: Friendship, Sociability, and “Heimat” in Eighteenth-Century Naples’, *Notes in the History of Art* 33/1 (2013), 25-30; Angela Borchert, ‘Goethe’s Eulogy for Duchess Anna Amalia: Re-Membering Classicism’, *Modern Language Studies* 31/1 (2001), 59-77.

(1828) (On the construction of the bow instruments) the German luthier Jacob August Otto (1760-1829) wrote:

This instrument came to us from Italy. In 1788, the Duchess Amalia of Weimar brought the first guitar from Italy to Weimar, and at that time it was considered a new Italian instrument. It immediately received general acclaim. The chamberlain von Einsiedel commissioned me to make a similar instrument for him. Now I had to make similar instruments for many other gentlemen, and soon the guitar became known and popular in several large cities, in Dresden, Leipzig and Berlin. From this time on, I had so many orders for ten years that I could hardly satisfy them.⁵

Anna Amalia was born as a Brunswick princess in Wolfenbüttel Palace and was the daughter of Carl I, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, and Philippine Charlotte, Princess of Prussia. She received a very comprehensive education, learning natural sciences, languages, history, geography and religion as well as taking drawing and dancing lessons, even learning several musical instruments and composition. In 1756 she married Duke Ernst August II Constantin of Saxony-Weimar-Eisenach, founding an impoverished and neglected ducal court in Weimar. After the early death of her husband, she took over the regency of the duchy until her first son came of age and began successful austerity measures, although she began to give Weimar the face of a modern city. Certainly, the promotion of art and culture was important to her, as far as the financial situation allowed it. When her son came of age and she thus stepped down from the regency, the Duchess was again able to devote herself entirely to literature, art and music. Thus, the court at Weimar became more and more a meeting place for art and culture. She brought, among others, Christoph Martin Wieland, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Johann Gottfried Herder to her court and organised numerous salon concerts at which her own compositions were also performed. At the age of almost fifty, Anna Amalia undertook a two-year journey to Italy. There she attended many concerts and musical evenings, also organising such gatherings herself. In Naples, she received lessons from Nicolo Signorile on a five-string guitar. Then, she decided to acquire such an instrument and, having found it in Italy, she named it the 'Italian instrument'. In 1788, she brought this instrument back to Germany with her. In Weimar, she composed and drew

⁵ 'Dieses Instrument ist aus Italien zu uns gekommen. Im Jahre 1788 brachte die Herzogin Amalia von Weimar die erste Guitarre von da mit nach Weimar, und sie galt damals als ein neues italienisches Instrument. Es erhielt sogleich allgemeinen Beifall. Vom Herrn Kammerherrn von Einsiedel bekam ich den Auftrag, für ihn ein gleiches Instrument zu verfertigen. Nun mußte ich noch für viele andere Herrschaften dergleichen machen, und bald wurde die Guitarre in mehreren großen Städten, in Dresden, Leipzig, Berlin bekannt und beliebt. Von dieser Zeit an hatte ich zehn Jahre hindurch so viele Bestellungen, daß ich sie kaum befriedigen konnte', Jacob August Otto, *Ueber den Bau der Bogeninstrumente und über die Arbeiten der vorzüglichsten Instrumentenmacher zur Belehrung für Musiker* (Jena: Bran'schen Buchhandlung, 1828), 90.

much and again held sociable musical evenings, at which she often performed with the harp or the piano, but not often with the guitar. However, Anna Amalia was so enthusiastic about her guitar that she commissioned several copies of the instrument, as we have seen, from her court instrument maker Jacob August Otto, to send to friends in Berlin, Leipzig and Dresden. It is known that early forms of the guitar found their way to Germany before this, but there is no doubt that the cultural activities at the court in Weimar helped the guitar to spread and gain recognition in Germany more quickly.

Towards the six-string guitar

As Otto explained in his treatise, the guitar that Anna Amalia brought back to Weimar had only five strings, and was an instrument soon being reproduced 'in large numbers in factories, in Vienna, Neukirchen and Tyrol'.⁶ It seems clear then that in German lands, the five-single-string guitar was first cultivated for a brief period of time before the six-string guitar became fashionable at the turn of the century. In Italy, the six-string guitar was already being built in the last decades of the eighteenth century and had become a fashionable instrument by 1800, beginning to be also *à la mode* in France in the early 1800s. The oldest surviving guitar that exists today is that of the Neapolitan luthier Giovanni Battista Fabricatore (1750-1812) made in 1785, today in the Austin-Marie Collection (USA). In Germany, probably the first six-string guitar was that built in 1796 by the previously mentioned instrument maker Jacob August Otto at the court of Weimar. In 1828 he wrote on the emergence of the six-string guitar in Germany saying that 'About thirty years ago, the Capellmeister Naumann in Dresden received a guitar of this kind with five strings. Soon after receiving it, he asked me to set up a guitar for six strings and to add another string for the low E'.⁷ Thus, Otto made, in theory, the first six-string guitar for Naumann in 1796. It can be assumed that Naumann had seen or at least heard of a six-string guitar and commissioned Otto to build this instrument with a low E-string.

The term 'Biedermeier guitar' is frequently used in Germany to refer to the guitar of the early nineteenth century, although it is only partially accurate, as the first heyday of the classical guitar largely coincided with the Biedermeier era (1815-1848). Soon there were many instrument makers in Germany who

⁶ 'Dann aber fingen immer mehr Instrumentenmacher an, Guitarren zu verfertigen, bis sie endlich fabrikmäßig in großer Anzahl gemacht wurden, z. B. in Wien, Neukirchen und Tyrol. Jene erste italienische Gitarre wich aber von den jetzigen ab, denn sie hatte nur 5 Saiten, und bloß eine besponnene Saite, nämlich das tiefe A', Otto, *Ueber den Bau der Bogeninstrumente*, 90.

⁷ 'Vor ungefähr dreißig Jahren erhielt der Herr Capellmeister Naumann in Dresden eine Gitarre dieser Art mit 5 Saiten. Bald nach Empfang derselben forderte er mich dazu auf, daß ich eine Gitarre für 6 Saiten einrichten, und noch eine Saite für das tiefe E anbringen möchte', Otto, *Ueber den Bau der Bogeninstrumente*, 91.

made guitars. Around 1800, guitar-making came to one of the most famous German instrument-making towns: Markneukirchen in Saxony, and thus the guitar manufacturing centre in this town came into being. Alongside Carl Gottlob Wild and Carl Jacob, Johann Georg Martin was one of the pioneers of this new craft. Johann Georg Voigt (1776-1829), as well as his son, Wilhelm Voigt (1811-1861) were mentioned as outstanding guitar makers.

An instrument associated to women

There are many signs that make us think that the guitar was mostly played by women. The instrument seems to have had a more decorative character than a musical value, and being light, portable, and ‘easy-to-learn’, it was not intended for professional use. In addition, with the new aesthetics in orchestral writing, this instrument did not fit in the orchestra.⁸ At first, the guitar was mostly used to accompany simple songs, a genre mainly cultivated by women, so that even the first guitar textbooks from this period only dealt with simple song accompaniments.⁹ An example of the simplicity in the literature for guitar of this period can be found in the *Journal de musique allemand, italien & français pour le chant*, published every two weeks by Günther and Böhme in Hamburg c1800, with accompaniment for piano and guitar, and one of the earliest periodicals in German lands to include music for this instrument.¹⁰

It was generally believed that learning to play an instrument virtuosically would be too hard for a woman, both, physically and mentally. At the end of the eighteenth century in Germany, women were mainly encouraged to play the harp and the piano (and before that, the harpsichord), although we can find several women, but not many, learning and playing other instruments.¹¹ The guitar soon became a diversion for women of a high social strata, and it was thought that these three instruments suited women due to their character allowing the performer to maintain a graceful playing posture and show their

⁸ On criticism on the guitar throughout this period see Erik Stenstadvoid, “‘We hate the guitar’: Prejudice and Polemic in the Music Press in Early 19th-century Europe”, *Early Music* 41/4 (2013), 595-604.

⁹ On the floods of songs for voice and guitar published in France during the second half of the eighteenth century, and that may have also been distributed to some degree in German lands, see Damián Martín-Gil, ‘A Bibliographical Study of Periodicals for Voice and Guitar in Paris, 1758-1803’, *Revue de Musicologie* 107/2 (2021), 247-86. For discussion of this phenomenon in the first half of the nineteenth century see Jelma van Amersfoort, “‘The Notes were not sweet till you sung them’: French Vocal Music with Guitar Accompaniment, c.1800-1840’, *Early Music* 41/4 (2013), 605-19 and Jelma van Amersfoort, ‘The Accompanied Song’, in Christopher Page, Paul Sparks and James Westbrook (eds.), *The Great Vogue for the Guitar in Western Europe: 1800-1840* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2023), 139-56.

¹⁰ Martín-Gil, ‘Periodicals’, 280.

¹¹ In France, this topic has been researched by Imyra Santana, ‘Les femmes instrumentistes en France au XVIII^e siècle: professionnalisation et carrières’, PhD diss. (Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2020).

Musique et accompagnement de Guitare par M^r. de L.y.r. 6

Allegro.

au - jour - d'hy la - - mour com - mo - de
 ne nous don - ne que des fleurs l'on a bannis la me -
 - tho - de des vains sou - vers et des fleurs à pre - sent telle
 est le mo - de trois jours du - rent les a - - mours ils fin -
 - nif - ent dans trois jours.

Ce terme est très nécessaire
 le premier est pour l'aveu,
 le second est un mystère:
 le troisième est pour l'adieu,
 aimer, vaincre et se deffaire
 c'est l'histoire des amours
 qui s'envoient dans trois jours.

Nallez pas conseiller austere
 me juger sûr ce discours
 mon ame n'est pas legere
 j'aimé et primerai toujours:
 pour comprendre ce mystere
 sachez que dans mes amours
 trois fiecles font trois jours.

gouvé par L'Édit

Illustration 8.1. Mr. de L.y.r. (Antoine de Lhoyer?), 'Allegro', in *Journal de musique allemand, italien & français pour le chant avec accompnemnt de piano-forte ou guitare* (Hamburg: Günther and Böhme, c1800, 6. Statens Musikbibliotek of Stockholm (Reproduced by permission).

beautiful hands graciously while playing, something that is repeated in several sources. By 1801, the guitar was described as 'a new fashion item of the ladies':

The guitar, since it has charmed our beauties with its lovely tone, its cute shape, the charm its handling gives the player, the company it keeps, whether sitting, standing or walking, and the ease with which one becomes intimate with it, certainly deserves a prominent place among the most popular articles of fashion.¹²

¹² 'Die Guitarre, seitdem sie bei unsern Schönen durch ihren bezaubernden Ton, durch ihre niedliche Form, durch den Reiz, den ihre Handhabung der Spielerin giebt, durch ihre weder beim Sitzen noch beim Stehen oder Gehen je lästige Gesellschaft und durch die Leichtigkeit mit ihr vertraut zu werden, sich einzuschmeicheln gewußt hat – verdient gewiß unter den beliebtesten Modeartikeln eine vorzügliche Stelle', *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* 16 (1801), f. 623.

Women were supposed to perform pleasant songs and instrumental pieces that were not demanding to entertain and charm visitors. This is also reflected in the prevailing opinion at the time about the musical education of women. Friedrich Guthmann (1779-1870), headmaster of the Bad Schandau school, wrote in 1806:

He who lets a girl learn to play the piano, for example, in the way that is necessary for a virtuoso, but here too fundamental, too tiring, too extensive, is going completely the wrong way. [...] The pupil tires halfway through. The feminine sense wants more flowers and early spring fruits. [...] The limited but lovely femininity looks out there. [...] What I have said here about playing the piano also applies to learning to sing, play the guitar, the harp, etc.¹³

It is therefore not surprising that most of the guitar literature of the time appears to have been written for women. In musical circles, the idea of the guitar unfortunately degraded to being considered 'only a musical butterfly whose entire beauty consists in a little wing dust',¹⁴ and the guitar was thus rarely heard in concerts. One of the first known concerts to be mentioned in the German press took place in Frankfurt in January 1806 by the guitarist Johann Christian Gottlieb Scheidler and his pupil Marianne Jung (1784-1860) playing together in a concert of the cellist Johann Gottfried Arnold (1773-1806):

The very pleasant theme was so varied, and with so much art, as could hardly be expected from the limited guitar. [...] this had to be admired all the more, since, at least here, this instrument is usually only used for the dull or sweet accompaniment of a song and the like.¹⁵

¹³ 'Derjenige geht ganz falsch, welcher beym Mädchen, z. B. das Klavierspiel, nach dem, für den Virtuosen nothwendigen, hier aber zu gründlichen, zu ermüdenden, zu weitläuftigen Wege der Kunst erlernen lässt. Die Früchte sind zwar gewiss, aber für die kurze Zeit des Unterrichts zu sparsam und zu spät. Die Schülerin ermüdet auf halbem Wege. Der weibliche Sinn will mehr Blumen und frühe Frühlings- Früchte. Das Mädchen sagt sich daher mehr oder weniger deutlich, dass dieses nicht der rechte Weg seyn könne; dass die Erlernung der Musik nur Mühe und Beschwerden verursache etc. Ich will hiermit keinesweges eine gewisse sichere Grundlage beym Unterricht verwerfen; nein!', Friedrich Guthmann, 'Winke über den musikalischen Unterricht der Frauenzimmer', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 33, 14 May 1806, 513-16.

¹⁴ 'die seichte Gitarre [...] nur ein musikalischer Schmetterling ist, dessen ganze Schönheit in einem bischen Flügelstaub besteht', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 41, 8 July 1801, 687.

¹⁵ 'Das sehr angenehme Thema war so mannigfaltig, und mit so viel Kunst variirt, als es von der beschränkten Gitarre kaum zu erwarten stand. [...] dies musste um so mehr Bewunderung finden, da man, wenigstens hier, gewöhnlich nur zu matter oder süßlicher Begleitung eines Liedes und dgl. sich dieses Instruments zu bedienen pflegt', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 22, 26 Feb. 1806, 344-46.

The fashion for the guitar in the first decades of the nineteenth century

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the literature for the guitar was characterised by its simplicity. As described above, simple chordal accompaniments to songs and melodies or small duets were sufficient for musical performances by women in the salon. Two guitar methods were published for the six-string guitar in Vienna in 1801, *Le fundament* by Leopold Neuhauser and an anonymous method entitled *Guitarre-Schule* (published by Andreas Traeg). In turn, three guitar methods were published in 1802 across different towns in present-day Germany also for the six-string guitar. Firstly, the *Guitarren-Schule* (Leipzig) by an anonymous author, secondly *Kurze Anweisung* (Halle) by Heinrich Christian Bergmann, and lastly *Anweisung die Guitarre zu Spielen* (Braunschweig) by Johann Heinrich Carl Bornhardt (1774-1843).¹⁶ Between 1802 and 1850 at least thirty-five methods for guitar were published in German lands in places such as Dresden, Bonn, Nuremberg, Berlin, Munich and Prague, not to mention the more than twenty methods published in Vienna in the same period, which shows the great interest that this instrument acquired by then. These methods followed a similar scheme dealing with posture, guitar tuning, scale playing and chord playing including in many cases songs for voice and guitar as well as solo pieces. Similarly, the number of guitar publications increased significantly, being part of many chamber music ensembles.

The Austrian guitarist and composer Simon Molitor (1766-1848) should be considered one of the most important figures of the time. He wrote a large number of compositions for this instrument and probably the most detailed method published in German lands, his two-volume *Versuch einer vollständigen methodischen Anleitung zum Guitare-Spielen* (Towards a complete methodical guide to playing the guitar) published in cooperation with R. Klinger in 1812 in Vienna. His most famous composition is certainly the *Grosse Sonate für die Guitare allein* op. 7 (Great Sonata for solo Guitar) published in 1807, a work that the author himself referred as a ‘model of a solid composition for the guitar’.¹⁷ In Molitor’s preface to this sonata, he mentions the reasons for the guitar’s increasing popularity as an instrument well suited ‘to the human voice’ and also ‘for arousing and appeasing passions’.¹⁸ Illustration 8.2 shows an extract of the ‘Agitato’ from the second movement of this sonata.

¹⁶ On guitar methods published in Europe and North America see Erik Stenstad, *An Annotated Bibliography of Guitar Methods, 1760-1860* (Hillsdale, NY et London: Pendragon, 2010).

¹⁷ ‘Muster einer solidern Komposition für die Guitare’, Molitor, *Grosse Sonate*, 10.

¹⁸ ‘In Hinsicht auf Ton wird niemand bestreiten, dass der Ton der Guitare sich besonders vortheilhaft an die menschliche Stimme anschmiegt, und dass die vielen Modulationen, deren derselbe fähig ist, dieses Instrument in die Reihe derjenigen setzen, welche vorzüglich geeignet sind, Leidenschaften zu erregen und Leidenschaften zu beschwichtigen, mithin den Zweck der Musik unmittelbar zu erfüllen’, Molitor, *Grosse Sonate*, 11.



Illustration 8.2. Excerpt from 'Agitato ma non troppo Allegro', in Simon Molitor, *Grosse Sonate für die Guitare allein* op. 7 (Vienna: Artaria, 1807), 18. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, 2 Mus.pr. 2282 (Reproduced by permission).

Other figures such as Johann Andreas Amon (1763-1825), Johann Gottfried Arnold (1773-1806), August Swoboda, and further composers mainly of Italian origin such as Francesco Bathioli, Mauro Giuliani (1781-1829) and Bartolomeo Bortolazzi (1772-1846) wrote numerous works for guitar, including solo pieces and chamber music, and even concertos. Another remarkable figure worth mentioning was Joseph Küffner (1776-1856) who composed not only a significant amount of music for guitar in a wide variety of ensembles, but also seven symphonies among other orchestral works.

The music of these composers could be heard in salons, but also at home, at musical country-tours and at public festivals. For many citizens, music had become a part of their personal self-expression. Since the concert hall and professional concert playing continued to be a male domain, the guitar, played with virtuosity by a man, could now also be heard in such places, which helped it increase in popularity. This was soon reflected in the demands made on composers.

Certainly, the transportability of the guitar also helped this instrument to become popular at a time where a fascination with nature began to be cultivated. Molitor comments that among the qualities that have rightly made the guitar one of the favourite instruments is 'Its small physical size and its lightness [which] make it the most comfortable and portable of all instruments dedicated to harmony, and as such [it is] used for the accompaniment of singing or for the performance of whole pieces of music'.¹⁹ This makes

¹⁹ 'Der geringe körperliche Umfang, und die Leichtigkeit derselben machen sie zu dem bequemsten und tragbarsten unter allen Instrumenten, welche der Harmonie gewidmet sind,

the guitar ‘a pleasant companion on solitary walks, when our hearts are overflowing with wonderful feelings, and we feel impelled to express them in sound and song, or in company, when the beauties of nature have opened our hearts to joy and song’.²⁰

The first forms of music school emerged in the early nineteenth century. The first music school was opened in 1810 by Carl Theodor von Dalberg as a citizen’s music school. It was not until much later, in 1897, that the Lindhorst Music School followed in the small North German town of Quakenbrück, founded by the later town music director Heinrich Lindhorst. E. T. A. Hoffmann (1776-1822) (1776-1822). In this regard we can read in a newspaper of 1812 the following:

It cannot be denied that in recent times, thank heaven, the taste for music is becoming more and more widespread, so that it is now, to a certain extent, part of good education to have children taught music, which is why one finds a piano, or at least a guitar, in every home that wants to be of any significance.²¹

Many early Romantic poets and composers such as E. T. A. Hoffmann, Clemens Brentano, Carl Maria von Weber and Franz Schubert now discovered the guitar as an instrument for their poems or compositions. But some composers intended to give the guitar a higher value also as a solo instrument. In this regard Molitor states that this is a ‘quite wrong treatment of the guitar’, and that ‘these dalliances, this incessant arpeggiation of random chords, these arts not at all adequate to the instrument, which even the better among the guitar players chase after, can only give the music expert a bad opinion of this instrument’.²² He demanded a more professional treatment of the guitar and a better way of writing for it, and sought inspiration in Vienna from Anton Diabelli (1781-1858), Wenzel Matiegka (1773-1830) and of course Ferdinando Carulli (1770-1841).

und als solche zur Begleitung des Gesangs oder zur Aufführung ganzer Tonstücke gebraucht werden’, Molitor, *Grosse Sonate*, 11.

²⁰ ‘ist eine angenehme Begleiterin auf einsamen Spaziergängen, wenn unser Herz von wunderbaren Gefühlen überströmt, und diese Töne und Gesang auszudrücken sich gedrungen fühlt; oder in Gesellschaft, wenn die Schönheiten der Natur das Herz für Freude und Gesang geöffnet haben’, Molitor, *Grosse Sonate*, 11.

²¹ ‘Es ist nicht zu leugnen, dass in neuerer Zeit, dem Himmel sey’s gedankt! der Geschmack an der Musik sich immer mehr verbreitet, so dass es jetzt gewissermassen zur guten Erziehung gehört, die Kinder auch Musik lehren zu lassen, weshalb man denn in jedem Hause, das nur irgend etwas bedeuten will, ein Klavier, wenigstens eine Guitarre findet’, E.T.A. Hoffmann, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 31 (July 29, 1812), 503.

²² ‘ganz falsche Behandlung der Gitarre’, ‘diese Tändeleien, dieses unaufhörliche Arpeggieren regelloser Accorde, diese dem Instrument gar nicht angemessene Künsteleien, welchen selbst die besseren unter den Guitarespielern nachjagen, können dem Musikkennner nur eine schlechte Meinung von diesem Instrumente beibringen’, Molitor, *Grosse Sonate*, 10.

In the age of emerging Romanticism and the spread of the guitar as a concert instrument, more and more professional literature was written. One of the greatest composers of this time was Josef Kaspar Mertz (1806-1856).²³ Born in Bratislava, he grew up in a poor family, but received guitar lessons very early in his life, and at the age of twelve was already giving guitar and flute lessons. From 1840 he lived in Vienna and performed as a guitar virtuoso, being active both as a teacher and as a concert musician. But his activities in Vienna took place against the background of the general decline of public interest in the guitar in this city, making his living conditions there were very difficult. Life as a concert player was hardly possible at that time and his subsistence had to be primarily secured through teaching the guitar, cittern and flute. Nevertheless, Mertz was one of the few notable representatives of the guitar in Vienna in the second half of the century. Shortly before Mertz died following a serious illness, he won the Brussels guitar composition competition, just ahead of Napoléon Coste.

Conclusions

In summary, it can be said that the guitar and, above all, guitar music, developed very cautiously in German lands at the turn of the century. In the classical period, it was not important in the concert hall. Even in the emerging Romantic period, it was initially only an instrument used purely for accompaniment, sometimes even referred to as only a decorative accessory for a woman, but the instrument nevertheless achieved increasing popularity. As instrument making was perfected, the 6th string (the low E-string) was now also used by guitar makers in these lands, and the first forms of industrial guitar making emerged. Notation, compositions and also the discovery of the guitar as a solo instrument and as a serious instrument in the concert hall took place during this time.

Duchess Anna Amalia, this unusual and strong woman, brought the five-string guitar to Weimar. However, she is remembered more for her social and urban development activities. Today, the Duchess Anna Amalia Library, which she created, still exists in Weimar. The guitar found its way to Germany via Weimar and conquered the hearts of musicians and the public.

²³ There is some controversy on the Christian name of Mertz. While traditionally this author has been referred as 'Johann Kaspar', recent studies address to him as 'Josef Kaspar' (Andreas Stevens, 'The Life and Times of Josef Kaspar Mertz: New Biographical Insights', *Soundboard Scholar* 2 [2016], 25-29) or even 'Caspar Joseph' (Graziano Salvoni, 'Caspar Joseph Mertz. Le prime esibizioni alla chitarra. Il periodo pressburghese', *Il Fronimo* 197 [2022], 15-25).

III. THE GUITAR FROM 1850
TO THE BEGINNING
OF THE NEW MILLENNIUM

Chapter 9

MUSIC WRITTEN FOR GUITAR IN SPAIN

Ignacio Garrido Herrero

The repertoire written for guitar in Spain underwent a complex evolution across the long timespan from 1850 to the present day. Given the long period covered in this chapter, it is essential to delimit the object of study to establish a coherent discourse that does not become a simple enumeration of works. What I present here, therefore, is above all an account of the main works written for this instrument in Spain over the last 170 years. Although I consider historical, biographical and performative aspects related to the guitar – including the importance of music publishing and pedagogy in the development of the instrument – I will do so in a tangential way, so as not to draw focus from this chapter's main subject: the creation of repertoire.

The generation of guitarists before Tárrega, 1850-1890

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the guitar's leading figures in Spain were Trinidad Huerta (1803-1875) and Julián Arcas (1832-1882). Huerta was an ambassador of the Spanish guitar across the world, making numerous concert tours, meeting the great personalities of contemporary culture and politics, and being called 'the Paganini of the guitar' due to the great excitement that his performances generated. The Huerta phenomenon is the closest thing in the guitar world to the nineteenth century's fascination with performers such as Liszt and Paganini. Arcas was also active on the international concert platform, although to a more limited extent than Huerta. Arcas decided to become a concert performer after hearing a concert by Huerta in Malaga in 1845,¹ and over the course of his career made concert tours throughout the Iberian Peninsula (as well as Genoa, London and other European capitals), enjoying the admiration and friendship of his contemporaries. He lived for periods of time in Madrid and Barcelona, the latter allowing him to meet the circle of guitarists who surrounded José Brocá (1805-1882), one of the most renowned masters of the Catalan capital. This circle included Buenaventura Bassols, José Viñas, José Ferrer and Domingo Bonet among others; as well as guitarists active in Madrid such

¹ Javier Suárez-Pajares and Eusebio Rioja, *El guitarrista Julián Arcas (1832-1882). Una biografía documental* (Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almeriense, 2003), 16.

as Antonio Cano, Tomás Damas, Florencio Gómez Parreño and José Costa. Arcas dedicated, and in turn was the dedicatee, of works by Brocá and Damas, symbolically bringing together the musical legacies of Sor and Aguado. As if this were not enough, Arcas collaborated with the guitar maker Antonio de Torres (1817-1892) in creating the innovations that led the Spanish guitar to become the instrument we play today.

The development of the railway network throughout Europe during the nineteenth century allowed companies such as those of the impresario and singer Manuel García to tour the continent, presenting their productions of operas by composers such as Vincenzo Bellini, Gaetano Donizetti and Giuseppe Verdi. The influence of opera was wide-ranging, and one of the mainstays of the guitar repertoire towards the middle of this century was arrangements of themes from different operas in the form of fantasias. Arcas arranged no less than twelve pieces of this genre, although some of these works have been lost. In particular, he made arrangements for guitar of fragments from operas by Verdi, such as *Ernani*, *Les vêpres siciliennes* or *Il trovatore*, although his *Fantasia sobre motivos de La Traviata* was his most successful work. (This fantasia has long been erroneously attributed to Tárrega).

Another of the genres most well represented in the guitar literature of this time were national airs. Throughout his career, Arcas performed compositions such as the *Jota aragonesa*, the *Gallegada* and the *Panaderos*. Damas, Huerta and Cano also developed these popular themes with success. As they present melodies with simple and repetitive harmonic schemes, they invite improvisation, a skill that was highly valued in the concert guitarists of this century. Arcas was born in Almería, so he also frequently composed in the genre of Andalusian popular music, including works such as *Rondeña*, *Soleá* and *Fantasia sobre El paño*. Damas, Arcas and his disciple Juan Parga (1843-1899) were also, together with other more popular guitarists, promoters of solo flamenco guitar repertoire, one of the most internationally recognised manifestations of Spanish culture.

In 1867, Arcas arranged the *Marcha fúnebre* op. 59 by the German pianist Sigismund Thalberg. Transcription of Romantic piano works would be a fertile ground for Tárrega and other guitarists of later generations, while other composers made notable transcriptions of orchestral pieces, such as those by José Costa of works by Hilarión Eslava and Mendelssohn. In addition, this generation, like other composers of the time, was interested in classical pieces and salon music such as rondos, waltzes, mazurkas and tangos, with important examples including the waltzes of José Brocá and the always correct and inspired music of Viñas and Ferrer.

The intense concert activity and constant tours of artists such as Huerta and Arcas, possibly prevented them from developing a school and giving some continuity to the education of the students who approached them throughout their lives. However, other important figures published methods for the guitar,

including Antonio Cano's *Método completo de guitarra* (Madrid, 1868), Tomás Damas's *Método completo y progresivo* (Madrid, 1867), Jaime Bosch's *Méthode de guitare* (Paris, 1891) and José Ferrer's method – 260 handwritten pages – a work that remains unpublished to this day.²

Francisco Tárrega and his environment, 1890-1920

The Valencian-born composer Francisco Tárrega (1852-1909) was first introduced to the guitar by some popular musicians of his native Villareal. At the age of ten he moved to Barcelona, then later to Madrid, where he studied piano, music theory and harmony, as at that time there was no guitar class. In 1877, Emilio Arrieta, director of the conservatory in the Spanish capital, invited Tárrega to give a concert for the teaching staff of this institution and, as a consequence of the success, encouraged him to study the guitar in depth and with absolute dedication. From that year until 1903, Tárrega made concert tours all over Spain and to major European capitals such as Paris, London and Rome. In Barcelona, the city where he lived from 1884, Tárrega had many pupils and enthusiastic followers, some of whom were to become important figures of the guitar through much of the twentieth century. During Tárrega's own lifetime, only a few of his original works and transcriptions were published. Although most of his output remained in manuscripts, his music has survived to the present day and he is still one of the most frequently programmed composers in concerts and recordings.

Perhaps his short pieces are Tárrega's most interesting works. The great value of his little dances, studies and preludes is that they are written down immediately after being improvised, and it is from this inspiration that their charm comes. Tárrega's two best-known scores, *Capricho árabe* and *Recuerdos de la Alhambra*, are both in the Alhambriismo style.³ This was an artistic fashion that spread through Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century and which, in Spain, had as its greatest musical exponents the composers Jesús Monesterio, Ruperto Chapí and Tomás Bretón, to whom Tárrega's *Capricho árabe* is dedicated.

If the transcriptions by Franz Liszt broadened the horizons of piano technique, the same could be said of the guitar and the arrangements that Tárrega and his disciple Llobet made of pieces originally written for piano by composers such as Albéniz, Granados, Beethoven, Chopin, Schubert and Schumann. Just this corpus of works that they bequeathed to us would be enough to enter the history of the guitar with honours. In addition to Llobet, other students of Tárrega such as Pascual Roch, Daniel Fortea, and Josefina Robledo developed and disseminated the ideas of their master internationally,

² Josep Maria Mangado, *La guitarra en Cataluña 1769-1939* (London: Tecla, 1998), 105.

³ Ramón García Avello, s.v. 'Alhambriismo', in *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 1999), 279.



Illustration 9.1. Photograph showing Fernando Gausente, Enric Sanfeliu, Andrés Segovia, Emilio Pujol, Ramón Pujol (Emilio's father), Pepita Roca and Miguel Llobet (from top and left), Museo de la Música de Barcelona (Reproduced by permission).

making Tárrega the most influential guitar pedagogue of the twentieth century, not only in Spain but all over the world despite never publishing a method. It was his pupil Emilio Pujol (1886-1980) who carried out this task with his *Escuela razonada de la guitarra* (Buenos Aires, 1934), becoming, additionally, one of the fathers of guitar musicology.

Although Tárrega had a notable concert career, his pupil Miguel Llobet (1878-1938) and the blind guitarist Antonio Jiménez Manjón (1866-1919), had a greater international artistic visibility. In addition, Llobet, due to his contact with figures of the Parisian artistic and intellectual avant-garde, took the guitar to new compositional horizons. Llobet's arrangements of several Catalan songs show a refined impressionist taste, especially in the musical texture. Some of these songs were also recorded, forming one of the earliest surviving classical guitar recordings.

Hommage à Debussy and the renewal of the repertoire, 1920-1939

In the two-decade period between the end of the First World War and the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, Spain witnessed a revolution in the creation of works for guitar. For the first time, composers who were not guitarists began to write for the instrument, significantly increasing the quantity and, above

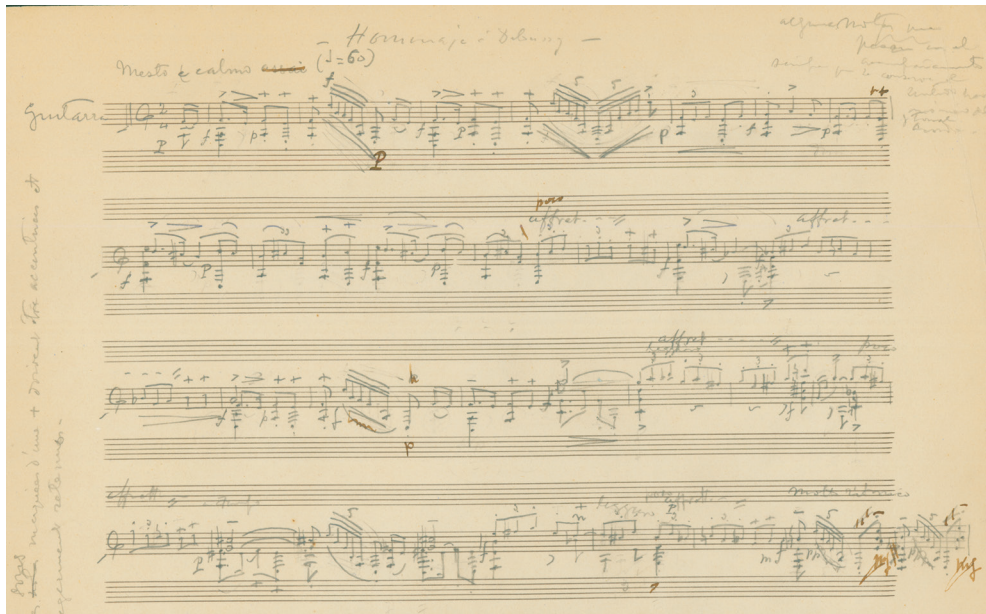


Illustration 9.2. Excerpt from 'Homenaje à Debussy' by Manuel de Falla, first page of the Manuscript no. LVI, Archive Manuel de Falla in Granada (Reproduced with permission).

all, the quality of the repertoire.⁴ This whole movement was founded with a piece by Manuel de Falla (1876-1946), written in 1920 for a special issue of *La Revue Musicale* in homage to Claude Debussy after his recent death. This issue included works by other important composers such as Dukas, Bartók, Satie, Stravinsky, Ravel and Malipiero, among others, yet the only piece for guitar is the one by Falla. Thanks to the fact that Falla was a figure revered by the new generation of Spanish composers, and to the foresight of two performers, Andrés Segovia (1893-1987) and Regino Sainz de la Maza (1896-1981), who were beginning a promising career, all the great Spanish composers wanted to contribute at least one piece to the guitar corpus. In the early 1920s, immediately after Falla's *Hommage*, compositions such as *Danza en Mi mayor* and *Sonatina* by Federico Moreno Torroba, *Sevillana* by Joaquín Turina, *Peacock-Pie* by Ernesto Halffter and *Romancillo* by Adolfo Salazar would appear.

In addition, the guitar was influenced by the atmosphere of the Residencia de Estudiantes in Madrid, where the main writers, intellectuals and artists of the time interacted. Figures such as Federico García Lorca, Rafael Alberti, Gerardo Diego, Salvador Dalí and Luis Buñuel, to name the most famous, who would form the so-called *Generación del 27*,⁵ influenced and were influenced

⁴ Javier Suárez-Pajares, 'Aquellos plateados años: la guitarra en el entorno del 27', in *La guitarra en la historia* 8 (Córdoba: La Posada, 1998), 38.

⁵ Leopoldo Neri, *Los Sainz de la Maza y la Generación del 27. Nombres propios de la guitarra* (Córdoba: Ayuntamiento de Córdoba, 2017), 96.

by composers such Ernesto and Rodolfo Halffter, Salvador Bacarisse, Juan José Mantecón, Gustavo Pittaluga, Julián Bautista, Rosita García Ascot and the guitarist Regino Sainz de la Maza. Sainz de la Maza in particular is responsible for commissioning, premiering and (not always) publishing, new compositions for guitar during this fertile period of musical creation.⁶ This repertoire is influenced by the stylised nationalism of Debussy and Falla and also the guidance of the composer Paul Dukas who taught many of these figures and believed it was important to study the resources of an instrument in depth before writing for it. We should highlight here the music critic Adolfo Salazar, a main figure of this group of composers known as the Grupo de los Ocho.

Joaquín Rodrigo (1901-1999) was another composer who began his extensive output for guitar in these years with three pieces: *Zarabanda lejana*, *Toccata* and *En los trigales*. Eduardo López-Chávarri, a Valencian like Rodrigo, composed his *Sonata I* and *Siete piezas para guitarra* in these fruitful years. In 1933, Antonio José Martínez Palacios wrote his *Sonata para guitarra*, probably the most ambitious and monumental work written for guitar up to this time.⁷ Although Emilio Pujol was not the dedicatee of any of these pieces, he became an important figure in the dissemination of this music through publishing part of this repertoire in his collection *Bibliothèque de musique ancienne et moderne pour guitare* with the prestigious French publisher Max Eschig. After the Civil War (1936-1939) many of these composers ended up in exile or were directly assassinated, as was the case of Antonio José. Although the music of most of these composers (except Rodrigo) fell into oblivion, in recent years, interest in it has been revived by performers and scholars.

Works dedicated to Andrés Segovia, the great figure of the guitar world in the twentieth century, have been better remembered. Outside Spain, composers such as Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Manuel M. Ponce and Alexandre Tansman dedicated a large part of their guitar output to him. In Spain, Joaquín Turina and Federico Moreno Torroba were the composers that Segovia programmed, published and recorded the most. The language of these two composers is very different: more Andalusian and idiomatic in the case of Turina and more Castilian and melodic in that of Torroba. However, Segovia did not show the same favour to other works dedicated to him that were distant from his aesthetic tastes, including two very ambitious pieces in formal terms: the *Tempo di sonata* by Óscar Esplá and the *Fantasia-Sonata* op. 22 by Joan Manén. Other pieces by José María Franco, Adolfo Salazar, Jaime Pahissa, Vicente Arregui, Gaspar Cassadó, Father Donostia or Federico Mompou (together with other music by non-Spanish composers) remained

⁶ Leopoldo Neri, 'El repertorio inédito para guitarra del Grupo de los Ocho de la Generación del 27', *Roseta* 0 (2007), 98.

⁷ Angelo Gilardino, 'La "Sonata para guitarra di Antonio José". Una scoperta sorprendente', *Il Fronimo* 72 (1990), 12.

locked away in a box on the express wish of the Maestro between his death and 2001. Since then, they have progressively seen the light through a collection published by Bèrben and directed by Italian guitarist, composer and musicologist Angelo Gilardino.

Other less influential composers carried out their guitar activity in a more isolated or peripheral manner, but even so, they deserve to be mentioned. These include Ángel Barrios, a notable musician from Granada who, like Torroba, premiered several zarzuelas and symphonic pieces. His output for guitar is quite original and occupies a place of honour in the history of the instrument, as he is the guitarist Falla frequently conversed with in Granada while composing his *Hommage*. Other notable guitar figures were Daniel Fortea (1878-1953) and Quintín Esquembre (1885-1965), two great teachers in Madrid at this time. Esquembre, in particular, was also a composer with a solid musical training, which can be seen in works for guitar such as *Canción playera*. In 1938, two years before the premiere of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*, Esquembre wrote *Capricho andaluz* for two guitars and orchestra, a work that began a period in which concertos for guitar and orchestra were to proliferate. Esquembre was also a teacher of two artists who had brilliant international careers: Ángel Iglesias and Vicente Gómez.⁸ It should be noted that the four most influential guitarists of this period – Llobet, Regino, Segovia and Pujol – also composed works for guitar which, even today, deservedly remain in the repertoire. This is the case of *Scherzo-vals* by Llobet, *Zapateado* by Regino, *Estudio sin luz* by Segovia and *Tres piezas españolas* by Pujol.

Concierto de Aranjuez and the era of guitar concertos, 1940-1975

After the bloody Spanish Civil War, the dictatorship of Francisco Franco was a time of setback in the arts due to the precarious post-war economy and the new ruling class's lack of sensitivity towards any cultured artistic manifestation. The guitar, however, considered the national instrument, did not feel this crisis as acutely. For the first time in the history of the Madrid Conservatory, the guitar became part of the official curriculum, with Regino Sainz de la Maza as the institution's first guitar teacher in 1939 (see Chapter 17). The following year, Regino would premiere in Barcelona the famous *Concierto de Aranjuez* by Joaquín Rodrigo. This work, and especially the inspired melody of its second movement, is the most famous music ever written for guitar, and is of great merit for such a popular instrument.⁹ Even today, orchestras continue to program this work continuously, a success that often detracts from other concertos that deserve to be performed. The *Concierto de Aranjuez*

⁸ Jacinto Sánchez and Fernando Bermejo, *Ángel Iglesias. Vida y obra de un guitarrista extremeño universal 1916-1977* (Badajoz: Diputación de Badajoz, 2007), 24.

⁹ On the creation of this concert see Julio Gimeno, 'Un viaje sin destino: Andrés Segovia hacia el concierto de Aranjuez', in *Joaquín Rodrigo. Nombres propios de la guitarra*, vol. 8 (2010), 123-88.

is written in a neoclassical style and demands great virtuosity from the performer, a formula that Rodrigo will repeat in almost all his later guitar concertos: *Concierto madrigal* (1966) for two guitars and orchestra, *Concierto andaluz* (1967) for four guitars or the *Concierto para una fiesta* (1982). *Fantasia para un gentilhombre* (1954), dedicated to Segovia and based on themes by the Baroque guitarist Gaspar Sanz is, despite the figure of its dedicatee, the least virtuosic of all the concertos by the Valencian *maestro*.

The success of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* left a long shadow and led to the composition of several concertos for guitar and orchestra in Spain. This is the context in which the *Concierto levantino* (1948) was composed by Manuel Palau, who also wrote a piece for solo guitar in this decade, his *Sonata en La mayor*. Both works were premiered by the Murcian guitarist Narciso Yepes (1927-1997) who, due to his virtuosity, would be the dedicatee of an increasing number of compositions for guitar, especially by Levantine composers, taking over from Sainz de la Maza. Palau had already written for guitar in the 1930s composing two pieces, *Ayer* and *Allegro*, and he would write two more in the 1960s, *Fandanguillo* and *Músicas para la corte del Magnánimo* (the latter dedicated to Segovia). Although his music is interesting and well considered, it remains practically unpublished today. Yepes also made contact with another composer who was living in exile in Paris, Salvador Bacarisse, collaborating in the composition of several other pieces for guitar. Among these, the *Concertino en La menor* (1952), is a work that has had a notable legacy due to its *Romanza*, and was used in several films and advertisements. Other important pieces include *Tres cantares anónimos del siglo XVI* for voice and guitar. Yepes also continued his collaborations with composers, such as Ernesto Halffter, whose *Concierto* he premiered in 1969.

In the 1950s, two more concertos for guitar and orchestra were written: *Suite en estilo antiguo* (1953) by Javier Alfonso (a work which, as far as we know, is no longer extant) and *Concierto para guitarra* (1955) by Fernando Remacha, who also composed, as a preliminary study, *Son y bailete* for solo guitar. Later, in the 1960s and 1970s, Federico Moreno Torroba expanded his extensive list of works for guitar to include several compositions with orchestra, such as *Concierto de Castilla* (1960), *Homenaje a la seguidilla* (1961), *Concierto Flamenco* (1962) in collaboration with the great flamenco guitarist Sabicas and *Diálogos para guitarra y orquesta* (1977), perhaps his most experimental work amongst a rather conservative oeuvre. Torroba's association with the Romero family of guitarists gave rise to *Concierto ibérico* (1976) for four guitars and orchestra and the quartets *Estampas* and *Ráfagas*.

Finally, though beyond the time limit of this chapter, we should not forget the figure of the late Antón García Abril who, in a way, closes the golden age of concertos for guitar and orchestra in Spain in the twentieth century with *Concierto Aguediano* (1979), *Concierto Mudéjar* (1985) and the *Concierto de Gibralfaro* (2004) for two guitars.

New repertoire for guitar in Spain, 1950-1975

From the 1950s onwards, the main Spanish composers continued to add to the repertoire for solo guitar and chamber music. The composer Rafael Rodríguez Albert wrote three works dedicated to the guitar, including *Sonatina en tres duales*, one of the first dodecaphonic pieces written for the guitar in Spain. In addition, Rodríguez Albert also wrote several chamber pieces for guitar – a novelty in Spain – including *Cuarteto en Re mayor* for guitar and string trio, for which he won the National Music Prize in 1952. Rodríguez Albert's music is as unknown today as that of his fellow countryman Palau. Works for guitar by another Valencian composer, Vicente Asencio, however, have been better remembered. Asencio collaborated with Yepes in the composition of his three *Homenajes* (to Scarlatti, Falla and Lorca) and in *Collectici íntim*, and wrote *Suite mística* for Segovia and *Suite valenciana* for Gilardino. An intimate composer (as he defined himself) and a pupil of Turina, he chose to remain faithful to the rich musical tradition of his native Valencia, paying homage to his homeland in his first work, *Dansa valenciana*, although applying the usual processes of refinement of cultured music. Another composer who came to the guitar under the influence of *maestro* Yepes was Antonio Ruiz-Pipó. Although born in Granada, he studied in Barcelona and after receiving a scholarship he settled in Paris where he would base his entire musical career. Undoubtedly the most performed piece by Ruiz-Pipó is his *Canción y danza* no. 1, although his catalogue includes nearly thirty works for solo guitar, voice and guitar and various chamber ensembles with guitar.

One of the greatest works of twentieth-century Spanish guitar repertoire (along with the *Hommage* by Falla and *Sonata* by Antonio José) is the splendid *Fantasia* (1957) by the Catalan composer Roberto Gerhard, who was part of the Grupo de Compositores Independientes de Cataluña along with Mompou, Blancafort, Grau and Toldrà. This group had more Central European influences than the Madrid-based Grupo de los Ocho, whose aesthetic was closer to French music. Gerhard also wrote *Cantares* for voice and guitar and composed the chamber piece *Libra* featuring the guitar in the style associated with the Second Viennese School, such as his teacher Arnold Schoenberg or Anton Webern. Gerhard, who went into exile in England in 1938, never to return to his native country, taught Joaquín Homs,¹⁰ the author of an extensive catalogue in which the guitar appears as a solo instrument, in duos or in different chamber ensembles. Homs's first guitar works, *Suite d'Homenajes* and *Entre dues línies*, demonstrate the influence of French impressionism and Bartók. After a dodecaphonic period and following the death of his wife, he developed a more personal language, exemplified in his *Soliloquies*.

¹⁰ Àlex Garrobé, 'L'univers estètic de Joaquim Homs (1906-2003)', PhD diss. (Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma, 2015), 60.

The music of Eduardo Sainz de la Maza, Regino's brother, is very different in style. As the author of an exclusively guitar-based output, he settled in Barcelona to devote himself to composing and teaching guitar. His most ambitious work is *Platero y yo*, an eight-movement suite based on the famous text by the poet Juan Ramón Jiménez. Other interesting works are his *Homenajes* (dedicated to the Guitar, Toulouse Lautrec and Haydn) and *Campanas del alba*, an evocative tremolo piece that enjoys a well-deserved popularity among performers today.

Other less famous but equally notable guitarists published their own collections of pedagogical pieces with great success. This inspired music has certainly been of great didactic value to our instrument. I refer here to composer-guitarists such as Bartolomé Calatayud, Graciano Tarragó, Venancio García Velasco, José de Azpiazu or Ángel Iglesias who (except in the case of Azpiazu who published in Geneva) filled hundreds of pages produced by the Spanish publishing houses Unión Musical Española, Editorial Música Moderna, Editorial Boileau and Sociedad Española de Ediciones Musicales, alongside the collections published by Segovia, Pujol and Regino Sainz de la Maza.

Last decades and the current situation, 1975-2023

The prestige and widespread popularity of Andrés Segovia led to a considerable increase in enthusiasm for the guitar during the second half of the twentieth century. Under his influence, more and more students began to dedicate themselves professionally to the instrument, leading to the creation of the summer courses in Santiago de Compostela in 1958. From this, a generation of great guitarists emerged dominating the international scene by the end of the century, including José Luis Rodrigo, José Tomás, Miguel Barberá and Demetrio Ballesteros, who were responsible for training a new generation of performers and teachers whose influence continues to the present day. This group of guitarists contributed greatly to the composers of the so-called Generation del 51's interest in the guitar of during the last decades of the twentieth century. Cristóbal Halffter, Luis de Pablo, Carmelo Bernaola and Ramón Barce, who introduced the avant-garde musical experimentation of Cage, Boulez and Stockhausen to Spain, composed some works for guitar. In their wake, other composers such as Claudio Prieto, Tomás Marco, José Ramón Encinar, Francisco Guerrero, Manuel Castillo, Jesús Villa-Rojo and the Catalans Xavier Benguerel, Josep Maria Mestres Quadreny, Joan Guinjoan and Josep Soler expanded the repertoire with abundant work dedicated to different roles for the guitar (concert, chamber music, accompaniment and soloist).

The performer closest to these composers is Gabriel Estarellas. In the early 1990s he published two albums entitled *Iberia* (1990) and *Sonatas: la guitarra española* (1991), which are valuable snapshots of the guitar in Spain during this period. The composers featured on these albums are Román Alís,

Agustín Bertomeu, Gabriel Fernández Álvarez, Antón García Abril, Bernardo Juliá, Claudio Prieto, Valentín Ruiz López and Tomás Marco. The works chosen, in fantasia and sonata forms, excludes the short pieces so common to the guitar repertoire, presenting an ambitious and courageous proposal. Thus, the figure of the guitarist-composer has also been revalued in recent years. These are musicians who have studied both disciplines (composition and performance) in depth, some of the most active amongst include Jaume Torrent, José Manuel Fernández, Marco Smaili, Eduardo Garrido and David del Puerto, or the musicians from the region of Extremadura Inés Badalo and Iluminada Pérez Frutos.

Conclusions

Guitar music has evolved enormously in Spain from the mid-nineteenth century to the present day. Elements such as language, the use of resources, notation, the variety of instrumental ensembles, and even amplification (which is beginning to be found everywhere), have transformed an instrument that in essence remains the same as it was in 1850. The compositions of the great guitarists after Aguado and Sor have been enriched by different musical currents throughout the twentieth century, by the ideas of guitarists who opted for transcriptions of music written for other instruments – a phenomenon of undoubted importance today – and in turn, by the vision of relevant non-guitarist composers who led the performer to explore new limits of the instrument. When programming a concert or a recording today, the performer can select pieces originally written for guitar from among some of the most brilliant Spanish composers of the last 150 years, which is, to a large extent, a similar approach to the repertoire of other instruments such as the violin and piano.

Chapter 10

SIGNIFICANT GUITAR FIGURES IN PORTUGAL

Paulo Peres

The guitar has evolved enormously from the period of the so-called Classical-Romantic guitar in the mid-nineteenth century to the present day. In Portugal, very little is known about the history of the guitar during the nineteenth century, and although more information is available as we move into the present day, a full record of the repertoire, performers and composers for the guitar is still missing. This justifies my attempt in this chapter to roughly draft a brief, and certainly incomplete, history of the instrument from 1850 to today.

Guitar activity in Portugal in the second half of the nineteenth century

In 1856, the second edition of the *Método geral para a viola franceza* by Manoel Nunes Aguedo (originally published in 1840) was published in Porto.¹ The Preface to this edition reads:

The viola [guitar] was only invented to accompany the singing voice, but the tireless effort of a number of renowned artists will make it possible for it to be played in salons, concerts, and even in theatres, and produce effects as any other instrument. [...] The viola has the great advantage of being easy to carry, and capable of accompanying the voice, flute, fiddle and all other instruments always in good harmony.²

This passage suggests that the guitar, known at the time in Portugal as ‘viola franceza’, was essentially an instrument for accompaniment. Nevertheless, the author not only wished the student to accompany the human voice with

¹ Manoel Nunes Aguedo, *Methodo geral para a viola franceza*, 2nd ed. (Porto: n.p., 1856). The only known copy of the first edition was in the private collection of the late Matanya Ophée now at the Special Collections Research Center of the Appalachian State University in Boone, North Carolina (USA).

² ‘A Viola não foi inventada se não para acompanhar o canto, porem o trabalho assiduo de muitos celebres artistas a tornáráo susceptivel de ser tocada nas salas, nos concertos, e mesmo nos Theatros, e produzir tanto effeito como outro qualquer instrumento. [...] A Viola tem grande vantagem por ser de facil transporte, e poder acompanhar o canto, a Flauta, a Rebeca, e todos os outros instrumentos sempre com boa harmonia’, Aguedo, *Methodo*, 2.

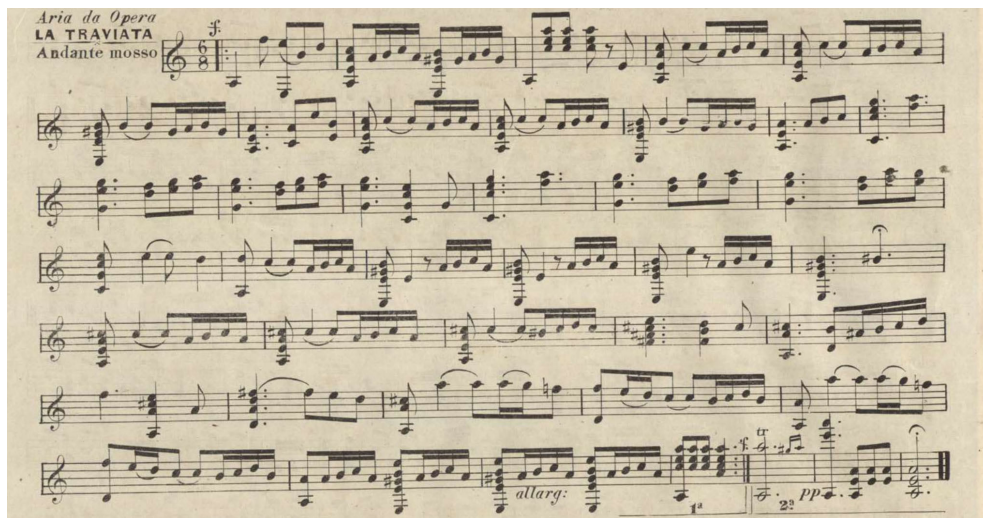


Illustration 10.1. 'Aria da Opera La Traviata', in Manoel Nunes Aguedo, *Methodo geral para a viola franceza* (Porto: n.p., 1856), 34. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, M.2156 V (Reproduced by permission).

it, but 'to play in a short time any piece of music' on it.³ For this purpose, he introduced original pieces and adaptations of arias from Italian operas for solo guitar, showing an increasing degree of difficulty (see an example in Illustration 10.1). As a way of attaining a richer harmony, he favoured the use of the left-hand thumb, while pointing out that other methods absolutely forbid its use (he failed to mention which methods had inspired his own preference).⁴ A revised edition of his method was published in 1860 under the title *Methodo para Viola Franceza* and included a series of new arrangements by João A. Ribas of further excerpts from Italian operas.⁵

In the catalogue of the National Library of Portugal four other guitar methods are listed as having been published in Portugal between 1850 and 1900. Their authors are Alves Rente, Reynaldo Varella, César A.P. das Neves and Agustín Rebel Fernández, the latter being a Spanish guitarist. Only the first part of the first edition of César das Neves's method, published in 1890, is available and is entirely dedicated to accompaniments. Both César das Neves and Reynaldo Varela had strong ties with *fado* and to the Portuguese guitar, and their activity carried on into the twentieth century. Although Fernández's *Novo Método* is dated 1900 in the catalogue of the National Library of

³ 'conduzir o estudante para com muita brevidade poder executar qualquer peça de Musica', Aguedo, *Methodo*, 2.

⁴ Similar claims are made by Ferdinando Carulli in his methods which were widely disseminated in Europe.

⁵ Manoel Nunes Aguedo, *Methodo para viola franceza, nova edição revista e correcta, com peças recreativas por João A. Ribas* (Porto: Armazem de musicas nacionais e estrangeiras, 1860).

Portugal, it must not have been published before the 1930s, given that in his preface the author makes reference to his fifty years of artistic practice and the fact that he is first recorded as a young guitar student in 1886. From 1898 onwards he appears to have settled down in Lisbon as a concert performer and music teacher, using the name of Agostinho.⁶

Some of these methods went through several editions, demonstrating at least some interest in guitar playing, either as an accompaniment or solo instrument, in Portuguese society. The musicologist Rui Vieira Nery confirms this idea, stating that in the nineteenth century ‘there are innumerable descriptions that confirm the enormous cultivation of the guitar throughout the country in virtually all social classes, both as a solo instrument and to accompany the voice, but it is not always clear to which type of guitar the authors are referring’.⁷ He adds that the *viola* and the Portuguese guitar were mostly used to accompany the *modinha*, an urban song of Portuguese-Brazilian origin with a strong presence in Portuguese musical life (see Chapter 6).

Regarding concerts in Portugal at this time, the Spanish guitarist Antonio Jiménez Manjón (1866-1919) was present in Portuguese concert halls in the later years of the nineteenth century in cities like Porto (a recital in Palácio de Cristal in 1886), Coimbra and Lisbon. This suggests that he had an active social and artistic life in Portugal. A similar case is that of the Portuguese guitarist Reynaldo Varela in Spanish Galicia between 1883 and 1903.⁸

From 1900 to the end of World War II

Fado, a type of urban popular song developed in Lisbon during the second third of the nineteenth century, evolved towards a more definite paradigm at the turn of the twentieth century.⁹ This type of music, originally based in *modinhas* and afro-Brazilian song-dances related to *lundum*, spread mostly in the bohemian world of taverns, brothels and bullfighting. It gradually lost its rhythmic and syncopated character, so that singing, associated with poetic improvisation, became predominant over its association with dance. This style is characterised by the sentimental and fatalistic tinge to the singing, a less rigid metrical pulse and a frequent use of *rubato* and suspension.

⁶ Isabel Rey Sanmartín, ‘A guitarra na Galiza’, PhD diss. (Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2020), 502-508.

⁷ ‘são inúmeras as descrições que confirmam o cultivo intenso da guitarra em todo o País e por praticamente todas as classes sociais, quer como instrumento solista quer como acompanhamento da voz, mas nem sempre é evidente se os autores se referem à viola ou à guitarra portuguesa’, Rui Vieira Nery, ‘Algumas considerações sobre as origens e o desenvolvimento da *modinha* Luso-Brasileira’, in Manuel Morais, *Modinhas, lundus e cançonetas com acompanhamento de viola e guitarra inglesa* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 2000), 37.

⁸ Rey Sanmartín, ‘A guitarra na Galiza’, 507.

⁹ Rui Vieira Nery, ‘Fado’, in Salwa Castelo-Branco, *Enciclopédia da música portuguesa no século XX*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Circulo de Leitores, 2010), 432-53.

The imposition of censorship on the press and on public performance by the military dictatorship after the *coup d'état* of 28 May 1926 – which would bring about *Estado Novo* and Salazar – affected *fado* practitioners and the musical style itself.¹⁰ On the one hand, *fado* artists were forced to become professionals and carry a professional card with them. On the other, all poetic improvisation was completely removed from performance. Under the influence of musical theatre, *fado* evolved into *fado-canção*, with a previously written text alternating between strophes and a refrain. By this time, *fado* had become a constant presence in all cultural events, from *casas do fado* to other public places such as musicals, cinema and radio. The political establishment tried to take advantage of this widespread presence and promote *fado* as an element of a populist and nationalist culture. Between 1926 and the end of World War II, the model for *fado* accompaniment by Portuguese guitar and *viola* was defined,¹¹ and this would last for over half a century.¹² Armandinho (Portuguese guitar) and Martinho d'Assunção (*viola*) were decisive in this shift.

Martinho d'Assunção (1914-1992) is an example of a virtuoso guitarist connected with *fado* as both a player and composer. The son of a poet and *fadista*, d'Assunção started his guitar studies with Agustín Rebel Fernández,¹³ and later began to study *fado* with João da Mata Gonçalves. D'Assunção also dedicated himself to guitar teaching, becoming a role model for guitarist and composer Duarte Costa, an important figure in guitar studies in the second half of the century (as will be shown later). The role he may have played in the evolution of a guitar praxis in that first half of the century is still in need of a deeper research.

It seems, then, that the guitar (or *viola*) was, at the time, mostly associated with *fado* accompaniment together with the Portuguese guitar. In contrast, not much is known about a possible scholarly practice. The only reference to such a repertoire is a piece by the composer and conductor Francisco de Lacerda (1869-1934), *Suite Goivos*, in three movements (I. *Serenata a una muerta*, II. *Epitaphio* and III. *Visão*). It is dedicated to Andrés Segovia and was written in 1924 after they both had met in Paris.¹⁴ The third movement has been lost and Segovia played only *Serenata a una muerta* in the *première* of the piece.¹⁵

¹⁰ Nery, 'Fado', 438.

¹¹ The Portuguese guitar (*guitarra portuguesa*) is a Portuguese traditional string instrument possibly related with the *English guitar*. In Portugal the classical guitar can be designated by different names like *viola*, *viola dedilhada*, *guitarra clássica* or *guitarra*.

¹² Nery, 'Fado', 439.

¹³ Sanmartín, 'A guitarra na Galiza', 50.

¹⁴ This work was finally published almost a century after it was composed. Fernando de Lacerda, *Suite Goivos* (Lisbon: AVA Musical Editions, 2016).

¹⁵ On this work see Pedro Rodrigues, "'Para Andrés Segovia": A Suite Goivos de Francisco de Lacerda', *Vórtex* 8/3 (2020), 1-13.

Duarte Costa and his role in the emancipation of the classical guitar in Portugal

The classical guitar player, composer and pedagogue Duarte Costa (1921-2004) spent most of his career in Lisbon, where he was born. His first experience as a performing musician was playing banjo in an amateur jazz group. Later, at the age of sixteen, he began his guitar studies with Martinho d'Assunção, joining his *fado* ensemble (two violas and two Portuguese guitars) between 1937 and 1938 and accompanying the *fado* singer Constança Maria. In the 1940s, Costa met José Mendonça Braga, a medical doctor who owned a significant amount of classical guitar music and whose guidance and patronage were priceless to Costa in the successful pursuit of his studies.¹⁶ In 1946 he gave his first recital in the Musicians of Lisbon and in 1948 he was awarded first prize in a competition for instrumentalists organised by the National Radio. The following year he obtained a scholarship from the *Instituto de Alta Cultura* to study in Spain, where he would meet the guitarists Daniel Fortea and Narciso Yepes.¹⁷ Meanwhile, between 1948 and 1952, according to the auditions registered in the *Boletins do Conservatório Nacional de Lisboa*, he attended the Curso Especial de Viola by Emilio Pujol, where some of his works were played.¹⁸

In 1953 he founded the Escola de Guitarra Clássica de Lisboa and later branches in Porto, Coimbra and Faro, spreading interest in the instrument across Portugal. Although these educational centres, in principle of amateur nature, were not officially recognised, they played an irreplaceable role in the formation of most guitarists of that time. In addition, and in order to answer the needs of the flourishing Portuguese market devoted to the guitar, he even found time to open a factory for guitar manufacturing in Coimbra.

His excellent technique and musicality made him well known in Portugal and abroad, and he gave several recitals in Spain, Italy, England, Canada and Mozambique.¹⁹ In 1964 the Academia de Amadores de Música, a music school with a long history, invited him to found a general course for guitar, which finally saw the light in 1967 with the collaboration of the guitarist Piñeiro Nagy. On his own initiative, he would leave the school a short time later.²⁰

From his work as a pedagogue, his *Método de guitarra* stands out.²¹ In five volumes, it has a preface by Narciso Yepes. Costa started writing his method

¹⁶ Aires Pinheiro, 'José Duarte Costa: Um caso no ensino não-oficial da música', PhD diss. (Universidade de Aveiro, 2010), 5.

¹⁷ Manuel Morais, 'Costa, José Duarte', in Castelo-Branco, *Enciclopédia*, vol. 2, 344-45.

¹⁸ *Boletins do Conservatório Nacional*, vol. 1/2 (1947-1948) and vol. 2/2-4 (1951-1954).

¹⁹ Morais, 'Costa, José Duarte', 345.

²⁰ Filipa Pinto-Ribeiro, 'Entrevista com José Piñeiro Nagy', *Revista Guitarra Clássica* 1 (2010), 9-19.

²¹ Duarte Costa, *Método de guitarra composto em 5 partes* (Lisbon: Edição Escolas de Guitarra de Duarte Costa, 1967).



Illustration 10.2. Duarte Costa in the 1960s, from his family collection
(Reproduced by permission).

in 1942 but the definitive version, after several revisions, is from 1967 and only the first part is edited.²² As a composer, besides *Concerto ibérico* premiered in 1979 by the Porto Symphony Orchestra, Costa is the author of forty pieces for solo guitar and composed music for Portuguese movies.

To underline the importance of Costa as a central figure of the guitar in Portugal, the guitarist Paulo Valente stresses that any guitarist coming to Lisbon would try to find a way to meet him. Guitarists who made this effort include Maria Livia São Marcos, Turibio Santos, Xavier Quevedo, Javier Hinojosa, Alberto Ponce and Emilio Pujol. Some would go so far as to give lessons at his school, though intermittently.²³ In the words of Maria Livia São Marcos, ‘Costa was the first Portuguese *violinista* who moved away from the guitar as accompaniment towards a more classical area’, affirming that ‘Duarte Costa was the visionary who really gave birth to a school of classical guitar in Portugal’.²⁴

²² Pinheiro, ‘José Duarte Costa’, 39-41

²³ Pinheiro, ‘José Duarte Costa’, 306.

²⁴ ‘Costa foi o primeiro violonista português que saiu da guitarra de acompanhamento para uma área mais clássica [...] O visionário Duarte Costa criou sim, a escola da guitarra clássica em Portugal’, Pinheiro, ‘José Duarte Costa’, 353.

Emilio Pujol at the Conservatório Nacional de Lisboa, 1946-1969

The method *Escuela razonada de la guitarra, basado en los principios de la técnica de Tarrega* published in 1934 by the guitarist, vihuelist, composer, pedagogue and musicologist Emilio Pujol (1886-1980) is a major reference in the guitar world of the twentieth century. In the Preface, Manuel de Falla states that, in his opinion, this method finally provides something that had been missing since the times of Aguado.²⁵ Moreover, Pujol played a major role in the rediscovery of the body of works on vihuela by Spanish authors. Beyond an extensive range of new works for guitar, he also published numerous transcriptions for the instrument.

In 1946 Pujol was invited by Ivo Cruz, the director of the Conservatório Nacional de Lisboa, to open the Curso Especial de Viola. The next year, on 9 January, he gave a lecture-recital at the library of the conservatoire focusing exclusively on the vihuela repertoire of the *Siglo de oro*, in which Maria Adelaide Robert, a Portuguese singer, took part. Robert would later become his second wife. There is a detailed report of the concert in the first edition of the *Boletim do Conservatório Nacional* (1946-1947), where even a copy of the vihuela on which Pujol played is mentioned:

The lecturer showed his scholarship as he dealt with the theme ‘La vihuela y sus tañedores’ and gave a masterly interpretation of the best compositions by our vihuelists. [...] Professor Emilio Pujol started his talk by bringing to mind the ambiance of the medieval period and of the musical *Siglo de oro* in Spain, when the vihuela took over a whole world of musical forms. A few printed books and a single instrument, stored in the Jaquemar-André Museum in Paris, [...] – vihuela with the name ‘Guadalupe’ branded in fire, of which Mr Pujol has an exact copy, and which he used in this concert [...].²⁶

In the following year, on 12 February 1948, Pujol gave a recital with his wife, the guitarist Matilde Cuervas, in the Main Hall of the Conservatório Nacional organised by the Instituto Espanhol in Lisbon. On 15 March, auditions for the first students to attend Pujol’s masterclasses took place. Guitarists such as Maria Antónia Verling, Regina Junquera, José Bacelar, Valentim de Sousa, Alberto Cruz, Duarte Costa and Francisco Rosa (all of whom were Portuguese except Junquera who was Spanish) attended these auditions playing works by

²⁵ Emilio Pujol, *Escuela razonada de la guitarra* (Buenos Aires: Ricordi Americana, 1934), 4.

²⁶ ‘O conferencista desenvolveu uma grande erudição no tema *La vihuela y sus tañedores* (tangedores) interpretando no fim, magistralmente, algumas das composições mais notáveis dos nossos vihuelistas. O Prof. Emilio Pujol começou por evocar o ambiente do período medieval e do século de ouro musical de Espanha em que a viola se apoderou de um mundo de formas artísticas. Alguns livros de música impressos e um único exemplar instrumental conservado no Museu Jaquemar - André, de Paris [...] – vihuela que tem marcado a ferro o nome de “Guadalupe” da qual o Snr. Pujol possui cópia exata, que utilizou neste concerto’, *Boletim do Conservatório Nacional*, 1/1, 36.

Pujol, Tárrega, Schumann, Bonet, Sor, Torroba, Malats, Luys de Narváez, Luys de Milán and Diego Pisador.²⁷ The strong presence of Portuguese students (and the names of the composers on the programme) seems to indicate – certainly thanks to Duarte Costa’s endeavours – the existence of a significant number of guitar players who were quite skilled in the instrument.

In the journal *Guitar Review* from 1948 Pujol talks about the students he met in his first Conservatoire guitar course and how they played, criticising the use of metal strings and the abuse of vibrato. He also makes a special reference to Duarte Costa, highlighting his excellent artistic qualities.²⁸

Six years later, however, in a letter to Alirio Díaz dated 1954, Pujol expresses his enthusiasm about the success of his special courses for *viola*: ‘My dearest friend [...] the course here has a very lively atmosphere and I expect a brilliant audition from our students [...]’.²⁹ This audition would take place on 25 March and a large number of students took part, playing pieces by Ponce, Haydn, Turina, Sor, Villa-Lobos, Tárrega, Gaspar Sanz, Robert de Visée, Pujol, L. Call, Bach, Llobet, Albéniz, Luys de Milán, Flecha-Fuenllana and Morales-Fuenllana.

According to the several Bulletins published between 1948 – when the auditions of Pujol’s students were first registered – and 1960, it was not only guitar music that was being played, but also works for vihuela and Baroque guitar of five double courses.³⁰ The list of students attending these courses between 1946 and 1960 is quite long. In addition to those already mentioned were figures such as Lopes e Silva, Alberto Ponce and Manuel Cubedo. Manuel Morais, who studied under Pujol, describes how the course was organised:

The Curso Especial de Guitarra – as a free attendance course – did not cover a whole school year like the rest, it was taught in a shorter period of time, varying between three months and one month [...]. Classes would normally take place on every workday, in the morning and [...] were collective classes, that is, students who had enrolled would have to attend the Maestro’s classes. [...]

Between 1961 and 1968 I studied under Professor Pujol and at the Conservatório Nacional had as colleagues (some were later teachers and performers of international reputation, besides others with careers stopped midway) like Alberto Ponce, José Verdú, Carmen González, Javier Quevedo (Spain), Javier Hinojosa, Leticia Alba (Mexico), Rose Daniels,

²⁷ *Boletim do Conservatório Nacional*, 1/2, 138.

²⁸ Emilio Pujol, ‘The Guitar in Portugal’, *Guitar Review* 5 (1948), 114-15.

²⁹ ‘Mi querido y caro amigo: [...] El curso de aquí está muy animado y espero una brillante audición de alumnos’, María Ribera Gibal, *Emili Pujol Vilamubí, retrat d’un guitarrista* (Lleida: Institut d’Estudis Ilerdencs, 2020), 177-78.

³⁰ João Pedro Santos, a teacher at the Conservatório Nacional, who kindly placed the bulletins at my disposal, confirms that the library does not hold any bulletin of a later date.

John Robert (England), Maria Livia São Marcos, Sebastião Tapajóz (Brasil), Francisco Ávila and José Deodoro Troufa Real (Portugal).³¹

The nature of this course – simply a free course taking place over a short period every year between 1946 and 1969 and therefore not included in the official curriculum – may have limited its influence. Yet the length of Pujol's stay demonstrates his very significant contribution to the success of guitar studies in Portugal. The fact that a guitar course was accepted in the Conservatorio Nacional is of utmost importance, and the list of Portuguese students who enrolled in this special course stresses the significance of Pujol in the future of the instrument.

Mention should also be made of a few successful guitar recitals given during this period, which reflect an increase of public interest in the guitar. On 7 June 1952, Regino Sainz de la Maza gave a recital at the Conservatório Nacional, while on 7 January 1953 Andrés Segóvia came to Porto to perform at the Teatro Vale Formoso in a recital organised by Círculo de Cultura Musical. Again, at the Conservatório Nacional, on 20 May 1955, Julian Bream gave a recital for guitar and lute together with the baritone Frederik Fuller.

From 1967 to the end of the twentieth century

A Curso Geral de Guitarra opened at the Academia de Amadores de Música in 1967 established by the guitarist Piñeiro Nagy. In 1972, the Conservatório Nacional started the Curso de *Viola Dedilhada* (guitar) with Lopes e Silva and Manuel Morais as teachers. Silva and Morais would later be responsible for the official curriculum for *Viola Dedilhada* included in the pedagogic curriculum of 1972, still valid today. Only years later would guitar studies integrate into other conservatoires, entering the curricula of the conservatoires in Braga (José Pina) in 1978 and Porto (Mário Carreira) in 1987.

Music as a subject was included in the educational curricula at a national level in 1983: the Escolas Superiores de Música of Lisbon and Porto were to be responsible for the High Level Studies and the Conservatórios for the Low Levels. In 1990, the Cursos Superiores de Guitarra finally opened in Lisbon and Porto, taught by Piñeiro Nagy and José Pina respectively. Pina played a

³¹ 'El curso Especial de Guitarra –como curso libre que entonces era– no se extendía, como los demás, durante un año escolar completo, siendo impartido durante un periodo más reducido, que podía oscilar entre tres meses y un mes [...]. Las clases se realizaban, normalmente, todos los días laborables por la mañana y [...] eran colectivas, o sea, todos los alumnos inscritos asistían a las lecciones del Maestro [...]. Entre 1961 y 1968 estudié con el Maestro Pujol, y tuve como condiscípulos en el Conservatorio Nacional (futuros profesores e instrumentistas de renombre internacional, además de otros de carrera truncada) a Alberto Ponce, José Verdú, Carmen González, Javier Quevedo (españoles), Javier Hinojosa, Leticia Alba (mexicanos), Rose Daniels, John Robert (ingleses), Maria Livia São Marcos, Sebastião Tapajóz (brasileños), Francisco Ávila y José Deodoro Troufa Real (portugueses)', Manuel Morais, 'El Maestro Emilio Pujol (1886-1980): 26 años después', *Hispánica Lyra* 4, (2006), 30-33.

major role in forming a number of guitar players in Porto, establishing an important school of performers. Later still, guitar studies entered the official curricula of other higher education establishments, like the Aveiro, Minho and Évora Universities and the Instituto Superior Politécnico in Castelo Branco. As to the lower levels, opportunities to study the guitar have increased significantly, owing to strong support from the educational authorities.

The official recognition of the guitar as an instrument for classical music came to promote its popularity and its study. The same applies to composition, and this period can be seen as the starting point for a Golden Age for the guitar in Portugal. Considering that, as far as we know, up to 1967 only ten works had been written for guitar – Lacerda's *Suite Goivos* (1924) and nine dated pieces by Duarte Costa³² – 1968 should be seen as a landmark due to the fact that Fernando Lopes-Graça (1906-1994) composed his first work for guitar, *Prelúdio e Baileto*. This piece was dedicated to Piñero Nagy, then a teacher in the Academia de Amadores de Música, of whose board of directors Graça was a member. He would eventually write three more substantial pieces: *Partita* (1971), *Sonatina* (1974) and *Quatro peças para guitarra* (1979). The fact of Graça was probably the most influential Portuguese composer of the twentieth century explains the significance of these works in the field of guitar composition.

This first wave of Portuguese pieces for guitar would continue until well into the 1980s. These are mostly the work of non-guitarists: António Victorino de Almeida (*Suite* op. 30, 1968), Cândido Lima (*Esboços I, II, III*, 1969), José António Lopes e Silva (*Tensão e Distensão*, 1972; *8 Estudos para iniciação à guitarra clássica*, 1972; *Sub - Memória* [Guitarra com amplificação], 1972), Fernando Corrêa de Oliveira (*Coimbra, Minha Coimbra*, op. 30, *7 peças para guitarra*, 1976), José Mesquita Lopes (*Três peças para guitarra*, 1978; *Suite*, 1981-1982), Clotilde Rosa (*Ode*, 1982 [Guitarra e crócalos]), Jorge Peixinho (*L'oiseau lyre*, 1982), and Filipe Pires (*Figurations VII*, 1986). From these only Lopes e Silva and José Mesquita are both composers and guitarists. Additionally, between 1983 and 2008, at least 192 works by fifty-three composers came to life, an unprecedented increase of the Portuguese repertoire. They are works of different musical styles, from tonality to the avant-garde.³³

The renowned composer Jorge Peixinho deserves special attention for his decisive role in composing and publicising avant-garde music in Portugal. He studied composition with Croner de Vasconcellos, Boris Porena, Goffredo Petrassi, Luigi Nono, Pierre Boulez and Stockhausen, and attended the Darmstadt international composition courses. In 1970, he founded the Grupo de Música Contemporânea de Lisboa (GMCL) with the main objective of

³² José Mesquita Lopes, 'A música contemporânea portuguesa para guitarra de 1983 a 2008', PhD diss. (Universidade de Aveiro, 2015), 50.

³³ Mesquita, 'A música contemporânea', 48.

making the music of Portuguese contemporary composers known to a wider audience by means of concerts and recordings. A great number of his chamber music pieces were then made public, and many of them include the guitar. The guitarist Lopes e Silva was a member of this Group from its beginning; in 2005 he handed his seat over to Paulo Amorim. The GMCL has maintained an ongoing international presence.

Slowly but surely, the guitar began to enter music festivals: in 1971 Piñeiro Nagy included it in the *Cursos Internacionais de Música do Estoril* (which would integrate with the European Festivals Association in 1983) at the invitation of Manuel Ivo Cruz, then its director. The first guitarist to be appointed as responsible was Raul Sánchez, from Uruguay, and later came, for a longer period, Alberto Ponce and the lutenist Hopkinson Smith. The guitarist currently invited is Fabio Zanon. In 1975, Piñeiro Nagy, then director, opened the *Festival de Música do Estoril*, which became known as the *Festival Estoril Lisboa* from 2013 onwards.

Further north, in Vila Real, the Brazilian Dagoberto Linhares was responsible for the guitar masterclasses at the *Cursos Internacionais de Música da Casa de Mateus* from 1981 to 2018. In 1988, the newly founded *Cursos de Aperfeiçoamento Musical de Vila do Conde* had José Pina responsible for the guitar masterclasses, followed later by guitarists Paulo Vaz de Carvalho, Alberto Ponce, Margarita Escarpa and Dejan Ivanović.

As for guitar competitions, the first only happened in 1988, included in the High Levels of the *Concursos Nacionais da Juventude Musical Portuguesa*.

Conclusions

The vision of the guitar in Portugal has changed much from the times of Aguedo in the second half of the nineteenth century. What was considered then an instrument suitable mostly to accompany simple songs, today enjoys a melange of influences being not only a popular instrument, but holding a corpus of high-quality music by renowned Portuguese composers. The contribution of figures such as Martinho d'Assunção, Duarte Costa, and even Emilio Pujol, as well as several institutions, primarily the *Conservatório Nacional* of Lisbon, is noteworthy in the creation of a well-established Portuguese school of the guitar, which spread all over the country and sees guitar enthusiasts travelling the world and winning important prizes. The guitar and its performers have finally achieved a status similar to other instruments and are now included in the most important Portuguese music festivals. Certainly, the role of all these figures of the past needs to be known.

Chapter 11

ITALIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO GUITAR MUSIC

Luigi Artina

Music for guitar in Italy has evolved enormously from the Classical era and composers such as Ferdinando Carulli and Mauro Giuliani or later, Giulio Regondi and Luigi Legnani. After a period of waning interest in guitar music during the second half of the nineteenth century, the rebirth of this instrument in the first decades of the twentieth century, influenced by figures such as Andrés Segovia, attracted the attention of composers leading to the creation of new music for this instrument. New generations of composers have implemented the new compositional techniques that have shaped the history of music – coming from a wide variety of styles throughout the world – in the production of guitar music. In this chapter I will analyse how guitar music was influenced by the most important European currents, highlighting some of the most significant Italian works composed for guitar between 1900 and 1980.¹

European context

The evolution of the guitar's musical language across the twentieth century must be considered in light of the century's musical developments, moving from the traditional to the avant-garde. The cultural scene of Vienna in the first half of the twentieth century, marked by numerous nascent artistic movements, was extremely influential. The main emblematic figures of these new trends were Klimt and with him, Kokoschka, Schiele, Kandinsky and Klee who propelled the development of the figurative arts; in particular, Schiele and Kokoschka gave significant direction to the Austrian expressionist movement. The artistic tendencies of this era also influenced the development of musical language and, in particular, the music of what has been historically called the Second Viennese School, of which the main figure was Arnold Schönberg.²

¹ In this chapter I will not refer to several composers particularly from the last decades of the century, mainly due to the intention of this text to outline the history of the guitar throughout the twentieth century by focusing on two historical periods: the first half of the century and the thirty years after the World War II, periods in which the key Italian composers who contributed to the development of the guitar language were active.

² Philippe Albèra, 'The Myth and the Unconscious', in Jean J. Nattiez (dir.), *The Musical Avant-Gardes of the Twentieth Century* (Turin: Einaudi, 2001), 50.

Schönberg knew Kandinsky and exchanged letters with him on the meaning of art, was a friend of Kokoschka and was himself part of Der Blaue Reiter, the German expressionist movement, as a painter.

Schönberg and his students Berg and Webern are historically considered the most significant representatives of the neo atonal language and its development towards dodecaphony and serialism (although, for historical accuracy, Joseph M. Hauer had experimented with the serial technique before Schönberg).³ The first period of this movement can be divided into two parts. First, atonalism (from the first years of the century to 1923) and second, dodecaphonism or twelve-tone serialism, from 1923 to 1935.

After the death of Berg in 1935, and later Schönberg in 1951, the war years marked a passage beyond the second period. The music of Webern provided a new point of reference for the composers who attended the Darmstadt school summer courses, meeting under the banner of the word 'avant-garde'.⁴ Among the main composers present in the post-war years were Luigi Nono, Pierre Boulez, and Karlheinz Stockhausen, all influenced by Messiaen and his serial organization in *Mode de valeurs et d'intensités* (1950). The Darmstadt summer courses were also attended by some Italian composers who supported the new avant-garde current, such as Bruno Maderna and Luciano Berio. The post-war years saw the fruitful development of integral serialism, electronic music, *Musique concrète*, minimalism, spectral music and aleatoric music. Due to the complexity of some of the writing, this was also the time of graphic scores.

Many other composers, while developing their own personal style, remained strongly influenced by the developments of the Second Viennese School and Darmstadt. Among these were the Italians Goffredo Petrassi, Gian Francesco Malipiero, Federico Ghedini and Luigi Dallapiccola and later, the generation born in the 1920s including Franco Donatoni, Giacomo Manzoni, Niccolò Castiglioni, Azio Corghi and Camillo Togni. The fervent new musical currents of this period also had an important impact on the musical language of the guitar; the 1950s to the early 1970s were an experimental laboratory that influenced guitar composition for many years to come. At the same time, the twentieth century also saw European composers such as Stravinsky, Hindemith, Shostakovich, Bartók, Britten, Walton and others, who kept their distance from the Second Viennese School and the more extreme developments of Darmstadt, while still being influenced by the new currents and in some cases experimenting with the twelve-tone system. This is the case with Stravinsky for example, in the work *Threni* (1958).

³ Alberto Colla, *Trattato di armonia moderna e contemporanea*, vol. 1 (Milan: Carisch Editore, 2015), 94.

⁴ Hermann Danuser, 'Darmstadt a School?', in Jean J. Nattiez (ed.), *The Musical Avant-Gardes*, 166-79.

European guitar literature during the first half of the century

The first half of the twentieth century, as we have seen, is marked by composers who have had a significant impact on the history of music. On the one side, the Second Viennese School of Schönberg, Berg and Webern, and on the other Hindemith, Stravinsky, Bartok, Britten, Walton and others. The most significant composers and works for guitar produced in Europe during the first half of the century include Mario Castelnuovo Tedesco (*Variazioni attraverso i secoli* [1932] and *First concerto* for guitar and orchestra [1939]); Manuel de Falla (*Homenaje a Debussy* for guitar [1920]); Joaquín Rodrigo (*Concerto de Aranjuez* [1939]); Alexandre Tansman (*Concertino* for guitar and orchestra [1945]); Federico Moreno Torroba (many works for guitar solo between the wars); Joaquín Turina (*Sevillana* [1923], *Fandanguillo* [1926], *Ráfaga* [1930], *Sonata* for guitar (1932), *Homenaje a Tárrega* [1935]); and Juan Manén (*Fantasia-sonata* [1931]).

Although not European, it is also useful to mention Heitor Villa-Lobos because he lived in Europe, in Paris from 1923 to 1929, and the European musical culture was very important for his formation as a composer. He met Ravel, D'Indy, Falla, Prokofjev, Varèse and Stravinsky, and through his exchanges with Segovia, in 1929 he composed the *12 Études* for guitar. In a similar vein we should also mention some works by Manuel María Ponce, who studied for a few years in Europe (in Italy and Germany), absorbing the influences of the old Continent, as a student of Paul Dukas and composing for Segovia. His *Sonata* for harpsichord and guitar (1926) and *Variations on the Folia* (1930) are good examples of his music, as well as his sonatas for solo guitar. Another important work of this era is *Quatre pièces brèves* (1933) by the Swiss composer Frank Martin, which, although of a tonal structure,⁵ alludes in some passages to atonalism.

From an analysis of the scores mentioned above we can conclude that in general, music written for guitar during the first half of the century is stylistically and in its musical language different from the new Viennese trends, characterised instead by impressionist, neoclassical or nationalistic influences. It is worth noting that the aforementioned composers for guitar were almost all invited and inspired to compose for this instrument by the renowned figure of the guitar, Andrés Segovia, who had his own inclinations towards nationalism and the classical tradition.

The guitar in the years after World War II

The influence of Segovia and other guitarists such as Julian Bream, John Williams or Narciso Yepes, to name a few, was crucial to the post-war European guitar scene. The growing number of guitar performances in concert halls

⁵ Angelo Gilardino, *The Modern and Contemporary Guitar* (Ancona: Berben, 1988), 69.

and the introduction of the guitar to Italian Academies and Conservatories marked a turning point in the dissemination of guitar music worldwide, and particularly in Italy. The post-war years were a period of great innovations in musical language and style, connected with the new musical currents and the traditions of the Segovian era.

In both the first half of the twentieth century, and the beginning of the second, works for guitar by traditional composers continued to be produced. These include: Castenuovo Tedesco (Second Concerto for guitar and orchestra [1953], *Romancero gitano* for choir and guitar [1951], *Platero y yo* for voice and guitar [1960], *Ballata dell'esilio* [1956] and *Capricci di Goya* [1961]); Tansman (many works for guitar solo); Benjamin Britten (*Nocturnal* [1963] and *Songs from the Chinese* [1957] for voice and guitar); Stephen Dodgson (Guitar Concerto [1956]); Federico Mompou (*Suite compostelana* [1962]); William Walton (*Five Bagatelles* [1971]); and Lennox Berkeley (*Sonatina* [1957], Theme and variations [1970] and Guitar Concerto op. 88 [1974]).

In the post-war years, between the 1950s and the early 1970s, the guitar went through a fertile and fruitful time, with a rich variety of new works created through composers' related to contemporary languages, bringing the instrument to the musical language experiments of the time.

Another composer central to the development of guitar music was Reginald Smith Brindle, a British composer, best known for his solo guitar music, which was highly regarded by players such as Segovia and Bream. His compositional activity can be divided into three main phases: tonal music (until 1951), serial-dodecaphonic music (until 1970) and later, a freer phase where he composed many works for his own instruments, guitar and organ. He went to Italy in 1949 to continue his composition studies with Ildebrando Pizzetti and Luigi Dallapiccola. An interesting composition following these experiences is *El Polifemo de Oro*, written in 1956 and revised by the composer in 1981. This work was dedicated to Bream – as were his subsequent five sonatas – and belongs precisely to his second period as a serial-dodecaphonic piece.⁶ Although this work was written according to serial principles, the presence of triadic formations (minor triad, dominant seventh, fully-diminished seventh) juxtaposed with many tritone intervals suggests the use of tonal devices, which Brindle employs to highlight tensions and relaxations. Brindle uses elements of functional tonality such as leading tones, stepwise movement in the bass, fourth and fifth relationships, and triadic constructions, which the listener hears with an awareness of their traditional context, thus implying resolution.

The Concerto for guitar and orchestra by Stephen Dogson was also published in 1956. In this work, there are few technical innovations, and only the natural timbre of the guitar is used. The *Drei Tentos* by Hans Werner

⁶ Paul G. Leblanc, 'Structure and Performance of El Polifemo de Oro', PhD diss. (University of North Texas, 1993).

Henze were composed in 1958, followed later by *El Cimarron* (1969) for voice and four instruments and *Royal Winter Music* (1976). Further significant works include the Suite for guitar (1957) by Ernst Krenek, built according to twelve-tone paradigms, and the *Sechs Musiken* (1955) by H. Erich Apostel, a student of Schönberg and Berg. French composer Pierre Boulez also notably included the guitar in the chamber cantata *Le Marteau sans maître* (1955), and the little-known Four songs for voice, flute, guitar and harp by Igor Stravinsky was composed in 1956.

Italian compositions for guitar

Two important composers provide a means for understanding the new music written for guitar in Italy during this period. First is Gian Francesco Malipiero (1882-1973), whose *Preludio for Guitar* (1958), a work from the composer's late period, is his only composition for the instrument and reflects a personal language characterised by diatonicism. Second, Giorgio Federico Ghedini (1892-1965), another significant figure in the Italian musical panorama of the first half of the century, wrote *Studio da concerto* for guitar in 1959. This is another unique work that, while not particularly novel in its writing and harmonically diatonic, is very representative of Ghedini's music overall. Certainly, *Quattro Pezzi Brevi* (1957) by Ennio Morricone (1928-2020) should also be mentioned. While Morricone was known for writing film music, in this work, he uses serial and twelve-tone techniques in each of the pieces, clearly influenced by the Viennese and Darmstadt schools.

The first innovative work of the 1950s, marking a great break with traditional writing and aligning the guitar with contemporary currents, is *Suoni notturni* (1959) by Goffredo Petrassi (1904-2003).⁷ It is the first decisively atonal composition for guitar, characterised by a search for the timbral resources of the instrument and by melodic and rhythmic fragmentation. An abstract work which, according to Enzo Restagno (the composer's biographer), can be seen as 'a rarefied inlay of memories, echoes' or, as described by Aldo Clementi, 'an imaginary museum of musical figures: the arpeggio, the ostinatos, the tremolos'.⁸ This work also connects to a figurative vision of music and imagination, dedicated to the artist Afro Basaldella, a friend of Petrassi's. A hidden but intense expressiveness emerges throughout *Suoni Nottturni*, precisely that of the night, and is rendered by the alternation of rarefied harmonic sounds and obscure melodic presences, ending in the silent sound of the 'tambora'.

⁷ An analysis of this work can be seen in Arturo Tallini, 'Goffredo Petrassi: Suoni notturni ovvero viaggio nell'onirico', *Il Fronimo* 123 (2003), 14-28. For a discussion of the relationship between Petrassi and the guitar see Davide Pierbattista, 'La chitarra e il mistero: Petrassi erede debussiano', *Il Fronimo* 169 (2015), 7-22.

⁸ Enzo Restagno, *Petrassi* (Turin: EDT/Musica, 1986), 277.

al caro Afro

rapido al possibile (con libertà)

tasto

sempre pp e sfiorato sulla tastiera

(ribattere a tempo, quasi adagio velocemente)

pp mf mP f

(poco)

Illustration 11.1. Excerpt from Goffredo Petrassi, *Suoni notturni*, in Miguel Ablóniz, *Antologia per chitarra* (Milan: Ricordi, 1961), 1. Hal Leonard Europe BV (Italy) (Reproduced by permission).

In 1962, Petrassi brought the guitar into the chamber music scene with his *Seconda serenata* for harp, mandolin and guitar. This composition opens with a sound held in the low register, declaring a stylistic and expressive continuity with *Suoni notturni*. Petrassi also dedicates a long and full-bodied composition to the solo guitar in *Nunc* for solo guitar (1971) and *Alias* (1977) for harpsichord and guitar. He also includes the guitar in chamber ensemble works such as *Gran septuor* (1977) and *Sestina d'autunno* (1981). Through these works, Petrassi undoubtedly paved the way for a series of later compositions that explore the possibilities of the guitar (through different timbral resources, sounds effects, and research on particular rhythmic combinations), which found a laboratory for further experimentation in Italy in the years that followed.

Italy was central to the development of an avant-garde guitar repertoire, drawing the instrument away from the traditional or popular conception that had previously characterised it. Thus, between the 1960s and 1980s there was an increase in compositions by many composers of the generation of the 1920s, which were linked or influenced in some way by the Second Viennese School and the avant-gardes at Darmstadt.

In 1959, the same year as *Suoni notturni* was composed, Camillo Togni (1922-1993), a composer from Brescia, wrote *Piece* for cello and guitar, a composition that looks to Webernian serialism. Further works for guitar by Togni include *Quasi una serenata* (1979) and *5 Pezzi* for flute and guitar (1975).

Another important composer, Bruno Maderna (1920-1973), was the main Italian supporter of the Darmstadt avant-gardes. In 1969, Maderna wrote

Illustration 11.2. Excerpt from Franco Donatoni, *Algo* (Milan: Suvini Zerboni, 1978), 1.
(Reproduced by permission).

Serenata per un satellite, a graphic score work in an improvisational and aleatory style for an ensemble that includes the guitar and connected to the moon landing of 20 July that year. Maderna also composed *Y despuez* in 1971, which is a work for a solo guitar with ten strings, inspired by a lyric by Federico García Lorca. It is a composition characterised by fragments, each of which are connected to a verse of the poem, and the performer can choose the order in which they are played. Another of Maderna's works is *Aulodia for Lotar* (1965), for Oboe d'amore and guitar, a further work that makes use of the aleatory system in addition to a serial structure.

Another composer who attended Darmstadt, close to Petrassi and Maderna, was Franco Donatoni (1927-2000). Over a long career Donatoni explored various styles and compositional techniques ranging from neoclassicism in his early years – not exempt from the influence of Goffredo Petrassi – to serialism and 'chance' or 'aleatoric music' (under the influence of early pioneers of chance music, John Cage and Morton Feldman), to what might be called total dissociation between material and compositional gesture, before finally returning to a music based in the creative role of the composer in the 1970s. It was precisely in 1977 when he composed *Algo* for solo guitar and

two years later, *About* (1979) for violin, viola and guitar. *Algo* came from the echoes of Weberian pointillism and from the influences of Stockhausen's Darmstadt structuralism and his own personal developments. It is an abstract composition that opens in an extremely fragmented rhythmic language using only isolated notes, in which Donatoni's interval technique plays a decisive role.⁹ This work is characterised by a rich and detailed symbology, based on research Donatoni undertook into timbral effects to enhance the idiomatic aspects of the instrument. In contrast to the composition's development section, the ending demonstrates a flowing language almost reminiscent of minimalism in its repetition of an ever-changing phrase.

In *About*, Donatoni's personal musical language deviates from the tight structuralist techniques of his previous works, leaving more room for an expressive language. Here the minimalist influences of La Monte Young are felt in the long initial section characterised by pizzicati and broken up by the contrasting and expressive entry of the strings.

Another Italian figure was Aldo Clementi (1925- 2011), a student of Petrassi and Maderna whose production, like that of Clementi, develops over four periods and is characterised by the influence of the avant-gardes including Maderna. Clementi's works for guitar belong to his fourth period in which he develops diatonicism through works such as *12 Variations* for guitar (1980), *Serenade* for guitar and ensemble (1988), *8 Variations* for guitar (2002) and *Ricercare* for guitar (2002).

Luciano Berio (1925-2003), together with Nono and Maderna, was one of the most significant figures of post-war Italian new music. Despite his interest in new musical experiments, he cannot be precisely placed as an avant-garde composer, but rather can be defined as an eclectic musician who developed his own path between various musical styles. There are two works for guitar by the Ligurian composer written between 1987 and 1988. The first of these is *Sequenza XI*, dedicated to Eliot Fisk, which is a work belonging to a series of compositions (a sequence, in fact) intended for various solo instruments that explore the musical resources of each. *Sequenza XI* is an introspection of the guitar's most profoundly Spanish soul, with typical flamenco stylistic features such as the rasgueado, within a wholly atonal language. Berio himself said about this piece:

With *Sequenza XI* for guitar I was interested in developing a dialogue between the very idiomatic harmony of the instrument, strongly conditioned by its tuning, and another, more extended and non-idiomatic harmonic dimension (the passport for moving between these two distant territories is the interval of an augmented fourth). In *Sequenza XI* two instrumental idioms are also present: one has its roots in the Flamenco tradition, the other in classical guitar (the bridge

⁹ Franco Donatoni, *Questo (This)* (Milan: Adelphi, 1970), 15.

between these two ‘histories’ has been my own desire to experiment with an instrument I love). The dialogue between the two harmonic dimensions on one hand and the two instrumental idioms on the other, takes place through a continuous exchange and transformation of specific characters and clearly recognizable figures.¹⁰

As a chamber music composer, Berio also incorporated the guitar into his *Chemins V* (1992) for guitar and chamber orchestra. This work is closely related to *Sequenza XI* in how the guitar is treated. In the words of the author:

In *Chemins V* for guitar and an ensemble of forty-two players (the soloist plays, substantially unaltered, my *Sequenza XI* for guitar, written in 1987-1988 for Eliot Fisk), [and as in *Sequenza XI*] the formal plan of *Chemins V* is therefore rather repetitive. But without repetition and parallelism a dialogue would have neither form nor meaning.¹¹

Other important works for guitar were developed between the 1970s and 1990s, due to the generation of composers born in the 1930s. Among these are Azio Corghi (1937-2022) who composed *Consonancias y redobles* for solo guitar (1973), a piece characterised by a contrast of ages, with ancient fragments that recall Luys de Milán heard amongst a strongly dissonant language. Four repeated initial notes seem to presage a serene atmosphere, but this is immediately broken by dissonant chords (‘redobles’). Idiomatic guitar playing manifests itself throughout with various effects such as the so-called ‘Bartók pizzicato’, glissando, many different of percussive effects, pizzicato, tapping and more, before the work returns to the serenity of a simple melody. The alternation between these two contrasting moments persists for the entire composition, concluding with the ancient melodic fragment.

The composer Giacomo Manzoni (b1932) has been close to the Darmstadt circle since the 1950s and is frequented associated with Nono, Maderna, Donatoni, Castiglioni and Clementi. In 1957, one of his works was performed at the Darmstadt Summer Courses. In 1981 he composed *Echi* (Echoes) for solo guitar. In this work, like in *Algo* by Donatoni, there are no indications of bars, although its innovative writing is more linear and less fragmented than the compositions of Donatoni. The timbral effects of the guitar (frequently using Bartók pizzicato) confirm and consolidate the stylistic tendencies of the years following the post-war period and the influence of Petrassi’s *Suoni notturni*.

The late work of Nicolò Castiglioni (1932-1996), *Sic* for flute and guitar, was composed in 1992 and is the only work by this composer that includes guitar. Castiglioni began his stylistic research in the manner of the Second Viennese School, developing a clear and lyrical language in the last period of

¹⁰ Luciano Berio, ‘*Sequenza XI* (author’s note)’, www.lucianoberio.org (Accessed 22 Jan. 2023).

¹¹ Luciano Berio, ‘*Chemins V* (author’s note)’, www.lucianoberio.org (Accessed 22 Jan. 2023).

his career. As he himself said, 'I especially insist on this word, on lyricism'.¹² *Sic* was written for guitar and three flutes; a single performer plays the piccolo, flute and the alto flute in sequence. This work has five movements, all very different in character and filled with interesting elements such as the twelve-tone technique. The first movement begins with a long piccolo solo on a chord repeated incessantly like a pedal, almost reminiscent of Villa-Lobos's *Distribuição de flores* (1937).

A composer of the following generation, Ada Gentile (b1947) began to compose music for guitar in the 1980s, with works such as *Rarefatte aggregazioni* (1987) for four guitars and *Shading* for guitar and orchestra (1988), works making use of a contemporary musical language and full of suggestive and evocative moments. In the following years she also wrote other works, including solo pieces, for the guitar. Another significant work is *Eisblumen* (Ice flowers) for solo guitar by Milanese composer Vittorio Fellegara (1927-2011) written in 1985. This piece is distant from the harsh musical languages of Darmstadt, where a modal harmony, a poetic use of harmonics and a multifaceted variation of melodic cells create the suggestive image of the ice flowers.

Conclusions

As we have seen, the first half of the twentieth century is characterised by a language detached from the musical currents of the Second Viennese School, instead keeping in line with traditional musical languages through the work of European composers closely associated with Segovia. In the period following the end of World War II, new experimental compositions on the model of the Viennese school and the avant-garde of Darmstadt can be observed through the important contributions of several Italian composers.

Unfortunately, the complexity of the musical language used in many of the Italian works highlighted in this chapter has often kept them out of the concert halls, and many are not known outside the borders of Italy. There is still much to do to bring these valuable works to the knowledge of the guitar enthusiasts. In doing so, performers, festivals and institutions need to make an effort to program them in concerts, as a way to promote the cultural heritage of Italy and demonstrate the important role of this country in the development of the guitar.

¹² 'Io insisto soprattutto su questa parola, sul lirismo [...]', 'Interview to Niccolò Castiglioni by Luigi Pestalozza in 1995', Alfonso Alberti (2019), s.v. 'Castiglioni, Niccolò', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, <https://www.treccani.it> (Accessed 20 Jan. 2023).

Chapter 12

THE REBIRTH OF THE GUITAR IN GERMAN LANDS

Marianna Chelidoni

While the guitar had achieved a great popularity and experienced an unprecedented boom in countries like France, England, Italy, Spain and even Germany during the first decades of the nineteenth century, during the second half of the century the guitar did not occupy a significant position in the musical sphere of the German-speaking regions. Interest in the guitar began to wane by mid-century, not only in German lands but also in most European countries. In this excerpt from his famous *Traité d'instrumentation* of 1844, Berlioz presented a series of arguments which, in his opinion, illustrates the difficulties associated with the guitar and possibly the reasons why it has ceased to interest the public and composers:

Unless one can play the guitar oneself, I repeat it is impossible to write for it pieces in several voices, containing passages that require all the resources of the instrument [...]. Since the introduction of the piano into all homes where there is any interest in music, the guitar has been gradually disappearing, except in Spain and Italy. Some virtuosos have cultivated and are still cultivating it as a solo instrument; they are able to create pleasant and original effects on it. Otherwise, composers employ the guitar neither in the church nor in the theater or the concert hall. Its weak tone, which prevents its combination with other instruments or with several singing voices of normal tone volume, is doubtless the cause of this.¹

Considering the excerpt above, it seems clear that by then, a piano was relatively affordable for most urban households, where previously this had not been the case. As Berlioz rightly observes, in order to be able to write for the guitar, a composer must be able to play the instrument. As we already know, Berlioz was an amateur guitarist, so his argument is not at all unfounded. Yet, many other composers could not get to know this instrument due to the lack of the guitar in the curriculum of the music universities of the time. The Vienna Akademie was founded in 1817 by the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (Society of Friends of Music). The composers Felix Mendelssohn and Rob-

¹ Hector Berlioz, *Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes* (Paris: Schonenberger, 1844), 86. The English translation is taken from Richard Strauss (ed.) *Hector Berlioz, Treatise on Instrumentation* (trans. Theodore Front) (New York: Edwin F. Kalmus, 1948), 147.

ert Schumann founded the Leipzig Conservatory (now called the Staatliche Hochschule für Musik) in 1843. In these very important institutions, the guitar was nowhere to be found, and it was not until almost a century later that the guitar managed to enter the curriculum of these institutions.

Evidently, this brings up the next immediate problem faced by the guitar in those years: its isolation from wider musical life and a lack of quality repertoire. As there was no academic framework in which one could learn and study guitar, those interested in the instrument turned to private tutors or most likely learnt it by themselves. As a result, few (or even no) charismatic guitar performers are recorded during this period, since some of the most relevant emigrated. In this chapter, I offer an overview of the situation of the guitar in German-speaking lands during the period 1850-1950, focusing on the main figures that contributed to the history of the instrument in this territory.

A review of the German literature for the guitar

Looking in detail at the German literature for the guitar we can observe that, apart from the above-mentioned reasons for the decline of the Spanish guitar, there also were more specific reasons. According to Hackl, the Spanish guitar had to fight the piano in the Classical arena, and the *zither* in the sphere of folk culture.² The accompaniment of songs seems to have been the only quality of the guitar that was still of interest to the public. A typical example of devaluing of the role of the guitar is given in the following excerpt from an Austrian newspaper article after a recital by Josef Kaspar Mertz on 28 March 1843:

The instrument [the guitar] is at least with us completely out of the time, even the hysterical ladies, whose only resource it was otherwise, have declared it out of the question, and apart from a few seamstresses in the suburbs I only know an old doctor who, ‘bloom, blossom, bloome’ sings and accompanies himself with the guitar. Of course, with the interest in the instrument, the interest in its virtuosos also had to dwindle, and the empty hall at today’s concert is a guarantee for the correctness of this statement.³

² Stefan Hackl, *Die Gitarre in Österreich. Von Abate Costa bis Zykan* (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2011), 91. Among the several scholarly works written on this instrument we can highlight Gertrud Maria Huber, “‘Excuse me, I’d like another veltliner, please!’ Performed Identities with Alpine Zither Music’, *Music and identity* 12 (2015), 28-35. The *zither* became a popular folk music instrument in Bavaria and Austria.

³ ‘Das Instrument ist wenigstens bei uns ganz aus der Zeit, selbst die hysterischen Damen, deren einzige Ressource es sonst war, haben es in die Acht erklärt, und ich kenne außer einigen Näherinnen in der Vorstadt nur mehr einen alten Doctor, welcher, “Blühe, Blümchen, blühe”, singt und sich mit der Guitarre dazu accompagnirt. Mit dem Interesse an das Instrument musste natürlich auch das an dessen Virtuosen schwinden, und der leere Saal bei dem heutigen Concerte ist Bürge für die Richtigkeit dieser Behauptung’, *Allgemeine Wiener Musik Zeitung*, 1 Apr. 1843, 162.

Despite the harsh and ironic language used, this comment reflects a large part of the reality facing the guitar and its performers at that time in the German-speaking lands. It remains an astonishing fact that in the Austrian National Library a whole room full of guitar sheet music was cleared out to make room for other things some time during the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴

Moving on to some other sources of German/Austrian literature, we find an article by the Austrian musicologist Adolf Koczirz (1870-1941) who claimed that the guitar faced a steep decline, which was not only due to the external factors mentioned above – the development of the piano and the zithern – but also to internal causes related, as he characteristically states, ‘to the oversaturation and devaluation of the development of guitarists from 1800-1840’.⁵ Recitals by newly emerging guitarists were poorly received at this time, and even the reviews of one of the biggest names in the field, Mertz, or of the lesser known guitarist Franz Stoll, were relentless, as we see in these two excerpts:

Mertz from Vienna, whose eight-stringed instrument exceeded its limits under his hands and produced some surprising effects, was doing bad business.⁶

One admired the great artistry, purity and precision of this excellent guitar player [Franz Stoll], but not without admixture of regret that he had wasted so much effort on a thankless instrument.⁷

All these negative comments raise questions as to their objectivity. A strong feeling against the guitar can be noticed by these critics. The fact that the guitar acquired in the first decades of the nineteenth century such a large and fanatical audience may have been very annoying to people in the field of Classical music who thought that the guitar did not belong there.⁸ Perhaps all these commentators felt that the guitar’s former popularity was unfair, and now the guitar was being placed back where it deserved to be. However, there are others who had a different understanding of the reasons and causes of

⁴ Hackl, *Die Gitarre in Österreich*, 91.

⁵ ‘in der als Folge des Überschwanges der Gitarristischen Evolution von 1800-1840 eingetretenen Übersättigung und Verflachung’, Adolf Koczirz, ‘Ein Österreichischer Vorkämpfer für die Gitarre’, *Zeitschrift für die Gitarre*, 1 Mar. 1925.

⁶ ‘Mertz aus Wien, dessen achtsaitiges Instrument unter seinen Händen seine Grenzen überschritt und einzeile überraschende Wirkungen lieferte, machte schlechte Geschäfte’, *Leipziger Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 17 (Apr., 1842), 357-58.

⁷ ‘Man bewunderte die grosse Kunstfertigkeit, Reinheit und Präzision dieses ausgezeichneten Gitarrespielers doch nicht ohne Beimischung von Bedauern, das ser so grosse Mühean eine undankbares Instrument verschwendet habe’, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 13 Apr. 1836, 247.

⁸ On this issue see Erik Stenstadvold, “We hate the guitar”: Prejudice and Polemic in the Music Press in Early 19th-Century Europe’, *Early Music* 41/4 (2013), 595-604.

the guitar's declining career. One of these views comes from Alois Götz, who admits that after the end of the first half of the nineteenth century no great guitar virtuosos such as Luigi Legnani, for example, had come to the fore. His opinion reinforced the belief that the guitar is a very difficult musical instrument to approach, and is sometimes completely inaccessible. Götz notes that 'At the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, little more was heard than the breakneck, laboriously rehearsed recitals of concert-traveling artists and virtuosos such as Legnani, Giuliani, etc., which tended to deter the public and – as it is wrongly put today – the guitar seem unplayable'.⁹

After a barrage of negative comments, the above quote seems ironic. However, it is widely known that the names that have risen to prominence in the past decades such as Napoléon Coste, Matteo Carcassi, Mauro Giuliani or Luigi Legnani had, by that time, been considered some of the most impressive figures in the history of the instrument.

Leonard Schulz (1814-1860), a forgotten guitar virtuoso

One of the most prominent guitarists of the German school was Leonard Schulz. Born in Vienna he received his first guitar lessons from his father, Andreas Schulz, who was a prominent guitarist of the time, while his brother was a talented pianist.¹⁰ After years of touring Europe with his father and brother, Schulz settled in England around 1830. There, he participated in many concerts, sharing the stage with many important British and foreign musicians such as pianist Ignaz Moscheles and violinist Edward Eliaison. There are several comments that show his high level of proficiency and popularity such as in the *Morning Post* where it was said that he 'played a solo on the guitar in such perfection of style and execution as belongs to no other guitarist'.¹¹ An equally ardent and detailed description of Schulz is given by the well-known Nikolai Petrovitch Makaroff, a Russian nobleman and guitar enthusiast who travelled Europe in a search of the most impressive guitarists of the time:

he played many of his compositions, to my indescribable delight. [...] His playing embodied all I could ever hope for, an extraordinary rapidity clearness, forcefulness, taste, suavity of touch, brilliance, expression, as well as surprising effects that were quite new. I noticed, moreover,

⁹ 'Mit Schluss der 1. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts hörteman wenig mehr als die halsbrecherischen, mühsam einstudierten Vortragsstücke konzertreisender Künstler und Virtuosen wie Legnani, Giuliani usw., welche das Publikum eher abschreckten und – wie man sich heute fälschlicherweise ausdrückt – die Gitarre als unnshbar erscheinen liessen', Alois Götz, *Neue theoretisch-praktischen Reform-Gitarre Schule* (Offenbach: Johann André, c1900), in Hackl, *Die Gittare in Österreich*, 92.

¹⁰ On this guitarist see Erik Stenstadvoold, "The worst drunkard in London". The life and Career of the Guitar Virtuoso Leonard Schulz', *Soundboard* 38/4 (2012), 9-17.

¹¹ *The Morning Post*, 16 June 1846, 6.



Illustration 12.1. Extract from the 'Study no. 1, Grave, for the first finger and thumb of the right hand', in Leonard Schultz, *L'indispensable* (London: Wessel & Co., c1840), 2. Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna, X 49826 (Reproduced by permission).

a decided self-assurance during the performance. It seemed, in fact, that playing the instrument was but a light diversion for him, for he showed himself heedless of the tremendous difficulties in which his own compositions abounded.¹²

There is little surviving material relating to Schulz's compositional works, or at least, little that has been discovered. It seems that, unfortunately, many of his works were simply not published. It seems obvious as well, that when he was publishing his own music, he was somehow forced to make adjustments in order to make it easier and more approachable to amateurs. He explained this to Makaroff at the above-mentioned meeting, a confession that confirms our suggestions about the guitar repertoire of the time. Nevertheless, an important legacy for the guitar has survived in his *L'indispensable* or *Nine Progressive Exercises for the Guitar Followed by Three Studies for Advanced performers* op. 40, published in London c1840, and his *Cinq études pour la guitare* (1851), which had until recently never been published.¹³ Schulz may have had a particular approach to the technique of the instrument, as we can see from his surviving music for example in Illustration 12.1.

The promotion of the guitar at the beginning of twentieth century

After what could be described as a period of darkness for the guitar in the second half of the nineteenth century in German lands, we find a rebirth of this instrument around the turn of the twentieth century. An important

¹² Nikolai Petrovich Makaroff, 'The Memoirs of Makaroff' (trans. Vladimir Bobri and Nura Ulreich), part 3, *Guitar Review* (1947), 34.

¹³ Erik Stenstadvold (ed.), *Leonard Schulz (1814-1860). The Collected Guitar Studies* (Heidelberg: Chanterelle, 2011).

though ambiguous role was played by the various local guitar clubs and music associations that were very popular in the German-speaking regions. They seem to have been an integral part of the social life of the bourgeoisie, which explains their popularity. For the most part the core of these associations consisted of amateur players, with few professionals.

Guitar clubs made their appearance at the end of the nineteenth century. They shared the same values as their respective musical associations, and also included other plucked instruments such as the mandolin and the cittern. One of the first of this type was founded in Leipzig in 1877, the Leipziger Gitarreklub (The Leipzig guitar club). After its creation, others soon began to appear in other parts of Germany and Austria. In Bavaria, for example, was the Münchener Gitarreklub (Munich Guitar Club), and later the Internationale Guitarristen-Vereinigung (International Guitar Association) founded around 1899 – from now on IGV – which was essentially the unifying link between other small guitar associations throughout Germany.

The Leipzig guitar club, as well as the IGV, proved to be very important for the promotion of the guitar at a time when the instrument was in decline. The contribution of these organisations was ‘particularly important in the promotion and publication of unpublished works by Mertz’.¹⁴ Most of the members were amateurs, although some were professional musicians working in orchestras who also played the guitar. Others were instrument makers and music publishers who saw in these associations an opportunity to advertise and promote their works. The guitar was cultivated in every possible way. Meetings and concerts of either solo or chamber music were organised and in 1900, the journal *Der Gitarrefreund* (the friend of the guitar) began to be published, containing all sort of news about the guitar in Europe, discounts for members, music literature, and other material. For instance, the wife of Mertz, Josephine, became a member of IGV in 1901 and donated to this institution some manuscripts of a *Romanza*, which was later published in the journal.¹⁵

That *Der Gitarrefreund* addressed the international guitar community is also reflected in the fact that it was published in three languages: English, German and French. Following the example of the IGV and the Leipziger Gitarreklub, similar associations were created in Austria, such as the Wiener Gitarreklub in 1902. The most important proved to be the *Bund der Guitarristen Österreichs* (Union of Guitarists of Austria), established much later, in 1934.¹⁶

¹⁴ ‘Die Deutschen Vereinigungen –der Leipziger Gitarreklub und der IGV– waren wichtig für die Überlieferung der unveröffentlichten Musik von J. K. Mertz’, Hackl, *Die Gitarre in Österreich*, 95.

¹⁵ ‘Josefine Mertz trat 1901 dem IGV sogar als Mitglied bei und spendete einige Autographe, von denen eine Romanza in den Zeitschrift *Der Gitarrefreund* veröffentlicht wurde’, Hackl, *Die Gitarre in Österreich*, 95.

¹⁶ Luiz Mantovani, ‘Ferdinand Rebay and the Reinvention of the Guitar Chamber Music’, PhD diss. (Royal College of Music, 2019), 52.

It is reasonable to wonder why the guitar needed these associations to be promoted. The piano and the violin, for example, did not have any relevant societies fostering these instruments and yet, they were thriving in concert halls. According to Hackl ‘The phenomenon of joining forces to represent common interests is directly related to the lack of public appreciation. In music, it occurs above all in the case of “non-orchestral instruments”, and in the case of the guitar, significantly, for the first time in the second half of the nineteenth century, when the guitar disappeared from the concert halls’.¹⁷

As it turns out, these associations were vital for the promotion of the guitar in order to keep it, to some extent, in the limelight. The natural consequence was that the majority guitar publications that appeared during this time had to be suitable for amateurs in order to be accessible to them, and by extension, the quality and level of the concerts followed the same path. While there were certainly publications with more demanding compositions, there were significantly fewer of these. We can ascertain then that guitar associations played an important role in preserving the guitar in popular culture.

A movement that also contributed to the renaissance of the guitar was the ‘Wandervogelbewegung’ (wandering bird). This movement was created in a neighborhood in south Berlin called Steglitz in 1896. It consisted mainly of students who saw themselves as the antithesis of materialism and the progressive industrialisation and wanted to promote the ideals of German romanticism and reform education. Young people were wandering on the streets singing songs accompanied by guitars and lutes. They were called ‘wandering bird lutes’ (Wandervogellauten). The main representatives of this movement were Heinrich Scherrer from Munich, an important author of guitar methods and song collections, and Hans Breuer who created one songbook called *Der Zupfgeigenhantl*, a work that contained his own guitar accompaniments.

The recitals of the German composer Elsa Laura von Wolzogen, a lute player and singer, were inspired by the principles of this movement and were well received at that time. The Swedish guitarist Sven Scholander enjoyed also the same sort of reception while touring Germany. The performances of both were so successful that guitar soloists could now dream of a better status and their appearances long made the concert chronicles in guitar magazines. Their repertoire was mainly folksongs from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries and some art songs, most likely from Schumann and Weber.¹⁸ This movement gave again another dynamic to the guitar, placing it again strongly in the foreground, but as an accompanying instrument.

¹⁷ ‘Das Phänomen des Zusammenschlusses zur Vertretung gemeinsamer Interessen hängt unmittelbar mit dem Mangel an öffentlicher Wertschätzung zusammen. Es tritt in der Musik vor allem bei den “nicht orchesterfähigen Instrumenten” auf, bei der Gitarre bezeichnenderweise erstmals in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, als die Gitarre aus den Konzertsälen verschwand’, Hackl, *Die Gitarre in Österreich*, 155.

¹⁸ Hackl, *The Gitarre in Österreich*, 96-97.

The guitar entering the university

One of the most important events related to the guitar in the first half of the twentieth century was the entry of, or rather the attempt to enter, the guitar into the academic field: the universities. In this regard, one of the most significant figures at the beginning of the twentieth century for the guitar in Germany was Heinrich Albert (1870-1950), born in Würzburg (north Bavaria). Albert was an orchestral musician and played the horn professionally, who had a permanent position in the Kaim Orchestra (today the Munich Philharmonic orchestra) playing under the great names of the time including Gustav Mahler. From 1892 onwards he started to learn the guitar on his own and from 1905 with the aid of Luigi Mozzani. Around 1900 he began to identify himself as a full-time guitarist and guitar and mandolin teacher in Munich, resigning his position in the orchestra and devoting himself completely to teaching the guitar. In 1909 he received the prize of 'Kammervirtuose' (chamber music Virtuoso), award by Queen Marie of Bavaria. His contribution to guitar chamber music at this time was decisive, not only in terms of repertoire – he wrote a lot of chamber music for guitar – but also as an active member of one of the first, perhaps, professional guitar quartets in Europe, the Munich Guitar Quartet. He joined the quartet in 1909 two years after its establishment being the only professional player, where the other three members were prominent amateurs. The idea was to form a guitar quartet based on the principles of the string quartet. To get as close as possible to this acoustic result, the quartet used a wide range of instruments, two *terz* guitars as violins, one conventional guitar as viola and one quint bass guitar as cello. The quartet met great success with numerous appearances throughout Germany and Austria, mostly at guitar society meetings. They often collaborated with other famous musicians of the time such as the guitarist Mozzani and the violinist Fritz Vogel. This quartet inspired the creation of other guitar quartets such as the Berlin guitar quartet formed in 1925, which played on instruments 'after the Munich model'.¹⁹

According to Albert, there was no systematic literature to properly learn the guitar, and certainly there was a lack of knowledge of the valuable repertoire composed between 1800 and 1850. Notwithstanding, he was invested in creating a German school for the guitar that would reflect the principles and aesthetics of German performers. For him, the German musicians were 'more careful, but also more thoughtful, attached to musical form and phrasing technique. They draw information from all schools and transformed it in a unique way, which can be called the German national style'.²⁰ Albert composed several works for solo guitar, as well as chamber music, methods for

¹⁹ Allan Morris, 'Heinrich Albert and the First Guitar Quartet', *Digital Guitar Archive*, <https://www.digitalguitararchive.com> (Accessed 10 Jan. 2023).

²⁰ Mantovani, 'Ferdinand Rebay', 37.

accompanying songs, and pedagogical methods for learning the instrument. Part of his work also involved the collection and publication of works of the past. His purpose in his solo concerts was to enrich his repertoire with works from other epochs, aiming to educate the audience to listen to other works for guitar, such as entire suites by Robert de Visée, and to preserve less of the lighter repertoire – according to him – that the guitar clubs were mostly promoting. His greatest contribution to the guitar, however, was his method, *Moderner Lehrgang des künstlerischen Gitarrespiels* (Modern course in artistic guitar playing), published between 1914 and 1919 in five volumes, a guitar tutor included in the curriculum and designed to be used at the Wiener Akademie by Jakob Ortner.

The Wiener Academy in the early 1920s was one of the first official educational institutions in Europe to introduce the guitar to its academic curriculum. Until then, it allowed its students to choose the guitar as an instrument and could have a degree in pedagogical training with a state examination but until then, it did not exist as a main instrument in the University. The first professor of guitar at this institution was Jakob Ortner, a guitarist who was born in Innsbruck and working as the guitarist of the Wiener Staatsoper. Among his students were figures still well known today including Karl Scheit. The first guitar curriculum, with a total duration of six years, seems to have been particularly interesting and complete. It included a wide range of repertoire from solo works, chamber music and guitar accompaniment works,²¹ including the *Moderner Lehrgang des künstlerischen Gitarrespiels* by Albert.

The existence of the guitar as a teaching instrument at the Vienna Academy was decisive for its development in German-speaking countries. The possibility for guitarists to interact with many high-level musicians after the instrument's isolation was refreshing, as well as finally giving composers the opportunity to get to know the guitar without having to play it. As Mantovani rightly observes, the fact of associating with other important musicians and the emergence of chamber music with guitar make the Viennese developments 'unique within the twentieth-century guitar renaissance, particularly when considering that the repertoire of Llobet and Segovia focused almost exclusively on solo music'.²²

Ferdinand Rebay, fresh chamber music for guitar

A very important figure for the guitar in the first half of the twentieth century, whose work contributed decisively to the renaissance of the guitar in Austria and Germany, was Ferdinand Rebay (1880-1953). Rebay was an Austrian composer whose father was an amateur singer and composer who worked at the publicising firm Rebay & Robitschek. In 1901, Rebay entered

²¹ Mantovani, 'Ferdinand Rebay', 352.

²² Mantovani, 'Ferdinand Rebay', 50.

the Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (Conservatory of the Society for the Friends of Music) where he studied music theory, composition under the guidance of Robert Fuchs, and piano with Josef Hofmann. Among the most notable awards he obtained throughout his life were the Brahms Prize and the Silver Medal from the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. At the beginning of his professional career he was employed as choirmaster of the Wiener Männerchor, an amateur choral society, and he soon gained fame as a composer of music for voice. He often appeared also as a piano accompanist and sometimes as a guest conductor, and worked teaching music theory as a private tutor. So far, nothing in his career indicates that he had any intention of pursuing or writing guitar music. In 1920 he was appointed to a permanent position at the Vienna Academy as a piano teacher. There he came into contact with the aforementioned Jakob Ortner and his students. As can be seen from the compositional result, Rebay noticed the lack of existing repertoire for the guitar in terms of chamber music at a high level. He then managed to create a repertoire that would highlight the guitar and not have it marginalised as a mere accompaniment instrument. It seems to have been his conviction that the instrument could flourish as a chamber music instrument rather than as a solo instrument. The concerts in which his works were presented were slowly beginning to change the perception of the guitar among the general public. This becomes apparent in the following comment after the premiere of Rebay's Sonata in E minor for oboe and guitar:

However, the concert showed that the art of the guitar and its self-supporting importance in the musical world have gone a long and successful way. This was demonstrated in the first four pieces of the programme: the guitar as an accompaniment instrument for the voice, but not only the way people are used to, with chords and transition phrases, but also in accomplished compositions; not only the easy, light and sentimental songs, but also challenging, 'bigger' music ... It also proved itself capable in a self-supporting accompaniment, somehow like in a peculiar and completely effective piano, like in the premiere of a Sonata for oboe and guitar by Rebay.²³

Ferdinand Rebay wrote about 400 works for guitar, most of them chamber music.²⁴ In the words of Luiz Mantovani, 'His anachronistic style is anchored in nineteenth-century Austro-German musical values: while a lyrical and late-Romantic atmosphere permeates his songs and shorter works, his sonatas show a strict adherence to formal conventions and an idiom directly linked

²³ N., 'Gitarristischer Abend', *Reichspost*, 3 Apr. 1925, 10, in Mantovani, 'Ferdinand Rebay', 77.

²⁴ On his solo guitar sonatas see Luiz Mantovani, 'Fine-Tuning Ferdinand Rebay's Second Sonata in E major for Guitar', *Musicologica Austriaca: Journal for Austrian Music Studies* (30 Dec. 2022).

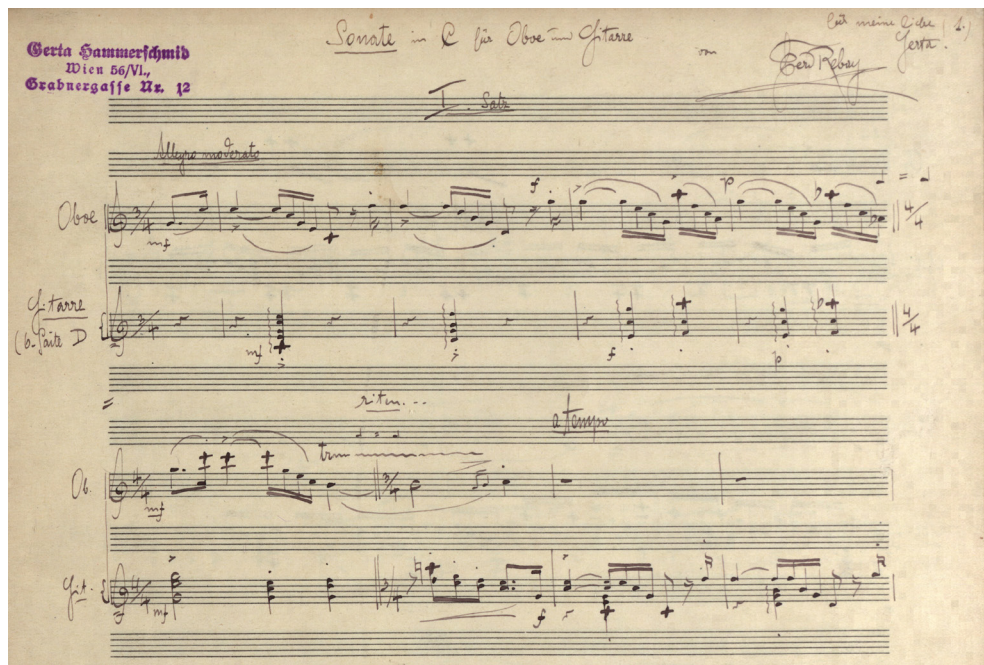


Illustration 12.2. Ferdinand Rebay, Extract from Sonata in Em for Guitar and Oboe, 1, author's manuscript, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, F40.Rebay.12 (Reproduced by permission).

to the Viennese classics'.²⁵ Despite his contribution to the world of music and especially to the guitar, Rebay lost his place in the academy after the conquest of Austria by the Germans in 1938. Fortunately, his music is slowly gaining the value it deserves today.

Conclusions

After a period where enthusiasm for the guitar seems to have been lost during most of the second half of the nineteenth century, the guitar went through a rebirth and once again became fashionable, mainly due to the role of the *aficionados* in German lands. Their existence, often neglected in the historiography of music, was decisive to create a new wave of interest in the guitar at the end of the century. The guitar emerged then in clubs and social gatherings, attracting more and more attention as the new century progressed. Taking advantage of this movement, several important figures such as Jakob Ortner introduced the guitar at the university, a decisive moment in the history of the instrument in these lands. In turn, several composers were captivated by its sound, including Ferdinand Rebay. Other figures such as Hans Werner Henze (1926-2012), Friedrich Goldmann (1941-2009), Norbert Rudolf Hoffmann

²⁵ Luiz Mantovani, 'Rebay, Ferdinand', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 21 Jan. 2023).

(b1948) Arnold Schönberg (1874-1951), Louise Walker (1910-1998), Robert Brojer (1919-1987) and Karl Scheit (1909-1993) (as arranger and editor) have also created serious repertoire for this instrument up to the present day, and also deserve attention. In this way, the guitar in German lands followed the trends of other countries, particularly Spain, where the students of Tárrega, and particularly, the figure of Andrés Segovia, were disseminating the fashion for the guitar around the world.

IV. THE GUITAR NOWADAYS

Chapter 13

GUITAR FESTIVALS IN SPAIN

Jacinto Sánchez González

The great vitality of the guitar in Spain is the legacy of the most important Spanish guitarists of the last 150 years, including Julián Arcas, Francisco Tárrega, Miguel Llobet, Emilio Pujol, Andrés Segovia, Narciso Yepes and Regino Sainz de la Maza. The guitar is fully integrated into the network of Spanish conservatories where many international concert guitarists have been trained. In addition, the guitar music publishing market seems to be very active, with certain publishers and recording houses paying particular attention to this instrument. To this we should add the creation of the Spanish Guitar Society in 1955, whose activities include the launch in 2007 of a musicological magazine dedicated to the guitar. Entitled *Roseta*, this annual publication presents a similar level of quality to other international publications that share the same subject matter.¹ Finally, numerous composers in Spain write music for the guitar (see Chapter 9), so that guitar repertoire appears more frequently in the catalogues of composers who are not guitarists themselves.

Above all, this vitality can be found in the large number of festivals dedicated specifically to the guitar held throughout Spain where series of concerts by great guitarists, competitions, master classes and lectures about the history and organology of this instrument converge. The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the evolution of some of the most important guitar festivals that have appeared in Spain in the last sixty years, paying special attention to those with the longest trajectory and most international relevance.

University and International Spanish Music Courses ‘Música en Compostela’ (Santiago de Compostela, La Coruña)

In 1958, Andrés Segovia, supported by the diplomat José Miguel Ruiz Morales, then Director General of Cultural Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, promoted the creation of a festival comprising international courses in connection with the university, in order to encourage the study of Spanish

¹ Of great musicological importance in this country was the creation and maintenance of the *artepulsado* website (<https://guitarra.artepulsado.com>) which contains valuable information for researchers specialising in this instrument.



Illustration 13.1. Andrés Segovia teaching at the International Courses of 'Música en Compostela'. Fundación Andrés Segovia (Linares, Spain) (Reproduced by permission).

music, in which the guitar played, and still plays, a very important role.² Apart from guitar, the disciplines such as singing, composition, organ, chamber music, violin, viola, cello, musicology and polyphonic music have also been taught. In its sixty-four years of existence, this festival is one of the longest running in Spain having featured, in addition to the figure of Andrés Segovia, prestigious composers and musicians such as Federico Mompou, Oscar Esplá, Victoria de los Ángeles, Gaspar Cassadó, Antón García Abril and Joaquín Rodrigo. Since 1968, the Queen Emeritus Doña Sofía has held the honorary presidency of these courses.

At present, the guitarist José María Gallardo del Rey is in charge of teaching in these important courses, with his position preceded by figures such as José Luis Rodrigo, professor at the Real Conservatorio Superior de Música de Madrid, and José Tomás, whose special connection with this course spans

² A brief history of these summer courses can be seen in José Luis Estévez, '50 años de "Música en Compostela"', *El País*, 9 Aug. 2007.

more than twenty years, first as a student, then as assistant to Andrés Segovia, and finally as a professor. Countless prestigious national and international guitarists have passed through these master classes of wisdom to become concert guitarists and professionals. In his first course, Segovia's students included José Luis González, José Tomás, Jesús González Mohino, Rafael Rico, José Antonio López Silva, José Luis San Rey and only one woman, Emilia del Corral, later wife of Andrés Segovia. During this first course, Segovia gave a single recital and received the prestigious 'Cruz de Isabel la Católica'. The festival also included the creation of a guitar competition with important prizes, the first of which was won by the guitarist from Alicante, José Tomás.

Prominent guitarists of the time such as John Williams and Christopher Parkening passed by Compostela. Parkening stated in an interview that Segovia 'looked at us [...] through his thick glasses, and when he said your name to be the next to play, it gave you a little heart attack'.³ Segovia allowed Parkening to skip the first elimination rounds in the Compostela contest, leaving him to compete only in the final. Protests by the other contestants accused Segovia of favouritism, after which Segovia appointed Parkening as a member of the jury, leaving the first prize vacant.

International Guitar Competition 'Francisco Tárrega' (Benicàssim, Castellón)

This very important event was created as a result of a competition of ideas organised by the centre of initiatives and tourism of the city of Benicàssim in February 1965. This initiative was intended to promoting the guitar, its performers and its compositions, but above all, to pay homage to the city's famous citizen Francisco Tárrega (1852-1909), all in an attempt to prolong the tourist season in the area.⁴ The academic Leopoldo Querol Roso was the driving force and creator of the competition, being its organiser for sixteen years. Another decisive figure in the early success of this festival was Juan Muñoz Giner, guitarist and citizen of Benicàssim, who was a member of the jury and secretary of the competition over several years.

During the first years, this event was called a 'Festival', but was renamed 'Certamen' in its fourth year. One of the successes of this event seems to have been the special prize first awarded in 1972 for the best interpretation of the music of Tárrega. Later prizes were added included for the best performer of the Valencian region in 1986 and the prize of the audience in 1991. In addition, since 1990, the final of the competition consists of the performance of a concerto with a symphony orchestra and the winners of the competition record an album and go on a concert tour.

³ Howard Reich, 'Parkening a Virtuoso with Good Luck, Looks', *Chicago Tribune*, 6 Feb. 1987.

⁴ On the history of this festival see <http://www.certamenguitarrabenicassim.com> (Accessed 2 Dec. 2022)

In the first festival of 1967, the contestants had to perform *Serenata española* by Joaquín Malats and *Prelude and fugue* BWV 998 by Johann Sebastian Bach as compulsory works, as well as a piece by Tárrega of their choice. The first prize went to the Spanish guitarist Eugenio Gonzalo, third prize to Jorge Ariza (who many years later became a professor at the Real Conservatorio Superior de Música de Madrid) and fourth prize to the aforementioned José Luis Rodrigo.

Space does not allow to mention each and every prize-winner in the more than fifty years of this competition, although a notable example, among others, is the famous Scottish guitarist David Russell who won first prize in 1977, with prize money of 200,000 pesetas (about 1200 €). On that occasion there were thirty-three participants, and as part of the prize, Russell later recorded an integral of the works of Francisco Tárrega. Another great guitar figure, the Spaniard Ricardo Gallén, won the competition in 1999 after fourteen years without a Spanish guitarist winning.

Córdoba Guitar Festival

Created in 1981, the Cordoba Guitar Festival was born on the initiative of Paco Peña, a Cordoban flamenco guitarist with an important international career. According to Peña, he had requested funding from the various public cultural institutions in the city to organise the first concerts and international courses, but he did not receive any help, so was left to pay for the festival himself. At that time, the concerts were free. According to the promoter ‘they were open to the public, you didn’t have to buy anything, they were just offered to the people. So I paid the artists, but the audience didn’t have to pay anything’.⁵ The press echoed the success of the festival and the importance of the courses offered, and by the second meeting of the Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, six scholarships of 35.000 pesetas (about 200 euros today) were awarded to each of the students selected by this institution. During the second year, fourteen concerts (mostly flamenco) were programmed, but the festival also featured classical guitarists such as the British John Zaradin and the Argentinean Eduardo Falú.

In 1983 the festival took a quantitative and qualitative leap forward, strengthening its relationship with the classical guitar. This led to the creation of the first international classical guitar course in Cordoba, directed by the prestigious British guitarist John Williams, thanks to his friendship with Peña. This would make this festival one of the most important classical guitar events in the world. Since then, this festival has only grown. In 1984 the Cordoba City Council, convinced of the importance of the project, became part of the organisation and sponsorship of the festival. That year, 240 students

⁵ Paco Peña, ‘estaban abiertos al público: no había que comprar entrada, solo se la ofrecía al pueblo. Así que les pagué a los artistas, pero la audiencia no tuvo que pagar’, Teresa Muñoz, ‘Escenario para las estrellas’, *Diario de Córdoba*, 1 July 2021.

from thirty different countries attended the courses. In 1985, sponsors and collaborators, such as the Conservatorio Superior de Música de Córdoba and the Patronato Provincial de Turismo, continued to join the festival. Although between 1985 and 1988 the decrease of the audience attending the concerts seemed to endanger the festival's continuity, a total change of direction for the festival in 1989 opened it up to other musical trends by inviting artists such as blues musician B.B. King or jazz player John McLaughlin. This change seems to have led this event to the success it enjoys today.

In the 1990s, other institutions joined this initiative, and in 1991 the Town Hall and the Municipal Public Foundation 'Gran Teatro' took over the management of the festival under the guidance of Francisco López. Later, in 1994, the Junta de Andalucía announced its participation in the festival, leading to a period in which the training courses were extended and the scenic spaces enlarged. In addition, new seminars related to the history of the guitar, book presentations and the festival's international photography competition appeared, although the festival continued with its important teaching vocation, giving courses with masters of the classical guitar, as well as modern harmony, blues, improvisation, flamenco and guitar building workshops.

With the arrival of the new century, new proposals enriched the festival's trajectory. Ramón López, director of the Gran Teatro de Córdoba, took over the direction of the festival, once again reactivating the festival's trajectory. New features appeared, such as parallel activities related to jazz, exhibitions, taking the festival to the streets and performances in the historic centre. This year attracted 16,000 spectators. With the celebration of the festival's silver jubilee in 2005, the festival opted for figures such as Michel Camilo, Pat Metheny and Paco de Lucía, alongside the participation of classical guitarists such as Egberto Gismonti and courses by Manuel Barrueco and Serafín Arriaza.

More recently, the organisation has sought greater international resonance, highlighted by the presentation of the 2008 festival at the Cervantes Institute in Madrid. That same year, thirty-three concerts were organised and one of the guest professors was the Cuban guitarist Joaquín Clerch. The following year, the festival celebrated the *maestro* Leo Brouwer's 70th birthday, a figure closely linked to the city of Córdoba and its orchestra, of which he was the conductor. In recent years, the festival has offered opportunities to hear long-standing successful musicians and musical groups such as ZZ Top, Andrés Calamaro, Pablo Milanés, Alejandro Sanz, Fito y Fitipaldis, Serrat, Scorpions, Medina Azahara and Paco de Lucía.

Guitar Competition 'Andrés Segovia' (La Herradura-Almuñécar, Granada)

In 1983, the towns of La Herradura and Almuñécar (Granada) named Andrés Segovia as their adopted son on the occasion of the guitarist deciding to take up residence in these municipalities. One of the main streets of La

Herradura was renamed 'Paseo Andrés Segovia' in his honour. During these tributes, the idea of a guitar festival named after the *maestro* was conceived, and was first staged in 1985. In 1987, a guitar performance competition and guitar composition competition were created, the latter of which remained active until 2015, with only the performance competition continuing to the present day.⁶ In addition, with the centenary of the birth of Andrés Segovia in 1993, Queen Emeritus H.R.H. Doña Sofía became the honorary president of the event, giving even more prestige to the festival. Although the first competitions had no orchestra, since her involvement, the final round has included a concert for guitar and orchestra. Most recently, in November 2022 the finalists had to perform the *Concierto del Sur* by the composer Manuel María Ponce with the Philharmonic Orchestra of Málaga.

This competition has always enjoyed great prestige on the international competition circuit, and is characterised by its high standards. In the first competition of 1985, the first prize was not awarded, the second prize went to Wulfen Lieske (Germany) and the third prize to Carles Trepac. In fact, the different juries have frequently left the first prize deserted. Even so, great guitarists who have won this coveted first prize throughout the history of the competition include María Esther Guzmán (Spain) in 1987, Joaquín Clerch (Cuba) in 1990, Zoran Dukić (Croatia) in 1996, Ricardo Gallén (Spain) in 1998, Ali Arango (Cuba) in 2007, Julia Trintschuk (Germany) in 2019 and Marko Topchii (Ukraine) in 2020.

Guitar Competition 'Alhambra' (Muro d'Alcoi, Alicante)

Since 1990, Manufacturas Alhambra, a guitar manufacturing company founded in 1965 and well known all over the world for its wide range of studio and concert models, has been organising a biannual guitar competition with important prizes. In the first year of the festival, forty-one participants took part and the first prize was won by the guitarist Eduardo Baranzano from Uruguay. The jury included two prestigious guitarists and pedagogues: María Luisa Anido and América Martínez.

This competition has always had an important economic endowment, for example, in 2018 the first prize was 14,000 euros, in addition to recording of an album for the label Naxos and a concert sponsored by Manufacturas Alhambra with a corresponding contract and an exclusive agreement of artistic diffusion. Some of the most distinguished winners of this competition have been Iván Rijos (1994), Denis Azabagic (1996), Ricardo Gallén (1998), Marcin Dylla (2000), Graham Anthony Devine (2002), Goran Krivokapic (2004), Juuso Nieminem (2006), Irina Kulikova (2008), Rafael Aguirre (2010), Kyuhee Park (2012), Ali Arango (2014) and Andrea González Caballero (2016).

⁶ Detailed information on the history of this festival can be found on the website www.certamenandressegovia.com (Accessed 22 Aug. 2022).

This competition also has a junior category for younger age guitarists, offering important discounts with the purchase of an Alhambra guitar. There are four categories for the Junior competition: A) Up to 10 years old, B) Up to 13 years old, C) Up to 17 years old and D) Up to 24 years old. The duration of both the eliminatory and the final phase of the test increases with the age category, and for category D a series of concerts are awarded in different countries around the world (USA, Italy, Austria and Spain).

Guitar Festival 'José Tomas' (Villa de Petrer, Alicante)

Thanks to the tireless work of the Association 'Pima', the International Guitar Festival 'José Tomas' began in 1998 as a summer course aimed at young guitarists. This festival's name pays homage to the famous guitar teacher and pedagogue from Alicante. The director of the festival since its beginning, the guitarist and teacher Pepe Payá, was a student of José Tomás at the 'Óscar Esplá' Conservatory of Alicante, and coordinates a series of strategies to promote the guitar, making this festival one of the most famous in the country in just a few years.

The festival has master classes at different levels, a professional competition and a student competition by age, an instrument fair (of guitars), talks, workshops, music in the street and a great variety of other activities all related to the guitar. Among these, an ephemeral orchestra of guitars is formed every year by the students attending the courses, and honorary 'José Tomás' awards are presented, which, beginning in 2012, have been awarded to Leo Brouwer, David Russell, Hopkinson Smith, Roberto Aussel, Roland Dyens, Julian Bream or Jorge Cardoso. As in the Córdoba Guitar Festival, in 2009 a tribute was paid to the *maestro* Leo Brouwer for his 70th birthday, in an event carried out by Ricardo Gallén. Recently, the festival has become a member of the Eurostrings platform, a network of European guitar festivals that facilitates both cultural exchange and the search for sponsorships.

Guitar Meeting 'Norba Caesarina' (Cáceres)

In 2004, several classical guitar teachers created the Extremadura Classical Guitar Association 'Ángel Iglesias'. The name of this institution pays homage to the famous guitarist born in the city of Badajoz, who had a great international career, even recording numerous albums in Denmark.⁷ The association was created with the intention of carrying out projects related to the classical guitar in the region of Extremadura, organising concerts and lectures, and offering an international performance competition at the highest level.

Thanks to the efforts of the members of this association – despite great difficulties in obtaining institutional support – the first year of the Guitar

⁷ On this guitarist see Jacinto Sánchez González and Fernando Bermejo, *Ángel Iglesias. Vida y obra de un guitarrista extremeño universal* (Badajoz: Diputación de Badajoz, 2007).

Meeting 'Norba Caesarina' was launched in April 2005. The first prize consisted of a concert guitar by the prestigious guitar maker from Granada, Paco Santiago Marín – who has collaborated with the festival for eight years – a considerable economic award, as well as a contract to perform with the Extremadura Orchestra.

The collaboration between the festival organisers and this orchestra was prosperous for some years, with works performed including the *Fantasia para un gentilhombre* or the *Concierto de Aranjuez*, both by Joaquín Rodrigo, or the 2007 premiere of the *Concierto de Cáceres* by Joaquín Clerch. This work was performed by Gallén, dedicatee of the piece, as part of the third year of the festival on 28 April 2007 in the town of Cáceres, having been premiered the day before, in the town of Badajoz.⁸ Unfortunately, after the fourth year of this festival, the orchestra decided not to collaborate again with the festival in offering a performance to the winner of the competition (although the *Concierto de Cáceres* was performed again in 2020, this time by the composer himself).

During its fifteen years of existence, this festival has hosted – in addition to those named above – teachers and concert performers such as Alex Garrobé, Iliana Matos, Hugo Geller, Juan Carlos Rivera, Thomas Müller-Pering, Carles Trepát, Rafael Aguirre, Pedro Mateo and Zoran Dukić. Another of its special features is the great commitment made by the organisers to musicological research, with musicologists of the stature of Erik Stenstadvold, Matanya Opee, Julio Gimeno, Luis Briso de Montiano and Damián Martín-Gil, among others, contributing a different vision of the world of the guitar for the students who attend these courses.

Among the winners of this competition are established figures of the guitar including José Antonio Escobar (2005), Masao Tanibe (2006), Rafael Aguirre (2007), Israel Shani Inbar (2008), Omán Kaminski (2009), Mircea Gongoncea (2010), Ali Arango (2011), Tal Hurwitz (2013), Deion Cho (2014), Donghwi Lee (2018) and Julia Trintschuk (2020).

In 2012 Aguicex also created the international competition for children and young people 'Ángel Iglesias' as part of the summer courses organised in the village of Jarandilla de la Vera (Cáceres). This competition offers young students prizes, medals, trophies, diplomas and even concerto performances. In recent years the 'Norba Caesarina' has alternated between a professional competition and one for young guitarists. The competition for young guitarist has three categories: up to 10 years old, from 10 to 15 years old and from 16 to 20 years old. Some years, the age range has moved a little to try to give every young guitarist a better chance to compete with students of their own

⁸ This concerto has been recorded by the author himself. See Joaquín Clerch, *Concierto de Otoño and Concierto de Cáceres*, Thomas Gabrisch (cond.), Orquesta de Cámara de la Habana, MDG (2012).

age. Prizes have also been included for the best performers from Extremadura in each category.

Due to continuous problems in obtaining funds from public institutions, from 2021 Agucex has started a new festival in the village of Arroyo de la Luz (Cáceres) creating the International Guitar Festival 'Arroyo de la Luz', which presents a format similar to the 'Norba Caesarina' – that has been ended – with a series of concerts, competitions, master classes, interviews, workshops and also a young guitarists' course.

Conclusions

While the large number of festivals dedicated to the classical guitar demonstrates the great interest of Spanish society in its national instrument, in reality the guitar is less appreciated in generic classical music festivals, where instruments such as the piano or the violin exercise almost total hegemony. This is possibly due to the apathy that the great composers of the history of music felt for this instrument, although the guitar appears on occasions offering an exotic touch. We could extrapolate this idea to the seasonal programmes of symphony orchestras all over the country, where it is common to hear over and over again the *Concierto de Aranjuez* by Joaquín Rodrigo, while concertos of great quality written for this instrument throughout history are overlooked. Undoubtedly, the main challenge for future generations of guitarists is to achieve total immersion in these environments, a path that is not without its difficulties.

Chapter 14

AN OVERVIEW OF THE GUITAR ACTIVITY IN PORTUGAL

Paulo Peres

Towards the end of the twentieth century in Portugal, the classical guitar had finally achieved a similar status to other instruments. It was included in the official curriculum of state schools, there was a significant increase in the number of professional performers, it saw a wider presence in the public sphere and acquired an expanded original repertoire by Portuguese composers. On the one hand, the *Escolas Superiores de Música* in Porto and Lisbon, which had first included guitar studies in their curricula in 1990 – taught by José Pina and Piñeiro Nagy respectively – were the first to endow a significant number of students with a higher degree. As a result, a first generation of students were awarded a BA in guitar studies as early as 1993 (Artur Caldeira, Maria Paula Marques and Paulo Peres in Porto's ESMAE). Guitar studies would later be included in the curriculum of Aveiro, Minho and Évora Universities and in Castelo Branco's Instituto Superior. On the other hand, at a lower level, study of the guitar became more and more accessible, both at state conservatoires and at the many private institutions that then existed, where the guitar, on a par with the piano, was chosen by the students and remains their favourite instrument. Throughout this chapter I will analyse the new reality of the guitar in Portugal as an instrument played widely across the country, presenting an overview of the many festivals devoted to this instrument, as well as summarising the most important figures promoting it, ending with a section that highlights the publication of guitar music in this country.

Guitar festivals and competitions

The current fashion for the guitar in Portugal can be measured in the many festivals and competitions arising all over the country. The first national guitar competition, integrated into the *Concursos Nacionais da Juventude Musical Portuguesa*, took place in 1988. The *Juventude Musical Portuguesa*, created in 1948 and a member of the *Jeunesses Musicales International*, has promoted music competitions in performance on different instruments and in composition since 1950. In 1993 Paulo Amorim set up a pioneer project, the *Festival Internacional de Guitarra de Aveiro*, the first Portuguese festival

entirely dedicated to the guitar. This festival included a variety of concerts (mostly classical guitar but also jazz guitar, flamenco and lute), master classes and other activities like exhibitions and lectures. Among the professors involved, some names that stand out include Robert Brightmore, Fábio Zanon, Henrique Pinto, Alex Garrobé, Augustin Wiedemann, Vicente Amigo (flamenco), Duo Barbieri-Schneiter, Graham Devine, Arctic Guitar Trio, Leif Wiklund, Pedro Madaleno (Jazz), Johannes Monno (lute), Augusto Pacheco, Artur Caldeira and Paulo Amorim.

The Festival Internacional de Guitarra de Santo Tirso, under the artistic direction of Óscar Flecha and Litó Godinho, took place for the first time in 1994 and played a prominent role in opening up the guitar in Portugal to the international community. In just a few years, Portuguese guitar players were in touch with many of the most renowned international guitarists through attending concerts, masterclasses or talks. The list of guitarists involved in this festival is quite impressive, including names such as Leo Brouwer, David Russell, Sérgio & Odair Assad, Eduardo Isaac and Roberto Aussel (in the first year), Manuel Barrueco, Hopkinson Smith, Kazuhito Yamashita, David Starobin, Pierre Bensusan, Roland Dyens, Los Angeles Guitar Quartet, Elena Papandreou, Costa Cotsiolis, Maria Esther Guzman, Abel Carlevaro, Carlos Bonell, Edgberto Gismonti, Fábio Zanon, Dusan Bogdanović, Al Di Meola, John Williams, Paul Galbraith, Franz & Débora Halasz and Manolo Sanlúcar Quartet (until 2002), and Ricardo Gallén, Xuefei Yang, Zoran Dukić, Gnomon, Grisha Goryachev, Beijing Guitar Duo, Aniello Desiderio, Jorge Caballero, Alexey Arkipovsky, Denis Azabagic, Alvaro Pierri, Zagreb Guitar Trio and Ana Vidovic among others. Portuguese guitarists have also attended, including Lopes e Silva, José Pina, Artur Caldeira, Paulo Peres, Paula Marques, Paulo Amorim, Paulo Vaz de Carvalho, Júlio Guerreiro, Augusto Pacheco, Pedro Rodrigues, Paulo Galvão, *Trio de Guitarras de Lisboa* and Ruben Bettencourt.

This unprecedented opening of doors must have played a significant role in the guitar world, at a time before the internet was in general use, when recordings were not easy to obtain, and before the existence of networks and YouTube-like platforms for video sharing. The twenty-first century saw the widespread presence of guitar contests. As a way of promoting the instrument and musical improvement, encouraging students and sharing of musical experiences, these contests brought a gradual increase in the artistic level of young guitarists. In 1999 the guitarists Paula Sobral and José Carlos Sousa founded the first international guitar competition in Portugal, the Concurso e Festival Internacional de Guitarra de Sernancelhe. The first prize winners up to 2013 are: Paula Marques and Júlio Guerreiro (Portugal), Gaelle Chiche (France), Marcin Dylla (Poland), Alieksey Vianna (Brasil), Viazovskiy Roman (Ukraine), Thibault Cauvin (France), Gabriel Bianco (France), Sébastien Montes (Chile), Vladimir Gorbach (Russia), Harold

Gretton, Andrzej Heimowski (Poland), Thomas Viloteau (France), Marko Topchii (Ukraine), Tal Hurwitz (Israel) and Christian Andrea El Khouri (Italy). Portuguese guitarists who received other awards include Augusto Pacheco, Pedro Rodrigues, Francisco Franco and Ruben Bettencourt. Important figures in the guitar world who were present include Carlos Bonell, Fábio Zanon, Roland Dyens, Margarita Escarpa, Judicael Perroy, Elena Papandreou, Rafael Andia and Carlo Marchione.

Another important competition is the Concurso Internacional de Guitarra de Viseu, an event that took place for the first time in 2014. Of a biennial character, this competition became part of the Festival Internacional de Primavera de Viseu. The guitarists who have been awarded the first prize are Xavier Jara (USA, 2014), Davide Giovanni Tomasi (Italy, 2016), Marko Topchii (Ukraine, 2018), Carlo Curatolo (Italy, 2020) and Luis Alejandro García (Spain, 2022).

The Festival Internacional de Guitarra 'Cidade de Guimarães', founded by Nuno Cachada, has offered, since 2014, concerts, workshops and an international guitar competition, and is part of the Eurostrings platform, which includes eighteen European classical guitar festivals. In the almost ten years of its existence, artists who have attended this event include Dejan Ivanovic, Michalis Kontaxakis, Hubert Käppel, Pedro Rodrigues, Robert Trent, Costas Cotsiolis, José Manuel Dapena, Judicael Perroy, André Madeira, Margarita Escarpa, Cheng Shi, Anabel Montesinos and Aniello Desiderio. Among others awarded in the category for performers aged over twenty-five years are Robin Meys (Belgium), Joaquim Simões, Filipe Neves Currel (Portugal), Bruno Pino Mateos (Spain), Jesus Serrano Huitron (Mexico), João Robim (Portugal). In the seventh competition, held in 2021 in an exclusively online format, Jonas Egholm, Eric Meier and Louison Petit were awarded.

A number of guitar personalities have been invited for concerts, masterclasses and workshops at the Festival Internacional de Guitarra de Amarante since its founding in 2015. These include Marcin Dylla, Anton Baranov, Rafael Aguirre, Carlo Marchione, Aniello Desiderio, Goran Krivokapic, Joaquín Clerch, Duo Melis, Jan Depreter, Gabriel Bianco, and Yamandu Costa. The list of the first prizes for the category for performers over twenty years of age includes names such as Francisco Franco (Portugal), Ettore Scandolera (Italy), Campbell Diamond (Australia), Joaquim Simões (Portugal), Andrés Madariaga (Chile) and Katarzyna Smolarek (Poland). In the 2019 competition, the Portuguese guitarist João Robim was awarded second prize.

The Festival de Guitarra de Leiria, founded by José Mesquita Lopes in 1989, would from 2004 become an international stage, with guitar masterclasses and the Concurso Internacional de Guitarra integrated into the Estágio de Orquestra da Região de Leiria-Fátima. In 2008 this festival would gain autonomy under the new name, Festival Internacional de Guitarra de Leiria, and become part of the European Network alongside the Encontro

de Ensembles de Guitarras and a Concurso Nacional. Until its final year in 2018, the following teachers, among others, were present: Tomás Camacho, Álvaro Pierri, Ignácio Rodes, Claudio Marcotulli, Margarita Escarpa, Carlo Marchione, Stefan Löfvenius and Thibaut Garcia.

A number of other guitar festivals and competitions have recently taken place, namely Concurso Internacional de Guitarra ‘Cidade do Fundão’ (running since 2003), Concurso de Guitarra Luso-Hespanhol de Fafe (since 2007 and addressed to students between six and twenty years of age), Concurso Internacional de Guitarra ‘Santa Cecília’ (Porto), Encontros de Guitarra do Porto, Festival Internacional e Concurso de Música ‘Cidade de Almada’, Concurso Nacional Paços’ Premium’ of Paços Brandão, Concurso Nacional de Guitarra ‘Cidade de Gaia’, Concurso de Guitarra de S. João da Madeira and Concurso Nacional de Guitarra ‘Cidade Montijo’. More recently, there are two additional festivals in the Algarve, the Festival Internacional de Guitarra de Faro and the Festival Internacional de Guitarra de Lagoa (currently in its ninth year), which next year will include the 1st Concurso Internacional de Guitarra ‘Cidade de Lagoa’.

The Festival Internacional de Guitarra de Braga deserves a special mention since it has recently included – in its fourth and fifth years in 2017 and 2018 – the Concurso Internacional de Música de Câmara com Guitarra, won by the BaumBach Duo (cello and guitar, Germany) and Duo Arsis (João Robim and Nuno Jesus, Portugal). This festival includes concerts, masterclasses and workshops inviting musicians such as Pedro Mateo González, Štěpán Rak, Tilman Hoppstock, Fabio Zanon, Gary Ryan, Xavier Díaz Latorre (baroque guitar and theorbo), Jeryme Jouve and Pavel Steidl. The 2019 festival included the 1st Concurso Internacional de Guitarra Clássica de Braga (in which the compulsory piece, *Whispering Voices*, by André Santos, was commissioned by the festival) and a Concurso Nacional.

The most important national contest in Portugal is the *Prémio Jovens Músicos*, organised by Antena 2 (a radio station). It has taken place every year since 1987 and includes, rotationally, most solo instruments, chamber music and composition. The guitar was included in 2005. Some of the pieces for solo guitar performed at this event were commissioned by Antena 2 such as *Introdução e Dança* by Óscar Rodrigues (Scherzo Editions, 2014) and *Por um fio* by Bernardo Beirão (Scherzo Editions, 2021). The awarded guitarists were Pedro Rodrigues (2005), Francisco Franco (2009), João Diogo Leitão (2014), João Robim (2017) and Diogo João (2021). The fact that the first prize for chamber music (higher level) was awarded to the guitar duo Duo Sirius (2022) is a clear sign of the excellent level of guitar performance in Portugal.

Organised by Litó Godinho, the Portugal International Guitar Composition Competition (Seixal), in its first year awarded its first prize to Angel Gómez Ramos (México) for his work *Rapsodia Patafísica de Iridiscencias Yuxtapuestas*. The second year of this competition, in 2022, included a significant

number of young composers from all over the world. The jury – Leo Brouwer (Cuba), Arnaud Dumond (France), Angél Gómez (México), Artur Caldeira (Portugal), Dejan Ivanović (Bósnia/Portugal) and Eduardo Isaac (Argentina) – awarded Marek Pasieczny (Poland) and his work *Remembering Triptych* for solo Guitar the first prize. The prize for the best Portuguese piece went to Pedro Lopes Baptista for *Jorge Peixinho – In Memoriam*.

Solo guitar performers, ensembles, and composers for guitar

A whole generation of guitarists whose formative years were in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century are still active today, either at an artistic or a pedagogic level. Names like Paulo Vaz de Carvalho, Paulo Valente Pereira, José Mesquita Lopes, Paulo Amorim, Júlio Guerreiro, Pedro Rodrigues, Mário Carreira, Paulo Peres, Paula Marques, Artur Caldeira, André Madeira, Miguel Carvalinho, Rui Gama, António Gonçalves, Augusto Pacheco, Ricardo Abreu, Dejan Ivanović, Carlos Gutkin, Ricardo Barceló, Pedro Rufino and Rui Martins belong to this generation. A new generation of young performers, many of whom have studied abroad, have been successful in national and international competitions and have been making quite an artistic name for themselves. Among these are Francisco Franco, Joaquim Simões, João Diogo Leitão, João Robim, Nuno Pinto, Francisco Béreny, Márcio Silva, Diogo João, Filipe Neves Curral, Inês Sousa, Rebeca Oliveira, Ruben Bettencourt, André Miguel Santos, Henrique Almeida and Francisco Luís.

Chamber music with guitar has recently become popular due to the continuous increase in the number of such groups. Among them we can highlight guitar duos such as Duo Arsis (João Robim and Nuno Jesus), Duo Sírius, Duo Paula Marques/Paulo Peres; and guitar quartets and quintets like Quarteto de Guitarras de Lisboa, Quarteto de Guitarras da Madeira, Quarteto Concordis, Quarteto Parnaso and Portugal Guitar Quintet. Other significant ensembles are the guitar and flute duos Machina Lírica Duo (Pedro Rodrigues and Monika Streitová), Duo Pourquoi Pas (Augusto Pacheco and Raquel Lima), Paulo Amorim and João Pereira Coutinho, or guitar and voice duets such as L'Effetto Ensemble (Rui Gama and Dora Rodrigues) and Júlio Guerreiro and Elsa Cortez.

The inclusion of the guitar in the orchestral practice of many music schools has born fruit and quite a number of guitar and plucked string orchestras have bloomed all over the country, mostly in academic contexts. The Orquestra de Guitarras da Academia de Música de Vilar do Paraíso should be singled out. Built from scratch by Augusto Pacheco it is often awarded prizes in international competitions. The increasing number of festivals and stages for guitar orchestras and ensembles have played an important role in this new reality. These include those taking place in Leiria, Tomar, Braga and more recently in Lamego with the first Encontro de Bandolim e Guitarra de Lamego (2022), and the creation of the Orquestra Jovem de Plectro Portuguesa.

At a professional level, the Orquestra Portuguesa de Guitarras e Bandolins (OPGB) was founded in 2007 by António Vieira and Sérgio Dinis. This ensemble has premiered works by Portuguese and foreign composers that have dedicated their works to them. It has also performed abroad and recorded a number of CDs by the Pleiades Editions. The Orquestra de Cordas Dedilhadas do Minho (OCDM), founded by Rui Gama, has also played a substantial role in promoting the guitar and traditional fingered string instruments like viola Braguesa. The existence of these sorts of professional orchestras may also provide further job opportunities for young guitarists in the future. Mention should also be made of the II Estágio Internacional de Cordas Dedilhadas da Cidade de Braga organised by OCDM in 2018 under the direction of Leo Brouwer. A large number of guitarists took part and the programme included only works by this *maestro* (see Chapter 22).

Since the end of the twentieth century the literature for guitar has grown significantly in Portugal, not only as a consequence of an increasing scholarly approach to the practice of the instrument but also due to the influence of different compositional ‘schools’ at a high level opening new compositional perspectives. Among the compositions written for guitar, many are dedicated to guitar players, illustrating a personal connection between performers and composers. This personal relationship accounts for an original guitar repertoire, which is nothing new in the instrument’s history if we consider – regardless of the context – the role played by Andrés Segovia in the first half of the twentieth century. Be that as it may, quite a number of famous Portuguese composers or those living in Portugal have been writing for the guitar to a greater or lesser extent. A list of them would necessarily include Fernando Lopes-Graça, Jorge Peixinho, Clotilde Rosa, Cândido Lima, António Vitorino de Almeida, Filipe Pires, António Pinho-Vargas, Eurico Carrapatoso, Isabel Soveral, Christopher Bochmann, Sérgio Azevedo and Fernando C. Lapa. Other composers, some of them guitar players as well, have offered further works towards the enrichment of the guitar repertoire, including figures such as José Lopes e Silva, José Mesquita Lopes, Carlos Gutkin, Eli Camargo Júnior, Ricardo Barceló, Paulo Amorim, Ricardo Abreu, Ângela Lopes, Nuno Miguel Henriques, Nuno Guedes de Campos, Fernando Lobo das Neves, Ângela da Ponte, Daniel Moreira, Óscar Rodrigues and André Santos.

The musical language of this repertoire is quite varied. Examples can be found of atonal and avant-garde music, as in Cândido Lima, for example, both in his first pieces, *Esboços I, II e III* (1969), and in the most recent, *Cadernos de Invenções Guitarra I e II* (2011) and *Arcaicas Harmonias - ninfas, bosques e deuses* (2016), Christopher Bochmann with *Essay VII* (1990) and *Diastrophe* (2012), Mesquita Lopes with *Estudo Numerus Nove* (1989) or Ângela Lopes with *Mirror 2* (2003).

In a language linked to a new simplicity, which moves away from the avant-garde and integral serialism of the Darmstadt school (and its advocates

Illustration 14.1. Extract from 'Invenção 1', in Cândido Lima, *Cadernos de invenções - Guitarra II* (Parede: Centro de Investigação e Informação da Música Portuguesa, 2014), 1 (Reproduced by permission). Available on the website www.mic.pt

Pierre Boulez and Karlheinz Stockhausen), we find composers such as Sérgio Azevedo, António Pinho-Vargas, Eurico Carrapatoso, Fernando C. Lapa, Fernando Valente and many others, who assume a personal and individual style characterised by the presence of a strong melodic sense.

Because of the volume of their works for guitar, Fernando C. Lapa and Sérgio Azevedo deserve special attention. Fernando C. Lapa was born in Vila Real in 1950 and studied at the Conservatório de Música do Porto with Cândido Lima. In the last three decades he has composed nearly three hundred works covering all musical genres: concert, symphonic repertoire and symphonic chorus, opera, chamber music, pieces for solo instrument, and soundtracks for cinema and theatre. His works have been recorded and broadcast on Portuguese and foreign radio and TV stations and performed in hundreds of concerts. A few of his scores have been edited in Portugal and in Germany and dozens of his pieces reproduced on CD.¹ As to his musical language, Lapa says 'I like to place myself in the framework of music with atonal roots. I read it as a more universal trait of the music of our time, yet with linear contours of modal character, specifically within the predominance of vocally inspired gestures'.² He has produced a large number of works for guitar, both for solo instrument and for chamber music with guitar, including the guitar duos *Itinerários* (Legato Editions, 1999), *Suite Doiro* (Edição MIC.PT, 2010) and *Duas cartas ...e um abraço* (2021), *Canções populares transmontanas* for guitar solo and ensemble of two, three and five guitars (Edições CMP, 2015) and four suites for guitar trio entitled *Cantares do Minho* (AvA editions, 2022).

¹ Fernando C. Lapa, *Dossier 14. Compositores portugueses dos séculos XX e XXI* (Lisbon: Centro de Investigação e Informação da Música Portuguesa, 2017), 4.

² 'Gosto de me situar num quadro de música de raiz atonal que vou lendo como a marca mais universal da música do nosso tempo, mas de contornos lineares de carácter modal, nomeadamente pela predominância de gestos de inspiração vocal [...]', Fernando C. Lapa, *Dossier 14*, 7.

Sérgio Azevedo was born in Coimbra in 1968. He studied composition with Fernando Lopes-Graça at the Academia de Amadores de Música and got his BA at the Escola Superior de Música de Lisboa (ESML), where he studied with Constança Capdeville, Christopher Bochmann and Álvaro Salazar. He attended seminars and courses at the IRCAM, with Emanuel Nunes, Tristan Murail, Phillipe Manoury, Luca Francesconi, Mary Finsterer, Jorge Peixinho and Louis Andriessen. His work has been awarded several prizes and successfully performed in many different countries, and his music has been published and recorded on CD. He has been a teacher at the ESML since 1993.³ In his own words, ‘My music intends to be (I wonder if it really is so) clear, not too rhetorical, not tonal but with harmonies and directional gestures and complex as to timbre, although aurally perceptible’.⁴ Some of his most well-known works are *Seis peças para guitarra* (AvA Editions, 2011), *Sonata nº 3 para guitarra* (AvA Editions, 2016), *Sonata nº 4 para guitarra* (AvA Editions, 2015), *Partita para guitarra* (AvA Editions, 2016) and *Concertino para guitarra e pequena orquestra* (AvA Editions, 2014).

Publishing music for guitar in Portugal

The repertoire for guitar by Portuguese composers has been successfully consolidated in the last fifty years. Whilst there were practically no works written for the instrument in the 1960s, the present reality is an absolute contrast. Nevertheless, the question now is no longer the non-existence of a musical corpus – for this corpus is by now quite substantial – but rather the extremely limited number of published pieces. This limitation is related to the current and ever-present scarcity of music editing in Portugal. By the end of the twentieth century, most serious music was being published by Musicoteca and Oficina Musical in Porto (both extinct by the end of the twentieth century), side by side with the publications of a few authors and several initiatives by cultural entities. In 2007 AvA Musical Editions was founded in order to publish music by Portuguese composers or those living in Portugal from the eighteenth century to the present day. They have published around 1,500 works so far, covering different musical genres, from solo instruments to symphonic music, with a catalogue comprising 235 composers. Their guitar catalogue includes thirty-seven works comprising five pieces for guitar and orchestra, seven for chamber music, fifty-six for solo guitar and thirteen with

³ Teresa Cascudo, s.v. ‘Azevedo, António Sérgio’, in Salwa Castelo-Branco, *Enciclopédia da música portuguesa no século XX*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Circulo de Leitores, Tema e Debates, 2010), 90.

⁴ ‘A minha música pretende ser (não sei se o é) clara, não retórica em demasia, não tonal – mas com harmonias e gestos direccionáveis – e tímbricamente complexa, embora auralmente perceptível’, Sérgio Azevedo, *A invensão dos sons, Uma panorâmica da composição em Portugal hoje* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1998), 477.

a didactic purpose. Scherzo Editions, an online publisher based in Portugal has published fourteen pieces for guitar.

The important role played by the Centro de Investigação e Informação da Música Portuguesa (CIIMP) must also be stressed. This is a project aimed to provide a public service, encompassing the investigation and preservation of the Portuguese musical patrimony. On its site (mic.pt), we find reliable, up-to-date information on composers who are Portuguese or residents of Portugal, especially those from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, as well as scores, audio and video recordings, images, musicological texts, articles, bibliographies, discographies and music critique. In its catalogue we find more than fifty works for guitar by twenty-six composers, either solo or in various chamber music ensembles.

One particular case in the Portuguese editorial world is the Edições Conservatório de Música do Porto, an initiative that has considerably enlarged the Portuguese repertoire for guitar. In 2015 the Conservatório de Música do Porto (CMP) successfully concluded its first editorial project with the publication under its seal (Edições CMP) of four pieces for guitar by Portuguese composers: Fernando C. Lapa's *Canções populares transmontanas*,⁵ Fernando Valente's *Mansa Memória* and *Gesto Usual* and Ricardo Abreu's *A voz das estações* and *Estudos evocativos*.⁶ The project had been started in 2012 by Paulo Peres, a guitar teacher at the CMP, who had in mind a collection of works for didactic purposes by Portuguese contemporary composers. A number of composers responded to the initiative, and besides those mentioned, Jorge Prendas, Luís Carvalho, Nuno Peixoto de Pinho and Pedro Cardoso (Peixe) showed their interest. Their expertise, artistic level and generosity were the key to success for the project and their personal friendship with Peres was also an important factor. Beyond its didactic and pedagogical relevance, and because of its artistic significance, this repertoire deserves to be known by the general public. One of the primary intentions of the project was to bring composers who were not guitarists into the guitar world, as was the case with Fernando Valente, Jorge Prendas and Luís Carvalho, who had never previously written for solo guitar. Fernando C. Lapa, on the other hand, had written two compositions, *Mais um peneireiro* and *Vai indo, amor, vai indo*,⁷ works meanwhile included, after revision, in *Canções populares transmontanas*. All the others, except for Luís Carvalho, had already written guitar duos, dedicated to the duo formed by Maria Paula Marques and Paulo Peres.

As to the other composers, they all had a formal guitar education and were familiar with works written for the instrument, but of these, only Ricardo

⁵ The original melodies of these songs belong to a booklet with local folksongs, an assemblage of melodies sung in the Vila Real region.

⁶ Other works by Abreu were published by Les Éditions Doberman-IPPAN: *SUITUS* (2018) and *Wordless Letter* (2020).

⁷ These pieces were premiered in 2005 by João Machado.

♩ = 90 *molto espressivo*

Guitarra (6ª em Ré)

p i a m i m i a m i m

mf *f* *p* *p* *mf* ③

C III

4 *a* i m *a* *a* i m i m a C V C VII C II C II *dim.*

8 *i* m *a* *a* *a* i m *molto legato* C V C VII *a* *a* *m* *i* *p* *a* *a* *m*

p *f* *p* ④ ②

Illustration 14.2. Extract from ‘Vai indo, amor, vai indo’, in Fernando C. Lapa, *Canções populares transmontanas* (Porto: Edições Conservatório de Música do Porto, 2015), 3 (Reproduced by permission).

Abreu became a professional guitar player. Nuno Peixoto de Pinho finished his secondary level and high levels as a composer, and Pedro Cardoso (Peixe) studied guitar at the CMP and jazz guitar at ESMAE.⁸

As for the repertoire itself, no restraints of any kind were placed on the composers, except the need for the works to be adequate for young performers in their basic and secondary formative years. The writing methodology was much alike for most of the composers. After a first reading, Paulo Peres would meet with each of them to discuss the compositions and clear up any doubts. In most cases, though, the final version did not differ much from the first draft. *Estudos Evocativos*, for instance, was a revised version of *Estudos Brouwerianos*, written in 1988/89.

The first public presentation of these works took place on 5 April 2013, in the CMP Auditorium, performed by the guitar teachers and the composers themselves. This performance was recorded. Besides the works to be published in 2015, pieces by Luís Carvalho, Nuno Peixoto de Pinho and Jorge Prendas were also performed. The year after, there was a recital by the students exclusively dedicated to this repertoire.

The fact that much of this repertoire has been regularly performed by students proves the pertinence and the importance of this project in enlarging the repertoire for guitar. Future projects like these in conservatoires of music

⁸ Cardoso was a founding member of the band *Ornatos Violeta*, one of the most significant Portuguese pop-music groups of their time.

may play an important role in the development of didactic material and may also come to signify a decisive push towards enlarging the market for the publication and publicising of music by Portuguese composers for classical guitar.

Conclusions

In recent years we have witnessed a consolidation of the guitar in Portuguese musical life. As we have seen, the inclusion of guitar studies in the educational curriculum brought the study of the instrument to a wide range of schools all over the country. This move was responsible for a wave of new performers with an excellent artistic background and, the fact that many of them have attended university courses at some of the best European schools, accounts for the current higher level of guitar studies in Portugal. As a consequence, we have observed the proliferation of international festivals, a new window for guitar enthusiasts to the guitar world. The role played by the Festival de Guitarra de Santo Tirso in particular has been duly stressed for the countless number of renowned guitarists it introduced to Portuguese audiences, although as we have seen, many other festivals also deserve our attention.

Since Fernando Lopes-Graça wrote his first work for guitar in 1968, an enormous corpus of guitar compositions by Portuguese composers have been created, thanks to the renewed interest of contemporary composers like Fernando C. Lapa and Sérgio Azevedo. In contrast, the importance of the performer has also been underlined. Besides their obvious influence in the writing of new music scores, the performer's artistic quality has increased the presence of guitar music in both national and international concert halls.

In conclusion, we can ascertain that the vogue for the classical guitar in Portugal is at its peak, with a well-oiled system that brings together composers, performers, students, guitar festivals, and a dedicated audience that fills the concert halls.

Chapter 15

UNDERSTANDING THE GUITAR IN ITALY IN THE PRESENT DAY

*Christian El Khouri**

If we consider the history of the guitar from the time that this instrument reached its modern six-string conformation at the end of the eighteenth century, it is clear that Italian guitarists had a significant role in the fashion for this instrument, at least during the first half of nineteenth century when it became *à la mode* in most parts of Western Europe. In fact, it is difficult to imagine the guitar scene of the major cultural capitals of Europe without figures such as Ferdinando Carulli, Mauro Giuliani, Francesco Molino or Luigi Legnani to mention just a few (see Chapter 7). Today, the worldwide classical guitar community still benefits from the invaluable contribution of nineteenth-century Italian guitarists in terms of education and repertoire, leading to this period to be labelled ‘The Golden Age’¹ or even ‘The Great Vogue’ for the guitar.² In addition to the Italian virtuosos who brought popularity to the guitar, publishers from Italy were also quite active. Examples include Ricordi,³ a publishing house founded in 1808 in Milan by Giovanni Ricordi, a figure very much committed to releasing much guitar music, or the Artaria & Co. publishing house,⁴ founded by the Italian cousins Carlo and Francesco Artaria and active during the nineteenth century in Vienna. Artaria & Co.’s catalogue includes compositions by major composers such as Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Franz Joseph Haydn and Ludwig van Beethoven, as well as works that include the guitar by figures such as Simon Molitor, Mauro Giuliani and Wenzel Thomas Matiegka. Unfortunately, as the Roman-

* I am very thankful to Lena Kokkaliari for her help and assistance during the preparation of this chapter.

¹ See for example Andrew Britton, ‘The Guitar in the Romantic Period: Its Musical and Social Development, with Special Reference to Bristol and Bath’, PhD diss. (University of London, 2010), 14.

² Christopher Page, Paul Sparks and James Westbrook (eds.), *The Great Vogue for the Guitar in Western Europe: 1800-1840* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2023).

³ On this publisher see Agostina Zecca-Laterza, *Il catalogo numerico Ricordi 1857 con date e indici* (Rome: Nuovo Istituito Editoriale Italiano, 1984).

⁴ See Rupert M. Ridgewell, ‘Mozart and the Artaria Publishing House Study in the Inventory Ledgers 1784-1793’, PhD diss. (University of London, 1999) and Alexander Weinmann, *Vollständiges Verlagsverzeichnis Artaria & Comp.*, 3rd ed. (Vienna: Ludwig Krenn, 1985).

tic aesthetic progressed, the popularity of the guitar declined in continental Europe, especially after the 1830s, in favour of other musical instruments that fulfilled the musical canon imposed by celebrated composers. This was particularly the case with the piano, which took the guitar out of the limelight, almost consigning all the years of flourishing activity to oblivion.⁵ With the impressionists' interest in timbre during the first decades of twentieth century, the guitar once again increased in popularity, blossoming in the wake of performers such as Andrés Segovia, who gave incredible visibility to the guitar and promoted a renewed enthusiasm for the instrument. Indeed, Segovia's influence reached Italy, where he taught at the Accademia Chigiana in Siena from 1950 to 1963. But, is there a *trait d'union* between Segovia's aesthetics, his musical thought, the impact of his teaching and the current situation of the classical guitar in Italy? Aiming to answer this question, this chapter will explore the place of the classical guitar in Italy, analysing particularly the contributions of Ruggero Chiesa (1933-1993), an Italian guitarist, professor and musicologist who contributed significantly to the development of the guitar worldwide and especially in his homeland.⁶ It will also provide an overview of some of the most important festivals that have contributed to developing the fashion for the guitar in Italy.

The role of Ruggero Chiesa in the development of the guitar

Ruggero Chiesa was born on 1 August 1933 in Camogli, a seafaring Italian village near Genoa. Chiesa studied under Carlo Palladino, and it was on his advice that in his early twenties he attended the first summer courses at Accademia Chigiana in Siena in 1955 where Segovia and Emilio Pujol were teaching.⁷ In particular, Pujol's classes on the vihuela and historical tablature had a profound impact on Chiesa's relationship with the guitar. In 1963 Chiesa obtained a teaching position at Conservatorio 'Giuseppe Verdi' in Milan beginning his collaboration with the publishing house Suvini Zerboni only a year later, with which he issued around 170 works throughout his life.⁸ In 1972 he founded *Il Fronimo*, a journal specialising in classical guitar.

⁵ In the case of the British Isles for example, a recent study shows that even though no major guitarists can be traced in this land, the popularity of the instrument seems to have been maintained. See Sarah Clarke, 'An Instrument in Comparative Oblivion? Women and the Guitar in Victorian London', PhD diss. (The Open University, 2021).

⁶ It would be very difficult to analyse all the Italian figures that have led the guitar to its present state in Italy in this chapter, and it would certainly be unjust to attribute all the merit to Chiesa. However, there is no doubt about his leading role in this process, a role worthy of significant attention from the international reader.

⁷ On the life of Chiesa see Sara Bonafini, 'Ruggero Chiesa, Una vita per la chitarra', BA diss. (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, 1995).

⁸ Paolo Devecchi, 'La rivista "Il Fronimo" di Ruggero Chiesa (1972-1993), L'uomo e il suo "dialogo". Sguardo sull'opera pubblicistica di un maestro della chitarra del Novecento', BA diss. (Università degli studi di Torino, 2012).

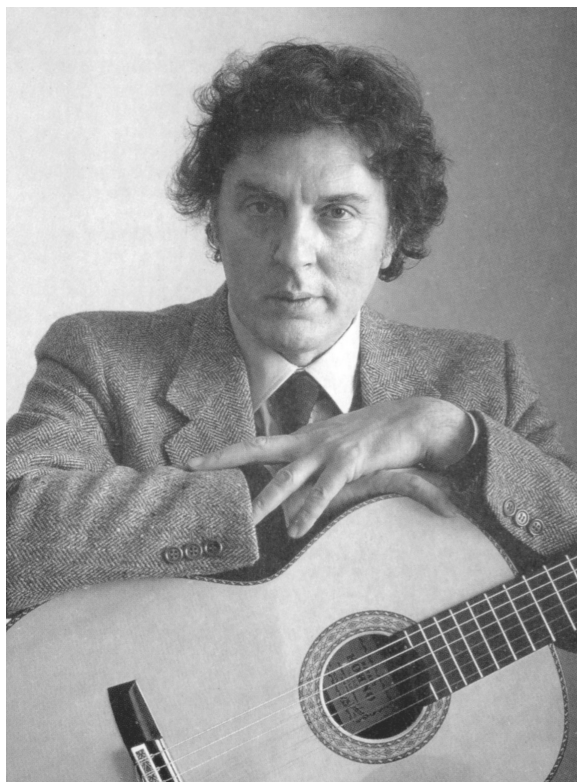


Illustration 15.1. Ruggiero Chiesa in 1983
(Reproduced by permission).

Chiesa continued his unceasing activity as a classical guitar professor and musicologist until he passed away in 1993.

Considering Chiesa's approach to pedagogy, direct testimonies from his students – today central figures of the guitar – show that his teaching was adapted to each student according to their capacities and personalities, with the concept of progression as the central idea. This also intertwines with his musicological activity returning much repertoire to light, with the particular aim of finding suitable pieces for gradual teaching. These efforts were not only for the benefit of his students at the conservatory, but were consolidated in the creation of a didactic method for guitar titled *Guitar gradus* and published in 1982 by Suvini Zerboni.

Guitar gradus was designed around the didactic material that Chiesa believed students might need during their first years of practice. We therefore find not only a first section devoted to the fundamentals of the guitar, but a second section focused on the development of different aspects of guitar playing including a small anthology of easy pieces composed by some of the most important guitar composers of the nineteenth century such as Joseph Küffner, Dionisio Aguado, Ferdinando Carulli and Matteo Carcassi. This selection

allows the student to gradually deal with their first technical and musical challenges. Here is what Chiesa says in the preface of the book:

All those in the teaching profession will certainly have noticed that, despite the availability of high-quality musical material – it would be enough just to recall the studies of the nineteenth century masters – our teaching literature has never managed to cover the preliminary period of learning satisfactorily. This deficiency is evident from the very moment the student picks up the guitar, to continue in the area of setting up and, even more so, in the very first repertoire he has to deal with.⁹

Guitar gradus was not only conceived as a progressive method; it contains monodic transcriptions of popular songs, allowing the beginner to initially only use one finger of the left hand on the fingerboard at a time. Yet this does not happen only in the first position and in consequence, the student learns from the first lessons to move all over the neck of the guitar, developing naturalness and melodiousness. The book is essentially divided into two parts, the first being a general introduction to guitar playing, and the second a development of the first part into seven chapters. It is not mandatory to follow a certain order; it is a thematic division, and the learning path can be personalised and tailored to the student. For all these reasons this method has been and is still considered a landmark for guitar teachers in Italy.¹⁰

From the 1960s Chiesa was also part of a group of guitar teachers, musicians and politicians who committed themselves to regulate guitar teaching positions in Italian conservatoires. At this time, the guitar course was ‘experimental’ and did not lead towards a diploma, but rather a certificate, and it was not until 1984 that the guitar course was institutionalised as ‘ordinary’.¹¹ This resulted in the same study program offered at all the conservatories in Italy, so that in every part of the country the preparation of the same pieces was required in order to pass the intermediate exams and to achieve the final Diploma. This system was in place until 21 December 1999, when a decree equated conservatories with universities, revolutionising the study programs, adding

⁹ ‘Tutti coloro che svolgono la professione dell’insegnante avranno certamente notato che, pur disponendo spesso di un materiale musicale spesso di alta qualità – basterebbe ricordare gli studi dei Maestri dell’Ottocento – la nostra letteratura didattica non è mai riuscita a coprire in modo soddisfacente il periodo preliminare dell’apprendimento. Questa carenza è evidente sin dall’istante in cui lo studente imbraccia la chitarra, per proseguire nel settore dell’impostazione e, ancor più, nel primissimo repertorio che egli deve affrontare [...]’, Ruggero Chiesa, *Guitar gradus. Metodo elementare per chitarra* (Milan: Suvini Zerboni, 1982), 1.

¹⁰ Chiesa’s method may have had a significant impact in other countries too, since it was translated into Greek with the same publishing house as *Guitar Gradus Μέθοδος κιθάρας για αρχάριους* in 1982 and into English as *Guitar Gradus: Elementary Method for Guitar* in 1996.

¹¹ *Legge del 2 Maggio 1984*, n. 106, ‘Istituzione della scuola di chitarra nei conservatori di musica’.

more theoretical courses and giving more autonomy to each conservatory, so that nowadays each institution has the ability to alter its study plan (see Chapter 19).¹²

As a musicologist, the contributions of Chiesa have been invaluable. From his initial contacts with Pujol, Chiesa understood that there was an enormous field of research, so he started working on early music. Due to this interest, he transcribed for guitar an impressive number of pieces originally composed for lute, vihuela and other related plucked instruments, a repertoire still available today.¹³ Another area of great interest to him was original guitar music by the nineteenth century guitar composers. Thanks to his research, we now have access to several modern editions of works (not previously edited) by great figures of the guitar repertoire such as Mauro Giuliani, Fernando Sor, Ferdinando Carulli, Luigi Boccherini and Niccolò Paganini.¹⁴ We tend to consider these names quite common in a guitar recital programme, and this is due in part to Chiesa's musicological efforts that led to the exploration of the great nineteenth-century repertoire.

Il Fronimo

Chiesa founded the journal *Il Fronimo – Rivista di chitarra e liuto* (journal about the guitar and the lute) in 1972 published by Suvini Zerboni. The name was taken from the imaginary lutenist that gave the title to one of the most famous books by Vincenzo Galilei.¹⁵ This journal offers high quality articles about the history, repertoire and performance practice of the classical guitar and other guitar-related instruments, interviews with guitar concert players and composers (such as Goffredo Petrassi, Alexandre Tansman, Pieter van der Staak and Hans Werner Henze, among others) as well as recordings and sheet music reviews. Here is a little extract from Chiesa's foreword to the first issue focusing on the value of the guitar:

¹² Legge del 21 Dicembre 1999, n. 508, 'Riforma delle Accademie di belle arti, dell'Accademia nazionale di danza, dell'Accademia nazionale di arte drammatica, degli Istituti superiori per le industrie artistiche, dei Conservatori di musica e degli Istituti musicali pareggiati'.

¹³ These works include, among others, the complete works for vihuela by Luys de Milán from *El Maestro*, the complete lute works by Francesco Da Milano, the full transcription of the British Library MS Add 30387 (Dance and other music in lute notation, composed by Sylvius Leopold Weiss and Johann Sigismund Weiss, of Prague in 1717-1724) and *Diciotto partite* by Giuseppe Antonio Brescianello.

¹⁴ For instance, works revised by Ruggero Chiesa that appear in the Suvini Zerboni catalogue include, among others, the Mauro Giuliani's full set of studies, the *Six Rossinians*, some of his themes and variations (opp. 2, 4, 7, 20, 38, 45, 47, 62, 105, 107, 112), or Niccolò Paganini's complete works for solo guitar.

¹⁵ Vincenzo Galilei, *Fronimo: dialogo di Vincentio Galilei nobile fiorentino sopra l'arte del bene intavolare, et rettamente sonare la musica negli strumenti artificiali si di corde come di fiato, & in particolare nel liuto* (Venice, 1584).

Today perhaps no one doubts about its tonal qualities and technical possibilities anymore, but few believe that it possesses an extensive and valuable original literature, indispensable to sustain its ambitions. Without this framework, no instrument, no matter how fascinating, can survive for long, and so it would be for the guitar the day when, after this period of happy enthusiasm and having to rely on its own strengths, it would still find itself maintaining a dangerous misunderstanding that would inevitably lead it into one of those profound crises with which history is filled. The misunderstanding, as we well know, is not to have the awareness of full autonomy in our repertoire, which is a totally unjustified proof of weakness, since very little has been done to bring back the repertoire of the past [...]

All these questions, and there would be others, have been posed in order to demonstrate that the conditions exist for creating a journal that wants to take on the task of answering them. Here, then, is a periodical entirely devoted to the guitar and the lute, 'Il Fronimo', named after the imaginary lutenist who gave the title to Vincenzo Galilei's famous book [...]

A dialogue also for us, in which guitarists, lutenists and musicologists will participate, with opinions that may be divergent and even conflicting, but only through a wide-ranging confrontation it will be eventually possible to dispel doubts and clarify misunderstandings, certain to revive through the unmistakable personality of these instruments works of great value.¹⁶

The first issue of the journal opens with a letter by Andrés Segovia saying:

¹⁶ 'Oggi forse nessuno mette più in dubbio le sue qualità timbriche e le sue possibilità tecniche, ma pochi credono che essa posseda una letteratura originale ampia e di valore, indispensabile per sostenere le sue ambizioni. Senza questa ossatura nessuno strumento, per quanto affascinante, può sopravvivere a lungo, e così avverrebbe per la chitarra il giorno in cui, trascorso questo periodo di felice entusiasmo e dovendo contare sulle proprie forze, essa si trovasse ancora a mantenere un pericoloso equivoco che la condurrebbe inevitabilmente ad una di quelle profonde crisi di cui è costellata la storia. L'equivoco, lo sappiamo bene, è di non avere la consapevolezza di una piena autonomia nel proprio repertorio, il che rappresenta una prova di debolezza assolutamente ingiustificata, poiché ben poco è stato fatto per riportare alla luce la produzione del passato [...] Tutti questi interrogativi, e ve ne sarebbero altri, sono stati posti per dimostrare che esistono le premesse per creare una rivista che voglia assumersi l'impegno di dare loro una risposta. Ecco quindi un periodico dedicato interamente alla chitarra e al liuto «Il Fronimo», dal nome dell'immaginario liutista che diede il titolo al celebre libro di Vincenzo Galilei [...] Un dialogo anche per noi, a cui parteciperanno chitarristi, liutisti e musicologi, con opinioni che potranno essere divergenti e anche contrastanti, ma solo attraverso un confronto ampio si potranno finalmente dissipare i dubbi e chiarire gli equivoci, certi di far rivivere attraverso l'inconfondibile personalità di questi strumenti opere di grande valore', Ruggero Chiesa, 'Premessa', *Il Fronimo* 1 (1972), 5-6.

I greet with sincere joy the new magazine that the illustrious Suvini Zerboni publishing house in Milan has given birth to on this memorable day for us. It will be a new and precious way for the universal affirmation of our beloved guitar. I am sure that under the intelligent guidance of Ruggero Chiesa it will soon meet with great prestige and wide circulation. And if the editors allow me, I would advise them not to stop exercising close vigilance over the number and spiritual and artistic quality of future contributors so that the desired result of such a noble endeavour is not thwarted. This journal will have to fly very high and not patronise works of little value that would threaten to turn it into a gazette of pseudo-musical amateurs.

I vow that it will achieve secular longevity and that it will carry out, to the benefit of the guitar, a strictly healthy teaching.¹⁷

Il Fronimo is nowadays published by Il Dialogo editions and is successfully run by Lena Kokkaliari. It is still considered one of the main musicological journals about the guitar and is a reference for students, scholars, guitarists, composers and musicologists all over the world.

The growth of classical guitar festivals

The guitar festival panorama in Italy in recent years has been dynamic, now characterised by several new initiatives. While some of these great initiatives have been running for more than twenty years, some have ceased to be organised, as is the case of the International Competition ‘Ruggero Chiesa – Città di Camogli’, held every two years in Camogli (Liguria) until 2018.

Other festivals with long traditions that still exist in full swing include the International Competition ‘Fernando Sor’ (traditionally held in Rome, now alternatively hosted in Rome and Madrid), the ‘Paganini’ Guitar Festival in Parma which hosts concerts, masterclasses, a lutherie exhibition and an international guitar competition, and the *Incontri chitarristici di Gargnano* hosted in Gargnano, a small village on Garda Lake, which from 1973 offered masterclasses held by Oscar Ghiglia and from 1976 an international guitar competition, as well as a series of concerts. Some further recent initiatives

¹⁷ ‘Celebro muy sinceramente el nacimiento de la nueva Revista que la notable Casa Editora SUVINI ZERBONI, de Milano, ha dado a luz en esta memorable fecha. Será nuevo y precioso elemento para la universalización de nuestra amada Guitarra. Estoy seguro que bajo la mirada inteligente de Ruggero Chiesa alcanzará muy pronto prestigio y ancha difusión. Y, si me lo permitiesen él y los Editores, les aconsejaría que no dejasen de ejercer estrecha vigilancia sobre el número y calidad espiritual y artística de los futuros colaboradores, a fin de que no se debilite el esperado resultado de tan noble esfuerzo. Esa Revista debe volar muy alto y no apadrinar trabajos de flojo aliento que amenacen convertirla en Gaceta de aficionados inframusicales. Hago votos porque logre longevidad secular y porque practique, en beneficio de la Guitarra, un magisterio severamente higiénico’, Andrés Segovia, ‘L’augurio alla rivista di Andrés Segovia’, *Il Fronimo* 1 (1972), 4.

worth mentioning include the Roma Expo, created in 2014 as a lutherie exhibition but now consisting of a series of concerts, conferences, public guitars tests and an exhibition space for companies and guitar makers. It is also worth mentioning the 'Sac. M° G. Ansaldi' national guitar competition in Mondovì (Piedmont), now in its forty-seventh year.

One of the earliest guitar festivals created in Italy and still in full operation is the Classical Guitar Competition 'City of Alessandria' (held in Alessandria in the region of Piedmont), organised for the first time in 1968 as part of the celebrations for the 800th anniversary of the foundation of the city. The promoter of this initiative was Michele Pittaluga, also the director of the 'Antonio Vivaldi' lyceum, where he succeeded in creating a guitar teaching position. In 1969, also thanks to Pittaluga's efforts, the lyceum became a state conservatory. The first time the competition was held, Andrés Segovia was the honorary president of the jury, followed by Alirio Diaz from the second to the fortieth edition. From 1995, after the death of Pittaluga, the competition was renamed, becoming 'Michele Pittaluga International Guitar Competition - Premio Città di Alessandria'. Since 1981 the festival has become a member of the World Federation of International Music Competitions and is currently the only Italian guitar competition that is part of this organisation. To be a member of this federation, the competition has to follow some precise rules, for instance to include a concerto for guitar and orchestra (or string quartet) in the program. Currently Marco Tamayo holds the position of honorary president and each year has a particular theme or anniversary, making every festival different (recent examples of themes include tributes to composers or personalities such as Mauro Giuliani, Heitor Villa-Lobos, Joaquín Rodrigo, Manuel María Ponce, Ruggero Chiesa and Ida Presti, among others, to the 'Homenaje' in the guitar literature, the 'Fantasia' form or the guitar in Classical repertoire).

Alongside the main competition, Michele Pittaluga and Alirio Díaz arranged guitar masterclasses for seven consecutive years, while Maria Luisa, Micaela and Marcello Pittaluga have, in more recent years, added many further initiatives to the main event. These include a series of concerts, a competition for young talents and 'guitar corners' that consist of guitar performances in the most evocative parts of the town. Due to the importance of the prizes given and the deeply rooted tradition of the competition, many renowned figures of the international guitar scene have been awarded prizes at this competition, including Kazuito Yamashita, Stefano Grondona, Fabio Zanon, Lorenzo Micheli, Goran Krivokapić and Marcin Dylla. In 1997 a guitar composition competition was founded, with the idea of expanding the contemporary guitar repertoire.

Another very interesting initiative that flanked the competition in Alessandria for twenty-two years until 2018 is the Convegno Internazionale di Chitarra (International Guitar Congress). The first congress was held in

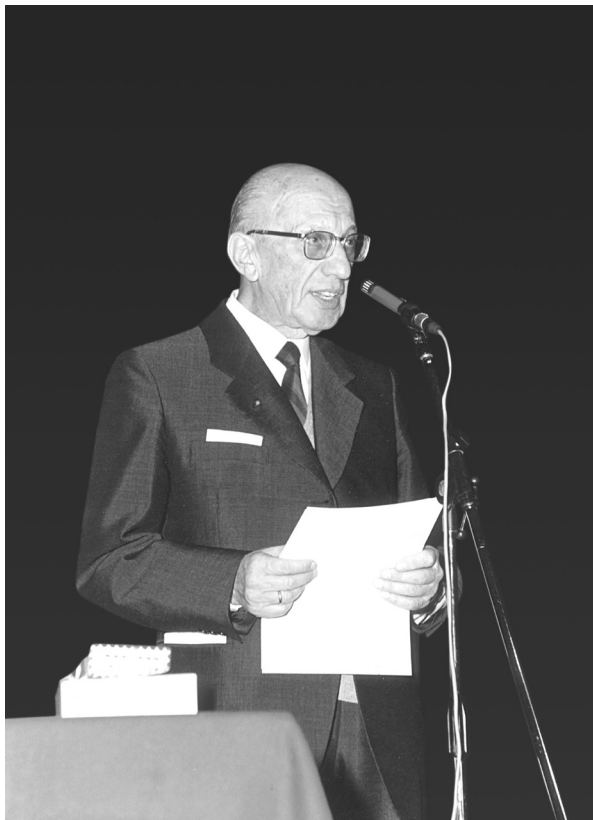


Illustration 15.2. Michele Pittaluga, promoter of the ‘City of Alessandria’ Classical Guitar Competition. The Competition was then dedicated to him from 1995. Photograph kindly provided by Micaela Pittaluga (Reproduced by permission).

Pesaro in 1996, a city located in the Marche and the birthplace of the great Italian composer Gioachino Rossini. It consisted of a full day dedicated to the classical guitar, hosting lectures on new musicological discoveries or new editorial releases, followed by concerts. This congress was established by Filippo Michelangeli, journalist and publisher, founder and director of the journals *Seicorde* (1991), *Suonare news* (1995) and from 2021, director of the journal *Amadeus*. He is also editorial consultant for the publishing house Edizioni Curci (Milan). The event is led by a scientific committee made up of important personalities of the classical guitar and music scene. The committee’s present membership includes Filippo Michelangeli, Frédéric Zigante, Luca Ciammarughi, Evangelina Mascardi, Francesco Biraghi, Giovanni Podera, Giulio Tampalini and Piero Bonaguri. The position of the congress’s artistic director was held by Filippo Michelangeli for the first fifteen years, before Giovanni Podera took over for nine years. Since 2020, Frédéric Zigante has been the current artistic director.

The Convegno Internazionale di Chitarra also awards 'Le chitarre d'oro' (The golden guitars), prizes intended to recognise excellence in the guitar world. There are different categories for this award: composition, didactics, promising young performer, best recording (solo guitar), best recording (with guitar), newcomer, dissemination, guitar making, musicological research, best video, professional excellence and the special prize 'A life for the Guitar'. The congress is held every year and, since 2019 (its twenty-fourth year), it takes place at the Conservatorio 'G. Verdi' in Milan.

Conclusions

There is no doubt that Andrés Segovia gave a strong impulse to the guitar in Italy when he taught in the Accademia Chigiana in Siena from 1950 to 1963. From that moment on, we can observe an increase in the popularity of the guitar in Italy. This rediscovered enthusiasm, fuelled by Segovia's and Pujol's influence, was the seed that grew in Ruggero Chiesa to change the perception of the guitar at almost every level, leading to its twentieth century re-blooming in Italy and establishing the idea of the guitar as a respected and complete instrument. Since then, initiatives such as festivals, concerts and competitions have given further credibility to an instrument that had to rediscover itself through an exploration of its past while building a new repertoire for the future. The guitar continues to attract young musicians, who become part of a guitar community that includes not only guitarists but also luthiers, event organisers and fans.

Chapter 16

THE GUITAR IN GERMANY: A MIXTURE OF TENDENCIES

Katharina Fricke

As a global tendency, music evolves continuously, and the classical guitar is not an exception. In Germany, as in everywhere else, the guitar has gone through a process of diversification that can be most clearly seen after World War II. Since the advent of internet, the borders of what a classical guitar might be have been challenged, particularly in relation to the electric guitar in musical styles such as jazz, rock and pop. However, as we shall see, the classical guitar continues to attract much attention and the guitar enthusiast has many 'new' options to explore. In this chapter I will focus on the particularities of the classical guitar in Germany since the year 2000, describing the place and function of this instrument today, touching in passing on aspects of the new classical guitar era in this country such as guitar makers, musical styles and German composers and personalities, among other topics.

The modern classical guitar

It was not even two hundred years ago that Antonio de Torres developed the new form of guitar-making at the end of the nineteenth century. Despite its young age – compared to other instruments, the classical guitar in its present form is a very young instrument – the construction of the guitar seems to be in constant evolution, and luthiers devoted to this instrument are continually researching in order to improve its sound. Therefore, even today, we find important structural 'improvements' or 'experiments' in construction of the soundboard, bridge or sound hole, using new and different types of wood. Some of these new models can be seen on the website of one of the largest dealers of classical guitars in Germany, Siccas Guitars. This company was founded by the two brothers Mirco and Manuel Sicca, sons of the Italian guitarist Mario Sicca. While the store is based in Karlsruhe, online trade is their speciality. At Siccas Guitars we can find classical guitars built by internationally renowned luthiers as well as historical guitars. In order to maximise their presence on social networks, famous international guitarists present classical pieces using the guitars they keep in their collection, so that Siccas Guitars is known worldwide by classical guitar enthusiasts. Besides Siccas, other luthiers based in Germany include

the brand Hanika Gitarren,¹ the most popular German luthier, that not only makes high quality guitars but also remarkable instruments for students. The Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora signed in 1973 inspired the German luthier Christian Stoll to build classical guitars using only woods from Europe. While it is already common to use the European spruce for the soundboard of the classical guitar, walnut for the back and sides was a new invention. According to Stoll, the sound of walnut can be compared to Indian rosewood. For the fingerboard and bridge Stoll uses black locust, while the head is made of maple and smoked larch. According to Stoll Guitars, obtaining high quality wood from Europe is relatively difficult. On one hand, there does not seem to be an existing infrastructure for selecting woods for musical instrument manufacturers. In addition, the cost of workers in Europe is much higher than, for example, in India. On the other hand, many trees do not have the quality required for musical instruments. For these and other reasons, different universities in Germany, for example the Technical University in Dresden and the Eberswalde University for Sustainable Development, do research in the thermal modification of local woods, taking into account that they seem to absorb water better than tropical woods, which causes an increase in the weight of the wood, and which, in turn, makes this material less resonant.² This is the reason why researchers from these universities heat alder, ash and the traditional spruce wood up to 200 degrees for about 15 hours. After this treatment the wood bends more and sounds more similar to a tropical wood.³

Another important development originating in Germany is the double top guitar invented by Matthias Dammann in the 1980s. The ‘Sandwich top’, as it is known, allows the soundboard to have a lighter weight and therefore a louder sound, an idea that still influences luthiers to the present day. But evolution is not restricted to the instrument itself. While in the early twentieth century strings were still made out of gut, today we can find numerous different materials, tensions and the opportunity for different tunings. The German company Hannabach, one of the most popular German strings producers in the world, offers fifteen different types of strings for a standard guitar at present.

A melange of different musical styles

Numerous musical styles coexist and interact in modern classical music. At present, composers of music for classical guitar are often influenced

¹ This company is owned by Armin Hanika, son of the late Helmut Hanika (1932-2020).

² Karolin Dörner, ‘Gitarrenklang ohne tropische Hölzer’, www.mdr.de (Accessed 28 Aug. 2022).

³ Bernd Schulpeck, ‘Gitarren aus dem Backofen’, www.deutschlandfunk.de (Accessed 28 Aug. 2022).

by other sources such as the sound and technique of other instruments, uncommon sounds in nature, or new digital music, to give just a few examples. Adding to this phenomenon is the fact that many students are interested in playing different types of music, especially pop music. As a consequence, the musical horizons of classical guitar teachers are wider than ever before, so teachers need to be aware of the techniques used in other styles of music, which means that many classical guitar teachers now have a diverse musical background in order to cope with these requirements.⁴ Having a background as a jazz guitarist can be very useful, for example, in teaching the harmonic patterns of classical pieces, to make the student feel the rhythm and pulse or to empower creativity in students.⁵ Thus, the classical guitar today is still constantly evolving.

In times like these, when concerts and guitar lessons may be given online from all over the world, when guitar students can study abroad easier than ever before or, when guitar enthusiasts can obtain information and inspiration from social media, the borders between countries and traditions become blurry. However, in the last fifty years, Germany has been particularly welcoming for international guitarists. Universities, music academies and the concert scene of Berlin, for example, have hosted famous guitarists and composers like Leo Brouwer, Carlo Domeniconi and Tōru Takemitsu. This makes Berlin a melting pot of international guitar traditions.

A popular instrument?

In the present day, the classical guitar is as popular in Germany as it has ever been. Each year the Verband deutscher Musikschulen (VdM), the Association of German Music Schools, collects data, like the number of students or ensembles from public music schools in Germany. Statistics based on these numbers show that even though public music schools are only one of several opportunities to learn classical guitar in Germany, it is definitely the most common. One statistic breaks down the number of students for each instrument. In music schools, the classical guitar is the second most popular instrument after the piano. In 2021, about 123,000 students had lessons in classical guitar in music schools. That is twice the number of students who learned the violin, the third most popular instrument in Germany.⁶ On the other hand, there were only 7,145 students playing in plucked ensembles out of 216,000 students playing in any ensemble in total,⁷ which indicates

⁴ Ivanka Muncan, 'Von allen Saiten. Die Vielfalt der Gitarre im Spiegel von Gitarristen-Lebensläufen', *Üben und Musizieren*, Aug./Sept. (2017), 12-15.

⁵ Muncan, 'Von allen Saiten', 15.

⁶ Deutsches Musikinformationszentrum, 'Schüler*innen der VdM-Musikschulen nach Fächern', <https://miz.org/de> (Accessed 6 July 2022).

⁷ Verband deutscher Musikschulen, 'Schülerzahlen und Wochenstunden der Ensemble und Ergänzungsfächer', www.musikschulen.de (Accessed 29 June 2022).

that the classical guitar in Germany continues to be a lonesome instrument compared to other instruments. Besides plucked ensembles in music schools, we can find plucked ensembles in each federal state of Germany, called 'Landeszipfchester'. These ensembles are semi-professional and addressed mostly to adults as performers. In some federal states we find high level plucked ensembles for young enthusiasts, for example the Youth Plucking Orchestra of Brandenburg-Berlin.

Regarding higher education, there are about thirty universities or music colleges in Germany that offer guitar programs. The three most common degrees at music universities are: solo guitar, music education and teacher training programs. The solo guitar degree aims at a concert career, while music education provides skills for people who want to teach the guitar at music schools. Teacher training programs, in contrast, are devoted to future music teachers in general schools. Solo instrumental degrees are the most popular at Germany music universities with, in 2020-21, 9,500 students enrolled to study a solo or orchestral instrument. The smallest cohort is students studying the degree in music education (on any musical instrument), with just over 4,000 students in the same period, while about 8,000 students took the teacher training degree.⁸

To entering a program of either solo guitar or music education in classical guitar, a student needs a very high level of performance skill on the instrument. The level required to pass the entrance exam increases steadily, so it is becoming more and more difficult to become a classical guitar teacher since there are only a few vacancies at the universities to study this instrument each year. At the same time, the number of people who want to learn the guitar at music schools increases too.

Professional field

The range of jobs for professional musicians varies widely. It is not unusual for a professional musician to work in several fields at the same time. In 2018 Jonas Menze and Govinda Wroblewsky, both from the music college in Detmold, began a survey on the aspirations of alumni at the beginning and end of their study program and in the three to five years after graduation. The interviewees were instrumentalists in solo study programs. The options in their professional goals were musician, music teacher, musicologist and others, whereby it was possible to choose multiple alternatives.⁹ The study shows that while at the beginning of their studies 97 per cent of the interviewees who studied a plucked instrument aimed at a concert career,

⁸ Deutsches Musikinformationszentrum, 'Studierende in Studiengängen für Musikberufe nach Geschlecht und ausländischer Staatsbürgerschaft', <https://miz.org/de> (Accessed 29 June 2022).

⁹ Jonas Menze and Govinda Wroblewsky, 'Vom Karrieretraum zum Portfolio! Teil 1', *Üben und Musizieren*, Dec./Jan. (2020/21), 53.

three to five years after graduation this number decreased to 79 per cent. On the other hand, the career aspiration to be a teacher gained 14 per cent, having been the career of choice for only 38 per cent of interviewees at the beginning. The reasons for this change were explained, among other causes, by the difficult situation of the job market (37 per cent) or the small income (18 per cent).¹⁰ According to the survey, job chances for guitarists are much better than for other instrumentalists. That said, 93 per cent of the interviewees had had a job, with 58 per cent working as teachers and 38 per cent as performing musicians. Two thirds of all interviewees had several jobs in different fields.¹¹ The majority of the plucked instrumentalists had a job as a freelancer or short-term employees.¹² Self-employed musicians in Germany are supported by the government-sponsored Artists' Social Insurance Fund (Künstlersozialkasse or KSK). This institution allows freelance artists and musicians to pay the same contributions for health, social and pension insurances as employees, which is half of what those self-employed in other industries need to pay. According to official data from the KSK, there were 55,000 freelance musicians reported in 2022. Almost half of these were employed as freelancers in music schools, 7.9 per cent working as composers and 7.3 per cent as members of orchestras.¹³ Many freelance musicians work in different fields at the same time. Another study shows the breakdown of employed musicians in Germany in the year 2017. Out of 48,000 employees, almost half were working as musicians in orchestras and ensembles, as composers and conductors and about 17,500 were employed in music schools.¹⁴ Considering to the fact that the classical guitar plays a small part in orchestras, we may assume that the majority of classical guitarists are freelance teachers in music schools. The professional fee for self-employed teachers varies within Germany from approximately 20€/45min to 40€/45min, depending among other things, on the federal state, music school, type of lesson and the teacher's professional experience. Due to the diversity of the students, demands on teachers are increasing, particularly in relation to the ability to teach both classical and jazz guitar. Out of three job advertisements found in early 2023 on the website of the VdM, two of them require knowledge in jazz guitar and pop music. In 2010 a program called 'Klasse: Musik' was introduced in Brandenburg. This cooperation between general schools and music schools allows students,

¹⁰ Menze and Wroblewsky, 'Vom Karrieretraum', Teil 1, 54.

¹¹ Jonas Menze and Govinda Wroblewsky, 'Vom Karrieretraum zum Portfolio!? Teil 2', in *Üben und Musizieren* Feb./Mar. (2021), 54.

¹² Menze and Wroblewsky, 'Vom Karrieretraum', Teil 2, 55.

¹³ Deutsches Musikinformationszentrum, 'Freiberuflich Tätige in der Sparte Musik nach Tätigkeitsbereich und Durchschnittseinkommen', <https://miz.org> (Accessed 10 Sept. 2022).

¹⁴ Deutsches Musikinformationszentrum, 'Sozialversicherungspflichtig Beschäftigte und Arbeitslose in Musikberufen', <https://miz.org> (Accessed 10 Sept. 2022).

who for social, financial or distance reasons, are not able to visit the music schools, to learn the guitar for two years through their classes at the general school. Teachers therefore need to be competent in other pedagogical styles, and this is required by the job advertisements. Thus, being a professional guitarist nowadays is much more than playing classical guitar.

German composers for classical guitar

Today, there are numerous German figures composing music for guitar. The literature on classical guitar education is especially wide, so that teachers may choose a guitar method taking into account the individual particularities of each student such as age, size, level and aims. The most well-known guitar methods today are, in chronological order, *Fridolin, eine Schule für junge Gitarristen* (1986) by Hans Joachim Teschner, *Los geht's! Eine Gitarrenschule für Kinder* (1993) by Alfred Eickholt, *Meine Gitarrenfibel* (1994) by Heinz Teuchert, Matthias Kijewski and Dieter Kreidler, *Play Guitar Gitarrenschule* (2003) by Michael Langer and Ferdinand Neges, *Moro und Lilli: Die Gitarrenschule für Kinder* (2005) by Gerhard Koch-Darkow and *The Guitar School* (2009) by Dieter Kreidler.

For those searching for modern compositions created in Germany, the website www.sheerpluck.de may be very useful. Its database contains much contemporary guitar music that can be searched and filtered, for instance, by the birthdate, gender or country of the composer. This database lists about 1,500 compositions by German composers published since 2000. Among this vast world of music we can find well-written pieces for plucked ensembles such as the compositions by Bruno Szordikowsky, Dieter Kreidler or Freya Arde. The rise of internet commerce has seen many bookshops closing their doors, as is the case of Haus der Musik Trekel owned by Joachim Trekel, one of the last remarkable shops in Hamburg where classical guitar sheet music, guitars and other equipment was sold. The publishing house Joachim-Trekel-Musikverlag, however, continues to exist, offering a wide variety of classical guitar music. There are a few other companies in Germany still publishing music for guitar, with Schott Music – which publishes music of every style and for every instrument besides educational and musicological literature – among the most significant, alongside Edition Dux, Stretta Music, Voggenreiter Verlag, Lugert Verlag and Bärenreiter Verlag (the last two do not offer books for instrumental lessons, but educational literature for music classes in general school).

When it comes to consuming classical guitar music, there are countless annual guitar festivals with masterclasses, concerts and exhibitions. Some of the most significant that took place in 2022 include the Gitarrenfestival Dresden, Internationales Gitarrenfestival Thübingen, Hamburger Gitarrenfestival, Koblenz Guitar Festival, Gitarrenfestival am Maindreieck and the Internationales Gitarren-Festival Iserloh.

Personalities of the German classical guitar

Some personalities of the German classical guitar scene have had outstanding careers and are worth mentioning in this chapter. Thomas Offermann is one of these well-known guitarists in Germany. Besides his artistic career, he is a professor of classical guitar at the music college in Rostock. In 2014 he obtained his PhD on the topic of integrative movement theory for guitarists and published a book from his dissertation in 2015 in German (and in English in 2019). For health-related reasons, Offermann had to relearn the guitar from the beginning, which made him fundamentally re-think classical guitar technique.¹⁵ Offermann says that ‘The instrument is a foreign body, every action requires a technique [...]. Even peeling a banana or eating an apple requires technique’.¹⁶ Furthermore he considers that usually guitarists learn guitar technique completely disconnected from the physiognomics of the human body. With his book, Offermann aims to simplify learning and playing the guitar by reducing the whole human body to single movements. Considering the physical and physiological rules of movement, this new approach can help to smooth the action, supporting the whole body and avoiding pain. After a detailed chapter about the physiological conditions of the locomotor system Offermann gives exercises for each individual guitar technique. According to the author, the little finger of the right hand is often neglected due to its length. Offermann recommends instead, training each finger of the right hand including this finger, to strengthen the whole hand. In addition, his exercises counteract frequent incorrect postures, such as spreading or pinching the little finger. He also affirms that the whole arm must lead the movement to avoid stiff fingers in both hands as well as that the arm, elbow and shoulder have to lead the movement of the single fingers of the left hand, which can simplify some grips. Due to its level of detail, this book is especially recommended for university students of the guitar, professionals and dedicated hobby guitarists.

The Austrian guitarist, composer and teacher Michael Langer is also well-known in Germany. His guitar teaching book, which is titled *Play Guitar* in English, and his collection *Saitenwege* containing compilations and transcriptions of pieces for classical guitar from over 500 years, are also very popular in German music schools. As a prestigious fingerstyle guitarist, Langer connects the classical guitar with elements of jazz music. For the series *Acoustic Pop Guitar Solos* Langer arranged famous jazz, rock and pop songs for

¹⁵ Thomas Offermann, *Moderne Gitarrentechnik-Integrative Bewegungslehre* (Mainz: Schott Music, 2015), 10.

¹⁶ ‘Das Instrument ist nun einmal ein Fremdkörper, jedes Handeln verlangt eine Technik [...]. Selbst eine Banane zu schälen oder einen Apfel zu essen verlangt Technik’, Offermann, *Moderne Gitarrentechnik*, 15.

solo guitar. These pieces are often very stimulating for students due to the connection they normally feel with these styles of music.

Another significant figure is Tilman Hoppstock, a classical guitarist, cello player and musicologist born in Darmstadt. He founded the publishing house PRIM-Musikverlag in 1994, which publishes many music editions from pieces for beginners to solo pieces for professional guitarists. He is particularly known for his books on the lute works of J. S. Bach. The book-series *Die Lautenwerke Bachs aus der Sicht des Gitarristen* consists of two volumes published in 2009 and 2012.¹⁷ The publisher promises a detailed description of different aspects of music such as harmony, melody, structure, polyphony, tempo relations, articulation, problems of transcription, questions about fingerings and much more for almost every one of Bach's suites for the lute. A third volume to complete the lute work is already planned. These books are a must-have guide to interpretation of these works, especially for university students of the classical guitar and professional musicians. Since these books were also published in English in 2010 and 2012, they are important literature for guitarists from all over the world.¹⁸ In addition, Hoppstock is also a composer, known under the pseudonyms Allan Willcocks and Franz Werthmüller. His work is for both professional soloists and guitar students.

Women and the guitar

One big question accompanied my research into personalities of the classical guitar scene in Germany: what about women? The website www.zupfmusiker.de lists the universities and music colleges in Germany and also their professors and teachers. In 2022, of a total of thirty-seven professors of classical guitar, four were women. The German music publishing house Schott Music names famous guitarists on their website. Certainly, this unofficial list is not up to date. For instance, we find the name Konrad Ragossnig, without mentioning his death in 2018. Nevertheless, it lists twenty-six renowned guitarists based in Germany, with only three being women. Many guitarists from this list are professors at universities or music colleges, which suggests that a professorship and a public perception of a successful career influence each other in a positive way.

According to statistics from the German Music Information Centre (miz.org), which examines the number of employed women in universities and music colleges, about 38 per cent of all employees in 2020, including lecturers

¹⁷ Tilman Hoppstock, *Die Lautenwerke Bachs aus der Sicht des Gitarristen*, vol. 1 (Darmstadt: Prim-Musikverlag, 2009); vol. 2 (Darmstadt: Prim-Musikverlag, 2012).

¹⁸ Tilman Hoppstock, *Bach's Lute Work from the Guitarists Perspective*, vol. 1 (Darmstadt: Prim-Musikverlag, 2010); vol. 2 (2012).

and scientific staff were women.¹⁹ On the other hand, the proportion of female students in music courses was more than 50 per cent over the last twenty years.²⁰ The data from the KSK mentioned above also compares the income of men and women in music careers. In 2022 women received more than 20 per cent less money than men.²¹ This seems to show that women are still underrepresented and underpaid in the German classical guitar sphere.

One network of female guitarists based in Berlin discusses the reasons for this imbalance. The network, called Netzwerk Gitarre Berlin,²² hosts concerts, workshops and networking events to support and encourage women in the world of music. Women like Eva Beneke, Katrin Edrikat, Nelly von Alven, Nora Buschmann and Tina Klement are well-known guitarists in Germany, as in other countries. Another female guitarist who supports women in music is Heike Matthiesen. She is chairwoman of the Archiv Frau und Musik, which collects compositions, literature and recordings by women from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century.²³ With their material, this institution supports the preparation of concerts and scientific papers. Matthiesen published, among other papers, a list of compositions for classical guitar by women and added personal comments on each piece. Another non-published list by Matthiesen counts twenty-eight women composers for classical guitar who have been based in Germany, including many women who immigrated to Germany some time ago, like Maria Linnemann, Dale Kavanagh and Laurie Randolph.

The guitar on the internet

Today, there is a much more promising field of work for many guitarists than a professorship, concert career or publications. For guitarists of the new generation, popularity is defined by followers on Instagram, TikTok and YouTube. A presence on social media seems to be the key for real success, if we define success as the volume of income. While there are many guitarists with large followings on Instagram from, for example, the US (@evantaucher), Canada (@tariqharbmusic), Bahrain (@thuleguitarist), England (@alexaguitarist) and Brazil (@luisleite.music), it seems difficult to find a German presence on this platform. A rarity based in Bremen is Tatyana Ryzkova, who is active on social media platforms like Instagram and YouTube. On her YouTube channel she publishes remarkable performances of popular guitar pieces as well as tutorials about classical guitar techniques. Digital learning is more important than ever before, but in these terms, Germany

¹⁹ Deutsches Musikinformationszentrum, 'Wissenschaftliches und künstlerisches Personal in Studiengängen für Musikberufe', <https://miz.org> (Accessed 25 Sept. 2022).

²⁰ Deutsches Musikinformationszentrum, 'Studierende in Studiengängen'.

²¹ Deutsches Musikinformationszentrum, 'Freiberuflich Tätige'.

²² www.netzwerkgitarreberlin.de (Accessed 3 Jan. 2023).

²³ www.archiv-frau-musik.de (Accessed 2 Jan. 2023).

seems to be far behind other countries. When the covid pandemic hit in 2020, schools – including music schools – had to suddenly close all of their face-to-face teaching. Certainly, schools were not prepared for this situation, so all lessons immediately stopped for a few months. Fortunately, this situation allowed a change in many domains. The Musik- und Kunstschule Havelland, for example, now has its own app for the management of the classes, provided by iMikel.²⁴ The app allows for communication between students, management and colleagues, scheduling, managing documents and has an extra function for video calls. In addition, teachers at the Musik- und Kunstschule Havelland have access to Tomplay,²⁵ an app from Switzerland for interactive scores. Students of this institution can get a discount for using this app. The app regularly publishes new sheet music for learning interactively and playing along. It has many functions for individual learning, which can have a great effect in the motivation of students, and supplies different levels, variable tempos, several high-quality play-alongs, self-recordings and annotations.

For many musicians in Germany, digital teaching was and still is a very new experience. In 2020, right at the beginning of the covid pandemic, Kristin Thielemann and Max Gaertner started a podcast called ‘Motivation Musikpädagogik’ with daily episodes to support and inspire teachers for their digital classes. Later on, the educational magazine *Üben & Musizieren*, published many articles outlining a new pedagogical approach. After two years of the pandemic, Germany now seems to be prepared for digital learning.

Conclusions

The guitar seems to be a particularly interconnected instrument in Germany, adapting as time goes. As has been shown, the guitar reaches more people than ever before in this country, generating a market of numerous guitar publications, interactive initiatives and the creation of special educational programs related to this instrument. Germany offers a great variety of opportunities for students, supporting their education particularly at advanced levels. However, being employed in Germany, particularly as a guitar teacher, is difficult and requires a high level of proficiency in many fields of music even though there are many job opportunities and solid incomes for freelance classical guitarists. Despite this difficulty – a result of a high level of competency – the most important reason for foreign guitarists and guitar enthusiasts to visit Germany, and perhaps even to stay there, must be the numerous classical guitar concerts taking place constantly in this country. This is certainly the reason why most guitarists began to study this instrument in the first place.

²⁴ www.musikschulverwaltung.de (Accessed 2 Jan. 2023).

²⁵ www.tomplay.com (Accessed 2 Jan. 2023).

V. THE GUITAR IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Chapter 17

THE GUITAR IN THE CONSERVATORIES OF SPAIN

Damián Martín-Gil

In January 1910, just two months after the death of Francisco Tárrega, the guitarist and composer Miguel Llobet wrote a eulogy dedicated to the memory of his *maestro*, stating:

If the two most legitimate glories of the past, Sor and Aguado, had returned now, what would have been their surprise when they saw the progress and the degree of perfection that Tárrega reached in the instrument that they praised so much in their respective era!¹

Although we can certainly attribute this statement to a moment of exalted reverence for the figure of Villareal by Llobet, rather than a neutral assessment of Tárrega's contributions to the musical and technical development of the guitar,² this phrase, with some modifications, could be used to illustrate the current situation of the study of the guitar in Spain (and, by extension, the entire world). We could therefore assert that, if three of the most legitimate glories of the past, Sor, Aguado and Tárrega, returned now, they would be utterly surprised to see how the guitar has been included in conservatories.

While it is difficult to claim with certainty, surely Spanish guitarists of the generations before Andrés Segovia strived – without any apparent success – for the inclusion of their instrument in the official conservatories. It may have been frustrating for them to devote their lives to an instrument systematically barred from these institutions and, therefore, from many artistic-intellectual circles. This also meant that the guitar did not obtain the same level of academic recognition as the piano or the violin until almost the middle of the twentieth century.

Although the guitar can be studied privately, either through a private teacher or in music schools (public or private), in this chapter I will provide a synthetic overview of the evolution of guitar teaching in the official conservatories of

¹ 'Si les dues glories més llegendàries del passat, Sor y Aguado, haguessin tornat ara, ¿quina hauria sigut la llur sorpresa al veure l'avenç y el grau de perfecció que alcançà en Tárrega [sic] en l'instrument que tant van enaltir ells en la llur època respectiva!', Miguel Llobet, 'Francisco Tárrega', *Revista Musical Catalana* 73 (1910), 9.

² For the curious reader see for example Matanya Ophee, 'The Promotion of Francisco Tárrega' Part I, *Soundboard* 8/3 (1981), 152-58; Part II, 256-61; Julio Gimeno, 'The "Tárrega School"', According to the Methods', *Soundboard* 30/3 (2004), 9-25.

Spain, which are institutions where the guitar can be studied from the age of eight,³ as well as consider the curricula that have marked the recent history of the instrument.

Towards the inclusion of the guitar at the Conservatory of Madrid

Spanish guitarist Vidal (c1740-1803), while little-known today, was one of the most famous and skilful guitar masters in Europe of his time (see Chapter 5) and may have suffered when the guitar was not included in the list of instruments offered by the Paris Conservatoire at its creation in 1795. It is hard to imagine that he, and other prominent guitarists, did not envy the glory enjoyed by teachers of the conservatoire such as Louis Adam (piano), Pierre Baillot (violin) or François Devienne (flute). Other Spanish guitarists such as Fernando Sor or Dionisio Aguado must have contemplated with resignation not only how their instrument was relegated to a second-class position, but also how the inclusion of the guitar in the most important conservatory in Europe could have changed its fortunes.

This situation did not change with the foundation of the Royal Conservatory of Madrid in 1830, where the so-called ‘national instrument’ did not find a place either.⁴ When this institution opened its doors in April 1831, the guitar did not appear on the list of instruments taught, most probably as a result of the influence of similar institutions in France and Italy.⁵ After returning to Madrid from his Parisian period (from 1826 to 1838)⁶ and for the rest of his life Aguado witnessed how the guitar remained unaccepted at the conservatory, although at times it may have been very close to entering this institution. According to Luis Briso de Montiano:

One of the reasons why Aguado might have wished to return to Madrid could have been that he intended – or hoped – to join the Madrid conservatory as a teacher, because in August 1838 Antonio Tenreiro Montenegro, Count of Vigo and – according to Saldoni – a disciple of Aguado, was appointed Viceprotector of that institution.⁷

³ Note that the word ‘Conservatorio’ (Conservatory) in the present day in Spain refers to public and official music schools instituted by the government where only classical music is taught from the age of eight to eighteen as well as high proficiency conservatories as in other countries.

⁴ On the establishment of this institution see Luis Robledo Estaire, ‘La creación del Conservatorio de Madrid’, *Revista de Musicología* 24/1-2 (2001), 189-238.

⁵ Beatriz Montes, ‘La influencia de Francia e Italia en el Real Conservatorio de Madrid’, *Revista de Musicología* 20/1 (1997), 467-78.

⁶ Luis Briso de Montiano, ‘Dionisio Aguado: El hijo’, *Roseta* 15 (2020), 43.

⁷ ‘Una de las razones para que Aguado pudiera haber deseado volver a Madrid podría haber sido que tuviese la intención –o la esperanza– de ingresar en el conservatorio madrileño como profesor, porque en agosto de 1838 Antonio Tenreiro Montenegro, conde de Vigo y –según Saldoni– discípulo de Aguado, fue nombrado Viceprotector de esa institución’, Briso de Montiano, ‘Dionisio Aguado: El hijo’, 44.



Illustration 17.1. Regino Sainz de la Maza in 1958 photographed by Alfonso Sánchez Portela. Courtesy of Paloma Sainz de la Maza (Reproduced by permission).⁸

Despite the international fame obtained by several guitarists in the second half of the nineteenth century, such as Trinidad Huerta and Julián Arcas, not to mention the transcendental figure of Francisco Tárrega, the guitar remained an outcast instrument. It was only in the first decades of the twentieth century with the success of Andrés Segovia and some of Tárrega's students that the guitar acquired a new dimension internationally and began to be regarded as an instrument worthy of study. Finally, in 1935, the first guitar chair at the Royal Conservatory of Music in Madrid was created for Regino Sainz de la Maza (1896-1981), who at the age of thirty-nine had already toured South America and Europe,⁹ although he would not take up the position until the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939.¹⁰ One of the first guitar students at this institution may have been Rosario Fernández-Huidobro Pineda (1914-

⁸ I am very thankful to Leopoldo Neri de Caso for providing me several photographs of Sainz de la Maza during the preparation of this chapter.

⁹ Leopoldo Neri de Caso, 'Regino Sainz de la Maza (1896-1981) y el renacimiento guitarrístico del siglo XX', *Revista de Musicología* 33/1-2 (2010), 560.

¹⁰ Fernando Delgado García, 'Los gobiernos de España y la formación del músico (1812-1956)', PhD diss. (Universidad de Sevilla, 2003), 409.

1999) who ‘finished her guitar studies in the academic year 1939-40 and, from then until the academic year 1944-45, worked at the same institution as assistant to her teacher’s chair’.¹¹

The guitar in the conservatories of Spain between 1942 and 1990

The decree of 15 June 1942 on the organisation of conservatories, which for the first time divided Spanish musical education into three types of conservatories – elementary, professional and higher – included ‘Guitarra práctica y vihuela histórica’ (practical guitar and historical vihuela) among the subjects offered at the Royal Conservatory of Music of Madrid.¹² The syllabus in force until the 1966 reform was based on the Royal Decree approving the Regulations for the government and regime of the Royal Conservatory of 1917.¹³ Here, instrumental teaching was divided into two sections for piano and violin, elementary (five years) and higher (three years),¹⁴ while the rest of the instrumental specialities, without this division, had various numbers of years of study: eight for cello, seven for harp and six for other instruments.¹⁵ From its beginnings at the Madrid conservatory, the study plan for the guitar was structured in six courses, culminating in an award with special distinction,¹⁶ the ‘Diploma de Capacidad’ (Diplome of capacity). Students also had to study subjects like solfeggio and music theory, harmony, salon music, vocal and instrumental ensemble, history and aesthetics of music (especially Spanish) and the teaching of the instrument.¹⁷

In the decades following 1942, several newly established conservatories across Spain began to claim a similar status to Madrid, attempting to offer equivalent qualifications. In addition to many other demands, this led to the promulgation in 1966 of a decree on general regulations for music conservatories,¹⁸ which determined, among other things, the courses comprising the various degrees levels (elementary, professional and higher), as well as the requirements necessary to access each one of them.

¹¹ ‘Terminó sus estudios de guitarra el curso 1939-40 y, desde entonces hasta el curso 1944-45, trabajó en ese mismo centro como asistente de la cátedra de su maestro’, Luis Briso de Montiano, ‘Una parte de la biblioteca personal de Dionisio Aguado en el legado de Rosario Huidobro’, *Roseta* 12 (2018), 115.

¹² ‘Decreto de 15 de junio de 1942 sobre organización de los Conservatorios de Música y Declamación’, B.O.E. no. 185, 4 July 1942, 4838.

¹³ ‘Real decreto aprobando el Reglamento para el gobierno y régimen del Real Conservatorio de Música y Declamación’, in *Gaceta de Madrid*, año CCLVI, vol. III, no. 242, 30 Aug. 1917, 546-51.

¹⁴ ‘Reglamento para el gobierno y régimen del Real Conservatorio’, 546.

¹⁵ Delgado García, ‘Los gobiernos de España’, 303.

¹⁶ Neri de Caso, ‘Regino Sainz de la Maza’, 560.

¹⁷ Delgado García, ‘Los gobiernos de España’, 302.

¹⁸ ‘Decreto 2618/1966, de 10 de septiembre, sobre Reglamentación general de los Conservatorios de Música’, B.O.E. no. 254, 24 Oct. 1966, 13381-87.

The elementary guitar grade consisted of three academic years,¹⁹ while the piano, violin and cello consisted of four. The intermediate grade consisted of another three years, while the piano, violoncello and violin again consisted of four. Finally, the higher grade consisted of two courses for all instruments. In parallel to the study of the guitar, other subjects were necessary to obtain the different degrees, including for the elementary grade solfeggio, choral ensemble and instrumental ensemble; for the intermediate grade solfeggio, instrumental ensemble, harmony, counterpoint and fugue, musical forms, composition, chamber music, acoustics, aesthetics and history of music and folklore; and for the higher grade chamber music, composition, music pedagogy and teaching practice. Most of today's teachers in Spanish conservatories received their education under this program, although students trained under a later plan (described below) are also now starting to take up teaching positions.

The guitar in the L.O.G.S.E.

The Organic Law of 1990 on the organisation of the educational system (L.O.G.S.E.) put an end to almost eighty years of supremacy of the piano, cello and violin – through which these three instruments were considered worthy of additional years of study – by implementing an equal educational system of fourteen years for all instruments. This law, in a way a consequence of the decentralisation that followed Spain's new democratic period from 1975 onwards, specifies that the teaching of music in conservatories will comprise three grades: a) elementary grade, lasting four years; b) intermediate grade, structured in three cycles of two academic years (six years in total) and c) higher grade, comprising a single cycle of four years. It also provides a descriptive definition of the elements making up the curriculum, setting out the goals, contents, teaching methods and assessment criteria of the cycles and grades into which educational practice is organised. Some sectors of the teaching profession considered this law to impose an immense amount of bureaucracy on teachers,²⁰ turning the teaching process into a systematised process of endless documents that had to be known, elaborated, and put into practice.

Certainly, this reform was an important moment in the structuring of the educational system, both for the study of music in general and the guitar in particular. Two years later, the Royal Decree 756/1992 established the basic aspects of the curriculum for the elementary and intermediate grades of music teaching. This decree also presented the compulsory subjects across

¹⁹ Other instruments, such as the viola, double bass and wind instruments, had the same status.

²⁰ An example of all terminology in general compulsory education can be found in Enrique Gervilla Castillo, 'Los valores de la L.O.G.S.E. en las enseñanzas de régimen general', *Revista Española de Pedagogía* 195 (1993), 269-89.

the different grades. In the elementary grade, in addition to guitar (which is studied for one hour per week), solfeggio, choir and guitar ensemble are included, meaning that the guitar student spends four hours per week at the elementary conservatory in the first and second year, and five hours a week in the third and fourth years. In the intermediate level, the guitar student has to complete subjects such as solfeggio, choir, complementary piano, harmony, chamber music, history of music and analysis or composition. The number of hours increases from four and a half in the first to the fourth year, to seven and a half hours during the last two years. In addition, this decree established that in order to gain access to elementary and intermediate levels, it will be necessary to pass an entrance exam, indicating that tests may also be held for specific courses.

This educational reform was progressively implemented from the 1992-93 academic year, reaching the intermediate level in the 1993-94 year, and the higher level in 1994-95.²¹ Some conservatories nevertheless postponed the implementation due to their autonomous status and the special requirements of different regions. It should be noted that this law has also promoted other types of guitars, the flamenco and the electric guitar, which can now be studied in an increasing number of conservatories throughout Spain.

Repertoire

The different tests undertaken during the fourteen years of conservatory musical education (elementary, intermediate and higher), determine the learning process of the students. Without a doubt the elementary education is focused on preparing students to pass the entrance exam for the intermediate level, and that the professional education is similarly focused on passing the entrance exam for the higher level.

The entrance exams for the elementary level are taken without any instrument when the pupil is between seven and eight years old and aim to determine the future student's aural abilities. These tests are conducted by a committee of teachers from each school and involve repetition exercises of rhythms and melodies. Once the order of applicants has been determined, they have the option of choosing an instrument depending on the number of vacant places at each conservatory and the results of the test.

In the entrance exams for the first year of the intermediate level, students need to perform three pieces of different styles across the history of the guitar – at least one of them from memory – as well as taking a theoretical and practical solfeggio test. The required level of the pieces is usually the same across all state conservatories, and are announced in their official documents, nowadays often on each conservatory's website. The standard access pieces

²¹ 'Real Decreto 986/1991, de 14 de junio, por el que se aprueba el calendario de aplicación de la nueva ordenación del sistema educativo', *B.O.E.* no. 151, 25 June 1991, 20928-33.

usually include *Lágrima* by Francisco Tárrega, Study no. 1, from the *25 melodic and progressive studies* by Matteo Carcassi and Study no. 6 from *Estudios sencillos* by Leo Brouwer.²²

For access to higher studies, the standard works are of much greater complexity, such as John Dowland's *Fantasia* no. 7, a Bach fugue (usually BWV 997, 998, or 1000), Agustín Barrios' *La Catedral*, a set of variations by Fernando Sor and Joaquín Rodrigo's *En los Trigales*. As there are only a few places in the higher conservatories, students do not always get a place in the institution they want, so it is common to sit for exams at several conservatories at the same time.

Studying in higher conservatories

Music education has evolved significantly since the 1966 plan. Today, the higher qualification is adapted to European regulations and is the equivalent of a bachelor's degree, consisting of four courses. During these four years, students expand their knowledge in the history of music, harmony and aural training, and complete their education with other subjects such as ergonomics and injury prevention, concentration techniques, foreign languages, music technology, complementary piano, sight reading and transposition, choir, and even improvisation. In addition, there are specific subjects that deepen the knowledge of the guitar such as harmony applied to the instrument, stylistic evolution of the guitar repertoire, tablature, or repertoire for guitar with accompanying pianist. Finally, students must write an essay in which they put everything they have learnt during their fourteen years of study into practice, and link it to the subject of methodology of musical research also studied in this degree. In order to obtain the higher qualification, the student must perform a forty-five minute programme of music with works such as a complete suite by Johann Sebastian Bach, a *Rossiniane* by Mauro Giuliani, a sonata by Leo Brouwer, and a concerto for guitar and orchestra to be accompanied by a pianist.

Students usually complement their training with a one or two-year master's degree, which is increasingly offered by a number of institutions in Spain. Through this, the student broadens the knowledge they have already acquired, placing special emphasis on music research with a final written master's degree project.

A guitar teacher in a conservatory

The process for obtaining a permanent position at an official music conservatory is quite complex, and it is currently based on a competitive examination

²² The list of works and studies that could be listed here is endless, and I recommend the reader interested in more precise information to access the many conservatory websites or contact their teachers.

process. The candidate must specifically hold the official qualification of a bachelor's degree in order to take the examinations that are arranged in each of the regions periodically, depending on the availability of vacancies. In principle, every two years there is an offer of vacancies, although depending on the instrument, it is possible that no places are available. In the case of the guitar, it is relatively common that places are offered only every six or eight years.

The examination usually consists of two phases, although successive reforms have sometimes made them mutually exclusive. The first phase consists of a performance by the candidate of around forty minutes, playing at least four complete works of different styles in front of a panel of five teachers. In addition, there is a theoretical exam in which a topic from the history of the instrument is chosen at random and the candidate must write about it for around two hours. The list of topics has undergone several modifications over the last few years, and currently it is composed of thirty-four topics ranging from the earliest history of the instrument to the present day, group practice in elementary and intermediate teaching, learning methodology, chamber music and the interdisciplinary nature of guitar studies.²³ The regulations only refer to the title of the topics, and it is the candidate who, depending on the bibliography consulted, will develop the contents of a particular topic in one way or another, which has led to the proliferation of academies that prepare teachers of all instrumental specialties for these exams. The candidate must also analyse a guitar piece pedagogically and aesthetically, as well as a piece where the guitar is part of a chamber ensemble. The works are chosen by the examining board and are secret until the moment of the exam.

In the second part of the examination, the candidate has to present and defend an annual program for an academic year, a teaching structure based on the aforementioned points about goals, contents, methodology and evaluation, and give their personal view of the teaching in each of these parts. In addition, the candidate must develop a didactic or learning unit divided into three or four classes (chosen by lottery from a number of approximately ten) where the candidates give their personal vision for how to learn a piece, a technique or a musical resource.

This exam forms only part of the final score which determines who gets the position. The other part is the professional experience of the applicant

²³ Two of the most recently published standards are: Orden ECD/310/2002, de 15 de febrero, por la que se aprueban los temarios que han de regir en los procedimientos selectivos para ingreso y acceso al Cuerpo de Profesores de Música y Artes Escénicas y para la adquisición de nuevas especialidades por los funcionarios del mencionado Cuerpo; Orden ECD/1753/2015, de 25 de agosto, por la que se aprueban los temarios que han de regir en los procedimientos de ingreso, acceso y adquisición de nuevas especialidades en el Cuerpo de Profesores de Música y Artes Escénicas en las especialidades vinculadas a las enseñanzas de música y de danza.

(years of service, concert experience, etc.), as well as their academic training (other qualifications, languages, etc.), ranked on a complex scoring scale. It is necessary to know this before even considering applying for a position in a conservatory.

A teacher at a conservatory has a workload of 18 teaching hours per week, to which must be added seven hours of meetings with other teachers, parents and students. The salary currently varies around 2,000 euros, net per month, depending on the number of years one has worked. Across a usual working day, the majority of a teacher's lessons will be with individual students, although at elementary and intermediate levels they also teach group classes with several students. In higher professional courses it is also common to be responsible for teaching chamber music.

Conclusions

More than a century after the creation of the Royal Conservatory of Madrid, the guitar finally entered this institution thanks to the work of the great guitarists of the period who surrounded Andrés Segovia. Since then, the guitar has continued to expand its presence in this type of institution all over Spain, not only by creating teaching positions, but also by colonising other musical spheres through the flamenco and the electric guitar. The guitar has achieved equality with other instruments in the conservatories of Spain; not only that, it has become one of the most sought-after instruments due to its great popularity, so that it is common to see at least five guitar teachers in conservatories with approximately 500 students and around fifty teachers in total. Sor, Aguado and Tárrega would be proud not only to hear their works in the halls and corridors of the conservatories in Spain, the native country of the guitar, but also to see the rigor with which their music is taught.

Chapter 18

THE SPECIALISED ARTISTIC EDUCATION IN PORTUGAL

Ricardo Cerqueira

The years of democracy instituted in Portugal, after the Carnation Revolution of 25 April 1974, were a fast track to accessible education in this country. Among the many advancements of this period are the very significant steps towards the elimination of illiteracy – which dropped from 25.7 per cent of the population in 1970, to 3.1 per cent in 2021 – and the accelerated reduction of child labour, still very present during the 1980s and 1990s in some rural areas and certain industrial activities.¹ In a similar vein, alongside these improvements in education, classical music experienced a democratisation in the Portuguese society. In this chapter I will explore the general Portuguese educational system, paying particular attention to music, focusing on the guitar whenever possible, and using the Conservatório de Música do Porto as a case study.

The Portuguese educational system in the present day

Today, the Portuguese educational system is built so that all children and teenagers enjoy twelve years of schooling, free and compulsory, between the ages of six and seventeen. These twelve years of schooling are divided into basic and secondary education. Basic education, which takes place during the first nine years of schooling, is organised in three cycles and aims to provide a general education common to all students. It is followed by secondary education, which occurs in the last three years of compulsory schooling and tend to be more focused in certain areas of knowledge. From the age of three, children may attend kindergarten education (*Educação de Infância*) which is mandatory from five years of age until they enter the first year of the compulsory schooling.²

¹ Manuel Jacinto Sarmiento, 'O Trabalho Infantil em Portugal, da realidade social ao objecto sociológico', in Manuel Lisboa (coord.), *Infância interrompida. Caracterização das actividades desenvolvidas por crianças e jovens em Portugal* (Lisbon: Colibri, 2009), 13 and 16.

² 'Educação de infância' is referred as Pre-School Education (*Educação Pré-Escolar*), in Lei no. 46/86 (1986). Lei de Bases do Sistema Educativo. *Diário da República* no. 237/1986, Série I, 14 Oct. 1986.

The Basic Law of the Educational System defines in its first article, ‘Scope and definition’, that the educational system is ‘the set of means by which the right to education is accomplished, which is expressed by the guarantee of a permanent formative action aimed at favouring the global development of the personality, social progress and democratisation of the society’.³ In its second article, ‘General Principles’, after reaffirming the right to education and culture foreseen in the Constitution of the Republic (approved in 1976), it indicates that it is ‘the special responsibility of the State to promote the democratisation of education, guaranteeing the right to a fair and effective equality of opportunities in school access and success’.⁴ The public school is understood as a space that, beyond learning, aims to promote social cohesion, guaranteeing for that purpose, and especially focused on supporting the most disadvantaged students, the safety, reception and occupation of children as well as their transport and feeding. The referred right and obligation to attend school are guaranteed by a network of public schools. In territories where the public network is insufficient, the Ministry of Education promotes ‘association contracts’ with non-governmental schools (private and cooperative education), in accordance with the Statute of Private and Cooperative.⁵ Although the need to use this type of protocol with private education has been decreasing as a result of investments in infrastructures in the last decades, and especially in the first decade of this new millennium, recent years have shown a reversal of the downward trend in the percentage of students enrolled in private and cooperative education.

The right to attend private education is guaranteed by the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic. The society that was built from 1974 onwards democratised access to education, but the political choices of the governing parties pointed to different and not always coherent paths to achieve this objective. It should be noted, for example, that the Parliament (Assembleia da República) was much faster in the construction of the Basic Law of Private and Cooperative Education (Lei n.º 9/79), sanctioned in 1979, than in the Basic Law of the Educational System (Lei n.º 46/86), approved in 1986. The changing percentage of children and adolescents attending private schools has a growth tendency in recent decades and provides clues about political options

³ ‘O sistema educativo é o conjunto de meios pelo qual se concretiza o direito à educação, que se exprime pela garantia de uma permanente ação formativa orientada para oferecer o desenvolvimento global da personalidade, o progresso social e a democratização da sociedade’, Lei n.º 46/86 (1986), 3067.

⁴ ‘É da especial responsabilidade do Estado promover a democratização do ensino, garantindo o direito a uma justa e efetiva igualdade de oportunidades no acesso e sucesso escolares’, Lei n.º 46/86 (1986), 3068.

⁵ The latest version of the Statute of Private and Cooperative Education is set out in Decreto-Lei n.º 152/2013.

that not always properly defend the public school, that is to say, accessible to all, as an inalienable anchor of democracy itself.

The fact that more than one in five students attend high school in the private school system is particularly important because of the role this level of education plays in providing access to higher education.⁶ While there was a slight decrease in students attending private high schools between 2010 (23.6 per cent) and 2020 (21.5 per cent), this does not contradict the overall trend, but rather reinforces it, as it was during this period that compulsory education was extended from fifteen years of age to the age of majority (eighteen years in Portugal), thereby increasing the overall number of students attending this level of education. This obligation allowed children and young people from more vulnerable socioeconomic backgrounds to have access to education and the chance to obtain a high school level qualification when they reached the age of eighteen,⁷ preventing an early entry into the labour market. At the same time, private schools – which charge fees and choose their students according to criteria that they themselves establish – have been increasingly sought out not only by families from more favourable socioeconomic backgrounds but also by the so-called ‘middle class’, wishing to ensure, in a much less heterogeneous and inclusive environment than the state school, grades that would allow the students to enter the most prestigious higher education courses.

The Artistic Education and Specialised Artistic Education in Music (SAE-M)

The presence of artistic education in the Portuguese educational system has many inconsistencies and ambiguities. The Basic Law of the Educational System (Lei n.º 46/1986) asserts that, in the first cycle of basic education, the class teacher should be assisted by other specialised teachers, to provide additional expertise in areas beyond the class teacher’s own knowledge,⁸ but this has never been implemented in a universal way for arts education. Music is usually present as a tool to enhance the learning of other subject areas, but without itself having the proper space in the curriculum nor the presence of a specialised teacher.

⁶ To access higher education, the applicants choose the courses they wish to attend and the available places are taken up according to their grades. In order to produce this rankings, the average grades of the high school and the grades obtained in national exams are taken into account. In some higher education courses there are also local entrance examinations as a criterion for the selection of candidates, which is generalised in the higher music courses.

⁷ The practical application of this legal determination occurred from the 2012/13 school year, as established in Lei n.º 85/2009.

⁸ During the first cycle, the teaching is broad and the responsibility of a single teacher, who can be assisted in specialised areas (Lei n.º 46/1986). Kindergarten has the same organisation with classes taken by a single educator.

This lack of contact with specialised music teachers is sometimes filled within the framework of the ‘Supports and educational supplements’ that make up the ‘full-time school’.⁹ The implementation of full-time school is a responsibility of the municipalities, who work with the schools and other partners to determine the type of activities that take place there. Schools do not have autonomy to recruit teachers for recreational or educational projects that take place during the periods in which children are at school outside their primary teacher’s timetable. Artistic activities, when they are present, are selected by municipal decision-makers. It is therefore possible that, one child attending a public school may have contact with a specialised music teacher from the age of three, while another, attending a different school or living in a different municipality, has to wait until the age of ten to have their first music classes.

The compulsory presence of music in the curriculum only happens in the second Cycle of Basic Education. Over two school years, students aged ten and eleven attend music education classes. Without a structured means of experiencing different artistic experimentations, guided by specialists from a very young age, students and their families are orphaned from the choice of paths that may lead to a future specialisation.

Table 18.1 shows the offers provided for the Specialised Artistic Courses in Music (the same legal diplomas also regulate the area of Dance and also, recently, Theatre).¹⁰ It should be noted that the percentage of students attending public schools is only 18.3 per cent,¹¹ in clear contrast to the 79.1 per cent attending public schools for the general curriculum.¹² This is due to the decision, as seen over the last decades,¹³ to finance private schools instead

⁹ Full-time school extends the children’s school timetable with optional activities, aiming to reconcile parents’ working hours with family life. It is one of the answers for the fulfilment of the constitutional guarantee of the right to equal opportunities of access and success at school, as established in Decreto-Lei n.º 21/2019.

¹⁰ Portaria n.º 223-A/2018 regulates the SAE courses in basic education and Portaria n.º 229-A/2018 regulates the Secondary Education.

¹¹ Data from the Direção-Geral de Estatísticas da Educação e Ciência, collected from the Report (2021) prepared under the scope of the Working Group for Specialised Artistic Courses (GTCAE), created by Despacho n.º 435-A/2021.

¹² ‘Alunos matriculados no ensino privado em % do total de alunos matriculados nos ensinos pré-escolar, básico e secundário: total e por nível de ensino’, <https://www.pordata.pt> (Accessed 29 Dec. 2022).

¹³ ‘Entre os anos de 2007 e 2010 essa expansão atingiu mesmo os 70%, passando de 17 282 estudantes inscritos (em 2007) para 29 645 (em 2010) (Feliciano, 2010, p. 3)’, Paulo Feliciano, ‘Mais alunos no ensino especializado da música’ in Ministério da Educação (ed.) *Boletim dos professores – Ensino especializado da música* 18, quoted in Maria Helena Vieira, ‘Passado e presente do ensino especializado da música em Portugal. E se explicássemos bem o que significa “especializado”?’ in António Pacheco (ed.), *I Encontro do ensino artístico especializado da música do Vale do Sousa. Do passado ao presente: Impressões e expressões* (Lousada: Conservatório do Vale do Sousa, 2014), 62.

School year 2020/2021	Public Schools		Private Schools	
	Number of students	%	Number of students	%
Total	5148	18,3	22976	81,7
1st Cycle (4 years)	1326	25,2	3940	74,8
2nd Cycle (2 years)	1362	14,2	8240	85,8
3rd Cycle (3 years)	1598	14,4	9477	85,6
Secondary (3 years)	862	39,5	1319	60,5

Table 18.1. Number of students of the SAE-M system in the two types of institutions (public and private). Data from Direção-Geral de Estatísticas da Educação e Ciência (2022), 'Perfil do Aluno 2020/2021', <https://www.dgeec.mec.pt> (Accessed 9 Feb. 2022).

of investing in the network of public schools for Specialised Artistic Education of Music. This network comprises only fourteen public schools, all located in coastal districts of the country, and 128 private schools.

The majority of students attending SAE-M in all cycles come from private educational institutions, with the second cycle having the lowest number of public-school students (14.2 per cent). In public schools, the distribution of the number of students by cycle is more balanced. It should also be noted that the number of pupils attending secondary school (the period in which students select courses that lead to possible areas of further study in higher education) is, at public schools, about half the number of pupils attending the third cycle, while this decrease in pupils is much more accentuated in private schools. The SAE-M vacancies funded by the state are usually free of charge to students and centred, mainly through the articulated regime of student attendance, in the second and third cycles. The lower percentage of students attending the first cycle or secondary school is therefore due to political choices, and not the result of the wishes of students and families (see Table 18.2).

There are three ways of attending SAE-M, with differences in the conditions of access for students and the ways in which the courses can be organised. In the first, the integrated regime of student attendance, a student attends a specialised artistic course provided by a single educational establishment (that is, both the musical and other curricular subjects are offered by the same school). In the second, the 'articulated' regime of student attendance, a specialised artistic course is provided by two different schools (one responsible for the SAE-M subjects and the other responsible for the other curricular subjects) who collaborate in organising the student's schedules and assessment. The final, or 'supplementary' regime of student attendance, sees the student attend a specialised artistic course separate and in addition to their general education.

After the publication in 2007 of the *Estudo de avaliação do ensino artístico*, which recommended that the SAE-M schools should be 'properly framed

School year 2018/2019	Percentage of students attending the SAE-M (calculated in relation to the total number of students)			
	1st Cycle	2nd Cycle	3rd Cycle	Secondary
Total	1,5%	4,9%	3,7%	0,7%

Table 18.2. Percentage of students attending the SAE-M, out of the total number of students in the Portuguese educational system in the school year 2018/2019. Data from the Direção-Geral de Estatísticas da Educação e Ciência, collected from the Report (2021) prepared under the scope of the Working Group for Specialised Artistic Courses, created by Despacho n.º 435-A/2021.

within the education system' advocating that students in these school 'should be essentially the integrated regime',¹⁴ the legislative changes that took place in the years after 2007 brought obvious limitations to quite deep-rooted practices, particularly in the absence of political will to invest in extending the integrated regime of student attendance, the articulated regime became the most common.¹⁵

The Portaria n.º 223-A/2018, which regulates the SAE-M Basic courses, as an extensive and very detailed document, dedicates only one of its fifty-one articles to Initiation (students attending the first cycle of basic education). The Working Group for Specialised Artistic Courses report states (as seen in Table 18.3) that the Initiation students do not benefit from the attendance regimes outlined for the second and third cycles of basic education and for secondary education, although schools still arrange students' timetables using those organisational models. Students starting SAE-M courses during the first cycle may be subject to selection tests, depending on the number of vacancies and candidates. Initiation is then considered as a possibility but is not compulsory.

In the integrated and articulated frequency regimes, it is compulsory for the artistic course to run in parallel with the school year, and there are restrictions on the renewal of enrolment in cases where a student fails any subject of the SAE-M. In the case of the supplementary frequency regime, there may be a delay of up to two school years. In practice, this means that a student who wishes to enter the SAE-M at the age of twelve may only do so in the integrated or articulated attendance regimes if he or she demonstrates in the entrance examinations a capacity and/or knowledge to start that pathway

¹⁴ 'As escolas deverão [...] ser devidamente enquadradas no sistema educativo [...]. O regime de frequência dos alunos em todas as escolas públicas do ensino artístico especializado deve ser essencialmente o regime integrado', Domingos Fernandes, Jorge Ramos do Ó and Mário B. Ferreira (eds.), *Estudo de avaliação do ensino artístico* (Lisbon: Universidade de Lisboa, 2007), 27.

¹⁵ The articulated frequency regime tends to be free, even when attended at private schools, and was mainly responsible for the growth in SAE-M attendance.

Students Attendance Regime	Public Schools	Private Schools	Total
Articulated	1336	17152	18488
Integrated	1338	648	1986
Supplementary	1148	1236	2384
Not Applicable (Initiation)	1326	3940	5266
Total	5148	22976	28124

Table 18.3. Number of students attending Specialised Artistic Education in Music in the academic year 2020/21 (Direção-Geral de Estatísticas da Educação e Ciência, 2022). While in public schools there is a more equitable distribution of students both by cycle and by attendance regime, in private schools there is a greater weight towards the articulated regime, which is much desired because it tends to be free.

from grade three. Alternatively, the student may enter at the first grade, but only through the supplementary frequency regime.¹⁶

To enter the basic course of SAE-M, which begins in the fifth year of schooling (second cycle of basic education), students are subjected to selection tests, even if they have previously attended the initiation course. The schools are responsible for the content and assessment of the selection tests, following a model put forward by the National Agency for Qualification and Professional Education (ANQEP). These tests may include two different types of assessment: Musical Aptitude, and Musical Training and Instrumental Performance. Even taking into account that the assessment of specific knowledge in the area of music has a maximum weight of 50 per cent (no minimum weight is defined, so schools may decide to eliminate this component), this has the potential for double discrimination of socially and economically disadvantaged families. These families have more difficulty accessing cultural experiences that stimulate musical aptitudes (which are assessed here as a priority) and have similar difficulties in accessing initiation courses (due to the reduced number of free public places in these courses, or the fees in private schools) that allow the acquisition of specific musical knowledge. Moreover, given that every year there are students prevented from accessing the SAE-M due to a lack of vacancies, it is clear that terms such as ‘aptitude’, ‘talent’ or ‘vocation’ are being used to excuse the lack of opportunities that are the consequence of political decision-making.¹⁷

Each subject of the SAE-M has an independent evolution and, if a student fails a subject in any of the school years, they are required to take a transition test the following year to put them back on par with the appropriate school

¹⁶ Most public schools – free of charge – have maintained a considerable percentage of places for the supplementary frequency, especially at secondary level, while in private schools the high fees often constrain the will of pupils and their families.

¹⁷ Vieira, ‘Passado e presente’, 62-63.

year. If they fail to do so, they cannot re-enrol in the integrated or articulated frequency regimes. In the supplementary frequency regime there can be a maximum of two years of delay in the SAE-M in relation to the expected year of schooling, except in the secondary singing course, which is possible to start up to the age of twenty-three.

Selection tests are also required to access the SAE-M secondary course, although it is not compulsory to have concluded or even previously attended any artistic disciplines for this type of education. Similarly, to access the higher music courses it is not necessary to have concluded the SAE-M secondary course (although it is necessary to have concluded at least one other secondary course, and to take local entrance exams).

A study on the cultural practices of the Portuguese shows that only 4 per cent of the population has an amateur music practice, a very low value when compared with the 10 per cent of people in Spain or 16 per cent in France. In any case, it is interesting to note that the percentage of the population with an amateur musical practice rises considerably to 13 per cent, among students.¹⁸

In the absence of a stable presence of music within many schools to provide the first stimulation of a young child's talents, families have resorted, often as a first step, to the schools of the SAE-M network. It is unusual to find cooperation between schools, where a generalist school identifies talent in a student and directs them to a specialised school as, despite this desirable outcome, this process is often distorted by competition between institutions.

The Conservatório de Música do Porto and the guitar

Founded in 1917 through the work of personalities from a musically active civil society, the Conservatório de Música do Porto is today one of the few conservatories to constitute the public network of SAE-M.¹⁹ The Conservatoire has occupied its current facilities since 2008, which has enabled it, in addition to increasing its number of students, to start offering the integrated frequency regime. During the school year 2021/22, the Conservatory had 969 students distributed mostly through the supplementary frequency regime (49 per cent), closely followed by the integrated frequency regime (44 per cent), while the articulated represents a minority (7 per cent).

The history of the guitar in the SAE-M and in the Conservatório de Música do Porto is still a brief one, constructed in recent decades. The great interest in the study of the guitar was, perhaps, affected by its ongoing connection

¹⁸ Rui Telmo Gomes, 'Participação artística e capitais culturais', in José Machado Pais, Pedro Magalhães, Miguel Lobo Antunes (ed.), *Práticas culturais dos portugueses: inquérito 2020* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2022). 42-46.

¹⁹ Note that The Conservatório Nacional de Lisboa was created in 1835, almost a century before.

to popular music, which does not always find a place in conservatory education. The first official guitar course appeared in 1946 in the Conservatório Nacional of Lisbon, guided by the Spanish master Emilio Pujol (see Chapter 10). The gradual acceptance of the guitar as an instrument of erudite music, appropriate to be taught in conservatories, occurred over the last thirty years, particularly through the contribution of the Conservatório de Música do Porto. In most SAE-M schools, piano, violin and guitar are the most popular instruments with the highest number of students.

Mário Carreira was the first guitar teacher of the Conservatório de Música do Porto. Currently there are six classical guitar teachers – Francisco Berény Domingues, João Machado, Mário Carreira, Paulo Peres, Ricardo Cerqueira and Tiago Cassola – with more than sixty guitar students (almost 7 per cent of the total number of students) and five orchestras involving the guitar students. Activities organised by the guitar teachers include the annual Guitar Week, which holds concerts, one masterclass and other activities. Several former guitar students of this conservatory are now studying in celebrated higher institutions, giving concerts and giving classes in Schools of Specialised Artistic Education of Music (SAE-M).

Attendance at SAE-M requires students to attend at least 135 minutes of additional class time per week in the first cycle, distributed over three disciplines: instrument, music training and ensemble classes. The instrument discipline is allocated a minimum of forty-five minutes per week and, despite the individualised characteristics of each instrument and player, the classes can be held in groups of up to four students. At the Conservatório de Música do Porto, initiation students enjoy one individual instrument lesson per week, lasting forty-five minutes. In addition, they have ninety minutes of Music Training (usually organised into two lessons of forty-five minutes) and forty-five minutes of ensemble classes (choir or instrumental group).

In the second cycle, the total weekly workload for students attending the SAE-M varies between 1,485 and 1,530 minutes, with the artistic subjects occupying between 315 and 360 minutes, or between 21.2 per cent and 23.5 per cent of class time. In the third cycle, the artistic component maintains the same number of hours, but is less of the overall total workload (18.9 per cent to 22.2 per cent) compared to the increase in other curricular areas, resulting in a total weekly workload that varies between 1,575 and 1,710 minutes. The lessons are usually 45 minutes in duration with the possibility of grouping two lessons together, after which the students have a break. For Music Training and Ensemble Classes (Choir, Chamber Music or Orchestra), 225 minutes (five lessons) are scheduled. The possible variation in the workload of the artistic component is due to the possibility of using forty-five minutes per week to reinforce the collective subjects. Because of the effort that students of articulated and supplementary frequency regimes make to reconcile schedules between their two schools, and in order not to overburden them with classes

and travel between schools and home, the Conservatory chooses to use this reinforcement period only with students in the integrated frequency regime.

At the Conservatório de Música do Porto, all second and third cycle guitar students have ninety minutes of music training. The students of the integrated frequency regime have ninety minutes of choir and ninety minutes of orchestra. The students of guitar in the regimes of articulated and supplementary attendance have 135 minutes of choir or orchestra. In both regimes, there is one orchestra per cycle that gathers the students of plucked string instruments.

The Portaria n.º 223-A/2018, despite assigning ninety minutes per week to the instrumental discipline, places four organisational hypotheses that, in practice, prevent students from having ninety minutes of individual lesson time, namely: a) forty-five minutes individual plus forty-five minutes to a group of two students; b) forty-five minutes individual plus forty-five minutes divided by two students; c) ninety minutes to a group of two students; d) ninety minutes divided by two students. Despite these somewhat erratic organisational options, which, even if it allows access to more students, does so by reducing what is offered to them, the Conservatório de Música do Porto obtained authorisation to organise instrumental tuition in individual lessons of ninety minutes.

At the secondary level there is usually a significant reduction in the number of students compared to the third cycle. This is because at this point students begin to specialise and may consider a professional future in the area of music. Those who choose the supplementary frequency regime do so because they want to continue to deepen their musical knowledge but desire to pursue another secondary course which gives access to other areas in higher education. For these students, instrument lessons are individual and last forty-five minutes. For the students of the integrated and articulated frequency regimes, the assumption is that they aim to pursue higher education studies in music, and so their instrument lessons are individual and last ninety minutes.

At the Conservatório de Música do Porto, with its organisational autonomy and aim to fulfil a strategy to increase the academic success of students in the supplementary regime, all students of the final instrument grade receive ninety minutes of classes.

In the twelfth year of schooling an Artistic Aptitude Test is held, as the culmination of a path in which students perform several times per year in public (both solo and as members of orchestras or choirs), take annual Final/Global exams before a jury of three teachers, perform either in internal or external competitions, and have their training complemented by master classes. This test has a weight of 20 per cent of the final grade for the course, and is assessed by a jury of six experts, including at least one guest from outside the school.

In the secondary course there are today new specialisations created through the emergence of new subjects: in the scientific component, in addition to the

continuity of music training (ninety minutes), there is the history of culture and arts (135 minutes), analysis and techniques of composition (135 minutes) and some schools may decide to offer a subject of complementary offer (ninety minutes) according to the available resources and the characteristics of the educational project; and in the Artistic Technique component, in addition to the continuity of the subjects of instrument and ensemble classes (which include forty-five minutes class of chamber music) guitar students usually choose to attend the key instrument subject in the eleventh and twelfth school years (forty-five minutes). Being a SAE-M teacher involves an effort to find a balance between the musician and the pedagogue. 'After all, who should teach in an Ideal School? Artists, certainly'.²⁰ But in reality, these artist-teachers have little time to be artists. In public education and in private and Co-operative Education, the weekly timetable of a teacher is thirty-five hours. In both sectors it is usual, due to the needs or wishes of the schools (and sometimes also of the teachers) to resort to partial contracts. According to the Labour Code, in the private sector, teachers are given permanent contracts after they work for more than two years at the same school. This imposition does not yet apply in the public sector, where 16.2 per cent of teachers in the 1st cycle, 20.8 per cent in the second cycle and 25.3 per cent in the third cycle and secondary are precarious.²¹

In the public SAE-M, it was only in 2018 that stable positions began to be offered to teachers who met some requirements, namely, having been hired for an annual and full schedule for three years (Decreto-Lei n.º 15/2018). In public SAE-M schools it is usual to have partial working hours, especially for some subjects and instruments (and depending on the size and educational project of the schools), which leaves many teachers in precarious employment.

The full-time timetable in public education comprises up to 1,100 minutes of lessons, of which up to twenty-four lessons can be organised, to which must be added up to 150 minutes of work in school. The remaining working time is managed on an individual basis and includes, in addition to preparing lessons and other activities, various bureaucratic tasks.

In private and cooperative education, the organisation of teachers' timetables has been particularly critical in recent years, with growing problems since the employers terminated the Collective Labour Agreement signed with FENPROF in 2015. Only in 2022 was it possible to sign a new agreement between the employers' associations and the largest federation of teachers' unions, allowing many to regain rights, including career progression. Regarding working hours, there is a greater overload with tasks to be fulfilled in schools, in addition

²⁰ Maria Sequeira Mendes, Marta Cordeiro, Marisa F. Falcón, *O desensino da arte. projecto de uma escola ideal* (Lisbon: Sistema Solar, 2022), 42.

²¹ Domingos Fernandes (dir.), *Estado da educação 2021* (Lisbon: Conselho Nacional de Educação, 2022).

to the fact that the limited number of classes can be higher than in public education, with a special flexibility in the case of SAE-M teachers.

Conclusions

As the aim of artistic education is to promote artistic practices – which develop competences so often praised as being of great importance for other areas of knowledge – it is important to allow access to art that provides for continuous reconstruction and growth. Consciously envisioning a future in which human values are properly defended at school and by the school, it is important to realise that the new and greater demands we are placing on it also need to be continuously supported by the means which guarantee quality answers. A school that, assuming a permanent dialogue, challenges society while it is challenged by it in the construction of a fairer future. This should be one of the central purposes of artistic education. It is up to each committed teacher, aware of his or her socially transformative role in the life of each student, to demand a system in which artistic education access becomes more democratic. The experience of culture and education, areas that SAE-M mixes like few others, requires us to take the role of an implicated social agent, in which the cultural receiver takes the place of practitioner instead of consumer.²² In this spirit, guitar teachers at the Conservatório de Música do Porto pursue a balance between demanding consistent and persistent individual instrumental practice from students – necessary for a fruitful acquisition of technical and musical skills and which requires the development of, among other things, self-regulation, motivation, and concentration abilities – with group musical practices that require respect between peers and establish relationships that, more than partnerships, are of true organised interdependence.

²² João Teixeira Lopes, *Da democratização à democracia cultural. Uma reflexão sobre políticas culturais e espaço público* (Porto: Profedições, 2007).

Chapter 19

STUDYING MUSIC IN ITALY

Dania Carissimi

Almost half a millennium has elapsed since the creation of the first conservatories in the south of Italy in the first decades of the sixteenth century. At that time, learning music was essentially a question of birth, affordable mostly to the sons or daughters of musicians, those with the resources to devote time to its study, or orphans that barely had another choice. Today, music is included in general schools in Italy, where students learn a basic overview of music history as well as instrumental practice with the use of Orff instruments and the recorder. Professional training in an instrument, which is not compulsory, is chosen in theory by motivated students who follow a particular course of study.

Legislative reforms from the late nineteenth century to the present day have led conservatories to no longer be the only institutions providing instrumental training. Instead, they are just the final part of a path that begins with learning some musical knowledge in elementary school, continues with the study of an instrument in secondary school and ends with a specialisation at the conservatory, today named University Athenaeum of Higher Musical and Artistic Education (AFAM). This chapter provides an overview of the most important legislative, social and educational changes that have occurred in recent times in order to promote a musical culture and practice that is accessible to all students. The repercussions of these transformations have led, particularly in the case of the guitar, to a great dissemination of enthusiasm for this instrument across different age groups, an increase in educational publications, and a re-evaluation of the effects that studying an instrument have on the development of a human being.

The structure of the Italian educational system

The general school system in Italy was created in 1859 at the time of the unification of the country. The main objectives were to fight illiteracy and to deprive the Catholic Church of exclusive control of education, entrusting it instead to the state. The public system was then divided into three levels: an integrated system from zero to six years including early childhood services and kindergarten, a first stage (elementary school lasting five years and lower secondary school lasting three years) and a second stage (upper secondary

school lasting five years for the high school lyceum and lasting three years plus two optional years for professional schools).

After several reforms over the last 150 years, today the educational system in Italy is divided in four main stages, from the time parents enrol their children at an early age to the university. Firstly, Italy has an integrated system for children aged between zero to six years. Attendance at this early course is not compulsory and is subdivided into 'crèche', that offers educational services for early childhood, and kindergarten, attended by children from the age of six years. From there, children go on to their first stage of education, from age of six to sixteen, which is compulsory by law. This includes primary school and lower secondary school. These years are essential in acquiring the competences necessary to continue learning throughout life. A pupil thus begins a phase of compulsory education which is set out in the following manner:

Firstly, primary school has a duration of five years and is attended by pupils aged between six and eleven. In this period, children learn how to read and write, understand the rudiments of Italian grammar and acquire a basic knowledge of history, geography, physical education, and music, as well as the English language and technology. Secondly, lower secondary school has a duration of three years and includes students between the ages of eleven and fourteen. Pupils study subjects from primary school in more detail and, at the end of the period, take a state exam. Thirdly, teenagers attend upper secondary school for five years between the ages of fourteen and nineteen. Students can choose between three types of high school. The first is the Lyceum, which offers a more theoretical background and is meant for students intending to go on to higher studies. There are different types of Lyceum, offering musical, classical, scientific, linguistic, technological and health-related studies. The second type of high school in the Italian system are the Technical Institutes where theory is combined with technical-practical instruction to train students specifically for workplaces in sectors related to economy, tourism, agriculture technology and health-care. Finally, the third type of high schools are Professional Institutes that offer a more practical form of education and have a shorter duration of three to four years.

Those students who succeed at the Lyceum upper secondary school may pursue higher education, having three options: Universities, Institutions of Higher Education in Arts, Music and Dance (AFAM) and Higher Technical Institutes (ITS). These types of institutions offer three stages of education: the first has a duration of three years and concludes with a degree (the equivalent of a bachelor's degree). The second stage has a duration of two years and it is the continuation of the three year degree with greater specialisation, concluding with the *Laurea Magistrale*, the equivalent of a master's degree. The third stage consists of further specialisation in one particular area, in a doctorate or specialised training course (master).

The Italian school run by the State

Italian schools were granted autonomy in 1999 in a definitive change in the history of education in this country.¹ This gave them the possibility to make didactic, administrative and economic decisions, which are defined every three years in the school's educational offer plan (POF).² While the state establishes general guidelines, each school can decide autonomously how and in which areas to improve its educational offer. It is perhaps the subject of music which is most affected by the individual choices of each school.

Among the most important new regulations concerning kindergarten and the first stage of education are the National Guidelines,³ which have become a reference source for curriculum planning, where teachers can find an overall pedagogical plan that aims to reach the specific learning targets through pedagogical contents, methods and evaluations. The most significant National Guidelines date back to 2007 and 2012. In a 2007 ministerial decree, 'Fields of Experience' were introduced in kindergarten, with musical experiences coming under a category titled 'Languages, Creativity and Self-expression'. In turn, the guidelines introduced in 2012 rework and modify those of 2007, including music in the 'Images, Sounds and Colours' area.

'Images, Sounds and Colours' is one of the five fields of experience that make up the kindergarten educational path, the other four being: Self and other, Body and movement, Speech and Words, and Knowledge of the World. In kindergarten a child does not learn how to play an instrument but, through preparatory activities, he or she is brought closer to the musical experience. Musical activity is not always the exclusive responsibility of the teachers; in most cases an expert intervenes, usually a graduate musician with didactic experience, who carries out projects in accordance with the National Guidelines. Teaching in projects of a limited duration conducted by external experts in musical training for this age-group are welcomed. At the end of the three years of kindergarten, the skills acquired by each child are described in the Targets for the development of competences.

Primary schools have been affected by three important new regulations in recent decades. In 1985, one weekly hour of 'education to the sound of music' was added to the curriculum.⁴ This was based on the achievement of three objectives: first, training students' perception, that is, the ability to perceive

¹ 'Regolamento recante norme in materia di autonomia delle istituzioni scolastiche, ai sensi dell'art. 21 della legge 15 marzo 1997, n. 59', *Presidential Decree* no. 275, 8 Mar. 1999.

² Each school has its 'Own Educational Offer Plan' which presents the services and activities through which teachers work on the educational process of the students.

³ 'Indicazioni nazionali per il curricolo della scuola dell'Infanzia e del primo ciclo d'istruzione', *Ministerial Decree* no. 254, 16 Nov. 2012. The curriculum includes learning experiences which are planned, carried out, and evaluated by the school to reach the learning targets.

⁴ 'Approvazione dei nuovi programmi didattici per la scuola primaria', *Presidential Decree* no. 104, 12 Feb. 1985.

sounds and noises and knowing how to distinguish between them; second, comprehension with the aim of distinguishing sounds and noises produced by human beings, animals, natural events or musical instruments; third, listening to musical pieces of different periods and genres. The goal is not to teach the students to play a musical instrument, but to offer them a first stage in musical literacy. The second important regulatory intervention is found in the National Guidelines of 2012, where music is defined as ‘a fundamental and universal part of human experience’.⁵ Since then, teachers have had more autonomy regarding teaching plans and the choice of programmes to follow. There is no further mention of disciplinary areas such as humanistic studies, but it contains references to the disciplines themselves. This is because the aim is to create a ‘vertical curriculum’ between primary and lower secondary school in which the targets of developing competences and learning objectives join in one educational pathway from the ages of six to fourteen. The musical discipline is taught through choral and ensemble music activities. Even in primary school, teachers are not always specialised in music and, as is the case in kindergarten, they are assisted by external experts who present music projects over limited time periods. Music lessons are an in-depth study that integrate curricular planning. The lessons consist of guided group listening activities using the small Orff instruments, xylophones, metallophones, recorder, body percussion exercises and choral activities. Time is also given to improvisation. Targets and objectives are planned for every school subject or discipline, including music.

Finally, at the lower secondary level, music is studied in all Italian schools. From the year 1979 the lesson time increased from one to two hours per week for each class. The music teacher carries out a teaching programme to achieve the goals and competences established in the National Guidelines of 2012. Therefore, music teaching in lower secondary school aims to provide the student with the possibility to improve all the cognitive abilities that music offers for the development of the individual, and to give students a basic background in musical culture and tradition. These cognitive capacities are stimulated by playing musical instruments and training the voice using mainly the Orff musical instruments, small keyboards and the recorder, solo singing practice and in a group, rhythm practice, and vocal and instrumental improvisation.

Providing a background in musical culture includes giving students general knowledge of the history of music, the various musical genres and main composers, as well as guided listening to the main works, different musical styles and the influences that music has taken from other art forms and the different cultural movements through the centuries.

⁵ ‘Regolamento recante indicazioni nazionali per il curricolo della scuola dell’infanzia e del primo ciclo d’istruzione, a norma dell’articolo 1, comma 4, del decreto del Presidente della Repubblica 20 marzo 2009, n. 89’, *Ministerial Decree* no. 254, 16 Nov. 2012, 58.

Musical instrument training in secondary school

The teaching of instrumental music began as an experiment at the end of the 1970s. The first ministerial decree from 1979,⁶ and the second from 1996,⁷ regulate (in the context of law) the study of a musical instrument and allow new courses to be opened. The idea was not to train professional musicians but to prepare students for a subsequent more in-depth study of music. The decree of 1996 determined the teaching programmes to be followed and increased the choice of music activities: individual lessons, group lessons and practice and teaching music theory. The Law 124/1999 made the teaching of a musical instrument a discipline in all respects,⁸ subjected to assessments and included in the state exam which ends the first stage of education. Teachers now have more freedom in organising their lessons and the activities listed above are regulated by law.

The real innovation appears in secondary schools with the inclusion of musical instrument training in the academic curriculum of the lower secondary school. Students have the possibility to study a musical instrument without any fees, together with music theory and music practice in small ensembles or in an orchestra. The teachers of musical instruments are musicians who have graduated from a conservatoire. They have also taken courses specifically designed to apply in-depth teaching to students during their compulsory schooling.

In 1999 a ministerial decree organised how this kind of music education would function, stating that participation in a musical instrument course is optional and students can access these on request by filling in the relevant form for registration in the first year of lower secondary school. Students are also required to take an aptitude test prepared by the school, with a commission of designated teachers evaluating these tests to create a waiting list made available to the public and shared with the families who are asked to confirm registration. Following the tests, the formal registrations commit students to compulsory attendance at musical instrument lessons for the entire three-year period.

Principally, there are four instruments the students can study, and the choice is made by a committee of teachers at each school. Two polyphonic instruments are included (chosen from guitar, piano, accordion, harp or percussion) and two monodic instruments (chosen from the flute, oboe, bassoon, clarinet, saxophone, trumpet or cello). Students are then divided into four groups corresponding to the four musical instruments; a minimum of three and maximum of six students are required for each group and for

⁶ 'Corsi sperimentali ad orientamento musicale', *Ministerial Decree*, 3 Aug. 1979.

⁷ 'Nuova disciplina della sperimentazione musicale, nelle scuole medie statali ad indirizzo musicale', *Ministerial Decree*, 13 Feb. 1996.

⁸ 'Riconduzione ad ordinamento dei corsi sperimentali ad indirizzo musicale nella scuola media ai sensi della legge 3 maggio 1999, n. 124', *Ministerial Decree*, 6 Aug. 1999.

each year of lower secondary school. Each teacher will ideally have six pupils per year group, making a total of eighteen.

The teaching hours (18 hours for each teacher), mainly take place in the afternoon and are organised in the following way: one hour for practice on the musical instrument either individually or in small groups and two hours for music ensembles and music theory lessons. The pupils who study a musical instrument have a bigger number of lessons per week compared with the other students. Students are evaluated with a mark from which an average will be made with their other subjects. In the state exam, which concludes the first stage of education, students performing musical instruments will do a final individual and/or an ensemble audition with the goal being to evaluate their musical ability.⁹

Guitar education in the lower secondary school consists of a teaching programme of classical studies, the classical repertoire and basic techniques for the execution of arpeggios and chords. Among the most common methods are the Preludes and the Studies of Ferdinando Carulli, studies from the method of Mauro Giuliani, the First Guitar Lessons of Julio Sagreras and collection of Studies by various authors of equal levels of technique and execution.

Prior to selecting students and at the beginning of the music classes, the school must follow a bureaucratic procedure. The choice of the musical focus must be approved by the teachers' committee and then by the school board (these are bodies that represent teachers, members of staff, students and parents). The school board approves the POF (Educational Offer Plan) in which the four instruments proposed by the teaching board are identified. The school is in charge of collecting the registrations for a sufficient number of students to form a class and passing these on to the Regional Office for Education that decides whether to give approval to start the academic year of the class. The request is not always approved and not all lower secondary schools decide to create these kinds of classes. Today there are 2,050 secondary schools offering musical instrument training and over 120,000 students are involved. In the surrounding province of Bergamo, for example, there are twenty schools with musical instrument training. The instruments included are the guitar, piano, percussion, flute, violin, clarinet, saxophone, trumpet and cello. In the twenty secondary schools, the guitar is always given as an option and often proves to be the most popular instrument with children.

Music Lyceums: The case of study of Liceo Musicale 'Secco Suardo'

In 2010, the upper secondary School of Music and the Choreography School – The Music and Dance Lyceum – was introduced into the national system.

¹⁰ The Music Lyceum – we will leave dance to the dancers – is an institute

⁹ 'Riconduzione ad ordinamento', *Ministerial Decree*, 6 Aug. 1999, art. 11.

¹⁰ *Presidential Decree* no. 89/2010.

of upper secondary education aimed at the study of music from a theoretical and practical perspective preparing students for musical performance, recitals and music composition. Regular high school education combines musical education with the study of scientific and humanistic subjects, offering a solid general education that prepares a student to access high level conservatoires or other university faculties. The instruments taught represent all those included within the framework of the main courses of the conservatories of music: piano, classical guitar, violin, viola, cello, double bass, flute, oboe, bassoon, clarinet, saxophone, trumpet, trombone, horn, harp, mandolin, organ and accordion.

Music Lyceums provide an excellent opportunity for anyone who wants to develop a specific artistic profession supported by basic humanistic cultural training. The curriculum in music instrument training is divided into activities and subjects, besides those common to other high schools, including mainly performance practice (I and II); theory, analysis and composition (TAC), history of music, music technologies and group music workshops.

The discipline of performance practice involves the study of two musical instruments. The first and main one is chosen by the student and is the one on which they sit the admission audition; the second is assigned by the headteacher. If the main instrument is polyphonic, the student will be assigned a monodic instrument and vice-versa. During the first two years of study the student will go through two hours of weekly individual lessons for the first instrument; in third and fourth grade the lessons are one hour for each instrument while in the fifth year only the first instrument will be studied for two hours a week in order to take the national exam. During the first four years, the student has the right to study the second instrument for one hour per week and, at the end of the fourth year, the student takes an exam to certify their competences. The group music workshops take place in the morning and include two hours of lessons for the first and second grades and three hours for the third, fourth and fifth (the three-year period). Each class is divided into four groups, for which there are four teachers, teaching singing, strings, woodwind and chamber music respectively.

In order to attend a Music Lyceum, it is necessary to pass an entrance exam devised by each institution following the guidelines dictated by the Ministry of Education, a test that measures basic theoretical competences, intonation, as well as an audition on the instrument to be studied in depth during the five years at the Lyceum. A motivational interview is also required to understand the interest that guides each student to apply to these institutions.¹¹ Specifically, the guitar instrumental test involves presenting a work

¹¹ *Presidential Decree* 89/2010, art. 7. The *Ministerial Decree* no. 382 appeared in 2018 concerning the standardisation of training courses in the artistic-musical sector. Here the contents of the music admission exam were revised trying to make the text uniform at a national level.

of the candidate's free choice and an *étude* chosen from those listed in the Ministerial Decree 382/2018 that generically recommends music of composers such as Fernando Sor (particularly op. 60), Mauro Giuliani (Studies and the first 15 arpeggi op. 1), Matteo Carcassi (*25 Progressive Melodic Studies* op. 60), Dionisio Aguado (Studies); Leo Brouwer (*Estudios simples*), Ferdinando Carulli (Preludes taken from op. 114) and Manuel Ponce (Preludes).

The diploma received from a Music Lyceum permits future access to Conservatoires, allowing students to achieve the highest level of music specialisation in courses of composition, performance practice, musical disciplines specialization in technology, orchestral or choral conducting, piano accompaniment and teaching qualifications. Another possible outcome is a specialisation in Jazz. Students can also follow a path at university to pursue degrees in musicology, music and theatre (D.A.M.S), educational science, classical and modern literature, psychology, philosophy, history, sociology and political science, among others. As well as a musical and teaching career, there are many other career paths such as becoming an artist manager or agent, sound technician, in audio-visual editing or editing of soundtracks, theatre producer, lawyer specialising in composers' rights, luthier, music librarian, etc.¹²

In Italy there are 130 Music and Dance Lyceums grouped according to region. Lombardy, in the north, has seventeen of them. The Music Lyceum located in Bergamo is the most important of those in this region, and in its classrooms, we find approximately 230 students. After the piano, with seven tenured teachers, the guitar has the highest demand at this institution (four teachers). As with other instruments, guitar lessons are individual and the teacher organises them autonomously planning their schedule for the benefit of the student.

During the school year, students are involved in extra-curricular projects with voluntary participation; these projects involve learning instruments belonging to the same family as their primary instrument, aimed at integrating the musical and educational experience of the student by offering activities not possible during individual lessons or group workshops.

One of the most important aims of this Lyceum is to make music in groups that is strictly idiomatic and original for the instrument, looking in depth at repertoires and musical genres of different periods, teaching students about orchestral performance practice, studying deeply the interpretative aspects of musical style, and commanding and managing any tension during a public performance. The projects that involve families of instruments allow an in-depth exploration of original musical genres or transcriptions for these occasions. Some examples of these are the guitar orchestra – which gathers together string or plucked instruments and solo instruments such as the flute

¹² Hugo Pinksterboer, *Corsi di musica per bambini e ragazzi* (n.p.: Curci, 2013), 35.

or the violin – the symphonic orchestra, the big band, the wind orchestra, the sax ensemble and the vocal chamber ensemble.

The high school guitar studies course is adapted to the needs and individual potential of each student. At the conclusion of their studies, those who want to attend the AFAM pathway must reach a medium-high technical performance level, which is necessary to pass the entrance exam provided by the conservatory. The required preparation includes instrumental technical maturation adequate to perform works music of composers such as Fernando Sor (Studies op. 6 and op. 29), Mauro Giuliani (Studies op. 111 and op. 48) Heitor Villa-Lobos (12 studies) as well as contrapuntal Renaissance or Baroque works (originally for lute or similar instruments), a work from the nineteenth century and one modern or contemporary piece.

AFAM (Higher Artistic, Musical and Dance Training)

The aforementioned law of 1999 ushered in an unprecedented renewal of the school sector. Reforms were made in the administrative, organisational, and especially pedagogical and didactic areas.¹³ The sector of higher artistic, musical and dance education was also affected by this reform. The AFAM sector comprises Conservatoires, state-recognised Musical Institutes, Fine Arts Academies, Dance and Dramatic Arts Academies, and Art Industry Academies. Until 1999, Conservatoires awarded a diploma at the completion of a course of study, which permitted access to employment in the arts and music sector and teaching in state schools (even without an upper secondary school diploma). The 1999 law establishes that the AFAM sector is considered equivalent to university, acquiring equal rights and duties in organisational, administrative and didactic areas. The law also established the activation of courses of study, training and research in the fields of art and music. This qualification is now legally recognised as a degree of first and second level. In fact, all diplomas issued before 1999 were initially equivalent to a first level academic diploma and gave the possibility of access to the second level master's degree. More than a decade later, all the diplomas issued before 2012 were made equivalent to the second level master's degree, but only if combined with the upper secondary school diploma.¹⁴ In 1999 there was a renewal of the study programmes on offer, introducing courses of study in music technology, folk/traditional music, popular/rock music and electronic music.

The AFAM Educational System is organised into three stages. The first has a duration of three years and, in order to enter it, it is necessary to

¹³ 'Riforma delle Accademie di belle arti, dell'Accademia nazionale di danza, dell'Accademia nazionale di arte drammatica, degli Istituti superiori per le industrie artistiche, dei Conservatori di musica e degli Istituti musicali pareggiati', *Law* no. 508, 21 Dec. 1999.

¹⁴ 'Riforma delle Accademie', *Law* 508/99.

have a secondary school diploma and to pass an admission exam. At the end of the three-year period, the student obtains a bachelor's degree and 180 credits (CFA). The goal of the First Level Academic Diploma courses is to acquire specific disciplinary and professional competences. Admission to the Second Level Academic Diploma Courses is gained with a First-Level Academic Diploma (another qualification obtained abroad which is recognised as eligible) and by taking an admission exam to verify the knowledge and competence for the second stage. After a two-year course of the Second-Level Academic diploma the students gains a 'Laurea Magistrale' or master's degree and the recognition of 120 credits (CFA). The aim is the acquisition of high-level professional competences. Admission to the third cycle, consisting of research training academic diploma courses, is through the second level academic diploma or a foreign qualification recognised as eligible. It lasts three years and no credits are acquired. The main objective is to mature competences for the planning and undertaking of high-level research activities.

The AFAM institutions can also offer advanced music education courses, master's degrees and high-level diploma courses aimed at enhancing musical studies and skills in specific areas. They also offer the possibility of professional upgrading and retraining with qualifications valid for future work in teaching, concert and technical fields. 60 credits (CFA) are acquired. This type of educational offering is not the same for all conservatories.

Another important reform was made in 2018 by sanctioning a ministerial decree aimed to harmonise and balance the educational offerings of Italian conservatoires that had until then been divergent and did not offer homogenous training in terms of technical ability and cultural knowledge.¹⁵ The master's degree awarded after the two-year period of academic study at the Second Level become then a single qualification across the whole of Italy, adapting to European standards and based on the acquisition of 120 credits in line with the principles of ECTS (European Credit Transfer System). In the same reform, propaedeutic courses of three years were set up at all the conservatoires, which are compatible with the attendance of upper secondary school. These courses are aimed at developing instrumental technique and musical theory to access the AFAM institutions.

The specific attachments to the aforementioned decree detail the requirements to access every propaedeutic course, the educational objectives, technical ability and level for admission for the second and third academic years. The propaedeutic courses are aimed at musically gifted students and are an alternative for students that do not attend Music Lyceums. To gain access,

¹⁵ 'Decreto sull'armonizzazione dei percorsi formativi della filiera artistico-musicale adottato ai sensi dell'articolo 15 del decreto legislativo 13 aprile 2017, n. 60', *Ministerial Decree* no. 382, 11 May 2018.

it is necessary to take an admissions exam. The student must demonstrate that he or she has musical and theoretical abilities and a high performing level.

Conclusions

The launch of music-oriented middle schools and the subsequent opening of the Musical Lyceums were two milestones in establishing a vertical curriculum across the teaching of music education and instrumental practice accessible to all social classes and all age groups, from the earliest age up to university studies. The benefit of the Musical Lyceum is that it offers both professional and amateur training and, above all, is free of charge for five years. Students can access an almost complete music and humanistic education by attending a single educational institution that prepares them for university courses of various types: from music to technology, humanities, law or science. In turn, Italian universities have worked to achieve an alignment with European educational standards, in order to obtain an adjustment of the educational credits acquired during the course of studies and of the university degrees attainable in all countries, thus allowing for a greater number of intercultural exchanges between Italy and the rest of Europe.

Chapter 20

THE MUSIC EDUCATION SYSTEM IN GERMANY

Michael Hadrisch

In the field of music, Germany is known around the world for its composers and the role they played in the evolution of this form of art. However, music enthusiasts from abroad may know very little about music education in this country. This chapter attempts to provide a basic overview of music education in Germany, the various concepts, ideas and the organisations and institutions involved. As one of the most important parts of German music education, the main emphasis of this text is on the public music school system: its objectives, structure and curriculum. In addition, music education in general schools, universities and music colleges is outlined. Finally, the particularities of guitar training in the larger context of music training in Germany are identified.

Music education in general education schools

In Germany, each of the sixteen federal states is responsible for its own general education. Due to the different regional backgrounds, many educational issues differ greatly from state to state. Attending school is compulsory in Germany and the overwhelming majority of students go to public schools, which are tuition-fee free. At the age of six or seven, children begin primary school, which covers the first four grades.¹ There are several types of secondary school.² The most common are the Hauptschule (grades five to nine or ten), the Realschule (grades five to ten), the Gymnasium (grades five to twelve/thirteen) and the Gesamtschule (grades five to twelve/thirteen). Students who have successfully completed the Realschule or Hauptschule will usually go on to vocational training in combination with attending vocational school or can transfer to a Gymnasium or Gesamtschule. Students who have successfully passed examinations, called Abitur, at the end of their Gymnasium or Gesamtschule phase are entitled to study at a university or a university of applied sciences.

¹ In the states of Brandenburg and Berlin primary school lasts from grades one to six.

² The different kinds of secondary schools in Germany, mainly Hauptschule, Realschule and Gymnasium were created to allow for a differentiation between learning abilities and talent, with the Gymnasium addressing the students with the best learning abilities, followed by the Realschule and then the Hauptschule. The Gesamtschule is a more recent development to include everybody.

The subject of music is mandatory from grade one to ten. From grade eleven to thirteen students can choose between music, arts or, in some cases, theatre. The number of music lessons is one per week in primary school, one to two per week from grade five to ten and can reach two to three per week from grade eleven to thirteen in basic music courses and five to six in advanced music courses.

Due to the federal structure of the education system in Germany and, in addition, the various types of schools, there are approximately fifty different curricula for the subject music. Even though these curricula differ from each other in their main points, they have much in common. These points – often called fields of music education – include elementary music theory, music-making (singing, producing electronic sounds, playing an instrument), representation of music (dancing, representation of music using media, creation of musical collages, music and theatre), listening to music (guided and free listening) information about music (knowledge acquisition and research), reflection on music (making historical connections, discussion of aesthetic relationships and functions).³ Decisions about what actual content to use within these fields remains to a great extent at the liberty of the music teacher. In some cases schools have developed more specific curricula. Instruction in musical instruments is not part of the German general music education system.

In Germany there are about twenty secondary schools with a special focus on music education (Musikgymnasien). These are the institutions that take on the most talented and dedicated young musicians. The curriculum includes primary instrument (e.g. the guitar) and piano lessons, music theory, ear training and ensemble playing. As well as having to pass an audition to be accepted into the school, each year the students also have to succeed in an examination in order to be able to continue. Some of these schools are closely attached to higher education music colleges such as the Musikgymnasium ‘Carl Philipp Emmanuel Bach’ in Berlin which cooperates with the Hochschule für Musik ‘Hanns Eisler’ and the Universität der Künste.

Public music schools

Public music schools in Germany are public non-profit institutions for music education of children, adolescents and adults. They implement a public educational mandate that addresses not only the teaching and learning of musical skills on and of the instrument but also encourages creativity, dedication, endurance and concentration.⁴ Furthermore, according to the

³ Music Education Network (MeNet), ‘Allgemein bildender Musikunterricht in Deutschland’, <http://menet.mdw.ac.at> (Accessed 20 Sept. 2022).

⁴ Verband deutscher Musikschulen (VdM), ‘Was Sind Musikschulen’, www.musikschulen.de (Accessed 20 Oct. 2022). See also Präsidium des Deutschen Städtetages and Präsidium des

German Association of Cities and Towns, public music schools are ‘places of integration [...], of open mindedness towards the unknown, bringing together different social, ethnic and cultural groups’.⁵

Public music schools in Germany, in contrast to private music schools, are partly publicly funded. They are members of the Association of German Music Schools (henceforth VdM), an organisation that represents public music schools. The VdM works together with policy makers, authorities and other organisations.⁶ The VdM is responsible for determining and describing a general curriculum and structure for its member schools. It develops new educational and organisational concepts. It organises advanced training not only for the music teachers of its member schools but also for the administrative staff. In addition, the VdM is in charge of public relations and information, working closely with the sixteen federal organisations that represent the public music schools in each German federal state. As of January 2020 there are 931 public music schools in Germany.⁷ They are all members of the VdM. Public music schools exist in almost each county in Germany and in addition in many cities. 1.470.000 students attended a German public music school in 2018 and 39,000 teachers work in these schools, almost all of whom have earned a degree in music education, music performance or similar.

German public music schools are funded by the local counties and cities, by the parents (via tuition) and to a lesser extent by federal states while funding differs according to the state. The VdM aims to establish a policy that divides the funding evenly between counties (and cities), parents and the federal states.

The VdM has implemented a plan of structure (Strukturplan) whose main objectives can be summarised in three parts: 1. The public music school will provide qualified music education on and off the instrument. This opens the possibility for lifelong involvement with music and musical activities. It gives its students the chance to participate in musical activities (e.g. ensemble playing) in the music schools, in general education schools, within the family or other amateur organisations and groups. Especially talented students can be further supported and can also be prepared for advanced musical study to become a professional musician. 2. The public music school creates special course offerings for adults, people with disabilities, people with a migration background and socially disadvantaged people. With special projects and the willingness to cooperate it builds bridges to other organisations within the

Deutschen Landkreistages, *Die Musikschule, Leitlinien und Hinweise* (Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Städtetag and Deutscher Landkreistag, 2010), 2.

⁵ ‘Sie sind Orte der Integration [...], der Öffnung für Unbekanntes und des Miteinander auch unterschiedlicher sozialer bzw. ethnischer Gruppen und kultureller Milieus’, Deutscher Städtetages, *Die Musikschule*, 2.

⁶ VdM, ‘Der VdM Verband Deutscher Musikschulen’, www.musikschulen.de (Accessed 20 Oct. 2022).

⁷ VdM, ‘Zahlen und Fakten’, www.musikschulen.de (Accessed 21 Oct. 2022).

community. 3. The public music school is the centre of excellence for music education within a community and cooperates with many partners, such as general education schools, kindergartens, amateur music organisations and others.⁸

Public music schools provide basic musical training, widespread musical promotion and find and support particular musical talent. Playing music in an ensemble plays a big role in the musical development of the students.

According to the current system, music instruction is organised in four levels and depending on subject and level, the lessons can be arranged as one-on-one lessons, two students per teacher, or in groups of more students. The elementary level (Elementarstufe/Grundstufe) is mostly aimed at children from the ages of three to six. The lessons are organised as classes and teach typical early childhood music educational matters such as singing, dance and movement, getting to know musical instruments, listening to music and elementary playing of music, especially with Orff instruments. These classes often happen in local kindergartens. Another form of elementary musical education is the Instrumentenkarussell (carousel of instruments), where students can try out different instruments.

The lower level (Unterstufe) is about the first understanding of the instrument, its technical peculiarities, its sound possibilities and the basic posture for playing it. Basic elements of form, structure and harmony are presented. The lower level introduces regular one-on-one or one-on-two teaching of the instrument or voice. It is not a prerequisite to have gone through the elementary level. As soon as possible ensemble playing is added if wanted by the student. Basic music theory classes are offered. The lower level lasts approximately four years.

The intermediate level (Mittelstufe) focuses on instrumental or singing lessons, as well as ensemble playing. Technical standards are continuously raised, which leads to a more distinctive approach towards musical styles, musical epochs and musical forms. Playing large and well known musical works in an ensemble is possible. Intermediate music theory classes are offered.

The advanced level (Oberstufe) is for the most gifted and most dedicated students. They will approach musically and technically challenging pieces. They are very important players in their ensembles and often take on responsibilities as soloists. Talented and committed students who want to study music at a higher institute of education in order to become professional musicians are put into a special program (Studienvorbereitende Ausbildung). They usually have two lessons per week in their main subject as well as one lesson in either voice or piano and one in music theory. These students are also very active in different music school ensembles.

⁸ VdM, 'Strukturplan des VdM', www.musikschulen.de (Accessed 22 Oct. 2022).

For the lower, intermediate and advanced levels taking examinations is possible but not required. As part of the plan of structure of public music schools, and in addition to regular instrumental or voice lessons within the different levels, students take part in ensemble playing, add-on classes such as music theory, composition, dance or music theater, many music school concerts and other events, temporary musical projects and cooperation with other organisations.

Over the last thirty years the VdM has developed syllabuses for each subject taught at the public music schools. While these curricula define the goals and contents of musical education, they still leave enough freedom for teachers to be individuals with their own personalities, didactics, methods and preferences but also, and most importantly, leave freedom to work with students in accordance with their individual needs, wishes and abilities.

Since the 1990s the VdM and the public music schools have incited many collaborative projects with public education schools. The most successful of these are the instrument classes. In these classes every student learns to play an instrument and, almost immediately, starts to play together with his or her classmates as an orchestra. Usually, these classes happen from the beginning of secondary school. The instrument classes are mostly made up of single instruments, either string instruments, woodwind and brass or guitar. They are organised as follows: a whole class will be designated as an instrument class at the beginning. These classes will be taught by one or two music school teachers together with the regular music teacher. In the beginning every student gets an instrument assigned. All the instruments are purchased in advance by either the regular school or the music school. There are three lessons per week. Two lessons are section rehearsals that in the beginning focus on learning the basics of the instrument. In the third lesson the class rehearses as an orchestra. Special teaching methods have been established. Even after a few months the class can play little pieces together. Overall, these instrument classes are a tremendous success. Most regular schools renew the co-operational contracts with the music schools and start new instrument classes every two years. The arrangement of the instrument class is advantageous for everybody involved. The general education schools can offer a deeper and more qualified music education but can also distinguish themselves from schools that do not offer these classes. Music schools also distinguish themselves as such as that they fulfill their role as a center for music education within the community and bring their knowledge and skills to various partners. Music school teachers can recruit talented students from the instrument classes to become regular music school students. The awareness of the music school as an institution will grow within the community and lead to more applications for instrumental and voice lessons. Often the arrangements between the two schools include the usage of general education school rooms for music school instrumental lessons in the afternoon.

A special cooperation program between general education schools and public music schools is called 'JeKits - Jedem Kind Instrumente, Tanzen, Singen' (Every child can experience playing an instrument, dancing or singing). This program exists in the federal state of Nordrhein-Westfalen only and is partly financed by the state. It is part of the curriculum of the elementary schools that elect to participate in the program and usually lasts two years (with the possibility of being extended). Each school can choose one of the three elements: playing an instrument, dancing or singing. Together with the public music school teachers or other competent partners the music teachers of the elementary schools teach one lesson per week, in accordance with the program's curriculum.⁹

In addition to these projects, there many other collaborative partnerships between general education schools and public music schools such as joint orchestras and music theatre productions or other larger projects. Also, many public music schools use rooms in general schools as their teaching facilities.

The guitar in public music schools and 'Youth Makes Music'

The guitar, together with the piano, are the most popular instruments in public music schools. In most cases, new students can choose to learn classical guitar or electric guitar. The term classical guitar as a subject does not necessarily exclude other fields of acoustic guitar playing. The VdM has put together a curriculum for classical guitar.¹⁰ This publication defines areas of learning that belong to a comprehensive teaching method for the guitar. In addition, it provides a framework of lesson contents and learning goals in relation to the implemented structure plan as well as an extensive repertoire list for guitar. The learning areas include playing technique, body and instrument, new music, ancient music, listening, music theory, improvisation, practicing, playing together with others, sight-reading, using electronic media and popular music. For each topic comprehensive information is provided.

Even though classical guitar teaching within public music schools adheres to the guidelines of the VdM curriculum in general, the specific teaching methods, the didactic contents, the selection of actual workbooks and music pieces, as well as the pace of advancement is highly individualised. German public music schools aim to include everybody who is interested in learning the guitar. There is no institutionalised separation between students with different levels of talent or motivation. Each teacher is individually responsible for recognising different levels of talent and interest, and teach and motivate accordingly. This means that the teacher will work with very different inter-

⁹ Jekits-Stiftung, 'Programmbeschreibung JeKits - Jedem Kind Instrumente, Tanzen, Singen', www.jekits.de (Accessed 1 Nov. 2022).

¹⁰ Verband der Musikschulen, *Lehrplan Gitarre* (Kassel: Gustav Bosse, 2012).



Illustration 20.1. Verband der Musikschulen, *Lehrplan Gitarre*
(Kassel: Gustav Bosse, 2012), title page
(Reproduced by permission).

ests and skills, ranging from simple song accompaniment to very advanced classical guitar repertoire and technique on a daily basis.

A lesson takes usually thirty or forty-five minutes per week. All students are encouraged to participate in a class concert together once a year. Some students play in front of a jury at the end of the school year with a program that usually contains a scale, an *étude* and two pieces with undefined levels of difficulty. The most dedicated students play in various music school concerts. They also aim to pass an exam of the aforementioned levels (lower, intermediate, advanced) of the public music school structure plan. These exams need to adhere to predetermined difficult levels, described in the curriculum for the classical guitar. Usually, the exams are divided into a performance part consisting of pieces of different epochs and a technical part, consisting of scales, chord changes and *études*. For the lower level exams song accompaniment is added. For the intermediate and advanced levels some kind of chamber music is included.

Since one of the main goals of the public music schools is to involve students in ensemble playing as much as possible, many different guitar

ensembles or chamber music ensembles with guitar are established in public music schools. These are often organised in age groups and can range from guitar duos to a guitar orchestra. Many guitar ensembles are put together specifically for the competition 'Youth Makes Music'.

One of the most important institutions in Germany, especially for the musical development of the more talented and dedicated instrumental and vocal students, is the nationwide music competition 'Youth Makes Music' (Jugend musiziert). This competition is a project of the German Music Council (DM),¹¹ and was created in the 1960s as a means to identify and promote urgently needed young orchestral musicians. From there, it has developed into the main outlet for fostering talented and dedicated young musicians. Most of the participants are nominated by their local public music schools, who are also involved in organising the competition on a local and regional level. While in the beginning 'Youth Makes Music' was mostly aimed at orchestral instruments such as woodwind, brass and strings, over the years it has evolved to include every instrument taught in public music schools, even branching out into popular music. In 2015 more than 20,000 young musicians participated nationwide. Approximately 7,500 participated in the state competitions, and eventually 2,400 federal state award winners participated in the national competition. Many German professional musicians of today took part in this contest when they were growing up.

'Youth makes music' is held annually, however it is presented in different categories, which means that not every instrument is part of it every year. There are two types of categories, the solo instrument and ensemble playing. Each category is part of the event every three years, e.g. solo classical guitar took place in 2015, 2018 and 2021. 'Youth Makes Music' is divided into three phases. At the beginning, usually sometime in January, there are regional competitions. The best musicians will be sent to the state level which takes place in March. The best state participants then go on to the national competition, usually happening in May in a different German city every year. At each stage the participants play in front of a jury made up of professional musicians, known for their excellence, music professors from the realm of advanced education and public music school teachers. The jury awards points to the performance of each participant and also gives advice regarding their playing and their further musical development. The young musicians who participate at 'Youth Makes Music' are divided into different age groups and compete only within that group. Participation at the competition is only possible up to the age of 21, except for voice and organ, where the age limit is 27. People who are enrolled as music students in higher education are not allowed to take part. The yearly German competition 'Youth Makes Music' is a very important event for public music schools. They regularly put on

¹¹ Deutscher Musikrat (DM).

concerts and special consultations for the participants. Very good results are often published in the local press and are appreciated not only by the musically interested public, but also by politicians and representatives of the local business community.

The classical guitar has been part of 'Youth Makes Music' for a long time, as a solo category, as well as in ensemble categories. In 2009 the category Pop Guitar was added, which includes all styles of guitar playing other than classical. For the guitar as a chamber music instrument there is, most importantly, the category of guitar ensemble, where two to five guitars can form an ensemble to participate. In addition, the guitar can be part of the category special ensembles that consist of unusual instrument combinations. Furthermore, the guitar can be used as an accompanying instrument either as a participating contestant or as an outside professional.

The solo guitar category sees many contestants at each competition and the level of playing is very high. There are a few guidelines for putting together a program. Depending on the age group, it is a requirement to present pieces from different music periods. Six musical eras are defined by the German Music Council: Renaissance and Early Baroque, Baroque, Classical, Romantic and Impressionism, Tonal Music from 1910 (including Pop and Jazz) and Contemporary Music.¹²

The age groups one (7-10 years) and two (11-12 years) must perform at least two pieces chosen from two music periods. The length of the program should range from six to ten minutes. The age group three (13-14 years) are required to perform at least three pieces chosen from at least two music periods. The length of the program should range from ten to fifteen minutes. The age groups four (15-16 years), five (17-18 years) and six (19-21 years) perform at least three pieces chosen from at least two music periods. The length of the program should range from fifteen to twenty minutes.

Private music teachers and private music schools

As in many other countries, musical instrument lessons are, to a certain extent, the realm of private music teachers. In Germany these teachers are in part highly qualified. This can be seen in the 20 per cent participation rate of privately taught students in 'Youth Makes Music'. Private music teachers teach all age groups and all levels, in some instances even professional musicians. In many cases, the income of a music teacher comes from different sources, such as playing music professionally and getting paid for teaching in music schools, as well as teaching privately. Since there is no legal requirement to call oneself a music teacher and work as a music teacher, many private

¹² Deutscher Musikrat, *Jugend musiziert 58. Wettbewerb, Ausschreibung 2021* (München: Deutscher Musikrat, 2020), 13.

music teachers have joined the Association of German Musicians (DTKV)¹³ to distinguish themselves. Members of the DTKV are required to have a professional music degree.

In addition to the offerings of public music schools, there are also numerous private and independent music schools in Germany. These include large companies and franchise companies, some of which train teachers themselves or use their own teaching material. Many private music teachers run smaller private music schools on their own initiative, which are usually limited to a single classroom, certain instruments and sometimes to individual genres, for example, from the field of popular music.¹⁴

In contrast to public music schools, private music schools in general do not teach a wide variety of musical instruments but focus instead on the more popular ones. The teachers do not necessarily need to have earned a professional music degree. The added focus on ensemble playing is not a big part of private music schools. Teachers at private music schools in general earn less than their public music school counterparts. Due to the fact that the private music schools are business enterprises, aimed at being profitable and also due to the lack of public financial support, tuition for the students is higher than in public music schools.

Several private music schools have founded the Association of Independent Music Schools (BDFM).¹⁵ Together they aim to establish certain quality criteria for their member schools. As of 2016, 340 private music schools with approximately 127,000 students and 6,300 teachers belong to the BDFM.

Higher music education

There are a number of well-regarded music colleges in Germany, as well as music faculties at some universities. A variety of musical degrees can be obtained, ranging from performance majors, to music education for teaching an instrument, music education for general schools and musicology. Other degrees are composition, sound engineering or church music. Most degrees will be at the Bachelor level, but some are only achievable at the Master level. Not every music college or music faculty offers every degree or every instrument.

In order to be admitted, potential candidates have to go through an audition process that usually includes a short recital on their main instrument and the piano (if not the main instrument), singing and an examination in ear training and music theory. In general, every year there are many more applicants than available places in the programs. Study music at a German institute of higher education is free of charge.

¹³ Deutscher Tonkünstlerverband (DTKV).

¹⁴ Michael Dartsch, 'Außerschulische musikalische Bildung', *Musikleben in Deutschland* (Bonn: Deutsches Musikinformationszentrum, 2019), 78-105.

¹⁵ Bundesverband der freien Musikschulen (BDFM).

There are twenty-two music colleges in Germany that offer performance majors in classical guitar. Due to the fact that many very good guitarists from all over the world apply to study at these music colleges, as well as musicians from Germany, competition for the few spots is extremely high. Some institutes offer a performance Masters degree either for solo guitar or chamber music. The two most common music degrees for classical guitarists are the degree in music education at general education schools and the degree for guitar teaching, which is the most common requirement to work as an instrumental teacher in a public music school.

There are a few music colleges that try to develop new ideas in the music education of guitar teachers. One example is the Hochschule für Musik 'Carl Maria von Weber' in Dresden. Instead of the typical degree in classical guitar, the college has established a degree in acoustic guitar. This program combines classical training and playing techniques with a fingerstyle approach on steel-string acoustic guitar, expanding the range of musical styles to pop, jazz and world music. Learning to accompany and arrange in many different styles is also part of the program. In addition, electric guitar lessons can be included. Going this way, the guitar teachers will have a much broader musical experience and are more flexible in their teaching.

Something of a particularity in the educational system in Germany is the Specialist College. In general, these schools concentrate on a singular field of education. They have a very practical approach ingrained in their teaching philosophies and their offered subjects. Specialist Colleges can be public or private schools. Tuition has to be paid at private schools. Especially in Bavaria there is a number of music orientated colleges of this type. They mainly offer two-year music programs that are designed as preparation for a music college audition. A degree can be obtained by attending a third year and passing certain exams.

Conclusions

Music education is a greatly appreciated value in Germany and, especially through the public music school system, is accessible to everyone. From preschool age, through elementary and secondary school to college, everybody interested can go through a publicly funded musical education career and the most talented and dedicated musicians will find various opportunities for advancement. With the structure plan, the public music schools offer excellent guidelines for learning and teaching a musical instrument. A good framework for classical guitar instruction is the curriculum provided by the VdM. In order to broaden the musical horizons of classical guitarists in terms of literature, playing techniques and use of improvisation, a wider approach to the instrument, as offered by the acoustic guitar program by the Hochschule für Musik 'Carl Maria von Weber' in Dresden, could be beneficial, in public music schools as well as other music colleges.

APPENDIX

Chapter 21

TO TRANSCRIBE OR NOT TO TRANSCRIBE

Christian El Khouri

Guitar players all over the world increasingly perform music taken from the literature of other instruments, ranging from Spanish music for piano, to Renaissance masterpieces, Bach's Sonatas and Partitas or contemporary movie soundtracks, forming a list that could be potentially endless. Nowadays we can listen to almost every kind of repertoire played on a guitar. Performers seem to be mainly divided into two different streams of thought: those that are 'pro-transcriptions' and warmly welcome every new solution or idea – exploring every possible expedient or technical gimmick to carefully play every note of the original score on the guitar – and those who look at transcriptions more reluctantly, believing that the classical guitar repertoire is wide enough and arguing that it is not necessary to take inspiration from other instruments. In this chapter I will discuss the challenges that a guitarist faces in deciding whether to play music not originally written for the guitar, and the pros and cons of doing so.

Should we transcribe music?

There are several historical reasons to consider transcriptions, for instance, such as taking inspiration from pianists who have written beautiful arrangements for their instrument (such as those by Liszt and Busoni, among others). But even our instrument has a transcription-related history, as some of the most important names of our literature devoted their effort to transcribing other composers' music: Francisco Tárrega is famous for his versions of piano romantic pieces (including works by Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann and Chopin), which present a beautiful intimate dimension to the music. Miguel Llobet also brought the charm of some wonderful Spanish music (by Granados and Albéniz) as well as of other European composers (such as Tchaikovsky, Bizet and Chaminade) to the guitar. However, it should be noted that before them, other composers also cultivated this genre, such as 'Carulli, Matiegka, Schuster, Heeser, Küffner and others during the composer's lifetime; transcriptions of Chopin were already made by Bobrowicz, also during Chopin's lifetime and apparently with his blessing'.¹ Other examples

¹ Matanya Opee, 'The Promotion of Francisco Tárrega' Part I, *Soundboard* 8/3 (1981), 153.

include Josef Kaspar Mertz and Anton Diabelli who left us some stunning transcriptions of Schubert's lieder.

Leaving historical issues to an appropriate in-depth analysis that is beyond the scope of this chapter, I will focus on why guitar history is so intertwined with transcriptions. The main reason is that the guitar, as we know it, is a relatively 'young' instrument: while the violin, for example, has had almost its final shape and design for over 450 years (with the earliest surviving instrument built by Andrea Amati, founder of the Cremonese violinmaking school, dated 1564),² the guitar barely passed from double courses to single strings and added its sixth string by the last quarter of the eighteenth century.³ And still this instrument was far from what we consider the modern classical guitar today.

As a consequence, as guitarists, we miss a large slice of repertoire that we love to listen to, that is of fundamental importance to music history and that is absolutely necessary for our education as musicians. It is enough to consider the music of all the major composers that we miss from the Baroque era to understand how far-reaching this lack could be. A guitar student, for instance, could grow as a musician without getting in touch with Bach, Handel, Telemann, Vivaldi, Couperin, or, if we consider also later periods, without knowing Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven. Therefore, many guitarists find it necessary to deepen their knowledge of the repertoire of these great composers to better understand the evolution of different musical languages. This need also comes from a desire to compare the guitar with the so-called 'noble' instruments. The guitar has always had a dichotomous history, mainly due to its use in popular music in parallel to its path with the classical (in the sense of 'cultured') music. It has always been associated with popular music, from the early Baroque 'chitarra battente' (a sort of strumming guitar) to the Spanish 'flamenco'. Therefore, the entrance of the guitar to the 'noble' instruments family, along with its inclusion in academic curricula, brought out the necessity of being equal with other instruments in study programs.

This was the greatness of the key figure of the guitar in the twentieth century, Andrés Segovia (1893-1987), a guitarist that every guitar student gets to know sooner or later. His role in the development of the guitar is still an object of debate ranging from those who appreciate his different thoughts on music to those who find his way of playing anachronistic. But, debates and speculations aside, Segovia's role has been invaluable in bringing the guitar into the spotlight as an instrument with the same 'dignity' as other

² Carolyn Goldstein, 'The Art Behind the Baroque Violin', BA diss. (Syracuse University, 2016), 2.

³ For a detailed account of the development of the guitar from five courses to six single strings see Paul Sparks, 'The Origins of the Classical Guitar', in James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and Its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 191-297.

classical instruments. This is something that he did mainly by collaborating with several composers⁴ to enrich and expand the guitar repertoire, but also transcribing much music from other instruments. During his concerts, it was common to listen to Bach's Suites, Purcell's pieces, as well as music by Granados, Albéniz and other composers conceived for instruments other than the guitar. For instance, the program of one of his concerts held in Moscow in 1926 included a Suite in D minor by Robert de Visée, a *Sonatina* by Mauro Giuliani, an *Étude* by Napoléon Coste, a not specified Dance by Francisco Tárrega, a Loure by Johann Sebastian Bach, the Federico Moreno Torroba's *Sonatina*, the *Sevillana* by Joaquín Turina, two dances by Enrique Granados and a *Serenade* by Isaac Albéniz.⁵ Also, in one of Segovia's broadcasts for the BBC in 1934 the program consisted of: Prelude, Bourrée, Sarabande and Corrente from the Suite in D minor by Visée, Andante by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Chanson and Allegro by F. Moreno Torroba, a Danza by Granados and an *Étude* by Tárrega.⁶

Today, transcriptions have become common practice on the guitar, and not only limited to Baroque or piano music. Transcription styles are constantly changing and evolving, with transcribers often choosing from a wide variety of repertoires as a result of the constant evolution of guitar didactics, the continuous improvement of the players' technical skills and thanks to growing curiosity in new and ancient music. For instance, while in the past it was commonplace to explore only the Suites for lute by Bach, today we can find arrangements of his violin Partitas and Sonatas on the guitar. In a similar vein, while it was customary to listen only to a few of Scarlatti's sonatas, today we can listen to full guitar albums devoted to the music of this composer, not to mention arrangements of music by composers such as Telemann or Bieber and more modern music such as Piazzolla or Morricone. This is all without even having considered that the guitar has historically had a transcription practice inherent in its DNA and didactics, as it was strongly related to the majority of the plucked strings instruments (lute, baroque lute, theorbo, etc.) before the guitar had found its final shape and proper place in music history.

Different kinds of transcription

The art of transcription for guitar is generally divided into two types: works transcribed from instruments somehow related to the guitar and works taken

⁴ An example can be seen in the music composed by Manuel Maria Ponce. A detailed account of the relationship between Segovia and Ponce can be seen in Mark Dale, 'The Collaboration Between Manuel Ponce and Andrés Segovia', *Soundboard* 4 (1997), 15-22. See also Matanya Ophée, *The Segovia-Ponce Letters* (Columbus: Orphée, 1989).

⁵ Matanya Ophée, 'Segovia and the Russians', lecture held at the International Conference *Instrument of Change: The International Rise of the Guitar (c1870-1945)* (University of Melbourne, 9-11 Dec. 2016).

⁶ Allan Clive Jones, 'Segovia at the BBC', part 1, *Classical Guitar* (Apr., 2007), 18.



Illustration 21.1. Excerpt from 'Ricercare', Francesco Spinacino, *Intabulatura de lauto* (Venice, 1507), 39. Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Mus. ant. pract. P 680 (Reproduced by permission).

from totally different instruments or even ensembles. Of the first type, while we might notice weak points when comparing the guitar to other instruments, performing music of guitar-related instruments creates the possibility of getting in touch with a musical language from a far away time. In this sense, only a few instruments can really meet the requirements of Renaissance repertoire, and luckily the guitar is one of them, considering particularly that the tuning of the modern guitar is similar to that of the lute. We can therefore even play pieces, like the Ricercare in Illustration 21.1, directly from works such as *Intabulatura de lauto* (Venice, 1507), one of the first works ever printed in music history by Ottaviano Petrucci (1466-1539), who adapted Gutenberg's moveable type to music print and used a multiple-impression technique (first the music lines, then the notes or the letters, and the texts at the end).

Playing music originally conceived for the lute on guitar may seem easy, due to the instruments' similarities in tuning, but it is not an effortless process. This similarity in tuning makes this music indubitably possible on the guitar, but as musicians, we have to take care of how it will sound. The task of arranging music written for lute for the guitar is complicated by the fact that the lute, an instrument with a different physical structure to the guitar, was plucked mostly without nails on the performer's right hand, it had gut double-strings, different intonation depending on which geographical area the instrument was from and the interval between the fourth and the third course was a semitone lower than the one between the fourth and the third strings of the guitar. Moreover, the technique of the right hand in playing the lute has some fundamental differences to the guitar: the position is quite different (performers usually have the thumb more internal than the other fingers) and the technique of this hand is based on the alternation of the thumb (that must be heavier) and the index (that must be lighter). This is an idea hardly replicable on the guitar, which is based on the index and middle finger alternating with the same weight.⁷

⁷ On an approach to the historical performance on these instrument see Victor Coelho (ed.), *Performance on Lute, Guitar and Vihuela* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

This means that if we simply played lute tablature without considering these issues, we would have an unbalanced result. This, added to the fact that the guitar has a more powerful bass strength, a thicker and darker sound with less resonance and a more percussive sound with more sustain, makes the challenge of obtaining a similar result to original lute work a very difficult task.

In order to overcome these obstacles, some guitarists use a *capo*, trying to recreate the work's original key to make the sound lighter and closer to the original instrument. This, however, may lead to several potential problems: how can we be sure of the original intonation of the instrument? How could musicians of the time be sure of the exact intonation with unstable gut strings and frets and a tuning fork changing according to different places? How can we deal today with a constantly changing reference sound in the past? In his *History of Musical Pitch*, Alexander J. Ellis provides us with a detailed account of the intonation levels for early pianos.⁸ Extracted from this text are eight examples to illustrate that the standard pitch A could change depending on the place:

YEAR PITCH PLACE & SOURCE

- 1751 A=422.5, London. Handel's tuning fork. The box which contains the fork bears the inscription: 'This pitchfork was the property of the Immortal Handel and left by him at the Foundling Hospital, when the Messiah was performed in 1751'.
- c1754 A= 422.6, Lille, France. Tuning fork found in the workshop of M. Francois, musical instrument maker.
- 1776 A= 414.4, Breslau. Marpurg's pitch for clavichord tuning.
- 1780 A= 421.3, Vienna. Tuning fork of the Saxon organ builder Schulz who lived in Vienna during Mozart's lifetime.
- 1783 A=409, Paris. Fork of Pascal Taskin, Paris Court tuner.
- 1796 A= 436, St. Petersburg. Giuseppe Sarti's measurement of the pitch of the St. Petersburg opera. Chladni in his book on acoustics mentions that this pitch was 'very high'.
- c1810 A=430.0, Paris. Tuning fork belonging to M. Lemoine, a 'celebrated amateur'.
- c1820 A=433, London. 'Pitch approved by Sir George Smart, conductor of the Philharmonic'.

This shows how much and how often the standard pitch A could change depending on the city or time period, and how difficult, if not impossible, it can be to replicate precise historical intonation. Therefore, it is important to pay attention to all these elements on the lute, which is an instrument with a tuning very close to that of the guitar and with six courses most of the

⁸ Alexander J. Ellis, 'On the History of Musical Pitch', *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 5 Mar. 1880.

time. Of course, many additional problems present themselves if we consider a different guitar-related instrument. For instance, the baroque lute (or the archlute) has extra courses which change the extension and the resonances rules. This is even more demanding for a theorbo with its re-entrant tuning. The baroque guitar may also be tuned using a re-entrant tuning or other tunings according to the players.⁹

The use of the capo in trying to get as close as possible to the original key, intonation and sound could therefore be effective, but may not be enough since it is necessary to remember that we are playing an altogether different instrument, with different techniques, strings, sound and qualities. The most important aim should be to try to do something beautiful without imitating the original instrument, while respecting and enhancing the original musical ideas. If we just put the capo on to change the intonation, our guitar will not sound like a lute, but a shorter guitar.

In addition, it is worth considering that ancient guitar-related instruments did not use the modern music notation system. Music of this period was notated predominantly through tablature that physically indicates to the player which fret to push and which string to play through letters, numbers or both (the rhythm was generally indicated with signs above the number/letter). This means that the transcriber is required to fully understand and conceive of the polyphony and the counterpoint, which is a skill that demands experience, theoretical studies and deep knowledge of that particular musical style. All these elements considered together lead us to conclude that transcribing music from a guitar-related instrument is a valuable asset; it gives us the chance to literally bring back to life some music of invaluable beauty and has a great didactic importance. However, it requires serious work, attention and experience, as it hides many pitfalls and can therefore present as many difficulties as transcribing from a completely different instrument.

In this regard, the history of the modern classical guitar is intertwined with transcriptions from the time that instrument came to its almost final shape. At this time, almost all instrument types found their new 'look' on the guitar, from piano music (by Granados, Albéniz, Debussy, or Satie), to vocal music (Schubert), to strings (Bach and Villa-Lobos), to harpsichord sonatas (Scarlatti), and beyond. This means that, while the guitar literature, due to the young age of the instrument, needs to fill an apparent 'lack of repertoire' and to enhance its value by getting in touch with beautiful musical literature composed for other instruments, some pieces composed for piano,

⁹ On the stringing of this instrument see Donald Gill, 'The Stringing of the Five Course Baroque Guitar', *Early Music* 3/4, (1975), 370-371; Monica Hall, 'The Stringing of the Five Course Baroque Guitar', <https://monicahall2.files.wordpress.com/2012/03/stringing2012.pdf> (Accessed 2 Aug. 2022); and James Tyler, 'The Spanish Guitar (c.1600-c.1750)', in James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and Its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 47-189.

harpsicord, violin, cello, etc.. may also assume new shades and nuances, working beautifully even on the guitar.

A clear example of this is the many sonatas by Domenico Scarlatti. These works were created for harpsichord but they fit the guitar almost flawlessly. This is because the six-stringed instrument enhances the singability of this kind of music adding timbral richness and variety as well as emphasising the rhythmic aspect due to the percussive nature of its sound. This is similarly true of the music of Granados, which of course fits its original instrument, but gains an incredible warmth in terms of timbre and sound on the guitar, receiving a special 'Spanish touch' to its flavour. However, the path is not strewn with roses and guitars transcription present, as we shall now see, many pitfalls.

Technical difficulties: the guitar as a unique musical instrument

Within the instruments used in classical music, the guitar holds a very peculiar position. Firstly, it is a strong polyphonic instrument but has a smaller range than the piano. Secondly, it has prominent singability but cannot 'swell' the sound as a bowed instrument like the violin can. Lastly, it does not have the same sustain and volume of either the piano or violin. In this regard, Segovia used to say that 'the guitar is like an orchestra looked [at] with the reverse side of a binocular'.¹⁰ All these elements make composing for guitar extremely fascinating but incredibly hard at the same time. This is also due to the physiological characteristics of the instrument, including the fact that only four fingers are used to pluck the strings and that only a maximum of six notes can be played simultaneously, while the piano, for example, can easily play up to ten notes together. Moreover, most of the notes can be played in up to six different positions, and every position has a particular quality which needs to be technically and musically contextualised to be coherent with the timbre of the musical phrase or to make a passage technically smooth.

In addition, the guitar is strongly influenced by the presence of open strings, which inevitably sound more brilliant than fretted notes. They can therefore affect the playability of the different keys. The use of open strings while playing determines the sound of the final result due to their resonance on the guitar. For example, the standard tuning of a classical guitar is e-a-d'-g'-b'-e'' (from the sixth to the first string); on paper, it may seem that G minor would be a 'comfortable' key, as we have both the dominant and the tonic on an open string but, in truth, this is one of the most difficult keys to handle because we would constantly have to manage the sixth and the first strings resonance (a raised sixth) and the second string resonance (that would be a major third from the tonic in a minor key). Everything is indeed

¹⁰ Christopher Nupen, *Segovia at Los Olivos* (Allegro Films, 1967), min. 13.

manageable, but it may require, for instance, tuning the sixth string down to a D or bringing the second string down a semitone. This particular feature of the guitar unavoidably makes some keys more comfortable than others, making for example some keys that are very common in piano music very hostile to our instrument. Think of all the beautiful music Mozart originally composed in E flat major or G minor, that originally sounds soft and smooth, but would sound hard and ‘mechanic’ on the guitar.

Another characteristic aspect of the guitar is the notation system, which condenses the harmonic and contrapuntal richness of a polyphonic instrument into only one staff; this is almost unique in the world of polyphonic instruments, which often demand writing on a double staff. This feature makes it very challenging to organise polyphony graphically, requiring the transcriber to have a great knowledge of guitar writing. Furthermore, the guitar is a transposing instrument, as it sounds an octave lower than the notated sound, so special care must be taken so that the transcription fits the texture and range of the guitar, while respecting the idea of the sound of the original score.

Thus, a wide variety of scenarios are possible in transcribing music for the guitar, and the final result will not always be positive in terms of sound and difficulty. In this regard, for example, we could analyse the transcription of *Asturias* by Isaac Albéniz, a piece considered among the most emblematic works of the guitar literature despite being originally composed for piano. Many guitarists have transcribed this famous work, which allows us to compare different points of view. Among these different arrangements, an interesting example to subject to a close examination is the renowned Segovia’s version.¹¹ At first sight a key change is evident, from the original G minor to a more comfortable key, E minor. This allows the repeated notes of the initial part (b’) to be played on an open string (see Illustration 21.2). This solution clearly enhances the guitar’s resonance and gives technical smoothness to the performer, which produces a fluency of sound. This solution might be considered antithetic, or as not being faithful to the articulation indicated in the original score, as every note of the opening part of the piano version,¹² repeated notes included, are enriched with a ‘staccato’ sign. Other solutions aim to valorise the instrumental resources of the guitar through the use of *pizzicato*, or radical changes in the chords voicing.

It is clear that Segovia’s version has undergone significant adaptation and several modifications in order to fit a new coherent musical idea. In Segovia’s transcription, original dynamics or agogic signs are missing, meaning *de facto* a reasonable freedom from the original agogic phrasing. In contrast,

¹¹ Isaac Albéniz, *Asturias* for solo guitar, transcribed by Andrés Segovia (Buenos Aires: Ricordi, 1956).

¹² Isaac Albéniz, *Suite espagnole* (Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1914).



Illustration 21.2. Excerpt from Isaac Albéniz, *Asturias* for solo guitar, transcribed by Andrés Segovia (Buenos Aires: Ricordi, 1956), 3. Melos Ediciones Musicales S.A. (Reproduced by permission).

if we examine a version by Carles Trepát something different happens. The transcription does not present a change of key from the original piano work and, in order to do so, this guitarist lowers the sixth and fifth strings of the guitar a tone (in D and G) to get closer to the original G key (see Illustration 21.3).¹³ The result is that piece stays closer to the original atmosphere of the piano version. This intention is confirmed by the fact that every indication (articulation, agogics and dynamics) written on the piano version is meticulously copied in this transcription. But these efforts to maintain the original key in fact leads the theme to sound an octave lower, as the guitar is a transposing instrument, meaning the theme will sound darker than in the original piano version. Keeping the original register would have probably meant that the extension of the guitar would be only partly used (and would have resulted in an unbalanced sound), as well as potentially raising problems in the chordal disposition.

After briefly comparing two different ways of transcribing the same piece, the guitarist faces a dilemma. On one hand, Segovia's version fits the guitar incredibly well, enhancing for instance the 'Spanish touch flavour' and making good use of the guitar extension (not surprisingly, his transcription has been one of the most played since its publication to the present day); in this way *Asturias* has made its entrance into guitar history and repertoire, becoming a famous and emblematic piece of our literature. However, on the other hand, Trepát's transcription represents a more modern way of thinking 'out of the box', led by the intention of 'breaking with traditions', while simultaneously showing a rediscovered pious respect for the original score.

¹³ Trepát's transcription of *Asturias* has been recorded on his CD *El Albaicín* (Madrid: Nuevos Medios, 2007).

Allegro ma non troppo

5 en Sol
6 en Re

pp

marcato il canto

f pp

Illustration 21.3. Excerpt from Isaac Albéniz, *Asturias*, arranged by Carles Trepac (copied by Christian El Khouri).

Conclusions

In light of this, can we declare that one version is better than another? Unfortunately, no. One version aims to keep its musical meaning by enhancing the particularities of the instrument, and paradoxically, this gives more freedom to the transcriber; the other wants to keep the original musical meaning trying to remain as close to the original as possible. Transcribing, which is an essential and undeniable asset for our repertoire, is not only about putting as many original notes from one score into another, cutting or filling here and there to ‘fit’ the work to the guitar. It is about understanding the sound, respecting the music, the atmosphere, the context and the value of the piece we aim to transcribe, while making compromises and knowing that we will need experience, insight and competence to make it worth of playing. This also means that we could find countless versions of a work from which to choose depending on our playing style, or on which musical idea we want to enhance, or what we find beautiful and important in that particular piece.

Every choice we make should have its own dignity, if we have a deep and sincere musical reason and, if respectful and motivated, the simple statements ‘because I like it’ or ‘in my opinion it sounds better’ can lead in an intriguing direction. Our musical ear often offers us a possible choice if we are undecided, as sometimes our instinct suggests which solution sounds smoothest, and this will sound more fluent to the listener. Our insight is one of the most valuable assets we have, and when combined with expertise, competence and attention to detail, it opens up exciting and unexpected new horizons.

Chapter 22

LEO BROUWER IN PORTUGAL

*Tiago Cassola Marques**

The living legend Juan Leovigildo Brouwer Mezquida, better known as Leo Brouwer, is one of the major figures of the classical guitar scene, playing an important role in the development of this instrument, comparable only with other masters such as Segovia or Bream. Much research on his life and works has been done by scholars and other important personalities over the last two decades. Exhaustive chapters and insightful texts by the Spanish composer Tomás Marco, or the musicologists Juan Miguel Moreno Calderón, Jesús Gómez Cairo and the well-known Cuban *cantautor* Silvio Rodríguez, just to mention a few, discuss the legacy of the Leo Brouwer, either as a performer or a composer and give extraordinary clues about the rich and polyhedric personality of Leo Brouwer.¹ There is also extensive biographical data in the most complete monograph, *Leo Brouwer: Caminos de la creación* by Marta Rodríguez Cuervo and Victoria Eli Rodríguez,² or in the short but effective article ‘El método Brouweriano’ by Gloria Ariza Adame,³ both studies that are important tools for those who wish to broaden their knowledge of the Cuban composer. However, very little has so far been written on the presence of Leo Brouwer in Portugal. His continuous visits from the 1990s and his influence in this country is a subject worthy of consideration in the study of the history of the guitar in Portugal in recent times. Therefore, in this chapter I aim to offer an overview of the events Brouwer attended and how he influenced the guitar in Portugal in a period spanning more than thirty years.

Becoming a renowned figure

Born in 1939 in Havana (Cuba), Leo Brouwer soon started an international career as a professional guitarist and composer in the 1970s, touring all over the world to the most important festivals and concert halls, along

* I would like to thank Artur Caldeira, Augusto Pacheco, Javier Riba, Litó Godinho, Óscar Flecha, Paulo Vaz de Carvalho, Ricardo Barceló and Rui Gama for their help and encouragement during the preparation of this chapter.

¹ Isabelle Hernández (coord.), *Leo Brouwer, in Nombres propios de la guitarra* (Córdoba: Ayuntamiento de Córdoba, 2006).

² Marta Rodríguez Cuervo and Victoria Eli Rodríguez, *Leo Brouwer: Caminos de la creación* (Madrid: Iberautor, 2009).

³ Gloria Ariza Adame, ‘El método Brouweriano’, *Sexto orden* 7 (2012), 31-34.

with the most acclaimed soloists of the time. His recitals often combined his own compositions with contemporary music from his colleagues such as H. W. Henze or Bruno Maderna, while also featuring Baroque sonatas or his own arrangements of pop songs by The Beatles. His recitals were an incredible display of virtuosity, fantasy and strong personality. He also made a considerable number of recordings for Deutsche Grammophon, Erato, RCA Victor and other important labels, which attested to him being one of the leading figures of the time, with an impressive repertoire spanning from Scarlatti's Sonatas to Henze's *Cimarron*.

Amongst the most famous guitar summer festivals was the Festival Internacional de la Guitarra de Córdoba (Spain), founded in 1981 by the flamenco guitarist Paco Peña and since followed religiously by many guitar *aficionados*. The presence of the *maestro* Leo Brouwer at the Córdoba Guitar Festival at the end of the 1980s became natural, and was followed by an invitation to found and assume the role of principal conductor of the Orquesta de Córdoba in 1992. This Spanish picturesque town was close enough to come to Portugal.

The years of Santo Tirso

It is not possible to separate the presence of Leo Brouwer at the Santo Tirso Guitar Festival from what was occurring in Córdoba. In turn, it is neither possible to separate the presence of Leo Brouwer from the existence of the far-reaching personalities of Litó Godinho and Óscar Flecha, figures desiring to create an event uniquely worthy of an incredible amount of energy and commitment. The Town Council of Santo Tirso also made its own contribution, making an effort to finance such an unusual activity. But no less important was the existence of a fertile ground in which the seed could easily grow. This 'humus' – a whole new generation of young guitar students, players and teachers, eager for fresh ideas and innovative aesthetics – wanted to know more and more about the world outside their own borders. The sum of these four aspects led to the creation of one of the biggest and most important guitar festivals around the world, with plenty of recitals, concerts, masterclasses and seminars, growing year after year until it reached gigantic proportions. One could easily listen in the same year to incredible artists such as David Russell, Manuel Barrueco, The Assad Brothers, David Starobin, Hopkinson Smith, Eduardo Isaac and Kazuhito Yamashita, among many other top players. Certainly, in this context, Leo Brouwer could not be left out.

As far as we know, the first presence of Leo Brouwer in Portugal occurred during the first Festival Internacional de Guitarra de Santo Tirso, between the 20th June and the 1st of July 1994, in other words, right from the start of this festival.⁴ Along with other great international guitarists such as David

⁴ Litó Godinho, e-mail message to author, personal interview, 25 Oct. 2022.



Illustration 22.1. Leo Brouwer (conductor), watching Eduardo Isaac playing *Paisaje cubano con campanas*, during the First Festival Internacional de Guitarra de Santo Tirso, in an encore moment, after the *Concierto de Aranjuez*. Auditório Engº. Eurico de Melo, Santo Tirso (Portugal), 1 July 1994. Photograph kindly provided by Litó Godinho (Reproduced by permission).

Russell (Scotland), Roberto Aussel (Argentina) or the famous Brazilian Assad Brothers, Leo Brouwer was invited to conduct the Orquestra do Norte, along with the Argentinian Eduardo Isaac (soloist) on the last day of the festival, playing his own composition, *Concierto Elegíaco*, and the famous *Concierto de Aranjuez* by Joaquín Rodrigo. In that same year, Brouwer was invited to give a fifteen-hour masterclass on composition and guitar performance.

The second edition of the Festival Internacional de Guitarra de Santo Tirso gathered in 1995, once again, great guitar soloists such as the Assad Brothers, Hopkinson Smith (USA), Roberto Aussel, Eduardo Isaac and the rising star of the time, the amazing Japanese Kazuhito Yamashita. This year, Leo Brouwer once again attended the Santo Tirso Guitar Festival, giving a fifteen-hour masterclass one more time. Fortunately, there is still an 1h30' old VHS tape of extraordinary, rare and priceless amateur footage of this masterclass, full of rich details on his teaching methods and deep speech.⁵

Two years later, in 1997, the fourth festival took place, attended by well-known figures of the guitar such as David Starobin (USA), Hopkinson Smith, Manuel Barrueco (Cuba), Eduardo Isaac, Roland Dyens (France), Roberto

⁵ This video recording was analysed in Tiago Cassola, 'Projecto educativo. Leo Brouwer: Contributos para a pedagogia guitarrística', M diss. (Universidade de Aveiro, 2012), 65-88.

Aussel, Elena Papandreou and Costas Cotsiolis (both from Greece) and David Russell. As if this was not enough, the classical guitar fans had the opportunity to once again watch Leo Brouwer's conducting skills. This time he brought with him the young Orquesta de Córdoba, along with the phenomenal Kazuhito Yamashita. Those who were lucky enough to attend the opening concert of the festival had the opportunity to listen to a unique event, with Yamashita playing four guitar concertos in a row. On the 28th of June in 1997, at 9.30 pm on a sizzling Saturday summer night at the Auditório Eng. Eurico de Melo, in the first half of the concert Yamashita premiered Keiko Fujiie's Guitar Concerto no. 1 composed that same year (1997), then he played the Castelnuovo-Tedesco's Guitar Concerto no. 1 op. 99 in D Major. In the second half, the audience had the opportunity to listen to the Portuguese premiere of the Takeshi Yoshimatsu's guitar concerto *Pegasus Effect* op. 21, as well as the famous *Concierto de Aranjuez*. Time stood still for some minutes with the immense applause that followed the Rodrigo's last note. Yamashita displayed an incredible amount of virtuosity, sensitiveness, and incredibly rare performance skills, all under the extraordinary baton of Leo Brouwer.⁶

After Santo Tirso, 1998-2001

Leo Brouwer visited Portugal once again in 1998, but this time not in Santo Tirso. As a matter of fact, due to major differences between the two Santo Tirso artistic directors, Leo Brouwer would never come back to this town, and Litó Godinho and Óscar Flecha went their separate ways.⁷ For better or worse, the Santo Tirso Guitar Festival would never be the same. Instead, Leo Brouwer went to Fafe, another little town in the northern region of Portugal, to give the first course on guitar performance, directed by Litó Godinho and the maestro José Atalaya. The course was held in the vibrant Academia de Música José Atalaya, between the 23th and 25th of June 1998.

Soon after, in 2001, the Cuban *maestro* came back to Portugal, but this time he went to Trofa, another small town very close to Santo Tirso, which had already had the first edition of its guitar festival the year before. According to Litó Godinho, 'the second edition of the Trofa International Guitar Festival & Competition is still considered to be the greatest guitar event in Portugal ever'.⁸ Besides many other activities, such as concerts, seminars as well as a guitar competition, Leo Brouwer also held a fifteen-hour normal masterclass and a ten-hour masterclass on composition. The festival also paid a deserved homage to the career of Leo Brouwer, having by then spent fifty

⁶ 'Appearances of Kazuhito Yamashita at the Festival Internacional de Guitarra de Santo Tirso festival', <https://kazuhitoyamashita.com> (Accessed 15 Jan. 2023).

⁷ Álvaro Brito Moreira (ed.), *Festival Internacional de Guitarra. Vinte Anos 1994-2013* (Santo Tirso: Câmara Municipal de Santo Tirso, 2013), 18.

⁸ Litó Godinho, personal interview with author, phone call, 15 Nov. 2022.

years making music. Many works by the Cuban composer were performed during this festival, with particular emphasis to the *Concierto de Volos* and the *Concierto doble*, for guitar and violin, premiered in Portugal, played by the Orquestra Musicare and conducted by Cesário Costa. The soloists were Costas Cotsiolis (guitar) and Jurgen Schwietering (violin).

Latest years, 2018-2022

Many years have passed since Santo Tirso, Fafe and Trofa, a long hiatus of almost twenty years. The continuous presence of Leo Brouwer in the guitar scene in Portugal at the end of the century made him one of the most beloved guitar personalities among the Portuguese guitar community. Due to his old age, it was difficult to expect his presence in this country again. Rui Gama, guitar teacher at the Music Conservatory of Braga, as well as founder and artistic director of the Orquestra de Cordas Dedilhadas do Minho, organized the II Estágio Internacional de Cordas Dedilhadas da Cidade de Braga (4 to 7 October 2018), an orchestra of plucked string instruments that Brouwer was invited to conduct. In fact, this event, which was very well-received by the enthusiasts of Leo Brouwer, soon became an unmissable rendezvous with a large number of interested attendants from all across Portugal, Spain and Brazil. (The submission soon exceeded the number of fifty guitarists and the organisation ran out of vacancies). In this enormous guitar orchestra, we could observe different generations of guitarists, ranging from the youngest guitarists to the most experienced teachers.

The workshop consisted in four days of intense work on Leo Brouwer's repertoire for big guitar ensembles, such as *Paisaje cubano con rumba* (1985), *Concerto grosso* (2017) and *Concerto de Tricastín* (2014), these two last works being premiered in Portugal. At last, the final concert took place at the Teatro Circo in Braga and was a major success mainly because it put an end to a long term without the presence of Brouwer in Portugal, but also due to the record number of attendees desiring once again to be in close proximity to this living legend, making music together under his baton.

The *Concerto de Tricastín*, for two guitars and guitar orchestra, a very complex orchestral and solo piece, was played by the Portuguese duo Augusto Pacheco and Rui Gama. Gama himself expressed:

It was a privilege to host Maestro Leo Brouwer in the Portuguese city of Braga at the Second International Workshop of Plucked Strings of Braga. Four days of intense sharing between the most representative guitarists of our country, under the guidance of the biggest living guitar legend of the world. A meeting between musicians across several generations and countries that I am sure no one will never forget.⁹

⁹ Rui Gama, 'Foi um privilégio receber o Maestro Leo Brouwer na cidade de Braga, palco da II Edição do Estágio Internacional de Cordas Dedilhadas. Quatro dias intensos de par-



Illustration 22.2. Leo Brouwer conducting the Guitar Orchestra during the performance of *Concierto Tricastín* (Augusto Pacheco and Rui Gama, soloists), II Estágio Internacional de Cordas Dedilhadas da Cidade de Braga. 7 October 2018, Teatro Circo, Braga (Portugal). Photograph kindly provided by Sérgio Gomes (Reproduced by permission).

The other soloist, Augusto Pacheco, was one of the very young guitar students who appears in the 1995 video, twenty-three years prior, during a masterclass with the *maestro*. One can hardly imagine the strong emotion to meet him once again and be conducted by Leo Brouwer himself. In Pacheco's own words:

I had the privilege to live with Brouwer two very different moments in my life. The first, while a student in the '90s, during a masterclass in Santo Tirso, and the other one in Braga, in 2018, where I could share the stage with the Maestro, enjoying the extraordinary and unique emotion to play his own music under his baton. It is for me very difficult, almost impossible to put down in words how much Leo Brouwer impressed me, either in those moments that I personally shared with him, but also all during other moments either as a teacher or as a performer that I dedicate to his music. Nevertheless, I still remember how it deeply touched me, after two decades and at a very advanced age, I saw once again the *Maestro* and how he kept intact his passion, dedication, energy, wisdom and insight, a kind of timelessness far beyond the common mortals.¹⁰

tilha artística entre os mais representativos guitarristas do nosso país e com a orientação da figura máxima viva mundial da guitarra. Um encontro de músicos de várias gerações e vários países que com toda a certeza jamais esquecerão'. Facebook interview, 28 Sep. 2022 (Accessed 15 Dec. 2022).

¹⁰ 'Falar de Leo Brouwer é falar duma lenda viva do universo da Guitarra. O conjunto notável e vastíssimo das suas obras faz com que estejam presentes nas mãos do mais pequeno aprendiz até às do mais exímio profissional. Tive o privilégio de conviver com Brouwer em duas situações e fases de vida muito distintas. A primeira, ainda estudante nos anos 90, numa masterclass em Santo Tirso, a segunda em Braga, em 2018 onde pude partilhar o palco com

In 2022 Leo Brouwer was named member of honour and president of the Jury at the Second Portugal International Guitar Composition Competition in Seixal. According to Litó Godinho, once again the promoter of an event with Leo Brouwer, ‘this meeting gathered composers from 32 countries, coming from 4 different continents, and considered by different personalities (including Leo, who calls it “unique”) and different entities as “the most important guitar composition competition in the world”’.¹¹ Although, due to either logistic or political reasons, the *maestro* attended online, he certainly provided a different but enriching experience.

The ethereal presence of Leo Brouwer in Portugal

The masterclasses that Brouwer gave in Portugal between 1994 and 2001 are considered by many to be authentic landmarks.¹² The lack of reliable information makes it impossible to quantify the exact number of attendees at those masterclasses, or to identify precisely all the students that followed such courses. I have already referred to an old VHS with some images of the 1995 Santo Tirso masterclass, where I could identify some of the students, such as Artur Caldeira, Paulo Peres or the already mentioned Augusto Pacheco. Nevertheless, in 2012, it was possible to identify and track down about a dozen students, who kindly shared their deep memories and emotions, to whom I am deeply grateful. I had already had the opportunity to focus on many aspects of Leo Brouwer’s pedagogical and artistic influence,¹³ with most of these students referring to his extremely rich personality, deep knowledge and impressive cultural background, as well as how he positively influenced them both artistically and personally, providing important clues as to how a music teacher should be:

Although many of these aspects [teaching methods during the masterclasses] are mostly common to many other teachers and pedagogues [...], his level of success leaves in its cultural, professional and human richness, in his communicational skills (verbal, paralinguistic and kinesthetic, often

o Maestro usufruindo da extraordinária e ímpar emoção de tocar a sua música sob a sua batuta. É muito difícil, praticamente impossível, resumir em palavras o quanto me marcou Leo Brouwer quer nos momentos que convivi pessoalmente com ele quer em todas as horas que, como pedagogo e intérprete, dedico à sua música. Apesar disso recordo o quanto fiquei maravilhado, após duas décadas e já numa idade avançada, reví o Maestro e ele mantinha intactas a sua paixão, entrega, energia, sabedoria e perspicácia numa intemporalidade longe do alcance dos comuns mortais’, Augusto Pacheco, personal interview with author, 26 Oct. 2022.

¹¹ ‘Certame que reuniu candidatos de 32 países oriundos de 4 continentes. Este Evento é considerado por diversas individualidades (incluindo Leo, que o considera “Único”) e por diversas entidades como [cit.] “The most important guitar composition competition in the world”’, Litó Godinho, e-mail message to author, personal interview, 26 Oct. 2022.

¹² On the study of these masterclasses see Cassola, ‘Projecto educativo’.

¹³ Cassola, ‘Projecto educativo’.

using the orchestral conducting gestures) and concise explanations, in the accuracy, dynamics and authority in the classroom.¹⁴

Though it is almost impossible to quantify with accuracy the presence of the music by Leo Brouwer in concert programs all over Portugal as well as among the curricula of all the Portuguese Conservatories and music Academies, we know that he has been very well represented since at least the 1980s, not only by his *Estudios sencillos*, but also the *Preludios Epigramáticos*, *Pieza sin título nº 1*, *Danza característica*, *Canción de cuna*, *Danza del Altiplano*, and so on.

The great Brazilian guitarist Maria Livia São Marcos, for instance, played the *Concerto Elegiaco* with the Porto Symphonic Orchestra at the Teatro do Campo Alegre (Porto) in the 1990s (unfortunately she does not remember exactly the day or the conductor). Recordings and performances of some of Leo Brouwer's major works have also been made in this country by important guitarists: José Pina (*Variations on a theme by Django Reinhardt*), Paulo Vaz de Carvalho (*Elogio de la danza*, *Fuga*, *Canticum*, *Espiral eterna*), António Jorge Gonçalves (*El Decamerón Negro*), Artur Caldeira (*Variations*, *Sonata*, *Tarantos*), Paula Marques (*El Decamerón Negro*), Dejan Ivanović (*Guitar Sonata*), Júlio Guerreiro (*El Decamerón Negro*), Pedro Rodrigues (*Guitar Sonata*), André Madeira (*La Espiral Eterna*) or recently Francisco Berény (*La Gran Sarabanda*) just to mention a few. Also, the Orquestra Portuguesa de Guitarras e Bandolins has just premiered in Portugal his new work *Quasi concert grosso* (2020), a double concerto for mandolin, guitar and plectrum orchestra, played by the *virtuosi* Vincent Beer-Demander (mandolin) and Pedro Rodrigues (guitar).

Brouwer has also influenced academic production. For instance, Artur Caldeira presented in 2011 his masters thesis 'Leo Brouwer, Figura incontornável da guitarra',¹⁵ and so did Kornel Fülöp's with 'The sarabande in Leo Brouwer's work for the classical guitar', or the already mentioned 'Leo Brouwer, Contributos para a Pedagogia Guitarrística' by the author of this chapter. The *Estudos Evocativos* by the guitarist and composer Ricardo Abreu are an explicit homage to the *Estudios sencillos* by Brouwer.

Conclusions

Understanding the range and pedagogical relevance of the compositions of Leo Brouwer in all the music schools in Portugal (either academies, conservatories or universities), as well as to study accurately the presence of his music in the

¹⁴ 'Embora muitos destes aspectos sejam comuns a tantos outros professores e pedagogos [...], o seu nível de sucesso poderá residir na riqueza cultural, profissional e humana, na sua eloquência comunicativa (verbal, paralinguística e cinestésica, recorrendo frequentemente à gestualidade da direção orquestral) e concisão expositiva, no rigor, dinamismo e autoridade na sala de aula', Cassola, 'Projecto educativo', 99.

¹⁵ Artur Caldeira, 'Leo Brouwer, figura incontornável da guitarra', M diss. (Instituto Politécnico do Porto, 2011).

concerts held in this country are a difficult task but worth the study. It seems impossible to quantify the impact of Leo Brouwer in Portugal and to measure how far his influence has reached, but we can ascertain that he particularly touched the first generation of students who were in their twenties when he first came, and are now themselves experienced guitarists. Therefore, we can conclude that the presence of Leo Brouwer goes far beyond those six physical appearances in the years of 1994, 1995, 1997, 1998, 2001 and 2018. Leo Brouwer was not only a major influence on the younger guitarists of the time, he continues to inspire the younger generations today. It would be interesting to study if there is any evidence of Portugal in Brouwer's compositions, be it stylistic, cultural, musical or linguistic.

Leo Brouwer has obtained more than a hundred awards throughout his life, from UNESCO and Cannes, international nominations and academic recognitions, and Doctor Honoris Causa in several foreign Universities. His continuous presence and the important role he has played in Portugal makes worth considering the possibility of also granting him a Doctor Honoris Causa in one of the Portuguese universities, especially one of those with a music department.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

General Sources

- A.P.D.G., *Sketches of Portuguese Life, Manners, Costume and Character* (London: Georg B. Whittaker, 1826).
- Abreu, Antonio, *Escuela para tocar con perfeccion la guitarra de cinco y seis ordenes* (Salamanca: Víctor Prieto and Imprenta de la calle Prior, 1799).
- Aguado, Dionisio, *Méthode complète traduite en français par François de Fossa* (Paris: The author, 1826).
- Alaya Ruíz, Juan Carlos, 'Vicente Espinel: Evidencias de una obra musical hoy desconocida', *Revista del Conservatorio Superior de Música de Málaga* 4 (2006), 5-23.
- Albéniz, Isaac, *Asturias for solo guitar*, transcribed by Andrés Segovia (Buenos Aires: Ricordi, 1956).
- , *Suite Espagnole* (Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1914).
- Albèra, Philippe, 'The Myth and the Unconscious', in Jean J. Nattiez (dir.), *The Musical Avant-Gardes of the Twentieth Century* (Turin: Einaudi, 2001), 48-62.
- Aleixo, Ricardo Jorge de Sousa, *La guitarra en Madrid (1750-1808)* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2016).
- Alton Smith, Douglas, *A History of the Lute from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (n.p.: The Lute Society of America, 2002).
- , 'A Biography of Silvius Leopold Weiss', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 31 (1998), 1-48.
- Amat, Joan Carles, *Guitarra española de cinco órdenes* (Barcelona: Lorenço Dèu, 1639).
- Amersfoort, Jelma van, 'The Accompanied Song', in Christopher Page, Paul Sparks, James and Westbrook (eds.), *The Great Vogue for the Guitar in Western Europe: 1800-1840* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2023), 139-56.
- , "'The Notes Were not Sweet till you Sung Them": French Vocal Music with Guitar Accompaniment, c.1800-1840', *Early Music* 41/4 (2013), 605-19.
- Anon., 'J. P. S. S', *Arte de muzica para viola franceza* (Braga, 1839).
- Ariza Adame, Gloria, 'El método Brouweriano', *Sexto orden* 7 (2012), 31-34.
- Arriaga, Gerardo, 'Francisco y Gabriel Guerau, músicos mallorquines', *Revista de Musicología* 7/2 (1984), 253-99.
- Azevedo, Sérgio, *A invensão dos sons, uma panorâmica da composição em portugal hoje* (Lisbon: Editorial Caminho, 1998).
- Barberis, Melchior de, *Opera intitolata Contina* (Venice: Girolamo Scoto, 1549).

- Barceló, Ricardo, 'Gatayes e Sor: Professores de guitarra em escolas para raparigas em Paris?', *Il Fronimo* 156 (2011), 37-44.
- Beckford, William, *Diário de William Beckford em Portugal e Espanha* (Lisbon: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1957).
- Bergadà, M., s.v. 'Castro de Gistau, Salvador', in Joël-Marie Fauquet, *Dictionnaire de la musique en France au XIX^e Siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2003).
- Berger, Leonie and Joachim, *Anna Amalia von Weimar. Eine Biographie* (München: C. H. B a.M., 2006).
- Berlioz, Hector, *Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes* (Paris: Schonenberger, 1844).
- Biraghi, Francesco and Paola Carlomagno, 'Alla scoperta di Antonio Nava, chitarrista milanese', *Il Fronimo* 159 (2012), 31-34; 'Antonio Nava. Chitarrista italiano non più sconosciuto' (prima parte), *Il Fronimo* 161 (2013), 17-24; (seconda parte), *Il Fronimo* 164 (2013), 31-44.
- Bonafini, Sara, 'Ruggero Chiesa, una vita per la chitarra', BA diss. (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, 1995).
- Borchert, Angela, 'Goethe's Eulogy for Duchess Anna Amalia: Re-Membering Classicism', *Modern Language Studies* 31/1 (2001), 59-77.
- Borges de Azevedo, João Manuel, *Uma tablatura para guitarra barroca: O livro do Conde de Redondo* (Lisbon: Instituto Português do Património Cultural, 1987).
- Boye, Gary R., 'Giovanni Battista Granata and the Development of Printed Guitar Music in Seventeenth-Century Italy', PhD diss. (Duke University, 1995).
- Briso de Montiano, Luis, 'Aguado. Testamento y memoria', *Roseta* (2023), forthcoming.
- , 'Dionisio Aguado (1784-1849)', in Christopher Page, Paul Sparks and James Westbrook (eds.), *The Great Vogue for the Guitar in Western Europe: 1800-1840* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2023), 221-236.
- , 'Dionisio Aguado. Los escritos a Santiago de Masarnau', *Roseta* 16 (2021-22), 6-41.
- , 'Dionisio Aguado: El hijo', *Roseta* 15 (2020), 6-51.
- , 'Colecciones y periódicos de música para guitarra en Madrid (1788-1830)', *Roseta* 14 (2019), 20-50.
- , 'Una parte de la biblioteca personal de Dionisio Aguado en el legado de Rosario Huidobro', *Roseta* 12 (2018), 115-64.
- , *Un fondo desconocido de música para guitarra* (Madrid: Ópera tres, 1995).
- Brito Moreira, Álvaro (ed.), *Festival Internacional de Guitarra. Vinte Anos 1994-2013* (Santo Tirso: Câmara Municipal de Santo Tirso, 2013).
- Britton, Andrew, 'The Guitar in the Romantic Period: its Musical and Social Development, with Special Reference to Bristol and Bath', PhD diss. (University of London, 2010).

- Brown, Howard Mayer, 'The Geography of Florentine Monody: Caccini at Home and Abroad', *Early Music* 9 (1981), 147-68.
- , *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965).
- Budasz, Rogério, 'Black Guitar-Players and Early African-Iberian Music in Portugal and Brazil', *Early Music* 35/1 (2007), 3-21.
- , 'The Five Course Guitar (*Viola*) in Portugal and Brazil in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', PhD diss. (University of South California, 2001).
- Burgers, Jan W. J., *Francesco Molino (1768-1847). Guitarist and Violinist. Life and Works* (Dieren: Bergmann, 2021).
- Burney, Charles, *Voyage musical dans l'Europe des Lumières*, Michel Noiray (trad.) (Paris: Flammarion, 1992).
- , *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*, 3 vols. (London: T. Becket et al, 1773).
- Calandruccio, Romolo, 'Ferdinando Carulli (Napoli, 09.02.1770-Parigi 14.02.1841). Un aggiornamento biografico tra dati storici e ipotesi a 250 anni dalla nascita', *Il Fronimo* 191 (2020), 25-42; *Il Fronimo* 192 (2021), 7-53; *Il Fronimo* 193 (2021), 7-37; *Il Fronimo* 194 (2021), 33-57; *Il Fronimo* 195 (2021), 5-22.
- Caldeira Cabral, Pedro, *À descoberta da guitarra portuguesa* (Santo Tirso: Câmara Municipal de Santo Tirso, 2002).
- Caldeira, Artur, 'Leo Brouwer, figura incontornável da guitarra', M diss. (Instituto Politécnico do Porto, 2011).
- Campo Tejedor, Alberto del, and Rafael Cáceres Feria, 'Tocar a lo barbero. La Guitarra, la música popular y el barbero en el Siglo XVII', *BLO* 3 (2013), 9-47.
- Carlos de Brito, Manuel, *Estudos de história da música em Portugal* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1989).
- Carlos de Brito, Manuel, and Luísa Cymbron, *História da música portuguesa* (Lisbon: Universidade aberta, 1992).
- Carpintero, Ana, 'Vida y obra del músico Federico Moretti: Estudio documental y artístico', PhD diss. (University of Zaragoza, 2015).
- , 'El Mariscal de Campo don Federico Moretti (1769 - †1839): vida y obra militar', *Revista de historia militar* 108 (2010), 77-110.
- , 'Federico Moretti (1769-1839), I. Vida y obra musical', *Nassarre* 25 (2009), 110-34.
- Cascudo, Teresa, s.v. 'Azevedo, António Sérgio', in Salwa Castelo-Branco (ed.), *Enciclopédia da música portuguesa no século XX*, vol. I (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, Tema e Debates, 2010).
- Cassola, Tiago, 'Projecto educativo. Leo Brouwer: Contributos para a pedagogia guitarrística', M diss. (Universidade de Aveiro, 2012).

- Castelo-Branco, Salwa El-Shawan and Manuel Carlos de Brito, *Enciclopédia da música portuguesa no século XX*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, Tema e Debates, 2010).
- Castro Escudero, José, 'La méthode pour la guitare de Luis Briceño', *Revue de Musicologie* 51 (1965), 131-44.
- Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de, *Complete Works*, vol. 2, *Novelas ejemplares* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1975).
- Chiesa, Ruggero, *Guitar Gradus. Metodo elementare per chitarra* (Milan: Edizioni Suvini Zerboni, 1982).
- , 'Premessa', *Il Fronimo* 1 (1972), 5-6.
- Choron, Alexandre Étienne, and François Joseph M. Fayolle, *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens, artistes et amateurs, morts ou vivans*, 2 vols. (Paris: Valade, Lenormant, 1810).
- Ciacchi, Andrea, and Mariateresa Dellaborra, 'António da Costa compositor e commentatore della scena musicale italiana settecentesca', *Fonti Musicali Italiane* 25 (2020), 33-60.
- Clarke, Sarah, 'An Instrument in Comparative Oblivion? Women and the Guitar in Victorian London', PhD diss. (The Open University, 2021).
- Clerch, Joaquín, *Concierto de Otoño and Concierto de Cáceres*, Thomas Gabrisch (cond.), Orquesta de Cámara de la Habana, MDG (2012).
- Coelho, Victor Anand (ed.), *Performance on Lute, Guitar and Vihuela* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Colla, Alberto, *Trattato di armonia moderna e contemporanea*, vol. 1 (Milan: Carisch Editore, 2015).
- Corrette, Michel, *Les dons d'Apollon* (Paris, 1762).
- Costa, Duarte, *Método de guitarra composto em 5 partes* (Lisbon: Edição Escolas de Guitarra de Duarte Costa, 1967).
- Covarrubias, Sebastián de, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (Madrid, 1611).
- Crawford, Tim, 'Silvius Leopold Weiss and the Dresden and London Manuscripts of His Music', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 39 (2006), 1-74.
- Cristoforetti, Orlando, *Libro primo d'intavolatura di chitaronne*, facs. ed. (Florence: Archivum Musicum, 1982).
- Dalitz, Christoph, and Christine Pranzas, 'German Lute Tablature Recognition', *Proceedings of the 10th International Conference on Document Image Analysis and Recognition* (NW, Washington: IEEE Computer Society, 2009), 371-75.
- Danner, Peter, 'Giovanni Paolo Foscari and His "Nuova Invention"', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 7 (1974), 4-18.
- Danuser, Hermann, 'Darmstadt a School?', in Jean J. Nattiez (ed.), *The musical Avant-gardes of the Twentieth Century* (Torino: Einaudi, 2001), 166-79.
- Dartsch, Michael, 'Außerschulische musikalische Bildung', *Musikleben in Deutschland* (Bonn: Deutsches Musikinformationszentrum, 2019), 78-105.

- Delgado García, Fernando, 'Los gobiernos de España y la formación del músico (1812-1956)', PhD diss. (Universidad de Sevilla, 2003).
- Dell'Ara, Mario, *Francesco Molino: Vita e opere*, vol. 1 (Savigliano: Rosa Sonora, 2014).
- , 'Antoine Gatayes', *Il Fronimo* 156 (2011), 7-15.
- , 'Catalogo delle opere di Matteo Carcassi', *Il Fronimo* 108 (1999), 35-42.
- , 'Luigi, Valentino e Francesco Molino', *Il Fronimo* 50 (1985), 14-42.
- , *Manuale di storia della chitarra* (Ancona: Bèrben, 1984).
- Deutscher Musikrat, *Jugend musiziert 58. Wettbewerb, Ausschreibung 2021* (München: Deutscher Musikrat, 2020).
- Devecchi, Paolo, 'La rivista "Il Fronimo" di Ruggero Chiesa (1972-1993), L'uomo e il suo "dialogo". Sguardo sull'opera pubblicitaria di un maestro della chitarra del Novecento', BA diss. (Università degli studi di Torino, 2012).
- Direção-Geral de Estatísticas da Educação e Ciência, 'Report (2021)', prepared under the scope of the Working Group for Specialised Artistic Courses (GTCAE), Despacho n.º 435-A/2021.
- Doizi de Velasco, Nicolao, *Nuevo modo de cifra para tañer la guitarra* (Naples, 1640).
- Dolata, David, 'Review of Andreas Schlegel, *Die Laute in Europa: Geschichte und Geschichten zum Geniessen* (Menziken: The Lute Corner, 2006)', *Notes* 66/1 (2009), 96-98.
- Donatoni, Franco, *Questo (This)* (Milan: Adelphi, 1970).
- Duarte Tavares, João, 'Ensaio sobre a música para guitarra barroca em Portugal (1640-1740)', PhD diss. (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2004).
- Durães Albuquerque, Maria João, 'La edición musical en Portugal (1834-1900): un estudio documental', PhD diss. (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2014).
- , *A edição musical em Portugal (1750-1834)* (Lisbon: INCM, 2006).
- Ellis, Alexander J., 'On the History of Musical Pitch', *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 5 Mar. 1880.
- Estévez, José Luis, '50 años de "Música en Compostela"', *El País*, 9 Aug. 2007.
- Etzion, Judith, 'Spanish Music as Perceived in Western Music Historiography: A Case of the Black Legend?', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 29/2 (1998), 93-120.
- Fellinger, Imogen, *Periodica musicalia (1789-1830)* (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1986).
- Fernandes, Domingos (dir.), *Estado da educação 2021* (Lisbon: Conselho Nacional de Educação, 2022).
- Fernandes, Domingos, Jorge Ramos do Ó and Mário B. Ferreira (eds.), *Estudo de avaliação do ensino artístico* (Lisbon: Universidade de Lisboa, 2007).
- Fétis, François-Joseph, *A musica ao alcance de todos por Mr. Fetis*, José Ernesto D'Almeida (trad.) (Porto: Typographia Commercial, 1845).

- , *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, vol. 8 (Brussels: Meline, Cans et Compagnie, 1844).
- , *La Musique mise à la portée de tout le monde* (Paris: Alexandre Mesnier, 1830).
- Filippo Tomassini, *Conserto vago di balletti, volte, correnti ed gagliarde, con la loro canzone alla franzese: Nuovamente posti in luce per sonare con liuto, tiorba et chitarrino a quatro corde alla Napolitana insieme, o soli ad arbitrio, e diletto de' virtuosi et nobili professori o studiosi di questi instrumenti* (Rome: Filippo Tomassini, 1645).
- Freitas Branco, João de, *História da música portuguesa* (Lisbon: Europa-América, 1959).
- Galilei, Vincenzo, *Fronimo: dialogo di Vincentio Galilei nobile fiorentino sopra l'arte del bene intavolare, et rettamente sonare la musica negli strumenti artificiali si di corde come di fiato, & in particolare nel liuto* (Venice, 1584).
- García Antón, Fernando 'La guitarra española en la conformación de una identidad sonora nacional entre Ilustración y Romanticismo (1789-1833)', PhD diss. (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2017).
- García Avello, Ramón, s.v. 'Alhambriismo', in *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 1999).
- Garrobé, Àlex, 'L'univers estètic de Joaquim Homs (1906-2003)', PhD diss. (Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma, 2015).
- Gaspar Sanz, *Instruccion de musica sobre la guitarra española* (Zaragoza, 1674).
- Gässer, Luis (ed.), *Estudios sobre Fernando Sor*, (Madrid: ICCMU, 2010)
- Gatayes, Pierre Jean, *Seconde méthode de guitare à six cordes* (Paris: Frère, c1815).
- Gavito, Cory Michael, 'The Alfabeto Song in Print, 1610-ca. 1665: Neopolitan Roots, Roman Codification, and "Il gusto popolare"', PhD diss. (University of Texas, 2006).
- Gerber, Ernst Ludwig, *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig, 1790).
- Gervilla Castillo, Enrique, 'Los valores de la L.O.G.S.E. en las enseñanzas de régimen general', *Revista Española de Pedagogía* 195 (1993), 269-89.
- Gilardino, Angelo, 'La "Sonata para guitarra di Antonio José". Una scoperta sorprendente', *Il Fronimo* 72 (1990), 12-16.
- Gilardino, Angelo, *The Modern and Contemporary Guitar* (Ancona: Berben, 1988).
- Gill, Donald, 'The Stringing of the Five Course Baroque Guitar', *Early Music* 3/4, (1975), 370-71.
- Gimeno, Julio, 'Un viaje sin destino: Andrés Segovia hacia el concierto de Aranjuez', in *Joaquín Rodrigo. Nombres propios de la guitarra*, vol. 8 (2010), 123-188.
- , 'Dionisio Aguado (1784-1849) y la Escuela de guitarra de 1820', *Roseta* 0 (2007), 44-62.
- , 'The "Tárrega School", According to the Methods', *Soundboard* 30/3 (2004), 9-25.
- Goldstein, Carolyn, 'The Art Behind the Baroque Violin', BA diss. (Syracuse University, 2016).

- Gomes, Rui Telmo, 'Participação artística e capitais culturais', in José Machado Pais, Pedro Magalhães and Miguel Lobo Antunes (eds.), *Práticas culturais dos portugueses: inquérito 2020* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2022), 42-46.
- Gonçalves de Pinho, Ernesto, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra, centro de actividade musical nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Gulbenkian, 1981).
- Götz, Alois, *Neue theoretisch-praktischen Reform-Gitarre Schule* (Offenbach, c1900).
- Griffiths, John, *Tañer vihuela según Juan Bermudo* (Zaragoza: Excelentísima Diputación de Zaragoza, 2003).
- , 'At Court and at Home with the Vihuela de Mano', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 22 (1989), 1-27.
- Hackl, Stefan, *Die Gitarre in Österreich, von Abate Costa bis Zykan* (Vienna: Studienverlag, 2011).
- , 'Molitor/Klingers, S[imon]; Klinger's Versuch einer vollständigen methodischen Anleitung zum Gitarre-Spielen in the Context of the First Flourishing of Classical Guitar', Introduction to the facsimile edition of Molitor/Klingers, *Versuch einer vollständigen methodischen Anleitung zum Gitarre-Spielen* (1812) (Vienna/Munich: Doblinger, 2008), iv-xxiv.
- Hall, Monica (ed.), *Li cinque libri della chitarra alla spagnola* (n.p.: n.p., 2012).
- , 'Was Foscari also Weird? Baroque Guitar Tablature for the Perplexed', *The Journal of the Lute Society* 49 (2009), 49-69.
- , *Baroque Guitar Stringing: A Survey of the Evidence* (Guildford: Lute Society, 2003).
- , 'The "Guitarra Española" of Joan Carles Amat', *Early Music* 6/3 (1978), 362-73.
- Hall, Monica, and June Yakeley, 'El estilo castellano y el estilo catalan: An Introduction to Spanish Guitar Chord Notation', *Journal of the Lute Society* 35 (1995), 28-61.
- Harder, August, *Neue vollständige theoretische und praktische Gitarre-Schule* (Berlin: A. M. Schlesinger, n.d.).
- Hartdegen, Kenneth Angus, 'Fernando Sor's Theory of Harmony Applied to the Guitar. History, Bibliography and Context', PhD diss. (University of Auckland, 2011).
- Heck, Thomas, 'The Vogue of the Chitarra Francese in Italy: How French? How Italian? How Neapolitan?', *Soundboard* 38/4 (2012), 18-25.
- , 'The role of Italy in the Early History of Classic Guitar', *Guitar Review* 34 (1971), 1-6.
- , 'The Birth of the Classic Guitar and its Cultivation in Vienna, Reflected in the Career and Compositions of Mauro Giuliani (d. 1829)', vol. 1: *Biography*, vol. 2: *Thematic catalogue*, PhD diss. (University of Yale, 1970).
- Hellwig, Friedemann and Barbara, *Joachim Tielke. Neue Funde zu Werk und Wirkung* (Berlin/Munich: Deutscher Kustverlag, 2020).

- Henrique, Luís, *Acústica musical* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2002).
- Hernández, Isabelle (coord.), *Leo Brouwer. Nombres propios de la guitarra* (Córdoba: Ayuntamiento de Córdoba, 2006).
- Hill, John Walter, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles around Cardinal Montalto*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).
- Hofmann, Erik Pierre, Mougín, Pascal and Hackl, Stefan, *Stauffer & C^o, La Guitare Viennoise* (Germolles-sur Grosne: Les Robins, 2011).
- Hoppstock, Tilman, *Bach's Lute Work from the Guitarists Perspective*, vol. 1 (Darmstadt: Prim-Musikverlag, 2010); vol. 2 (Darmstadt: Prim-Musikverlag, 2012).
- , *Die Lautenwerke Bachs aus der Sicht des Gitarristen*, vol. 1 (Darmstadt: Prim-Musikverlag, 2009); vol. 2 (Darmstadt: Prim-Musikverlag, 2012).
- Huber, Gertrud Maria, “‘Excuse me, I’d like another veltliner, please!’ Performed Identities with Alpine Zither Music’, *Music and identity* 12 (2015), 28-35.
- Jeffery, Brian, *Fernando Sor. Composer and Guitarist*, 3rd ed. (London: Tecla, 2020).
- , *España de la guerra* (London: Tecla, 2017).
- , ‘Sor in Trouble with the Spanish Inquisition, 1803 to 1806’, *Soundboard* 38/3 (2012), 15-20.
- , ‘Introduction’, in Matteo Carcassi, *25 Etudes for Guitar*, op. 60 (London: Tecla, 2005).
- Jones, Allan Clive, ‘Segovia at the BBC’, part 1, *Classical Guitar* (Apr., 2007), 18-21.
- Kastner, Macario Santiago, ‘Preface’, in Silva Leite, *Estudo de guitarra*, facs. ed. (Lisbon: Ministério da Cultura, 1983), not paginated.
- Keith, Richard, ‘La Guitarre Royale: a Study of the Career and Compositions of Francesco Corbetta’, *Recherches sur la musique française classique* 5 (1966), 73-93.
- King, John, ‘A Few Words about the Madeiran “Machete”’, *The Galpin Society Journal* 58 (2005), 83-88, 217-19.
- Kite-Powell, Jeffery, ‘Michael Praetorius in his Own Words’, *Early Music America Magazine* 10/1 (2004), 26-29.
- Kloe, Jan de, ‘Dolores Nevares de Goñi’, *Soundboard* 44/4 (2018), 15-24.
- Kocirz, Adolf, ‘Eine Gitarrentabulatur des Kaiserlichen Theorbisten Orazio Clementi’, in *Melanges de musicologie offerts à M. Lionel de la Laurencie* (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1933), 107-15.
- , ‘Alte Gitarrenmusik’, *Die Gitarre Zeitung*, Jan. (1922), 35-36.
- Kremberg, Jakob, *Musicalische Gemüths-Ergötzung oder Arien* (Dresden, 1689).
- Labara Ballestar, Valeriano C., ‘Los Castro de Gistau, un linaje de Laluega y otras poblaciones’, *Emblemata* 5 (1999), 143-51.
- Lapa, Fernando C., *Dossier 14. Compositores portugueses dos séculos XX e XXI* (Lisbon: Centro de Investigação e Informação da Música Portuguesa, 2017).

- Leblanc, Paul G., 'Structure and Performance of El Polifemo de Oro', PhD diss. (University of North Texas, 1993).
- Legl, Frank, 'Between Grottkau and Neuburg: New Information on the Biography of Silvius Leopold Weiss', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 31 (1998), 49-77.
- Lindeman, Christina K., 'Tischbein's "Anna Amalia, Duchess of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach": Friendship, Sociability, and "Heimat" in Eighteenth-Century Naples', *Notes in the History of Art* 33/1 (2013), 25-30.
- Llobet, Miguel, 'Francisco Tárrega', *Revista musical catalana* 73 (1910), 9-10.
- Lopes-Graça, Fernando, *Cartas do abade António da Costa* (Lisbon: Cadernos da Seara Nova, 1946).
- Lopes, João Teixeira, *Da democratização à democracia cultural. Uma reflexão sobre políticas culturais e espaço público* (Porto: Profedições, 2007).
- Lozano Martínez, Isabel and Miguel Ángel Jiménez Arnáiz, 'Sucintas nociones de armonía y composición aplicadas a la guitarra por Félix Ponzoa y Cebrián. Manuscrito de música m/1003 de la Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid)', *Revista de Musicología* 29/2 (2006), 587-616.
- Lundberg, Robert, 'The German Baroque Lute, 1650 to 1750', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 32 (1999), 1-34.
- , 'Weiss's Lutes: The Origin of the 13-Course German Baroque Lutes', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 32 (1999), 35-66.
- Madl, Claire, 'Johann Christian Anthoni von Adlersfeld: The Original Owner of the Weiss London Manuscript', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 33 (2000), 33-46.
- Makaroff, Nikolai Petrovich, 'The Memoirs of Makaroff' (trans. Vladimir Bobri and Nura Ulreich), *Guitar Review* 1, part 1 (1946), 10-12; *Guitar Review* 3, part 2 (1947), 32-34; *Guitar Review* 3, part 3 (1947), 56-59; *Guitar Review* 5, *Conclusion* (1948), 109-13.
- Malvezzi, Cristofano, *Intermedii et concerti, fatti per la commedia rappresentata in Firenze nelle nozze del serenissimo Don Ferdinando Medici, e madama Christiana di Loreno, gran duchi di Toscana* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1591).
- Mangado, Josep Maria, *Fernando Sor*, vol. 1, *Aportaciones biográficas* (Sant Feliu de Llobregat: The author, 2020); vol. 2, *Documentos inéditos. Reflexiones e hipótesis* (Sant Feliu de Llobregat: The author, 2018); vol. 3, *La actividad guitarrística en París (1825-1839)* (Sant Feliu de Llobregat: The author, 2020)
- , *La guitarra en Cataluña 1769-1939* (London: Tecla, 1998).
- Mantovani, Luiz, 'Fine-Tuning Ferdinand Rebay's Second Sonata in E major for Guitar', *Musicologica Austriaca: Journal for Austrian Music Studies* (30 Dec. 2022).
- , 'Ferdinand Rebay and the Reinvention of the Guitar Chamber Music', PhD diss. (Royal College of Music, 2019).

- Mariottini, Mauro, 'Matteo Carcassi (1793?-1853): un aggiornamento bio-bibliografico', *Il Fronimo* 108 (1999), 25-34.
- Mark, Dale, 'The Collaboration Between Manuel Ponce and Andrés Segovia', *Soundboard* 4 (1997), 15-22.
- Martín-Gil, Damián, 'La partida de matrimonio de Fernando Sor (Granada, 1812)', *Roseta* 16 (2021/22), 42-55
- , 'A Bibliographical Study of Periodicals for Voice and Guitar in Paris, 1758-1803', *Revue de Musicologie* 107/2 (2021), 247-86.
- , "'The famous Vidal': New Light on the Life and Works of a Guitarist in Late Eighteenth-Century France', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 18/1 (2021), 123-49.
- , 'Unravelling the Discussion entre les Carulistes et les Molinistes (Paris, 1828)', *Soundboard Scholar* 6 (2020), 11-21.
- Martín-Gil, Damián and Erik Stenstadvoll, 'Eighteenth Century Precedents: The Role of Paris', in Christopher Page, Paul Sparks and James Westbrook (eds.), *The Great Vogue for the Guitar in Western Europe: 1800-1840* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2023), 13-27.
- Martino, Pier Paolo de, *Le parafrasi pianistiche verdiane nell'editoria italiana dell'Ottocento* (Florence: Olschki, 2003).
- Mason, Kevin, "'Per cantare e sonare", Accompanying Italian Lute Song of the Late Sixteenth Century', in Victor Anand Coelho (ed.), *Performance on Lute, Guitar and Vihuela. Historical Practice and Modern Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 72-107.
- Mattheson, Johann, *Das neu-Eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1713) (Reprint Olms, Hildesheim, Zürich, New York, 1997).
- Mazza, José, *Dicionário biográfico de músicos portugueses, com prefácio e notas do P.E. José Augusto Alegria* (Lisbon: Editorial Império, 1944-45).
- Mendes, Maria Sequeira, Marta Cordeiro and Marisa F. Falcón, *O desensino da arte. Projecto de uma escola ideal* (Lisbon: Sistema Solar, 2022).
- Menze, Jonas, and Govinda Wroblewsky, 'Vom Karrieretraum zum Portfolio!? Teil 1', *Üben und Musizieren*, Dec./Jan. (2020/21), 52-55.
- , 'Vom Karrieretraum zum Portfolio!? Teil 2', *Üben und Musizieren*, Febr./Mar. (2021), 53-56.
- Mesquita Lopes, José, 'A música contemporânea portuguesa para guitarra de 1983 a 2008', PhD diss. (Universidade de Aveiro, 2015).
- Molino, Francesco, *Grande méthode complète pour guitare ou lyre op. 33* (Paris: The author, 1823).
- Molitor, Simon, *Grosse Sonate für die Guitare allein op. 7* (Vienna: Artaria, 1807).
- Montes, Beatriz, 'La influencia de Francia e Italia en el Real Conservatorio de Madrid', *Revista de Musicología* 20/1 (1997), 467-78.

- Montesardo, Girolamo, *Nuova inventione d'intavolatura per sonare li balletti sopra la chitarra spagnuola senza numeri, e note; per mezzo della quale da se stesso ogn'uno senza maestro potrà imparare* (Florence: Christofano Marescotti, 1606).
- Morais, Manuel, 'A viola de arame no contexto português (séculos XVIII-XIX)', in Maria Elizabeth Lucas e Rui Vieira Nery, *As músicas luso-brasileiras no final do Antigo Regime: Repertórios, práticas e representações* (Lisbon: FCG, 2012), 651-54.
- , 'Costa, José Duarte', in Salwa Castelo-Branco, *Enciclopédia da música em Portugal no século XX*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Circulo de Leitores, 2010), 344-45.
- , 'El Maestro Emilio Pujol (1886-1980): 26 años después', *Hispánica Lyra* 4 (2006), 30-33.
- , 'A viola de mão em Portugal 1 (c.1450-c.1789)', *Nassarre* 12 (2006), 393-462.
- , 'A guitarra portuguesa, das suas origens setecentistas aos finais do século XIX', in Manuel Morais (coord), *A guitarra portuguesa*, *Actas do Simpósio Internacional* (Lisbon: Estar, 2002).
- Morais, Manuel (ed.), *Modinhas, lunduns e cançonetas* (Lisbon: INCM, 2000).
- Moser, Wolf, *Fernando Sor. Versuch einer Autobiographie und gitarristische Schriften* (Köln: Hennwack, 1984).
- Muncan, Ivanka, 'Von allen Saiten. Die Vielfalt der Gitarre im Spiegel von Gitarristen-Lebensläufen', *Üben und Musizieren*, Aug./Sept. (2017), 12-15.
- Muñoz, Teresa, 'Escenario para las estrellas', *Diario de Córdoba*, 1 July 2021.
- Murcia, Santiago de, *Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra* ([Madrid], 1714).
- N., 'Gitarristischer Abend', *Reichspost*, 3 Apr. 1925.
- Neri, Leopoldo, *Los Sainz de la Maza y la Generación del 27*, in *Nombres propios de la guitarra*, vol. 15 (Córdoba: Ayuntamiento de Córdoba, 2017), 80-134.
- , 'Regino Sainz de la Maza (1896-1981) y el renacimiento guitarrístico del siglo XX', *Revista de Musicología* 33/1-2 (2010), 555-62.
- , 'El repertorio inédito para guitarra del Grupo de los Ocho de la Generación del 27', *Roseta* 0 (2007), 96-103.
- Nunes Aguedo, Manoel, *Methodo para viola franceza, Nova edição revista e correcta, com peças recreativas por João A. Ribas* (Porto: Armazem de musicas nacionais e estrangeiras, 1860).
- , *Methodo geral para viola franceza*, 2nd ed. (Porto: The author, 1856).
- Nupen, Christopher, *Segovia at los Olivos* (Allegro Films, 1967).
- Offermann, Thomas, *Moderne Gitarrentechnik. Integrative Bewegungslehre* (Mainz: Schott Music, 2015).
- Olcina i Aya, Emili, *Apuntes sobre Ferran Sors y la creación romántica en la España de Goya* (Barcelone: Laertes, 1993).
- Ophee, Matanya, 'Segovia and the Russians', lecture held at the International Conference *Instrument of Change: The International Rise of the Guitar (c1870-1945)* (University of Melbourne, 9-11 Dec. 2016).

- , *Fernando Sor, Method for Guitar* (Columbus: Orphée, 2010).
- , *The Segovia-Ponce Letters* (Columbus: Orphée, 1989).
- , 'The Promotion of Francisco Tárrega' Part I, *Soundboard* 8/3 (1981), 152-58; Part II, 256-61.
- Otto, Jakob August, *Ueber den Bau der Bogeninstrumente und über die Arbeiten der vorzüglichsten Instrumentenmacher zur Belehrung für Musiker* (Jena: Braun, 1828).
- Page, Christopher, 'The Great Vogue for the Guitar: an Overview', in Christopher Page, Paul Sparks and James Westbrook, *The Great Vogue for the Guitar in Western Europe: 1800-1840* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2023), 29-40.
- , *The Guitar in Georgian England: A Social and Musical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020).
- , 'New light on the London years of Fernando Sor, 1815-1822', *Early Music* 41/4 (2013), 557-69.
- Page, Christopher, Paul Sparks and James Westbrook (eds.), *The Great Vogue for the Guitar in Western Europe: 1800-1840* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2023).
- Paixão Ribeiro, Manoel da, *Nova arte de viola* (Coimbra: Real Officina da Universidade, 1789).
- Penn, Gerhard, 'Mauro Giuliani (1781-1829)', in Christopher Page, Paul Sparks and James Westbrook (eds.), *The Great Vogue for the Guitar in Western Europe: 1800-1840* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2023), 187-202.
- Pérez Díaz, Pompeyo, *Dionisio Aguado y la guitarra clásico-romántica* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2003).
- Picado, Teresa, 'Roção, Um prelúdio português no século XVIII', PhD diss. (University of Coimbra, 2004).
- Pierbattista, Davide, 'La chitarra e il mistero: Petrassi erede debussiano', *Il Fronimo* 169 (2015), 7-22.
- Pinksterboer, Hugo, *Corsi di musica per bambini e ragazzi* (n.p: Curci, 2013).
- Pinnell, Richard, 'Women and the Guitar in Spain's Upper Classes', *Anuario Musical* 53 (2009), 165-89.
- , *Francesco Corbetta and the Baroque Guitar*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980).
- Pinheiro, Aires, 'José Duarte Costa: Um caso no ensino não-oficial da música', PhD diss. (Universidade de Aveiro, 2010).
- Pinto-Ribeiro, Filipa, 'Entrevista com José Piñero Nagy', *Revista Guitarra Clássica* 1 (2010), 9-19.
- Pita da Rocha, Leite, *Liçam instrumental* (Lisbon, 1752).
- Portugal, Marcos, *L'oro non compra amore* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de Sociologia e Estética Musical, 2012).
- Poselli, Franco, 'L'enigmatica figura di Padre Basilio', *Il Fronimo* 3 (1973), 27-29.

- Poulopoulos, Panagiotis, 'The Guittar in The British Isles, 1750-1810', PhD diss. (University of Edinburg, 2011).
- Präsidium des Deutschen Städtetages and Präsidium des Deutschen Landkreistages, *Die Musikschule, Leitlinien und Hinweise* (Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Städtetag and Deutscher Landkreistag, 2010).
- Prat, Domingo, *Diccionario de guitarristas y guitarreros* (Buenos Aires: Romero and Fernández, 1934).
- Pujol, Emilio, 'The Guitar in Portugal', *Guitar Review* 5 (1948), 114-15.
- , *Escuela Razonada de la Guitarra* (Buenos Aires: Ricordi Americana, 1934).
- Quevedo, Francisco de, *Sueños y discursos de verdades descubridoras de abusos vicios y engaños en todos los oficios y estados del mundo* (Barcelona: Estevan Libereros, 1627 [1st ed. 1608]).
- Radomski, James, 'Some Notes Towards the Biography of Trinidad Huerta', *Soundboard* 31/2-3 (2006), 39-50.
- Rees, Abraham, *The Cyclopaedia, or Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*, vol. 7 (London: Longman et al, 1819).
- Rey Sanmartín, Isabel, 'A guitarra na Galiza', PhD diss. (Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2020).
- Reich, Howard, 'Parkening a Virtuoso with Good Luck, Looks', *Chicago Tribune*, 6 Feb. 1987.
- Rente, Alves, *Violão sem mestre pelo professor Alves Rente*, 2nd ed. (Porto: Francisco Guimaraães, Filho & C^a, 1921 [1880]).
- Restagno, Enzo, *Petrassi* (Turin: EDT/Musica, 1986).
- Ribera Gibal, Maria, *Emili Pujol Vilarrubi, Retrat d'un guitarrista* (Lleida: Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs, 2020).
- Riboni, Marco, 'Mauro Giuliani (1781-1829): profilo biografico-critico ed analisi delle trascrizioni per chitarra', PhD diss. (University of Milan, 1992).
- Ridgewell, Rupert M., 'Mozart and the Artaria Publishing House Study in the Inventory Ledgers 1784-1793', PhD diss. (University of London, 1999).
- Robledo Estaire, Luis, 'La creación del Conservatorio de Madrid', *Revista de Musicología* 24/1-2 (2001), 189-238.
- Rodrigues, Pedro, "'Para Andrés Segovia": A Suite Goivos de Francisco de Lacerda', *Vórtex* 8/3 (2020), 1-13.
- Rodríguez Cuervo, Marta, and Victoria Eli Rodríguez, *Leo Brouwer: Caminos de la creación* (Madrid: Iberautor, 2009).
- Romanillos, José Luis, 'Dionisio Aguado. The Man', *Guitar* 12/9 (1984), 13-16.
- S.M.M.P., *Methodo pratico de conhecer e formar os tons, ou acordes na viola por S.M.M.P.* (Coimbra: Real imprensa da universidade, 1826).

- Salazar, Adolfo, 'Música, instrumentos y danzas en las obras de Cervantes', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 2/2 (1948), 118-73.
- Salentin, Ursula, *Anna Amalia: Webbereiterin der Weimarer Klassik* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1996).
- Salvoni, Graziano, 'Caspar Joseph Mertz. Le prime esibizioni alla chitarra. Il periodo pressburghese', *Il Fronimo* 197 (2022), 15-25.
- Sampayo Ribeiro, Mário de, *As "Guitarras de Alcácer" e a "Guitarra Portuguesa"* (Lisbon: Bertrand, 1936).
- Sánchez González, Jacinto, and Fernando Bermejo, *Ángel Iglesias. Vida y obra de un guitarrista extremeño universal* (Badajoz: Diputación de Badajoz, 2007).
- Sánchez Serrano, Andrés, 'El pasacalle en la Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española' de Gaspar Sanz (1640-ca. 1710)', *Revista de Musicología* 38/1 (2015), 326-31.
- Santana, Imyra, 'Les femmes instrumentistes en France au XVIII^e siècle: professionnalisation et carrières', PhD diss. (Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2020).
- Sanz, Gaspar, *Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española* (Zaragoza, 1674).
- Sarmiento, Manuel Jacinto, 'O trabalho Infantil em Portugal, da realidade social ao objecto sociológico', in Manuel Lisboa (Coord.), *Infância interrompida. Caracterização das actividades desenvolvidas por crianças e jovens em Portugal* (Lisbon: Colibri, 2009), 13-32.
- Savino, Richard, 'The Enigmatic Miguel Garcia, or, Padre Basilio Part II. Newly Discovered Works and a Dilemma for the Modern Transcriber', *Soundboard* 38/4 (2012), 26-35.
- Schlegel, Andreas, and Joachim Lüdtke, *Die Laute in Europa 2: Lauten, Gitarren, Mandolinen und Cistern* (Menziken: The Lute Corner, 2011), 69.
- Schmitt, Thomas, 'Sobre la ornamentación en el repertorio para guitarra barroca en España (1600-1750)', *Revista de Musicología* 15/1 (1992), 107-38.
- Seemann, Annette, *Anna Amalia, Herzogin von Weimar* (Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 2007).
- Seemann, Hellmut, *Anna Amalia, Carl August und das Ereignis Weimar* (Göttingen: Klassik Stiftung Weimar, 2007).
- Segovia, Andrés, 'L'augurio alla rivista di Andrés Segovia', *Il Fronimo* 1 (1972), 4.
- Silva Bessa, Rui Manuel P. da, 'António da Silva Leite: criatividade e "moda" na música romântica portuguesa', PhD diss. (Universidade de Coimbra, 2008).
- Silva Leite, Antonio da, *Estudo de guitarra* (Porto: Antonio Alvarez Ribeiro, 1796).
- Sor, Fernando, *Méthode pour la guitare* (Paris: The author, 1830).
- Sparks, Paul, 'The Origins of the Classical Guitar', in James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and Its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 191-297.
- Spencer, Robert, 'Chitarrone, Theorbo and Archlute', *Early Music* 4/4 (1976), 407-23.

- Stevens, Andreas, 'The Life and Times of Josef Kaspar Mertz: New Biographical Insights', *Soundboard Scholar* 2 (2016), 25-29.
- Stenstadvold, Erik, 'Appendix: Matteo Carcassi (1796-1853)', in Christopher Page, Paul Sparks and James Westbrook (eds.), *The Great Vogue for the Guitar in Western Europe: 1800-1840* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2023), 72-75.
- , 'Fernando Sor (1778-1839)', in Christopher Page, Paul Sparks and James Westbrook (eds.), *The Great Vogue for the Guitar in Western Europe: 1800-1840* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2023), 203-20.
- , 'Mariano Castro de Gistau (d 1856) and the Vogue for the Spanish guitar in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 16 (2017), 177-97.
- , 'A Newly Discovered Letter from 1827 by Fernando Sor', *Soundboard Scholar* 3 (2017), 4-12.
- , 'Fernando Sor on the Move in the Early 1820s', *Soundboard Scholar* 1 (2015), 16-25.
- , "'We hate the guitar': Prejudice and Polemic in the Music Press in Early 19th-Century Europe", *Early Music* 41/4 (2013), 595-604.
- , "'The worst drunkard in London". The life and Career of the Guitar Virtuoso Leonard Shultz', *Soundboard* 38/4 (2012), 9-17.
- , *An Annotated Bibliography of Guitar Methods, 1760-1860* (Hillsdale, NY and London: Pendragon Press, 2010).
- , 'The Evolution of Guitar Notation, 1750-1830', *Soundboard* 32/2-3 (2006), 11-30.
- Stenstadvold, Erik (ed.), *Leonard Schulz (1814-1860). The Collected Guitar Studies* (Heidelberg: Chanterelle, 2011).
- Strauss, Richard (ed.) *Hector Berlioz, Treatise on Instrumentation* (trans. Theodore Front) (New York: Edwin F. Kalmus, 1948).
- Suárez-Pajares, Javier, s.v. 'García, Miguel (III) (padre Basilio)', *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana* (Madrid: SGAE & INAEM, 2000).
- , 'Aquellos plateados años: la guitarra en el entorno del 27', in *La guitarra en la historia*, vol. 8 (Córdoba: La Posada, 1998), 37-57.
- , 'Las generaciones guitarrísticas españolas del siglo XIX', in Emilio Francisco Casares and Celsa Alonso González (eds.), *La música española en el siglo XIX* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1995), 325-73.
- Suárez-Pajares, Javier, and Robert Coldwell, A.T. *Huerta (1800-1874). Life and Works* (n.p: DGA, 2006).
- Suárez-Pajares, Javier, and Eusebio Rioja, *El guitarrista Julián Arcas (1832-1882). Una biografía documental* (Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almeriense, 2003).
- Tablettes de renommée des musiciens* (Paris, 1785)
- Tagliaferri, Francesco, 'Dal teatro alla chitarra. Aspetti compositivi e storico-sociali della trascrizione nel primo Ottocento', BA diss. (Cremona: Facoltà di Musicologia, 2012).

- Tallini, Arturo, 'Goffredo Petrassi: Suoni notturni ovvero viaggio nell'onirico', *Il Fronimo* 123 (2003), 14-28.
- Torres, Norberto, 'Trinidad Huerta y la guitarra rasgueada', *Música oral del sur* 11 (2014), 120-40.
- Torta, Mario, 'Ferdinando Carulli (1770-1841), in Christopher Page, Paul Sparks, James and Westbrook (eds.) *The Great Vogue for the Guitar in Western Europe: 1800-1840* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2023), 173-86.
- , *Catalogo tematico delle opere di Ferdinando Carulli*, 2 vols. (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1993).
- , 'Ferdinando Carulli (1770-1841): Profilo biografico-critico et catalogo tematico delle opere con numero', PhD diss. (Universita degli studi di Roma 'La Sapienza', 1989).
- Treadwell, Nina, 'Guitar Alfabeto in Italian Monody: The Publications of Alessandro Vincenti', *The Journal of the Lute Society* 33 (1993), 12-22.
- Trepac, Carles, *El Albaicín*, CD (Madrid: Nuevos Medios, 2007).
- Tyler, James, 'Review of Francisco Guerau's Guitar Music Edited by Thomas Schmitt', *Early Music* 30/2 (2002), 296-97.
- , 'The Spanish Guitar (c.1600-c.1750)', in James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and Its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 47-189.
- , 'The Guitar in the Sixteenth Century', in James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and Its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1-46.
- Vasconcellos, Joaquim de, *Cartas curiosas escriptas de Roma e de Vienna pelo Abbade António da Costa* (Porto: Imprensa Litterário-Commercial, 1878).
- , *Os musicos portugueses*, 2 vols. (Porto: Imp. Portugueza, 1870).
- Veiga de Oliveira, Ernesto, *Instrumentos musicais populares portugueses* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1966).
- Vera, Alejandro, 'Santiago de Murcia (1673-1739): New Contributions on His Life and Work', *Early Music* 36/4 (2008), 597-608.
- Vera, Alejandro, and Rachel Conning, 'Santiago de Murcia's Cifras Selectas de Guitarra (1722): A New Source for the Baroque Guitar', *Early Music* 35/2 (2007), 251-69.
- Verband der Musikschulen, *Lehrplan Gitarre* (Kassel: Gustav Bosse, 2012).
- Vieira Nery, Rui, and Paulo Ferreira de Castro, *História da música*, coll. *Sínteses da cultura portuguesa* (Lisbon: IPNCM, 1991).
- Vieira, Ernesto, *Diccionario biographico de musicos portugueses*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Lambertini, 1900).
- Vieira, Maria Helena, 'Passado e presente do ensino especializado da música em Portugal. E se explicássemos bem o que significa "especializado"?', in António

- Pacheco (ed.), *I Encontro do ensino artístico especializado da música do Vale do Sousa. Do passado ao presente: Impressões e expressões* (Lousada: Conservatório do Vale do Sousa, 2014), 60-74.
- Vieira Nery, Rui 'Algumas considerações sobre as origens e o desenvolvimento da modinha Luso-Brasileira', in Manuel Morais, *Modinhas, Lundus e cançonetas com acompanhamento de viola e guitarra inglesa* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda, 2000), 9-22.
- , s.v. 'Fado', in Salwa Castelo-Branco, *Enciclopédia da música portuguesa no século XX*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Circulo de Leitores, 2010), 432-53.
- Vliet, Ari Cornelis van, *Napoléon Coste: componist en gitarist in het muziekleven van het 19e-eeuwse Parijs. Biografie, thematische catalogus* (Utrecht: Stichting Cumuli, 2015).
- Ward, John M., 'The "Vihuela de mano" and Its Music, 1536-1576', PhD diss. (New York University, 1953).
- Weber, William, *The Great Transformation on Musical Taste. Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
- Weinmann, Alexander, *Vollständiges Verlagsverzeichnis Artaria & Comp.*, 3rd ed. (Vienna: Ludwig Krenn, 1985).
- Zecca-Laterza, Agostina, *Il catalogo numerico Ricordi 1857 con date e indici*, vol. 1, pref. Philip Gossett (Rome: Nuovo Istituto Editoriale Italiano, 1984).
- Agostina-Zecca, Laterza, *Il catalogo numerico Ricordi 1857 con date e indici* (Rome: Nuovo Istituto Editoriale Italiano, 1984).

Internet Resources

- Alberti, Alfonso (2019), s.v. 'Castiglioni, Niccolò', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, <https://www.treccani.it> (Accessed 20 Jan. 2023).
- 'Appearances of Kazuhito Yamashita at the Festival Internacional de Guitarra de Santo Tirso festival', <https://kazuhitoyamashita.com> (Accessed 15 Jan. 2023).
- Berio, Luciano, 'Chemins V (author's note)', www.lucianoberio.org (Accessed 22 Jan. 2023).
- , 'Sequenza XI (author's note)', www.lucianoberio.org (Accessed 22 Jan. 2023).
- Biedermeiergitarre, <https://biedermeiergitarre.jimdofree.com> (Accessed 20 Dec. 2022).
- Blankenburg, Walter and Gottwald, Clytus. 'Praetorius [Schultheiss, Schultze], Michael', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 25 Dec. 2022).
- Boye, Gary R., 'Foscarini, Giovanni Paolo', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 28 Jan. 2023).
- , 'Granata, Giovanni Battista', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 29 Jan. 2023).

- , 'The Case of the Purloined Letter Tablature: The Seventeenth-Century Guitar Books of Foriano Pico and Pietro Millioni', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 11/1 (2005), <https://sscm-jscm.org> (Accessed 20 Jan. 2023).
- Briso de Montiano, Luis, 'Dionisio Aguado. La Colección de estudios en el bicentenario de su aparición: algunas notas y reflexiones sobre sus inmediatos precedentes', <http://guitarra.artepulsado.com> (Accessed 22 Jan. 2023).
- , www.fernandosor.es (Accessed 25 Jan. 2023).
- Calandrucchio, Romolo, 'Carulli, ultimo concerto in Italia?', www.ferdinandocarulli.it (Accessed 28 Dec. 2022).
- Castelo-Branco, Salwa El-Shawan and Manuel Carlos de Brito, 'Portugal, Republic of', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 28 Dec. 2022).
- Coelho, Victor Anand, 'Kapsperger, Giovanni Girolamo', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 3 Nov. 2022).
- Deutsches Musikinformationszentrum, 'Freiberuflich Tätige in der Sparte Musik nach Tätigkeitsbereich und Durchschnittseinkommen', <https://miz.org> (Accessed 10 Sept. 2022).
- , 'Schüler*innen der VdM-Musikschulen nach Fächern', <https://miz.org/de> (Accessed 6 July 2022).
- , 'Sozialversicherungspflichtig Beschäftigte und Arbeitslose in Musikberufen', Sep. 2017, <https://miz.org> (Accessed 10 Sept. 2022).
- , 'Studierende in Studiengängen für Musikberufe nach Geschlecht und ausländischer Staatsbürgerschaft', <https://miz.org/de> (Accessed 29 June 2022).
- , 'Wissenschaftliches und künstlerisches Personal in Studiengängen für Musikberufe', <https://miz.org> (Accessed 25 Sept. 2022).
- Direção-Geral de Estatísticas da Educação e Ciência (2022), 'Perfil do aluno 2020/2021', <https://www.dgeec.mec.pt> (Accessed 9 Feb. 2022).
- Dörner, Karolin, 'Gitarrenklang ohne tropische Hölzer', www.mdr.de (Accessed 28 Aug. 2022).
- Fortune, Nigel, and Tim Carter, 'Monody', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 28 Jan. 2023).
- German Lute Association, 'Geschichte der Laute', www.lautengesellschaft.de (Accessed 20 Dec. 2022).
- Hall, Monica, 'Girolamo Montesardo', <https://monicahall.co.uk> (Accessed 20 Jan. 2023).
- , 'The Stringing of the Five Course Baroque Guitar', <https://monicahall2.files.wordpress.com/2012/03/stringing2012.pdf> (Accessed 2 Aug. 2022).
- Harwood, Ian, and Tim Crawford, 'Angélique (i)', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 26 Dec. 2022).
- Harwood, Ian, Robert Spencer and James Tyler, 'Theorbo', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 25 Dec. 2022).

- Holman, Peter, 'Kremberg, Jakob', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 26 Dec. 2022).
- Hudson, Barton, and Monica Hall, 'Briçeno [Brizeño], Luis de.', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 6 Dec. 2022).
- <http://www.certamenguitarrabenicassim.com> (Accessed 2 Dec. 2022).
- <https://guitarra.artepulsado.com> (Accessed 15 Dec. 2022).
- <https://www.pordata.pt> (Accessed 29 Dec. 2022).
- Jekits-Stiftung, 'Programmbeschreibung JeKits - Jedem Kind Instrumente, Tanzen, Singen', www.jekits.de (Accessed 1 Nov. 2022).
- Gama, Rui, Facebook interview, 28 Sep. 2022 (Accessed 15 Dec. 2022).
- Lutz, Markus, www.slweiss.de. (Accessed 22 Dec. 2022).
- Morris, Allan, 'Heinrich Albert and the First Guitar Quartet', *Digital Guitar Archive*, <https://www.digitalguitararchive.com> (Accessed 10 Jan. 2023).
- Music Education Network (MeNet), 'Allgemein bildender Musikunterricht in Deutschland', <http://menet.mdw.ac.at> (Accessed 20 Sept. 2022).
- Ness, Arthur J., 'Barberis, Melchior de', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 28 Jan. 2023).
- Parets i Serra, Joan, 'Guerau [Garau Femenia], Francisco', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 2 Dec. 2022).
- Pinnell, Richard, 'Corbetta, Francesco', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 29 Jan. 2023).
- Real Academia de la Historia, <https://dbe.rah.es> (Accessed 17 Dec. 2022).
- Reilly, Edward R., Douglas Alton Smith and Tim Crawford, 'Weiss, Silvius [Sylvius] Leopold', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 22 Dec. 2022).
- Rubin, Norman, 'Goldberg [Gollberg, Goltberg, etc.], Johann Gottlieb', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 22 Dec. 2022).
- Russell, Craig H. and Monica Hall, 'Amat, Joan Carles', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 6 Dec. 2022).
- , 'Santa Cruz, Antonio de', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 28 Nov. 2022).
- Schulpeck, Bernd, 'Gitarren aus dem Backofen', www.deutschlandfunk.de (Accessed 28 Aug. 2022).
- Stevenson, Robert, and Monica Hall, 'Doizi de Velasco, Nicolás', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 18 Dec. 2022).
- Strizich, Robert, 'Roncalli, Conte Ludovico', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 29 Jan. 2023).
- Strizich, Robert, and Craig H. Russell, 'Ruiz de Ribayaz, Lucas', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 18 Dec. 2022).
- Strizich, Robert, and Richard Pinnell, 'Sanz, Gaspar', *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 2 Dec. 2022).
- Verband deutscher Musikschulen (VdM), 'Der VdM Verband Deutscher Musikschulen', www.musikschulen.de (Accessed 20 Oct. 2022).

- , 'Strukturplan des VdM', www.musikschulen.de (Accessed 22 Oct. 2022).
- , 'Zahlen und Fakten', www.musikschulen.de (Accessed 21 Oct. 2022).
- , 'Was Sind Musikschulen', www.musikschulen.de (Accessed 20 Oct. 2022).
- , *Schülerzahlen und Wochenstunden der Ensemble und Ergänzungsfächer*, www.musikschulen.de (Accessed 29 June 2022).
- www.archiv-frau-musik.de (Accessed 2 Jan. 2023).
- www.certamenandressegovia.com (Accessed 22 Aug. 2022).
- www.musikschulverwaltung.de (Accessed 2 Jan. 2023).
- www.netzwerkgitarrereberlin.de (Accessed 3 Jan. 2023).
- www.tomplay.com (Accessed 2 Jan. 2023).

INDEX

Page numbers underlined indicate illustrations; page numbers followed by 'n' indicate footnotes.

A

- A Bibliographical Study of Periodicals* ... (Martín-Gil) 52n3, 55n19, 57n33, 57n35, 68n25, 77n4, 89n9-10
- A Biography of Silvius Leopold Weiss* (Alton Smith) 42n12
- À descoberta da guitarra portuguesa* (Caldeira) 66n13, 66n15
- A edição musical em Portugal* (Durães Albuquerque) 63n3, 63n4
- A Few Words about the Madeiran Machete* (King) 23n10
- A guitarra na Galiza* (Rey Sanmartín) 113n6, 113n8, 114n13
- A guitarra portuguesa, das suas origens ...* (Morais) 66n15, 71n41
- A History of the Lute from ...* (Alton Smith) 40n6
- A inusão das sons ...* (Azevedo) 164n4
- A música ao alcance de todos ...* (Fétis) 64n7
- A música contemporânea* (Mesquita Lopes) 120n32-33
- A Newly Discovered Letter From 1827* (Stenstadvold) 59n40
- A viola de arame no context ...* (Morais) 71n44
- A viola de mão em Portugal* (Morais) 63n2
- A voz das estações* (Abreu) 165
- A.P.D.G. 66n16
- A.T. Huerta ... *Life and Works* (Suárez-Pajares et al.) 60n47
- Abatessa, Giovanni 32
- Ablóniz, Miguel 128
- About* (Donatoni) 130
- Abreu 24
- Abreu, Antonio 54, 64, 72, 72n48-49
- Abreu, Ricardo 161-162, 165-166, 165n6, 256
- Academia de Amadores de Música 115, 119, 120, 164
- Accademia Chigiana 170, 178
- Acoustic Pop Guitar Solos* (Langer) 185
- Acústica musical 66n19
- Adam, Louis 192
- Adelphi 130n9
- Adlersfeld, Johann Christian
- Anthoni von 42n14
- Afonso I, king 17
- Afonso III, king 17
- Afonso V, king 19
- Agitato ma non troppo allegro* (Molitor) 93
- Agostinho 113
- Aguado, Dionisio 54, 54n15, 58-59, 59n43, 61, 72n50, 78, 82, 100, 109, 117, 171, 191-192, 191n1, 192n7, 194n11, 199, 220
- Aguado. Testamento y memoria* (Briso) 59n43
- Aguirre, Rafael 152, 154, 159
- Ah! vous dirai-je Maman* (Alberti) 77
- alaúde 18
- Alaya Ruiz, Juan Carlos 11n17
- Alba, Leticia 118, 119n31
- Albéniz, Isaac 101, 118, 239, 241, 244, 246, 246n11-12, 247, 248
- Albèra, Philippe 123n2
- Albert, Heinrich 140, 140n19
- Alberti, Alfonso 132n12
- Alberti, Francesco 76, 77
- Alberti, Rafael 103
- Alegria, José Augusto 68n28
- Alexander III, pope 17
- Alfonso, Javier 106
- Algo (Donatoni) 129-131, 129, *Algumas considerações sobre as origens ...* (Vieira Nery) 113n7
- Alias* (Petrassi) 128
- Alis, Román 108
- Alla scoperta di Antonio Nava ...* (Biraghi et al.) 80n20
- Allegro* (Palau) 106
- Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung 135n6-7, 91n13-15, 94n21
- Allgemeine Wiener Musik Zeitung 134n3
- Almeida, António Victorino de 120, 162
- Almeida, Henrique 161
- Almeida, José Ernesto d' 64, 64n7
- Alonso González, Celsa 52n6
- Alte Gitarrenmusik* (Koczirz) 46n23, 46n25
- Alton Smith, Douglas 40n6, 42n12
- Álvares Cabral, Pedro 18
- Alvarez Ribeiro, António 66n19, 67, 72
- Alven, Nelly von 187
- Alves Rente, Francisco 64, 65n8, 112
- Amadeus 177
- Amat, Joan Carles 8, 8n7, 9, 9, 30n17, 54n11
- Amati, Andrea, 240
- Amersfoort, Jelma van 89n9
- Amigo, Vicente 158
- Amon, Johann Andreas 93
- Amorim, Paulo 121, 157-158, 161, 162
- An Instrument in Comparative ...* (Clarke) 170n5
- Anand Coelho, Victor 30n11, 40n3
- Andia, Rafael 159
- Andriessen, Louis 164
- Ángel Iglesias. *Vida y obra ...* (Sánchez González et al.) 105n8, 153n7
- Ángeles, Victoria de los 148
- Angélique (Harwood et al.) 46n22
- Anido, María Luisa 152
- Anna Amalia of Weimar 86-87, 86n4, 87n5, 88, 95
- Anna Amalia, Carl August ...* (Seemann, H.) 86n4
- Anna Amalia, Herzogin ...* (Seemann, A.) 86n4
- Anna Amalia: Wegbereiterin der Weimarer ...* (Salentin) 86n4
- Annonces, affiches et avis divers 55n20
- Ansaldi, G. 176
- Antoine Gatayes (Ara) 51n2
- Antologia per chitarra* (Ablóniz) 128
- Anweisung die Gitarre zu Spielen* (Bornhardt) 92
- Apostel, Hans Erich 127
- Appalachian State University 111n2
- Appendix: Matteo Carcassi* (Stenstadvold) 80n18
- Apuntes sobre Ferran Sors y la creación ...* (Olcina i Aya) 59n40
- Aquelloos plateados años ...* (Aquelloos) 103n4
- Ara, Mario Dell' 36n32, 37, 37n33, 51n2, 79n15, 80n18

- Arango, Ali 152, 154
Arcaicas harmonias ... (Lima) 162
 Arcas, Julián 99, 100, 147, 193
 arch-lute 22, 40n4
 Arctic Guitar Trio 158
 Arde, Freya 184
 Arespacochaga, Juan de 54
 Ariza Adame, Gloria 249, 249n3
 Ariza, Jorge 150
 Arkhipovsky, Alexey 158
 Armandinho 114
 Arnold, Johann Gottfried 91, 93
 arquialaúde 22
 Arregui, Vicente 104
 Arriaga, Gerardo 12n20
 Arriaza, Serafin 151
 Arrieta, Emilio 101
 Artaria 79, 93, 169n4
 Artaria, Carlo 169
 Artaria, Francesco 169
Arte de muzica para viola ... (J. P. S. S.) 72, 72n52
Arte de tocar la guitarra (Ferandiere) 54
Arte para aprender con facilidad (Sotos) 54
 As "Guitarras de Alcácer" e a ... (Sampayo Ribeiro) 19n3
As músicas luso-brasileiras ... (Lucas et al.) 71n44
 Asencio, Vicente 107
 Ashmolean Museum 71n43
 Assad Brothers 250-251
 Assad, Odair 158
 Assad, Sérgio 158
 Assunção, Martinho d' 114-115, 121
Asturias (Albéniz) 246, 246n11, 247-248, 247n13
At Court and at Home with the Vihuela de Mano (Griffiths) 18n1
 Atalaya, José 252
 August the Strong 42
Aulodia for Lotar (Maderna) 129
 Aussel, Roberto 153, 158, 251-252
 Austin-Marie Collection 88
 Ávila, Francisco 119, 119n31
 Ayer (Palau) 106
 Azabagic, Denis 152, 158
Azevedo, António Sérgio (Cascudo) 164n3
 Azevedo, Sérgio 162-164, 164n3-41, 167
 Azpiazu, José de 108
- B**
- Bacarisse, Salvador 104, 106
 Bacelar, José 117
 Bach, Carl Philipp Emmanuel 86, 226
 Bach, Johann Sebastian 42, 47, 118, 150, 186, 197, 239-241, 244
Bach's Lute Work ... (Hoppstock) 186n17-18
 Bad Schandau school 91
 Badalo, Inés 109
 Baillot, Pierre 192
Ballata dell'esilio (Castenuovo Tedesco) 126
 Ballesteros, Demetrio 108
 bandora 47
 bandurra 19-20, 23
 bandurria 53
 Baranov, Anton 159
 Baranzano, Eduardo 152
 Bárbara, queen 25
 Barberá, Miguel 108
 Barberis, Melchiore de 27-28, 27n3, 28n4
 Barberini, Francesco 40
 Barce, Ramón 108
 Barceló, Ricardo 51n2, 161-162, 249n*
 Barelli, Agostino 45
 Bärenreiter Verlag 184
 Bargagli, Girolamo 29
 Baroque guitar 2
Baroque Guitar Stringing ... (Hall) 7n1, 22n9
 Barrios, Agustín 197
 Barrios, Ángel 105
 Barros 24
 Barrueco, Manuel 151, 158, 250-251
 Bartók, Béla 103, 107, 124, 125
 Bartolotti, Angelo Michele 35
 Basaldella, Afro 127
 Basilio, padre 54, 54n14, 54n16, 61
 Bassols, Buenaventura 99
 Bathioli, Francesco (Franz) 84, 93
 BaumBach Duo 160
 Bautista, Julián 104
 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 79, 93
 Baykoff, Léon de 57
 Beck, C. H. 86n4
 Beckford, William 64, 64n6
 Beer-Demander, Vincent 256
 Beethoven, Ludwig van 59, 83, 83n25, 85, 101, 169, 239-240
 Beijing Guitar Duo 158
 Beirão, Bernardo 160
 Bellini, Vincenzo 73, 83, 100
 Beneke, Eva 187
 Benevoli, Orazio 13
 Benguerel, Xavier 108
 Bensusan, Pierre 158
 Bèrben 105
 Berény Domingues, Francisco 161, 209, 256
 Berg, Alban 124-125, 127
 Bergadà, Montserrat 57n26
 Berger, Joachim 86n4
 Berger, Leonie 86n4
 Bergmann, Heinrich Christian 92
 Berio, Luciano 124, 130, 131, 131n10-11
 Berkeley, Lennox 126
 Berlioz, Hector 133
 Bermejo, Fernando 105n8, 153n7
 Bermudo, Juan 11, 18n1
 Bernaola, Carmelo 108
 Bertomeu, Agustin 109
 Bettencourt, Ruben 158-159, 161
Between Grottkau and Neuburg ... (Legl) 42n12
 Bevilacqua, Matteo 84
 Bianco, Gabriel 158-159
 Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra 20, 21
 Biblioteca Nacional de España 9, 9n9, 14, 33
 Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal 21, 67, 69, 70, 72, 112
 Biblioteca Universitaria Bologna 30
 Biblioteka Jagiellonska 242
 Bibliothèque de Musique Ancienne ... 104
 Bibliothèque Nationale de France 10, 35, 56, 56n23, 58, 77, 81
 Biedermeyer guitar 88
 Biguela hordinaria 14
Biographie universelle des musiciens ... (Fétis) 58, 58n38, 69, 69n36
 Biraghi, Francesco 80n20, 177
Black Guitar-Players and ... (Budasz) 23n10
 Blancafort, Manuel 107
 Blankenburg, Walter 43n16
 Bobri, Vladimir 137n12
 Bobrowicz, Jan Nepomucen 239
 Boccherini, Luigi 54, 75, 173
 Boccomini, Giuseppe 81
 Bochmann, Christopher 162, 164
 Bogdanovic, Dusan 158
 Boletim do Conservatório Nacional 115, 115n18, 117, 117n26, 118n27
 Bonafini, Sara 170n7
 Bonaguri, Piero 177
 Bonell, Carlos 158-159
 Bonet, Domingo 99
 Bonet, Narciso 118
 Borchert, Angela 86n4
 Borges de Azevedo, João Manuel 20n7
 Bornhardt, Johann Heinrich Carl 92
 Borrono, Pietro Paolo 28
 Bortolazzi, Bartolomeo 84, 93
 Bosch, Jaime 101
 Boulez, Pierre 108, 120, 124, 127, 163
 Boye, Gary R. 32n20, 33n21, 36n29-36n31
 Brahms, Johannes 85n1
 Bran'schen Buchhandlung 87n5
 Bream, Julian 119, 125-126, 153, 249
 Brentano, Clemens 94

- Brescianello, Giuseppe
Antonio 173n13
- Bretón, Tomás 101
- Breuer, Hans 139
- Briceño [Brizeño], Luis de* (Hudson et al.) 10n11
- Briceño, Luis de 10, 10n13
- Brightmore, Robert 158
- Briso de Montiano, Luis 54n12, 59n40, 59n43, 60n45, 61n51, 72n48, 154, 192, 192n6-7, 194n11
- British Library 42, 173n13
- Brito Moreira, Álvaro 252
- Brito, Manuel Carlos de 19n5, 64n5, 66n16
- Britten, Benjamin 124-126
- Britton, Andrew 169n1
- Brò, Joseph 9n9
- Brocá, José 99, 100
- Brojer, Robert 144
- Brouwer, Leo 3, 151, 153, 158, 161-162, 181, 197, 220, 249-257
- Brown, Howard Mayer 29n10
- Bruno & Irmão, Joaquim Wladislao 71
- Budasz, Rogério 19n2-3, 23n10-11, 25n14
- Bund der Gitarristen Österreichs 138
- Buñuel, Luis 103
- Burgers, Jan W. J. 79n15
- Burney, Charles 68-70, 69n33, 70, 70n38-39
- Buschmann, Nora 187
- Busoni, Ferruccio 239
- C**
- Caballero, Jorge 158
- Cáceres Feria, Rafael 7n3
- Cachada, Nuno 159
- Cadernos da Seara Nova 69n34
- Cadernos de invenções ...* (Lima) 162, 163
- Cage, John 108, 129
- Calamaro, Andrés 151
- Calandrucchio, Romolo 78n10, 79n12
- Calatayud, Bartolomé 108
- Caldeira Cabral, Pedro 66, 66n13-14
- Caldeira, Artur 157-158, 161, 249n*, 255-256, 256n15
- Call, Leonhard von 118
- Calvi, Carlo 32
- Camacho, Tomás 160
- Camand 76
- Camargo Júnior Eli 162
- Camerata Fiorentina 29
- Camilo, Michel 151
- Campañas del alba* (Sáinz de la Maza, E.) 108
- Campion, Thomas 15
- Campo Tejedor, Alberto del 7n3
- Canción de cuna* (Brouwer) 256
- Canción playera* (Esqueembre) 105
- Canción y danza* (Ruiz-Pipó) 107
- Canções populares transmontanas* (Lapa) 163, 165-166
- Cano, Antonio 100-101
- Cantares* (Gerhard) 107
- Cantares do Minho* (Lapa) 163
- Canticum* (Brouwer) 256
- Capdeville, Constança 164
- Capricci armonici sopra la chitarra spagnola* (Roncalli) 36
- Capricci di Goya* (Castenuovo Tedesco) 126
- Capricho andaluz* (Esqueembre) 105
- Capricho árabe* (Tárrega) 101
- Caravita, José 65n9
- Carbonchi, Antonio 32, 35
- Carcassi, Matteo 61, 61n49, 73, 75, 80, 82, 136, 171, 197, 220
- Cardoso, Jorge 153
- Cardoso, Pedro 165-166, 166n8
- Carisani, Cristóforo 13
- Carl I duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel 43
- Carl Philipp, count 42
- Carlevaro, Abel 158
- Carlo II Gonzaga 34
- Carlomagno, Paola 80n20
- Carneyro Tavares Lamacense, Joseph 20
- Carnicer, Miguel 60
- Carpintero Fernández, Ana 77n7, 78n9, 54n13
- Carrapatoso, Eurico 162
- Carreira, Mário 119, 161, 209
- Cartas curiosas escritas de Roma ...* (Vasconcellos) 69n34
- Cartas do Abade António da Costa* (Lopes Graça) 69n34
- Carter, Tim 29n9
- Carulli, Ferdinando 52n5, 73, 75, 78, 78n10, 78n12, 79, 79n12-79n14, 80, 82, 94, 112n4, 123, 169, 171, 173, 218, 220, 239
- Carulli, ultimo concerto in Italia?* (Calandrucchio) 78n10
- Caruso, Luigi 65
- Carvalho, Luís 165, 166
- Carvalho, Miguel 161
- Casares, Emilio Francisco 52n6
- Cascudo, Teresa 164n3
- Cassadó, Gaspar 104, 148
- Cassola Marques, Tiago 209, 251n5
- Castellacci, Luigi 84
- Castellnuovo Tedesco, Mario 104, 125-126, 252
- Castelo-Branco, Salwa El-Shawan 19n5, 113n9, 164n3
- Castillo, Manuel 108
- Castiglioni, Niccolò 124, 131, 132n12
- Castro de Gistau, Mariano 57
- Castro de Gistau, Mariano Theodoro* (Stenstadvold) 57, 57n32
- Castro de Gistau, Salvador Theodoro 55-58
- Castro Escudero, José 10n13
- Catalogo delle opere di Matteo Carcassi* (Ara) 80n18
- Catalogo tematico delle opere* (Torta) 78n12
- Cauvin, Thibault 158
- Cavalieri, Emilio de' 29
- cembalino 29
- Centro de Investigação ... 165
- Carqueira, Ricardo 209
- Cervantes y Saavedra, Miguel de 7n3, 19, 19n4
- Chanterelle 9n9
- Chapí, Ruperto 101
- Charles II, king 12, 34
- Chemins V* (Berio) 131, 131n11
- Chiche, Gaëlle 158
- Chiesa, Ruggero 170-176, 178
- Chilesotti, Oscar 36n32
- chitarra 32, 78-79, 80, 82n24, 83n25, 95n23, 127n7, 128, 170n7-8, 172n9, 172n11, 173, 174n16, 176, 178
- chitarra attiorbata 36
- chitarra battente 240
- chitarra francese 72, 72n53, 80
- chitarra napoletana 29
- chitarra spagnola 30n13-30n16, 31-36
- chitarriglia 32
- chitarrina alla napoletana 29
- chitarrino 29n7
- chitarrone 40, 40n4
- Chladni, Ernst 243
- Cho, Deion 154
- Chopin, Frédéric 101, 239
- Choron, Alexandre Étienne 56n25, 57, 57n34, 58
- Christian Louis of Hanover 34
- Christine of Lorraine, princess 29
- Ciacchi, Andrea 69n37
- Ciammarughi, Luca 177
- Cifras selectas para guitarra* (de Murcia) 15
- Cimarron (Henze) 250
- Cinq études pour la guitare* (Schulz) 137
- Cinque pezzi* (Togni) 128
- cithrinchen 39
- cittern 39, 66, 95, 138
- Clarke, Sarah 170n5
- Classical-romantic guitar 2
- clavicordio 53
- Clementi, Aldo 127, 130-131
- Clementi, Orazio 47, 47n27
- Clerch, Joaquim 151-152, 154, 154n8, 159
- Coelho, José 71

- Coelho, Victor Anand 18n1, 30n11, 40n3, 242n7
- Coimbra, *minha Coimbra* (Corrêa de Oliveira) 120
- Coldwell, Robert 60n47
- Colección de estudios (Aguado) 60
- Colecciones y periódicos de música ... (Briso) 61n51
- Colista, Lelio 13
- Colla, Alberto 124n3
- Colla, Domenico 76
- Collectici intim (Asencio) 107
- Colonna, Giovanni Ambrosio 31-32
- Columbus, Christopher 17
- Compêndio de música 72
- Complete Works (Cervantes y Saavedra) 19n4
- Concertino (Tansman) 125
- Concertino in *La menor* (Bacarisse) 106
- Concertino para guitarra ... (Azevedo) 164
- Concerto de Tricastín (Brouwer) 253-254
- Concerto Elegíaco (Brouwer) 256
- Concerto grosso (Brouwer) 253
- Concerto Ibérico (Duarte Costa) 116
- Concerto Palatino Bologna 36
- Concerto pour la guitare avec accompagnement ... (Vidal) 55
- Concierto (Halffter) 106
- Concierto Aguediano (García Abril) 106
- Concierto andaluz (Rodrigo) 106
- Concierto de Aranjuez (Rodrigo) 105-106, 125, 154, 155, 251-252
- Concierto de Cáceres (Clerch) 154, 154n8
- Concierto de Castilla (Moreno Torroba) 106
- Concierto de Gibralfaro (García Abril) 106
- Concierto de Otoño (Clerch) 154n8
- Concierto de Volos (Brouwer) 253
- Concierto del Sur (Ponce) 152
- Concierto Elegíaco (Rodrigo) 251
- Concierto Flamenco (Moreno Torroba) 106
- Concierto ibérico (Moreno Torroba) 106
- Concierto levantino (Palau) 106
- Concierto madrigal (Rodrigo) 106
- Concierto Mudéjar (García Abril) 106
- Concierto para guitarra (Remacha) 106
- Concierto para una fiesta (Rodrigo) 106
- Conning, Rachel 15n30
- Conserto vago di balletti, ... (Tomassini) 29n7
- Conservatório de Música do Porto 1, 208, 210
- Conservatório Nacional 121
- Conservatorio Profesional de Música 'Hermanos Berzosa' 1
- Conservatorio Verdi 170, 178
- Consonancias y redobles (Corghi) 131
- Corbetta, Francesco 2, 13, 20, 34-35, 34n25, 75
- Corbetta, Francesco (Pinnell) 34n27, 35n28
- Cordeiro, Marta 211n20
- Córdoba City Council 150
- Corghi, Azio 124, 131
- Corona di vaghi fiori (Abatessa) 32
- Corral, Emilia del 149
- Corrêa de Oliveira, Fernando 120
- Corrette, Michel 68n23
- Corsi di musica ... (Pinksterboer) 220n12
- Cortez, Elsa 161
- Costa, António da 69, 69n34, 69n36-37, 70, 70n39, 73
- Costa, António Pereyra da 66
- Costa, Cesário 253
- Costa, Duarte 114
- Costa, José 100
- Costa, José Duarte (Morais) 115n17, 115n19
- Costa, Yamandu 159
- Costanzo, Fabritio 32
- Coste, Napoléon 59, 95, 136, 241
- Cotsiolis, Costas, 158-159, 252-253
- Couperin 240
- Covarrubias, Sebastián de 8, 8n5
- Cranmer, David 65
- Crawford, Tim 42, 42n12, 42n14-15, 46n22
- Crema, Giovanni Maria da 28
- Cristoforetti, Orlando 40n5
- Croner de Vasconcellos, Jorge 120
- Cruel saudade (Vidigal) 66
- Cruz, Alberto 117
- Cruz, Manuel Ivo 117, 121
- Cuadros e Sousa, Antonia Magdalena de 66
- Cuarteto en Re mayor (Rodríguez Albert) 107
- Cubedo, Manuel 118
- Cuervas, Matilde 117
- Curatolo, Carlo 159
- Cursos de Aperfeiçoamento ... 121
- Cymbron, Luísa 64n5
- cythara 53
- D**
- Da democratização à ... (Teixeira Lopes) 212n22
- Dal teatro alla chitarra ... (Tagliaferri) 82n24, 83n25
- Dalberg, Carl Theodor von 94
- Dalí, Salvador 103
- Dalitz, Christoph 41n11
- Dallapiccola, Luigi 124, 126
- Damas, Tomás 100, 101
- Dammann, Matthias 180
- Daniels, Rose 118, 119n31
- Danner, Peter 33n21
- Dansa valenciana (Asencio) 107
- Danuser, Hermann 124n4
- Danza Característica (Brouwer) 256
- Danza del Altiplano (Brouwer) 256
- Danza en Mi mayor (Moreno Torroba) 103
- Dapena, José Manuel 159
- Darmstadt a School? (Danuser) 124n4
- Dartsch, Michael 234n14
- De gli scherzo armonici ... (Corbetta) 34
- Debussy, Claude 102-104, 125, 244
- Del Padre Don Miguel 54n16
- Delgado García, Fernando 193n10, 194n15, 194n17
- Dellaborra, Mariateresa 69n37
- Depreter, Jan 159
- Der Blaue Reiter 124
- Der getreue Music-Meister (Telemann) 43
- Der Gitarrefreund 138
- Desiderio, Aniello 158-159
- Devillers, Marie Marguerite 51n2
- Devecchi, Paolo 170n8
- Devienne, François 192
- Devine, Graham Anthony 152, 158
- Di Meola, Al 158
- Diabelli, Anton 94, 240
- Diálogos para guitarra y orquesta (Moreno Torroba) 106
- Diamond, Campbell 159
- Diário de William Beckford ... (Beckford) 64n6
- Diastrophe (Bochmann) 162
- Díaz Latorre, Xavier 160
- Díaz, Alirio 118, 176
- Diccionario biográfico de músicos (Vieira) 66n16, 68n27, 71n46-48, 73n55
- Diccionario de guitarristas ... (Prat) 69n30
- Diccionario de la música española ... 54n14, 101n3
- Dicionário biográfico de músicos ... (Mazza) 68n28
- Diciotto partite (Brescianello) 173n13
- Dictionnaire de la musique en France ... (Bergadà) 57n26
- Dictionnaire historique des musiciens, ... (Choron et al.) 56n25, 57, 57n34, 58
- Die Gitarre 46n23, 46n25
- Die Gitarre in Österreich ... (Hackl) 70n40, 134n2, 135n4
- Die Laute in Europa: Geschichte ... (Schlegel) 41n7
- Die Lautenwerke Bach ... (Hopstock) 186, 186n17

- Diego, Gerardo 103
 Dinis, Sérgio 162
Dionisio Aguado (1784-1849)
 (Briso) 59n43
Dionisio Aguado (1784-1849) ...
 (Gimeno) 54n15, 59n43
Dionisio Aguado y la guitarra clásico-romántica (Pérez Díaz) 59n43
Dionisio Aguado. La Colección de estudios ... (Briso) 60n45
Dionisio Aguado. Los escritos a ... Masamau (Briso) 59n43
Dionisio Aguado. The Man (Romanillos) 59n43
Dionisio Aguado: El Hijo (Briso) 59n43, 192n6
Distribuição de flores (Villa-Lobos) 132
 Doberman 165n6
Documentos inéditos. Reflexiones e hipótesis (Mangado) 59n40
 Dodgson, Stephen 126
 Doizi de Velasco, Nicolao 10, 10n14, 11, 11n15, 25-26, 26n15
 Doisy, Charles 52n5
 Dolata, David 40, 41n7
Dolores Nevares de Goñi (de Kloe) 61n48
 Domeniconi, Carlo 181
 Donatoni, Franco 124, 129-130, 130n9, 131
 Donizetti, Gaetano 83, 100
 Donostia, father 104
 Doria, Diogo 24
 Doria, José 73
 Dormer, Diego 14
 Dörner, Karolin 180n2
Dossier 14. Compositores portugueses ... (Lapa) 163n1-2
Douze Études (Villa-Lobos) 125, 221
 Dowland, John 197
Drei tentos (Henze) 126
 Duarte Costa, José 114, 115, 115n16, 115n21, 116, 116n22-24, 117-118, 120-121
 Duarte Tavares, João 22n8
Duas cartas ... (Lapa) 163
 Dukas, Paul 103-104, 125
 Dukić, Zoran 152, 154, 158
 Dumond, Arnaud 161
 Duo Arsís 160-161
 Duo Barbieri-Schneider 158
 Duo Melis 159
 Duo Paula Marques/Paulo Peres 161
 Duo Pourquoi Pas 161
 Duo Sirius 160-161
 Durães Albuquerque, Maria João 63, 63n3-4
 Durão Machado, João 165n7, 209
 Dyens, Roland 153, 158-159, 251
 Dylla, Marcin 152, 158-159, 176
- E**
- Echi (Manzoni) 131
 Edlinger, Thomas 41
 Edrikat, Katrin 187
 Egholm, Jonas 159
 Eickholt, Alfred 184
Eight Variations (Clementi) 130
Eighteenth Century Precedents ... (Martín-Gil et al.) 68n24, 76n3
Eine Gitarrentabulatur des Kaiserlichen ... (Koczirz) 47n27
 Einsiedel, von 87, 87n5
Eisblumen (Fellegara) 132
 Eisler, Hanns 226
El Cimarron (Henze) 127, 250
El Decamerón Negro (Brouwer) 256
El estilo castellano y el estilo catalan ... (Hall et al.) 9n10
El guitarrista Julián Arcas ... (Suárez-Pajares et al.) 99n1
 El Khouri, Christian Andrea 159, 248
El Maestro (Milán) 25, 173n13
El maestro Emilio Pujol ... (Morais) 119n31
El Mariscal de Campo don Federico Moretti (Carpintero) 78n9
El Polifemo de Oro (Smith Brindle) 126
El repertorio inédito para guitarra ... (Neri) 104n6
 Eli Rodríguez, Victoria 249, 249n2
 Eliason, Edward 136
 Ellis, Alexander J. 243, 243n8
Elogio de la Danza (Brouwer) 256
Emili Pujol Vilarnubi ... (Ribera Gibal) 118n29
En los trigales (Rodrigo) 104, 197
Enciclopèdia da música portuguesa ... 113n9, 115n17
 Encinar, José Ramón 108
Ensaio sobre a música para guitarra ... (Duarte Tavares) 22n8
Entre dues línies (Homs) 107
Entrevista com José ... (Pinto-Ribeiro) 115n20
 Erasmus+ 1
 Ermani (Verdi) 100
 Ernst August II Constantin 87
Esboços ... (Lima) 120, 162
 Escarpa, Margarita 121, 159, 160
 Eschig, Max 104
 Escobar, José Antonio 154
 Escobar, Pedro 25
 Escola de Guitarra Clássica ... 115
Escuela de guitarra (Aguado) 60
Escuela para tocar con perfección la guitarra (Abreu) 54, 72n49
Escuela razonada de la guitarra ... (Pujol) 102, 117
 Eslava, Hilarión 100
España de la guerra (Jeffery) 58n40
- Espinel, Vicente 11, 11n16-17
Espiral eterna (Brouwer) 256
 Esplá, Óscar 104, 148, 153
 Esquebre, Quintín 105
Essay VII (Bochmann) 162
 Estado da Educação 2021 211n21
Estampas (Moreno Torroba) 106
 Estarellas, Gabriel 108
 Estévez, José Luis 148n2
Estudio sin luz (Segovia) 105
Estudios sencillos (Brouwer) 197, 256
Estudios sobre Fernando Sor (Gasser) 58n40
Estudo de guitarra (Silva Leite) 66, 66n17, 66n19, 67, 67n20
Estudo numerus nove (Mesquita Lopes) 162
Estudos Brouwerianos (Abreu) 166
Estudos de história da música ... (Brito) 16n16
Estudos evocativos (Abreu) 165-166
 Etzion, Judith 61n50
Evidencias de una obra musical hoy desconocida (Espinel) 11n17
Explicación para tocar la guitarra de punteado (Vargas y Guzmán) 54
- F**
- Fabricatore, Giovanni Battista 88
Fado (Vieira Nery) 113n9, 114n10, 114n12
 Falcón, Marisa F. 211n20
 Falla, Manuel de 103-105, 107, 117, 125
 Falú, Eduardo 150
Fandanguillo (Palau) 106
Fandanguillo (Turina) 125
Fantasia (Gerhard) 107
Fantasia no. 7 (Dowland) 197
Fantasia para un gentilhombre (Rodrigo) 106, 154
Fantasia sobre El paño (Arcas) 100
Fantasia sobre motivos de La Traviata 100
Fantasia-sonata op. 22 (Manén) 125, 104
Fantasia per sonar sopra la chitarra ... (?) 28
 Fauquet, Joël-Marie 57n26
 Fayolle, François Joseph M. 56n25, 57-58, 57n34,
Federico Moretti. Vida y obra ... (Carpintero Fernández) 77n7
 Feldman, Morton 129
 Fellegara, Vittorio 132
 Fellingner, Imogen 57n30
 Ferandiere, Fernando 54, 72
 Ferau, Manuel 54
 Ferdinand Maria of Bavaria 44-45
Ferdinando Carulli ... (Calandrucchio) 79n12
Ferdinando Carulli ... (Torta) 78n12

- Fernandes, Domingos 206n14, 211n21
 Fernández Álvez, Gabriel 109
 Fernández, José Manuel 109
 Fernández-Huidobro Pineda, Rosario 59n43, 193, 194n11
Fernando Sor (1778-1839) (Stenstadvold) 59n40
Fernando Sor on the Move in the Early 1820s (Stenstadvold) 59n40
Fernando Sor, vol. I, Aportaciones biográficas (Mangado) 58n40
Fernando Sor. Composer and Guitarist (Jeffery) 58n40
Fernando Sor. Versuch einer Autobiographie ... (Moser) 59n40
Fernando Sor's Theory of Harmony Applied ... (Hartdegen) 58n40
 Fernando VI, king 25
 Fernando VII, king 57
 Ferreira Cordovil, Joseph 24
 Ferreira de Castro, Paulo 64n5
 Ferreira Oliveira, Pedro 71
 Ferreira, Mário B. 206n14
 Ferrer, José 99-101
 Festival de Música do Estoril 121
 Festival Estoril Lisboa 121
 Fétis, François-Joseph 58, 58n38, 61, 61n49, 64, 64n7, 69, 69n36
 Fichier Bossu du Fonds maçonnique 57
Figurations VII (Pires) 120
 Finsterer, Mary 164
Fior novello. Libro primo ... (Costanzo) 32
First concerto (Castelnuovo Tedesco) 125
 Fisk, Eliot 130-131
 Fito y Fitipaldis 151
Five Bagatelles (Walton) 126
 Five-course guitar 2, 8, 10, 22, 23, 27, 29, 36, 44, 67
 flauta dulce 53
 flauta traversera 53
 flautilla 53
 Flecha, Óscar 158, 249-250, 252
 Flecha-Fuenllana 118
 Fortea, Daniel 101, 105, 115
 Fortune, Nigel 29n9
 Foscari, Giovanni Paolo 2, 13, 33-34, 75
Foscari, Giovanni Paolo (Boye) 33n21
 Fossa, François de 72, 72n50
Francesco Molino ... (Burgers) 79n15
Francesco Molino: Vita e opera (Ara) 79n15, 80n17
 Francesconi, Luca 164
Francisco Tárrega (Ophee) 239
Francisco y Gabriel Guerau, músicos mallorquines 12n20
 Franco, Francisco (general) 105
 Franco, Francisco (guitarist) 159-161
 Franco, José María 104
 François 243
 Freitas Branco, João de 64n5, 69, 69n31
 Frescobaldi, Girolamo 40
Fridolin (Teschner) 184
Fructus Medicinae (Amat) 8
 Fuchs, Robert 142
 Fuenllana, Miguel de 25
Fuga (Brouwer) 256
 Fujiie, Keiko 252
 Fuller, Frederick 119
 Fülöp, Kornel 256
- G**
- Gabrisch, Thomas 154n8
 Gaertner, Max 188
 Galbraith, Paul 158
 Galilei, Vincenzo 173-174, 173n15, 174n16
 Gallardo del Rey, José María 148
Gallegada (Arcas) 100
 Gallén, Ricardo 150, 152-154, 158
 Galvão, Paulo 69, 158
 Gama, Rui 161-162, 249, 253-254
 Garaü, Francisco 12n21
 García Abril, Antón 106, 109, 148
 García Antón, Fernando 7n2, 61n52
 García Ascot, Rosita 104
 García Avello, Ramón 101n3
 García Lorca, Federico 103, 107, 129
 García Rubio, Juan Manuel 54
 García Velasco, Venancio 108
 García, Luis Alejandro 159
 García, Manuel 100
 García, Miguel 54
García, Miguel (padre Basilio) (Suárez-Pajares) 54n14
 García, Thibaut 160
 Garrido, Eduardo 109
 Garrobé, Álex 107n10, 154, 158
 Gässer, Luis 58n40
Gatayes e Sor: Professori di chitarra (Barceló) 51n2
 Gatayes, Guillaume Pierre Antoine 51-52, 51n1-2, 52n3-5, 53, 61
 Gausente, Fernando 102
 Gavito, Cory Michael 30n14
Gazeta de Lisboa 64
 Geller, Hugo 154
 Generación del 27 103
 Gentile, Ada 132
 Gerber, Ernst Ludwig 69n29
 Gerhard, Roberto 107
 German Lute Association 41n8
German Lute Tablature Recognition (Dalitz et al.) 41n11
 Gervilla Castillo, Enrique 195n20
 Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Wien 31
Gesto Usual (Valente) 165
 Ghedini, Giorgio Federico 124, 127
 Ghiglia, Oscar 175
 Gilardino, Angelo 104n7, 105, 107, 125n5
 Gill, Donald 244n9
 Gimeno, Julio 54n15, 59n43, 105n9, 154, 191n2
Giovanni Battista Granata and the ... (Boye) 36n29, 45n20
Giovanni Paolo Foscari and His "Nuova Inventione" (Danner) 33n21
 Girolamo Montesardo (Hall) 31n18
 Gismonti, Egberto 151, 158
Gitarren aus dem Backofen (Schulpeck) 180n3
Gitarrenklang ... (Dörner) 180n2
 Giuliani, Mauro 65, 75, 78, 78n11, 79, 82, 83, 93, 123, 136, 136n9, 169, 173, 173n14, 176, 197, 218, 220, 221, 241
 Gnomon 158
 Godinho, Litó 158, 160, 249n*, 250, 250n4, 251-252, 252n8, 255
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von 86n4, 87
Goethe's Eulogy for Duchess ... (Borchert) 86n4
Goldberg Variations (Bach) 42
Goldberg, Johann Gottlieb (Rubin) 42n13
 Goldmann, Friedrich 143
 Goldstein, Carolyn 240n2
 Gomes 24
 Gomes, Sérgio 254
 Gómez Cairo, Jesús 249
 Gómez Ramos, Angel 160, 161
 Gómez, Vicente 105
 Gonçalves de Pinho, Ernesto 19n6
 Gonçalves, António 161
 Gonçalves, António Jorge 256
 Gongonca, Mircea 154
 Goñi, Dolores de 60, 61n48
 González Caballero, Andrea 152
 González Mohino, Jesús 149
 González, Carmen 118, 119n31
 González, José Luis 149
 González, Pedro Mateo 154, 160
 Gonzalo, Eugenio 150
 Gorbach, Vladimir 158
 Goryachev, Grisha 158
 Gossett, Philip 82n23
 Gottwald, Clytus 43n16
 Götz, Alois 136, 136n9
 Goy, François-Pierre 56n23
Gran septuor (Petrassi) 128
 Granados, Enrique 101, 239, 241, 244-245
 Granata, Giovanni Battista 13, 36, 36n29-31, 45, 45n20

- Grand concerto pour la guitare* (Carulli) 80
- Grande Méthode complète pour guitare ou lyre* (Molino) 58n39, 80
- Grau, José 107
- Gretton, Harold 159
- Griffiths, John 18n1
- Grondona, Stefano 176
- Grosse Sonate ... Op. 7* (Molitor) 92, 92n17-18, 93, 94n19-20, 94n22
- Grupo de Compositores ... 107
- Grupo de los Ocho 107
- Grupo de Música Contemporânea 120
- Guedes de Campos, Nuno 162
- Guerau, Francisco 11n19, 12, 12n20, 26, 52
- Guerau, Gabriel 12n20
- Guerreiro, Júlio 158, 161, 256
- Guerrero, Francisco (16th century) 25
- Guerrero, Francisco 108
- Guinjoan, Joan 108
- Guitar Alfabeto in Italian Monody ...* (Treadwell) 30n12-13, 30n15, 31n19
- Guitar Concerto* (Dodgson) 126
- Guitar Concerto Op. 88* (Berkeley) 126
- Guitarra española de cinco órdenes* (Amat) 2, 9
- Guitare-Schule* (Harder) 86
- Guitare-Schule* (anon.) 92
- Gulbenkian 20
- Günther & Böhme 89
- Guthmann, Friedrich 91, 91n31
- Gutkin, Carlos 161-162
- Guzmán, Luisa de 25
- Guzmán, María Esther 152, 158
- H**
- Hackl, Stefan 39n2, 70, 70n40, 134, 134n2, 135n4, 136n9, 138n14-15, 139, 139n17-18
- Hal Leonard Europe 128
- Halász, Débora 158
- Halász, Franz 158
- Halffter, Cristóbal 108
- Halffter, Ernesto 103-104, 106
- Halffter, Rodolfo 104
- Hall, Monica 7n1, 8n7, 9n9-10, 10n11, 10n14, 22n9, 31n18, 33n23, 34n24
- Hammerschmid, Gerta 143
- Handel, George Frideric 240, 243
- Hanika Gitarren 180
- Hanika, Armin 180n1
- Hanika, Helmut 180
- Harder, August 86, 86n2
- harpa 53
- Harpichord 20, 37, 46, 82, 89, 125, 128, 244, 271
- Hartdegen, Kenneth Angus 58n40
- Harwood, Ian 40n4, 46n22
- Hauer, Joseph M. 124
- Haydn, Joseph 83, 83n25, 85, 85n1, 108, 118, 169, 240
- Heck, Thomas F. 72n53, 77, 77n6, 78n11
- Heeser, Alexandre 239
- Heimowski, Andrzej 159
- Heinrich Albert and the First ...* (Morris) 140n19
- Heinrich Julius, duke 43
- Hellwig, Barbara 41n8
- Hellwig, Friedemann 41n8
- Henriette Adelaide of Savoy 44, 45
- Henrique, Luís 66n19
- Henriques, Nuno Miguel 162
- Henze, Hans Werner 126-127, 143, 173, 250
- Herder, Johann Gottfried 87
- Hernández, Isabelle 249n1
- Hill, John Walter 29n10
- Hindemith, Paul 124-125
- Hinojosa, Javier 116, 118, 119n31
- História da música* (Vieira Nery et al.) 64n5
- História da música portuguesa* (Brito) 64n5
- História da música portuguesa* (Freitas Branco) 64n5, 69n31
- Historisch-biographisches Lexikon ...* (Gerber) 69n29
- Ho veduta una Civetta* (Luigi Caruso) 65
- Hoffmann, E. T. A. 94
- Hoffmann, Norbert Rudolf 143
- Hofmann, Erik Pierre 70n40
- Hofmann, Josef 142
- Holman, Peter 45n21
- Homenaje a Debussy* (Falla) 102, 103, 107, 125
- Homenaje a la seguidilla* (Moreno Torroba) 106
- Homenaje a Tárrega* (Turina) 125
- Homenajes* (Asencio) 107
- Homenajes* (Sáinz de la Maza, E.) 108
- Homs, Joaquim 107
- Hoppstock, Tilman 160, 186, 186n17-18
- Huber, Gertrud Maria 134n2
- Hudson, Barton 10n11
- Huerta, Trinidad 60-61, 60n47, 61n49, 99-100, 193
- Hurwitz, Tal 154, 159
- Huygens, Constantijn 34
- I**
- I Lieti giorni di Napoli* (Montesardo) 31
- I quattro libri della chitarra spagnola* (Foscarini) 33
- Iberia (Estarellas) 108
- Iglesias, Ángel 105, 105n8, 108, 153, 153n7, 154
- Il catalogo numerico Ricordi ...* (Zecca-Laterza) 169n3, 82n23
- Il Dialogo* 175
- Il Fronimo* 170, 170n8, 173-174, 174n16, 175
- Il gusto popolare* (Gavito) 30n14
- Il primo, secondo e terzo libro ...* (Foscarini) 33
- Il trovatore* (Verdi) 100
- Inbar, Israel Shani 154
- Indy, Vincent d' 125
- Instituto de Alta Cultura 115
- Instituto Espanhol 117
- Instituto Português do Património Cultural 20
- Instituto Superior Politécnico 120
- Instrucción de música sobre ... española* (Sanz) 13, 13n25-26, 14, 26n15, 34n26
- Instrumental Music Printed before 1600 ...* (Brown) 29n10
- Instrumentos musicais ...* (Veiga de Oliveira) 64n5
- Intabulatura de lauto* (Spinacino) 242
- Intavolatura di chitarra alla spagnuola* (Colonna) 31
- Intavolatura di chitarra e chitariglia* (Calvi) 32
- Intavolatura facile delli passacalli ...* (Sanseverino) 32
- Intermedii et concerti, fatti per la commedia ...* (Malvezzi) 29n8
- Introdução e dança* (Rodrigues) 160
- Introduction in Matteo Carcassi* 25
- Etudes ...* (Jeffery) 80n19
- IRCAM 164
- Isaac, Eduardo 158, 161, 250-251
- Itinerários* (Lapa) 163
- Ivanović, Dejan 121, 159, 161, 256
- J**
- J. P. S. S. 72, 72n52
- Jacob, Carl 89
- Jaquemar-André Museum 117, 117n26
- Jara, Xavier 159
- Jeffery, Brian 12n22, 58n40, 80n19
- Jesus, Nuno 160, 161
- Jiménez Arnáiz, Miguel Ángel 60n46
- Jiménez Manjón, Antonio 102, 113
- Jiménez, Juan Ramón 108
- Jochim Tielke. Neue Funde zu Werk und Wirkung* (Hellwig et al.) 41n8
- João I, king 17
- João IV, king 18
- João V, king 69
- João, Diogo 160, 161

- Joaquín Rodrigo. *Nombres propios* ... 105n9
- Johann Christian Anthoni von Adlersfeld ... (Madl) 42n14
- John III, king 25
- John IV, king 25
- John V, king 25
- John, Friar 24
- Jones, Allan Clive 241n6
- Jorge Peixinho ... (Lopes Baptista) 161
- José Duarte Costa: *Um caso* ... (Pinheiro) 115n16, 116n22-24
- José, Antonio 104, 104n7, 107
- Joseph I, king 25
- Jota aragonesa* (Arcas) 100
- Journal de musique allemand ... 89-90
- Journal de musique étrangère* ... (Castro de Gistau) 57
- Jouve, Jérémy 160
- Juliá, Bernardo 109
- Jung, Dieter 85n*
- Jung, Marianne 91
- Junquera, Regina 117
- K**
- Kaminski, Omán 154
- Kandinsky, Wassily 123-124
- Kantonsbibliothek Vadiana 28
- Käppel, Hubert 159
- Kapsberger, Giovanni Girolamo 2, 40, 47
- Kapsberger, Giovanni Girolamo (Anand Coelho) 40n3
- Kastner, Macario Santiago 67n20
- Kavanagh, Dale 187
- Keith, Richard 34n25
- Kesler 91
- Keyserlingk, Hermann Carl von 42
- Kijewski, Matthias 184
- King, B.B. 151
- King, John 23n10
- Kite-Powell, Jeffery 44, 44n17
- Klee, Paul 123
- Klement, Tina 187
- Klimt, Gustav 123
- Klinger, R. 39n2, 92
- Kloe, Jan de 61
- Koch-Darkow, Gerhard 184
- Koczirz, Adolf 46, 46n23, 46n25, 47n27, 135
- Kokkaliari, Lena 169n*, 175
- Kokoschka, Oskar 123-124
- Kontaxakis, Michalis 159
- Kreidler, Dieter 184
- Kremberg, Jakob 45-46, 45n21, 46n24-25
- Kremberg, Jakob (Holman) 45n21
- Krenek, Ernst 127
- Krivokapić, Goran 152, 159, 176
- Küffner, Joseph 93, 171, 239
- Kulikova, Irina 152
- Kurze Anweisung (Bergmann) 92
- L**
- L'Effetto Ensemble 161
- Lenigmatica figura di Padre Basilio* (Poselli) 54n14
- L'indispensable* (Schulz) 137
- L'oiseau Lyre* (Peixinho) 120
- L'oro non compra amore* (Marcos Portugal) 65, 65n9-10
- L'univers estètic de Joaquim* ... 107n10
- La actividad guitarrística en París* (Mangado) 59n40-41
- La catedral* (Barrios) 197
- La creación del conservatorio* ... (Robledo Estaire) 192n4
- La edición musical en Portugal* (Durães Albuquerque) 63n3
- La gran sarabanda* (Brouwer) 256
- La guitare fixée sur le Tripodison* ... (Aguado) 60
- La guitarra en Cataluña* (Mangado) 101n2
- La guitarra en Madrid (1750-1808)* (Aleixo) 53n8-9, 54n11
- La guitarra española en la conformación* ... (García Antón) 7n2, 61n51
- La guitare royale* (Corbetta) 35
- La guitare royale* (Keith) 34n25
- La influencia de Francia* ... (Montes) 192
- La méthode pour la guitare de Luis Briceno* (Castro Escudero) 10n13
- La música española en el siglo XIX* (Casares et al.) 52n6
- La musique mise à la portée* ... (Fétis) 61n49, 64
- La partida de matrimonio de Fernando Sor* (Martin-Gil) 59n40
- La pellegrina* (Bargagli) 29
- La Revue Musicale* 103
- La rivista "Il Fronimo"* ... (Devecchi) 170n8
- La serva padrona* (Pergolesi) 76
- La sonata para guitarra* ... José ... (Gilardino) 104n7
- La tempesta* (Verdi) 83
- La Traviata* (Verdi) 112
- Labara Ballestar, Valeriano C. 58n37
- Lacerda, Fernando de 114, 114n14-15, 120
- Lágrima* (Tárrega) 197
- Landi, Stefano 40
- Langer, Michael 184-185
- Lapa, Fernando C. 162-163, 163n1-2, 165, 166, 167
- Laporta, Isidro de 54, 72
- Las generaciones guitarrísticas españolas* ... (Suárez-Pajares) 52n6
- Launay 56
- Le Cocq, François 15, 45
- Le dodici chitarre* (Carbonchi) 32
- Le fandango varié* op. 16 (Aguado) 60
- Le fondament* (Neuhauser) 92
- Le guide des écoliers de guitare* (Merchi) 76
- Le marteau sans maître* (Boulez) 127
- Le premier livre de chansons, Gaillardes*, ... (Morlaye) 28
- Leblanc, Paul G. 126n6
- Lee, Donghwi 154
- Legl, Frank 42n12
- Legnani, Luigi 75, 81, 83, 84, 123, 136, 136n9, 169
- Leitão, João Diogo 160-161
- Leite Pita da Rocha, João 70-71, 71n42
- Lemoine 243
- Lemos, count of 11
- Leo Brouwer, Figura incontornável* ... (Caldeira) 256, 256n15
- Leopold I 47
- Leopold William, archduke 34
- Les dons d'Apollon* (Corrette) 68n23
- Les soirées espagnoles* (Vidal) 55
- Les vèpres siciliennes* (Verdi) 100
- Let's Play Classical Guitar Together 1
- Lhoyer, Antoine de 55, 90
- Li cinque libri della chitarra* ... (Foscarini) 34n24
- Libra* (Gerhard) 107
- Libro d'intavolatura di chitarrone* (Kapsberger) 40
- Libro donde se veran pazacalles* ... (Santa Cruz) 14
- Libro primo d'intavolatura* ... (Valdambrini) 35
- Libro primo d'intavolatura* (Cristoforetti) 40n5
- Libro primo di chitarra spagnola* (Bartolotti) 35
- Libro secondo d'intavolatura* (Valdambrini) 35
- Liçam Instrumental da Viola* ... (Leite Pita) 70, 71n42
- Liceo Musicale 'Paolina Secco Suardo' 1
- Licete, Pepo 24
- Lieske, Wulfin 152
- Lima, Cândido 120, 162-163
- Lima, Jerónimo Francisco de 65n11
- Lima, Raquel 161
- Lindeman, Christina K. 86n4
- Lindhorst, Heinrich 94
- Linhares, Dagoberto 121
- Linnemann, Maria 187
- Lintant, Charles 52n5
- Lisboa, Manuel 201n1
- Liszt, Franz 99, 101, 239
- liuto 29n7, 173, 173n15, 174n16

- Llobet, Miguel 101-102, 102, 105, 118, 141, 147, 191, 191n1, 239
- Lobo Antunes, Miguel 208n18
- Lobo das Neves, Fernando 162
- Lobo, José 66
- Löfvenius, Stefan 160
- Lopes Baptista, Pedro 161
- Lopes e Silva, José António 118-121, 158, 162
- Lópes Silva, José Antonio 149
- Lopes, Ângela 162
- Lopes-Graça, Fernando 69n34, 120, 162, 164, 167
- López, Francisco 151
- López, Ramón 151
- López-Chávarri, Eduardo 104
- Loreno, Christiana di 29n8
- Lorente, Andrés 12
- Los Angeles Guitar Quartet 158
- Los Castro de Gistau, un linaje ...* (Labara Ballestar) 58n37
- Los geht'!* ... (Eickholt) 184
- Los gobiernos de España ...* (Delgado) 193n10, 194n15, 194n17
- Los Sáinz de la Maza ...* (Neri) 103n5
- Los valores de la L.O.G.S.E. ...* (Gervilla Castillo) 195n20
- Losy, Jan Anton 47
- Louis XIV, king 34
- Lozano Martínez, Isabel 60n46
- Lucas, Maria Elizabeth 71n44
- Lucia, Paco de 151
- Lüdtke, Joachim 41n10
- Lugert Verlag 184
- Luigi, Valentino e Francesco Molino* (Ara) 79n15
- Luis, Francisco 161
- Lundberg, Robert 40n6, 41n9
- lute 18, 27-30, 30n11, 32-35, 39-43, 46-47, 119, 139, 158, 173-174, 173n13, 186, 186n18, 221, 241-244, 242n7
- Lutz, Markus 42n12
- Luz y norte musical* (Ruiz de Ribayaz) 11, 12
- M**
- Machado Pais, José 208n18
- machete 23n10
- Machina Lirica Duo 161
- machinho 20, 23, 23n10
- Madaleno, Pedro 158
- Madariaga, Andrés 159
- Madeira, André 159, 161, 256
- Maderna, Bruno 124, 128-131, 250
- Madl, Claire 42n14
- Magalhães, Pedro 208n18
- Mahler, Gustav 140
- Makaroff, Nikolai Petrovitch 136-137, 137n12
- Malagrida, Gabriel 68
- Malats, Joaquín 118, 150
- Malipiero, Gian Francesco 103, 124, 127
- Malvezzi, Cristofano 29n8
- Manén, Joan 104, 125
- Mangado, Josep Maria 58n40, 59n41, 101n2
- Manoury, Phillipe 164
- Mansa memória* (Valente) 165
- Marco, Tomás 108-109, 249
- Marcotulli, Claudio 160
- Margaret of Austria 10
- María Bárbara, queen 25
- Maria Luisa Gabriella of Savoy, queen 8, 15, 53
- Maria, Constança 115
- Mariana Victoria, queen 25
- Mariano Castro de Gistau (d 1856) ...* (Stenstadvold) 57n31-32
- Marie Louise of Orléans 8
- Marie of Bavaria, queen 140
- Marín, Paco Santiago 154
- Mariottini, Mauro 80n18
- Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm 243
- Marques Lésbio, António 24
- Marques, Maria Paula 157, 158, 161, 165, 256
- Martin, Frank 125
- Martin, Johann Georg 89
- Martínez de Hervás, Joseph 56
- Martínez Palacios, Antonio José 104, 104n7, 107
- Martínez, América 152
- Martín-Gil, Damián 7n*, 27n*, 39n*, 52n3, 55n18-19, 57n33, 57n35, 59n40, 68n24-25, 75n*, 76n3-4, 79n16, 89n9-10, 154
- Martins, Rui 161
- Mascardi, Evangelina 177
- Mason, Kevin 30n11
- Mata Gonçalves, João da 114
- Matiegka, Wenzel Thomas 94, 169, 239
- Matos, Iliana 154
- Matteo Carcassi ...* (Mariottini) 80n18
- Mattheson, Johann 39, 39n2
- Matthiesen, Heike 187
- Mauro Giuliani ...* (Riboni) 78n11
- Mazza, José 68, 68n28
- McLaughlin, John 151
- Medici, Ferdinando de', grand duke 29, 29n8
- Medina Azahara 151
- Meier, Eric 159
- Meine Gitarenfibel* (Teuchert et al.) 184
- Meissonnier, Joseph 52n5
- Mélanges de musicologie offerts à M. Lionel ...* (Koczirz) 47n27
- Melo, Eurico de 251-252
- Melos Ediciones 247
- Mendelssohn, Felix 100, 133
- Mendonça Braga, José 115
- Menezes, Rodrigo Antonio de 68-69, 68n28, 73
- Menze, Jonas 182, 182n9, 183n10-12
- Meola, Al Di 158
- Merchi, Giacomo 75-76
- Merchi, Giuseppe 76
- Mertz, Caspar Joseph ... (Salvoni) 95n23
- Mertz, Josef Kaspar 95, 95n23, 134-135, 135n6, 138, 138n14, 240
- Mertz, Josephine 138
- Mesquita Lopes, José 120, 120n32-33, 159, 161-162
- Messiaen, Olivier 124
- Mestres Quadreny, Josep Maria 108
- Metheny, Pat 151
- Méthode complète traduite en français ...* (Aguado) 72n50
- Méthode complete de guitare ou lyre* (Carulli) 79
- Méthode de guitare* (Bosch) 101
- Méthode de guitare* (Molino) 80
- Méthode de guitare ou lyre* (Castro de Gistau) 57
- Méthode pour la guitare* (Sor) 59, 60n44
- Método Geral ...* (Nunes Aguedo) 73, 73n54, 111, 111n1-3, 112, 112n5
- Methodo pratico de conhecer ...* (S.M.M.P.) 70, 71n41
- Método completo de guitarra* (Cano) 101
- Metodo completo per la chitarra ...* (Nava) 80
- Método completo y progresivo* (Damas) 101
- Método de guitarra ...* (Duarte Costa) 115, 115n21
- Método muy facilísimo* (Briceno) 10, 10
- Meys, Robin 159
- Michael Praetorius in his own words* (Kite-Powell) 44n17
- Michelangeli, Filippo 177
- Micheli, Lorenzo 176
- Milán, Luys de 25, 118, 131, 173
- Milanés, Pablo 151
- Milano, Francesco da 28, 173n13
- Millioni, Pietro 32n20
- Minguet e Yrol, Pablo 53, 54n11

- Ministério da Cultura 66n19
 Ministry of Education of Spain 1
Mirror 2 (Ángela Lopes) 162
Mode de valeurs et d'intensités
 (Messiaen) 124
Modeme Gitarrentechnik ...
 (Offermann) 185n15-16
Moderner Lehrgang ... (Albert) 141
Modinhas, Lundus ... (Morais) 113n7
Modo facile di comporre per mezzo ...
 (Nava) 80
 Molino, Francesco 58, 58n39, 75,
 79, 79n15, 80, 80n17, 169
 Molino, Luigi 79n15
 Molino, Valentino 79n15
 Molitor, Simon 92, 92n17-18, 93,
 93, 94, 94n19-20, 94n22, 169
Molitor/Klingers, S[imon]; Klinger's
Versuch ... (Hackl) 39n2
 Mompou, Federico 104, 107, 126,
 148
 Monesterio, Jesús 101
 Monno, Johannes 158
Monody (Fortune et al.) 29n9
 Montalto, cardinal 29n10
 Montes, Beatriz 192n5
 Montes, Sébastian 158
 Montesardo, Girolamo 30, 30n16,
 31, 31, 31n18, 32
 Montesinos, Anabel 159
 Monteyro 21, 24
 Morzino, Giacomo Antonio 81
 Morais, Manuel 63n2, 66n15, 71,
 71n41, 71n44, 113n7, 115n17,
 115n19, 118, 119, 119n31
 Morales-Fuenllana 118
 Moreira, Daniel 162
 Moreno Calderón, Juan Miguel 249
 Moreno Torroba, Federico 103-104,
 106, 118, 125, 241
 Moretti, Federico 54, 54n13, 65,
 75, 77, 77n7, 78, 78n8-9, 81
 Moretti, Luigi 82
 Morlaye, Guillaume 28
Moro und Lilli ... (Koch-Darkow) 184
 Morricone, Ennio 127, 241
 Morris, Allan 140n19
 Moscheles, Ignaz 136
 Moser, Wolf 59n40
 Mougin, Pascal 70n40
 Moura Macedo Pinto, Simplicio
 de 71n41
 Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus 85, 86,
 169, 169n4, 240-241, 243, 246
 Mozzani, Luigi 140
 Mudarra, Alonso 25
 Müller-Pering, Thomas 154
 Muncan, Ivanka 181n4-5
 Muñiz, Teresa 150n5
 Muñoz Giner, Juan 149
 Murail, Tristan 164
 Murcia, Santiago de 2, 12, 12n21,
 14-15, 14n28, 15n30-31, 52
 Musée Instrumental du
 Conservatoire ... 70n39
 Museo de la Música de
 Barcelona 102
 Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca
 della Musica 45
Música, instrumentos ... Cervantes
 (Salazar) 7n3
Música, instrumentos y danzas
 (Salazar) 8n5
Musicalische Gemüths-Ergötzung oder
Arien (Kremberg) 45, 46,
 46n24
Músicas para la corte ... (Palau) 106
 Musik und Kunstschule
 Havelland 1
 Muy, countess of 56
- N
- Napoléon Coste: composit en guitarist*
 (van Vliet) 59n41
 Narváez, Luys de 118
 Nassarre 63n2, 77n7
 National Library of Lisbon 20
 Nattiez, Jean J. 123n2, 124n4
 Naumann, capellmeister 88
 Nava, Antonio Maria 80-82,
 80n20, 81
 Neges, Ferdinand 184
 Neri de Caso, Leopoldo 103n5,
 104n6, 193n8, 194n16
 Ness, Arthur J. 28n4
Neue theoretisch-praktische ...
 (Götz) 136n9
Neue vollständige theoretische ...
 (Harder) 86n2
 Neuhauser, Leopold 92
 Nevares de Goñi, Dolores 60
 Neves Curral, Filipe 159, 161
 Neves, César A.P. das 112
New Light on the London Years of
Fernando Sor (Page) 59n40
 Newberry Library 9n9
 Nieminen, Juuso 152
 Noailles, duke of 57n26
 Nocturnal (Britten) 126
 Noiray, Michel 70n39
 Nono, Luigi 120, 124, 130-131
Nouvelle méthode (Aguado) 60
Nouvelle méthode de guitare
 (Alberti) 77
Nova arte de viola (Paixão
 Ribeiro) 68n22, 70, 71
Novi capricci amonici musicali
 (Granata) 45
Novo método (Rebel Fernández) 112
Nuevo método para guitarra
 (Aguado) 60
Nuevo modo de cifra para tañer la
guitarra (Doizi de Velasco) 10,
 11, 11n16
 Nunc (Pettrassi) 128
- Nunes Aguedo, Manoel 73, 111,
 111n1-2, 112, 112n3, 112n5
 Nunes dos Santos, Augusto 71
 Nunes, Emanuel 164
Nuova inventione d'intavolatura ...
 (Montesardo) 30, 30n16, 31
Nuova scelta di sonate ... (Pico) 32
Nuovo metodo per chitarra (Nava) 80
 Nupen, Christopher 245n10
- O
- O desensino da arte ...* (Sequeira
 Mendes et al.) 211n20
O livro do Conde de Redondo 20, 21
O trabalho infantil ...
 (Sarmiento) 201n1
Ode (Rosa) 120
 Offermann, Thomas 185, 185n15-
 16
Oito estudos para iniciação ... (Lopes e
 Silva) 120
 Olcina i Aya, Emili 59n40
 Oliveira, Rebeca 161
On the History ... (Ellis) 243n8
Op. 60, 25 études Mélodiques
Progressives (Carcassi) 80
Opera intitolata contina
 (Barberis) 27, 27n3, 28
 Ophee, Matanya 60n44, 111n1,
 154, 191n2, 239n1, 241n4-5
 órgano 11, 53
 Ornatos Violeta 166n8
 Orquesta de Cámara de la
 Habana 154n8, 253
 Orquesta de Cordas Dedilhadas
 ... 162
 Orquesta de Guitarras da
 Academia 161
 Orquestra Jovem de Plectro
 Portuguesa 161
 Orquestra Portuguesa de Guitarras
 ... 162
 Ortner, Jakob 141-143
Os musicos portugueses
 (Vasconcellos) 66n16, 68n27,
 69n29, 69n35, 72n51, 73n56
 Österreichische
 Nationalbibliothek 143
 Otto, Jacob August 87-88, 87n5,
 88n6-7
- P
- Pablo, Luis de 108
 Pac, count of 56
 Pacheco, António 204n13
 Pacheco, Augusto 158-159, 161,
 249n*, 253-255
 Paganini, Niccolò 60, 75, 99, 173,
 173n14, 175
 Page, Christopher 52n3, 59n40,
 59n43, 68n24, 68n26, 76n3,

- 78n11-12, 80n18, 82n22, 89n9, 169n2
- Pahissa, Jaime 104
- Paisaje cubano con campanas* (Brouwer) 251
- Paisaje cubano con numba* (Brouwer) 253
- Paisiello, Giovanni 65n11
- Paixão Ribeiro, Manoel da 64, 67n22, 70-71, 71n43
- Palácio de Cristal 113
- Palau, Manuel 106
- Palladino, Carlo 170
- Panaderos* (Arcas) 100
- pandora 39
- Papandreou, Elena 158-159, 252
- Para Andrés Segovia ...* (Rodrigues) 114n15
- Parets i Serra, Joan 12n20
- Parga, Juan 100
- Park, Kyuhee 152
- Parkening a Virtuoso with Good luck, Looks* 149n3
- Parkening, Christopher 149, 149n3
- Parreño, Florencio Gómez 100
- Participação artística ...* (Telmo Gomes) 208n18
- Partita* (Lopes-Graça) 120
- Partita para guitarra* (Azevedo) 164
- Pasacalles y obras para guitarra* (de Murcia) 15
- Pasieczny, Marek 161
- Passado e presente* (Vieira) 204n13, 207
- Payá, Pepe 153
- Peacock-Pie* (Halffter) 103
- Pegasus Effect* (Yoshimatsu) 252
- Peixinho, Jorge 120, 161-162, 164
- Peixoto de Pinho, Nuno 165-166
- Pellegrini, Vincenzo 13
- Peña, Paco 150, 150n5, 250
- Penn, Gerhard 78n11
- Pereira Coutinho, João 161
- Peres, Paulo 158, 161, 165-166, 209, 255
- Pérez Díaz, Pompeyo Juan 59n43
- Pérez Frutos, Iluminada 109
- Performance on Lute, Guitar and Vihuela* (Coelho) 18n1, 30n11, 242n7
- Pergolesi, Giovanni Battista 76
- Periodica musicalia* 57n30
- Perroy, Judicael 159
- Pestalozza, Luigi 132n12
- Petit, Louison 159
- Petrassi, Goffredo 120, 124, 127-131, 127n7-8, 128, 173
- Petrucci, Ottaviano 242
- Philip I, king 18
- Philip II, king 18
- Philip IV, king 34
- Philip V, king 25, 53
- Philippine Charlotte, Princess of Prussia 87
- Piazzolla, Astor 241
- Picado, Teresa 23n12
- Picchianti, Luigi 81
- Pico, Foriano 32, 32n20
- Pierbattista, Davide 127n7
- Pierri, Álvaro 158, 160
- Pieza sin título nº 1* (Brouwer) 256
- Pina, José 119, 121, 157-158, 256
- Piñero Nagy, José 115, 115n20, 119, 121, 157
- Pinheiro, Aires 115n16, 116n22-24
- Pinho-Vargas, António 162
- Pinksterboer, Hugo 220
- Pinnell, Richard 8n6, 13n24, 34, 34n25, 34n27, 35n28
- Pino Mateos, Bruno 159
- Pinto, Henrique 158
- Pinto, Nuno 161
- Pinto-Ribeiro, Filipa 115n20
- Pires, Filipe 120, 162
- Pisador, Diego 118
- Pittaluga, Gustavo 104
- Pittaluga, Marcello 176
- Pittaluga, Maria Luisa 176
- Pittaluga, Micaela 176, 177
- Pittaluga, Michele 176, 177
- Pizzetti, Ildebrando 126
- Platero y yo* (Castenuovo Tedesco) 126
- Platero y yo* (Sáinz de la Maza, E.) 108
- Play Guitar ...* (Langer et al.) 184-185
- Podera, Giovanni 177
- Poema harmónico* 12
- Pombal, Marquez de 69n36
- Ponce, Alberto 116, 118, 119n31, 121
- Ponce, Manuel María 104, 118, 125, 152, 176, 220, 241n4
- Ponte, Ângela da 162
- Ponzoa y Cebrián, Félix 60, 60n46
- Por um fio* (Beirão) 160
- Porena, Boris 120
- Porro, Pierre Jean 52n5
- Porto Symphony Orchestra 116
- Porto, Pedro do 25
- Portugal Guitar Quintet 161
- Portugal, Marcos 65, 65n9-10
- Poselli, Franco 54n14
- Poulopoulos, Panagiotis 66n12, 66n18
- Praetorius [Schultheiss, Schultze], Michael* (Blankenburg et al.) 43n16
- Pranzas, Christine 41n11
- Prat, Domingo 69, 69n30
- Prelude and fugue* BWV 998 (Bach) 150
- Prelúdio e baileto* (Lopes-Graça) 120
- Preludio for guitar* (Malipiero) 127
- Preludios Epigramáticos* (Brouwer) 256
- Prendas, Jorge 165-166
- Presti, Ida 176
- Prieto, Claudio 108-109
- Prieto, Victor 54
- Primavera* (Nava) 81
- Principios para tocar la guitarra ...* (Moretti) 54, 78
- Principj per la chitarra* (Moretti) 78
- Prokofjev, Sergej Sergejevitsj 125
- psalterio 53
- Puerto, David del 109
- Pujol, Emilio 102, 104-105, 108, 115-119, 117n25-26, 118n27, 121, 147, 170, 173, 178, 209
- Pujol, Ramón 102
- Purcell, Henry 241

Q

- Quarteto Concordis 161
- Quarteto de Guitarras da Madeira 161
- Quarteto de Guitarras de Lisboa 161
- Quarteto Parnaso 161
- Quasi concert grosso* (Brouwer) 256
- Quasi una serenata* (Togni) 128
- Quatre pièces brèves* (Martin) 125
- Quatrecens aforisms catalans* (Amat) 8
- Quattro Pezzi Brevi* (Morricono) 127
- Querol Roso, Leopoldo 149
- Questo* (Donatoni) 130n9
- Quevedo, Francisco de 7, 8n4
- Quevedo, Javier [Xavier] 116, 118, 119n31

R

- rabeca 20
- Radomski, James 60n47
- Ráfaga* (Turina) 125
- Ráfagas* (Moreno Torroba) 106
- Ragossnig, Konrad 186
- Rak, Štěpán 160
- Ramos do Ó, Jorge 206n14
- Randolph, Laurie 187
- Rapsodia Patafísica ...* (Gómez Ramos) 160
- Ravefatto aggregazioni* (Gentile) 132
- Ravel, Maurice 103, 125
- Real Academia de la Historia 11n18
- Real Conservatorio ... 72, 148, 150, 192n5, 194n13-14
- Real Theatro de São João 67
- Rebay, Ferdinand 138n16, 140n20, 141-143, 141n21-22, 142n23-24, 143, 143n25
- Rebel Fernández, Agustín 112, 114
- Recuerdos de la Alhambra* (Tárrega) 101
- Redondo, count 20, 20n7, 21
- Rees, Abraham 68, 68n26

- Regino Sáinz de la Maza ... (Neri de Caso) 193n9, 194n16
 Reglas y advertencias (Minguet y Yrol) 53
 Reglas y escalas armónicas (García Rubio) 54
 Regondi, Giulio 84, 123
 Reich, Howard 149n3
 Reilly, Edward R. 42n12
 Remacha, Fernando 106
 Remembering Triptych (Pascieczny) 161
 Republic of Portugal (El-Shawan Castelo-Branco et al.) 19n5
 Respighi, Ottorino 36n32
 Restagno, Enzo 127, 127n8
 Resumen de acompañar ... (de Murcia) 12n21, 15, 53
 Review of Francisco Guerau's *Guitar Music* 11n19
 Rey Sanmartín, Isabel 113n6, 113n8, 114n13
 Riba, Javier 249n*
 Ribas, João Antonio 73, 73n55, 112, 112n5
 Ribera Gibal, María 118
 Riboni, Marco 78n11
 Ricercare (Clementi) 130
 Ricercare (Spinacino) 242
 Rico, Rafael 149
 Ricordi, Giovanni 80, 81, 82-84, 169, 169n3
 Ridgewell, Rupert M. 169n4
 Riemann, Hugo 46, 46n25
 Rigoletto (Verdi) 83, 83n25
 Rijos, Iván 152
 Rioja, Eusebio 99n1
 Rivera, Juan Carlos 154
 Robert, John 119, 119n31
 Robert, Maria Adelaide 117
 Robim, João 159-161
 Robledo Estaire, Luis 192n4
 Robledo, Josefina 101
 Roca, Pepita 102
 Roch, Pascual 101
 Rodes, Ignacio 160
 Rodrigo, Joaquín 104-106, 105n9, 125, 148, 154, 176, 197, 251, 252
 Rodrigo, José Luis 108, 148, 150
 Rodrigues, Dora 161
 Rodrigues, Óscar 160, 162
 Rodrigues, Pedro 114n15, 158-161, 256
 Rodríguez Albert, Rafael 107
 Rodríguez Cuervo, Marta 249, 249n2
 Rodríguez, Silvio 249
 Rojão, um prelúdio português ... (Picado) 23n12
 Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera ... (Hill) 29n10
 Romancero gitano (Castenuovo Tedesco) 126
 Romancillo (Salazar) 103
 Romanillos, José Luis 59n43
 Romero family 106
 Roncalli, Conte Ludovico (Strizich) 36n32
 Roncalli, Ludovico 36
 Rondeña (Arcas) 100
 Rosa, Clotilde 120, 162
 Rosa, Francisco 117
 Rossini, Gioachino 78, 177
 Rossiniane (Giuliani) 78, 79, 83, 173n14, 197
 Rotta, Antonio 28
 Royal Chapel in Lisbon 25
 Royal Chapel of Madrid 12
 Royal Chapel of Naples 13
 Royal College of Music 65
 Royal Winter Music (Henze) 127
 Rubin, Norman 42n13
 Rufino, Pedro 161
 Ruggero Chiesa, Una vita ... (Bonafini) 170n7
 Ruiz de Ribayaz, Lucas 11, 11n18
 Ruiz López, Valentín 109
 Ruiz Morales, José Miguel 147
 Ruiz-Pipó, Antonio 107
 Russell, Craig H. 8n7, 11n18, 14n27
 Russell, David 150, 153, 158, 250-252
 Ryan, Gary 160
 Ryzkova, Tatyana 187
- S
- S.M.M.P. 71, 71n41
 Sabicas 106
 Sächsische Landesbibliothek 42, 43
 Sagreras, Julio 218
 Sagrini, Luigi 84
 Sáinz de la Maza, Eduardo 108
 Sáinz de la Maza, Paloma 193
 Sáinz de la Maza, Regino 103-106, 103n5, 108, 119, 147, 193, 193n8
 Saitenwege (Langer) 185
 Salazar, Adolfo 7n3, 8n5, 103-104
 Salazar, Álvaro 164
 Salazar, António de Oliveira 114
 Saldívar, Gabriel 15, 15n31
 Saldoni, Baltasar 192, 192n7
 Salentin, Ursula 86n4
 Salvoni, Graziano 95n23
 Sampayo Ribeiro, Mário de 19n3
 San Martín, Leonardo de 8, 8n8
 San Rey, José Luis 149
 Sánchez González, Jacinto 105n8, 153n7
 Sánchez Portela, Alfonso 193
 Sánchez Serrano, Andrés 13
 Sánchez, Raul 121
 Sanfeliu, Enric 102
 Sanseverino, Benedetto 32
 Santa Cruz de Coimbra, Centro ... (Gonçalves de Pinho) 19n6
 Santa Cruz, Antonio de 14, 14n27
 Santa Cruz, Antonio de (Russell) 14n27
 Santana, Imyra 89n11
 Santiago de Murcia (1673-1739) ... (Vera) 14n28
 Santiago de Murcia's *Cifras Selectas* (Vera et al.) 15n30-31
 Santiago Marín, Paco 154
 Santos Vieyra, Antonio dos 71
 Santos, André Miguel 160-162
 Santos, João Pedro 118
 Santos, Turibio 116
 Sanz, Alejandro 151
 Sanz, Gaspar 2, 11-14, 13n24-26, 14, 20, 26, 26n15, 34, 34n26, 35, 52, 106, 118
 São José Varela, Domingos de 72
 São Marcos, Maria Livia 116, 119, 119n31, 256
 Sarmento, Manuel Jacinto 201
 Sarti, Giuseppe 243
 Satie, Erik 103, 244
 Savino, Richard 54n14, 54n16
 Scandolera, Ettore 159
 Scaramelli, Marianna 65n9
 Scarlatti, Domenico 25, 107, 241, 244-245, 250
 Scheidler, Johann Christian Gottlieb 91
 Scheit, Karl 141, 144
 Scherrer, Heinrich 139
 Scherzo Editions 165
 Scherzo-vals (Llobet) 105
 Schiele, Egon 123
 Schlegel, Andreas 41n7, 41n10
 Schmitt, Thomas 11n19, 12n22, 13n23
 Scholander, Sven 139
 Schönborg, Arnold 107, 123-125, 127, 144
 Schott Music 184, 186
 Schubert, Franz 94, 101, 239, 240, 244
 Schulpeck, Bernd 180n3
 Schulz 243
 Schulz, Andreas 136
 Schulz, Leonard 136-137, 136n10, 137, 137n13
 Schumann, Robert 101, 118, 134, 139, 239
 Schuster, Vincenz 239
 Schwietering, Jurgen 253
 Scorpions 151
 Scotti, Girolamo 27n3, 28
 Sebastian I, king 18, 25
 Sechs Musiken (Apostel) 127
 Seconda serenata (Pettrassi) 128
 Seconde méthode de guitare à six cordes (Gatayes) 51, 51n1, 52n3-5
 Seemann, Annette 86n4
 Seemann, Hellmut 86n4

- Segovia and the Russians* (Ophee) 241n5
Segovia at Los Olivos (Nupen) 245n10
Segovia at the BBC (Jones) 241n6
 Segovia, Andrés 2, 102-108, 105n9, 114, 114n15, 119, 123, 125-126, 132, 141, 144, 147, 148, 148, 149, 151-152, 162, 170, 174, 175n17, 176, 178, 191, 193, 199, 240, 241, 241n4-5, 245-247, 246n11, 249
 Seicorde 177
Seis minuettes para guitarra e bajo (Vidigal) 66
Seis peças para guitarra (Azevedo) 164
 Sequeira Mendes, Maria 211n20
Sequenza XI (Berio) 130-131, 131n10
Serenade (Clementi) 130
Serenata española (Malats) 150
Serenata per un satellite (MADERNA) 129
 Serrano Huitron, Jesus 159
 Serrat 151
Sestina d'Autunno (Petrassi) 128
Sete peças para guitarra (Corrêa de Oliveira) 120
Sevillana (Turina) 103, 125, 241
Shading (Gentile) 132
 Shani Inbar, Israel 154
 Shi, Cheng 159
 Shostakovich, Dmitri 124
Sic (Castiglioni) 131
 Sicca, Manuel 179
 Sicca, Mario 179
 Sicca, Mirco 179
Siete piezas para guitarra (López-Chávarri) 104
 Signorile, Nicolo 87
 Silva Bessa, Rui Manuel P. da 66n18
 Silva Leite, António da 66, 66n17-19, 67, 67, 67n20
 Silva, Márcio 161
Silvius Leopold Weiss and ... (Crawford) 42n14, 43n15
 Simões, Joaquim 159, 161
Sínteses da cultura portuguesa 64n5
Six guitar sonatas with violin and ... (Silva Leite) 66
Six sonates pour la guitare ... (Castro de Gistau) 56
Sketches of Portuguese Life, Manners, ... (A.P.D.G.) 66n16
 Smaili, Marco 109
 Smart, George 243
 Smith Brindle, Reginald 126
 Smith, Hopkinson 121, 153, 158, 250-251
 Smolarek, Katarzyna 159
Soavi concetti di sonate musicali (Granata) 36
 Sobiesky, Alexander 42
 Sobral, Paula 158
Sobre la ornamentación en el repertorio ... (Schmitt) 13n23
 Sociedad Española de Ediciones Musicales 108
 Sofia, queen 148, 152
 Soleá (Arcas) 100
 Soler, Josep 108
Soliloquies (Homs) 107
Some Notes Towards ... Trinidad Huerta (Radomski) 60n47
Son y bailete (Remacha) 106
Sonata (Ponce) 125
Sonata ... (Azevedo) 164
Sonata en La mayor (Palau) 106
Sonata for guitar (Turina) 125
Sonata I (López-Chávarri) 104
Sonata para guitarra (Martinez Palacios) 104, 107
Sonatas: la guitarra española (Estarellas) 108
Sonate di chitarra spagnola ... (Carbonchi) 35
Sonatina (Berkeley) 126
Sonatina (Lopes-Graça) 120
Sonatina (Moreno Torroba) 103
Sonatina en tres duales (Rodríguez Albert) 107
Songs from the Chinese (Britten) 126
 Sor, Fernando 51n2, 52, 58-59, 58n39-40, 60n44, 61, 78, 82, 100, 109, 118, 173, 175, 191-192, 191n1, 197, 199, 220-221
 Sotos, Andrés de 54
 Soundboard 2
 Soundboard Scholar 2
 Sousa Aleixo, Ricardo Jorge de 53, 53n8-9, 54n11
 Sousa Carvalho, João de 65n11
 Sousa, Inês 161
 Sousa, José Carlos 158
 Sousa, Valentim de 117
 Soveral, Isabel 162
Spanish Music as Perceived ... (Etzion) 61n50
 Sparks, Paul 10n12, 19n5, 27n1-2, 29n10, 39n1, 52n3, 53n7, 59n40, 59n43, 68n23-24, 69, 69n32, 75-76, 76n1-4, 78n11-12, 80n18, 82n22, 89n9, 169n2, 240n3, 244n9
 Spencer, Robert 40n4
 Spinacino, Francesco 242
 Staak, Pieter van der 173
 Stamitz, Carl 86
 Starobin, David 158, 250-251
 Statens Musikbibliotek Stockholm 90
Stauffer & Co; La Guitare Viennoise (Hofmann et al.) 70n40
 Steidl, Pavel 160
 Stenstadvold, Erik 51n*, 52n3, 54n10, 55n21, 57n29, 57n31, 59, 59n40, 59n42, 59n51, 68n24, 72n49, 72n52, 73n54, 76n3, 77n5, 78n8, 79n13, 80n18, 81n21, 89n8, 92n16, 135n8, 136n10, 137n13, 154
 Stevens, Andreas 95n23
 Stevenson, Robert 10n14
 Stockhausen, Karlheinz 108, 120, 124, 130, 163
 Stoll, Christian 180
 Stoll, Franz 135
 Strauss, Richard 133n1
 Stravinsky, Igor 103, 124-125, 127
 Streitová, Monika 161
 Stretta Music 184
 Strizich, Robert 11n18, 13n24, 36n32
Structure ... Polifemo de Oro ... (Leblanc) 126n6
Studio da concerto (Ghedini) 127
 Studio per Edizioni Scelte 57n28
Study no. 6 from estudios sencillos (Brouwer) 197
 Suárez-Pajares, Javier 52n6, 54n14, 60n47, 99n1, 103n4
Sub-Memória (Lopes e Silva) 120
Sucintas nociones de armonía ... (Lozano Martínez et al.) 60n46
Sueño del infierno (de Quevedo) 7
Sueños y discursos de verdades ... (de Quevedo) 8n4
Suite (Mesquita Lopes) 120
Suite compostelana (Mompou) 126
Suite d'homenajes (Homs) 107
Suite Doiro (Lapa) 163
Suite en estilo antiguo (Alfonso) 106
Suite espagnole (Albéniz) 246n12
Suite Goivos (Lacerda) 114, 114n14, 120
Suite mística (Asencio) 107
Suite op. 30 (Almeida) 120
Suite valenciana (Asencio) 107
Suitus (Abreu) 165n6
Suonare news 177
Suoni notturni (Petrassi) 127-128
 Suvini Zerboni 129, 170-171, 173, 173n14, 175, 175n17
 Swoboda, August 93
 Sylva 24
Syntagma musicum (Praetorius) 44
Syntagmatis musici tomus secundus ... (Praetorius) 44
 Szordikowsky, Bruno 184

T

- Tablettes de renommée des musiciens* 55
 Tagliaferri, Francesco 82, 82n24, 83n25
 Takemitsu, Tōru 181
 Tallini, Arturo 127n7
 Tamayo, Marco 176
 tambourine 29

- Tampalini, Giulio 177
Tañer vihuela según Juan Bermudo (Griffiths) 18n1
 Tanibe, Masao 154
 Tansman, Alexandre 104, 125-126, 173
 Tapajóz, Sebastião 119, 119n31
Tarantos (Brouwer) 256
 Tarragó, Graciano 108
 Tárrega, Francisco 60, 99-102, 117-118, 125, 144, 147, 149-150, 191, 191n1-2, 193, 197, 199, 239, 239n1, 241
 Taskin, Pascal 243
 Teatro Nacional de São Carlos 65, 65n9
 Teatro Vale Formoso 119
 Teixeira Lopes, João 212n22
 Telemann, Georg Philipp 43, 240-241
 Telmo Gomes, Rui 208n18
Tempo di sonata (Esplá) 104
 Tenreiro Montenegro, Antonio 192, 192n7
Tensão e distensão (Lopes e Silva) 120
Terpsichore (Praetorius) 44
 Teschner, Hans Joachim 184
Tesoro de la lengua castellana (de Covarrubias) 8
 Teuchert, Heinz 184
 Thalberg, Sigismund 100
 The "Guitarra Española" of Joan Carles Amat (Hall) 9n9
 The "Tárrega School" ... (Gimeno) 191n2
 The "Vihuela de mano" and its Music (Ward) 18n1
The alfabeto song in print ... (Gavito) 30n14
The Art Behind ... (Goldstein) 240n2
 The Beatles 250
The Birth of the Classic Guitar ... (Heck) 78n11
The Case of the Purloined Letter *Tablature* ... (Boye) 32n20
The Cyclopædia ... (Rees) 68, 68n26
The enigmatic Miguel García, or, Padre Basilio ... (Savino) 54n14
The Evolution of Guitar Notation (Stenstadvold) 54n10
The Famous Vidal ... (Martin-Gil) 55n18
The Five Course Guitar (Budasz) 19n2-3, 23n11, 25n14
The German Baroque Lute ... (Lundberg) 40n6
The Great Transformation ... (Weber) 85n1
The Great Vogue for the Guitar (Page et al.) 52n3, 59n40, 59n43, 68n24, 76n3, 78n11-12, 80n18, 82n22, 89n9, 169n2
The Guitar and Its Music ... (Tyler et al.) 10n12, 19n5, 27n1-2, 29n10, 39n1, 52n3, 53n7, 68n23, 76n1, 240n3, 244n9
The Guitar in Georgian England ... (Page) 68n26
The Guitar in Portugal (Pujol) 118n28
The Guitar in the Sixteenth Century (Tyler) 27n2, 28n5-6, 29n8
The Guitar School (Kreidler) 184
The Guitarr in The British Isles ... (Pouloupoulos) 66n12, 66n18
The Life and Times ... Mertz (Stevens) 95n23
The Memoirs of Makaroff 137n12
The Modern ... Guitar (Gilardino) 125n5
 The Morning Post 136
The Musical Avant-Gardes ... (Nattiez) 123n2, 124n4
The Myth and the Unconscious (Albèra) 123n2
The Notes Were not Sweet Till ... (van Amersfoort) 89n9
The Origins of the Classical Guitar (Sparks) 52n3, 68n23, 69n32, 76n1-2, 240n3
The Present State of Music ... (Burney) 69n33, 70, 70n38
The Promotion ... Tárrega (Ophee) 191n2, 239n1
The Role of Italy in the Early History ... (Heck) 77, 77n6
The Segovia-Ponce Letters (Ophee) 241n4
The Spanish Guitar ... (Tyler) 10n12, 15n29, 19n5, 22n9, 24n13, 27n1, 30n14, 32n20, 39n1, 44n18, 45n19, 47n26, 244n9
The Stringing of the ... (Gill) 244n9
The Vogue of the Chitarra Francese ... (Heck) 72n53
The worst Drunkard in London ... (Stenstadvold) 136n10
Theme and variations (Berkeley) 126
 theorbo 20, 22, 39, 40, 40n4, 47, 160, 241, 244
 Theorbo (Harwood et al.) 40n4
 Thielemann, Kristin 188
 Threni (Stravinsky) 124
 Tielke, Joachim 41n8
 tiorba 29n7
 tiple 53
Tischbein's Anna Amalia, duchess ... (Lindeman) 86n4
Tocar a lo barbero. La guitarra ... (Campo et al.) 7n3
 Toccata (Rodrigo) 104
 Togni, Camillo 124, 128
 Toldrà, Eduard 107
 Tomás, José 108, 148-149, 153
 Tomasi, Davide Giovanni 159
 Tomassini, Filippo 29n7
 Tonassi, Pietro 82
 Topchii, Marko 152, 159
 Torrent, Jaume 109
 Torres, Antonio de 100, 179
 Torres, Norberto 60n47
 Torta, Mario 78n12, 79n12
 Toulouse-Lautrec, Henri de 108
 Traeg, Andreas 92
Traité des agréments de la musique (Merchi) 76
Trattato di armonia ... (Colla) 124n3
 Treadwell, Nina 30n12-13, 30n15, 31n19
Treaty of Tordesillas 17
Treaty of Zamora 17
 Trekel, Joachim 184
 Trent, Robert 159
 Trepast, Carles 152, 154, 247, 247n13, 248
Tres cantares anónimos ... (Bacarisse) 106
Três peças para guitarra (Mesquita Lopes) 120
Tres piezas españolas (Pujol) 105
 Trindade, Orlando 71n45
Trinidad Huerta y la guitarra rasgueada (Torres) 60n47
 Trintschuk, Julia 152, 154
 Trio de Guitarras de Lisboa 158
Trois rondo brillants op. 2 (Aguado) 60
 Troufa Real, José Deodoro 119, 119n31
 Turina, Joaquin 103-104, 107, 118, 125, 241
Twelve Variations (Clementi) 130
 Tyler, James 10, 10n12, 11, 11n19, 15n29, 19n5, 22n9, 24n13, 27n1-2, 28n5-6, 29n8, 29n10, 30n14, 32n20, 39n1, 40n4, 44, 44n18, 45, 45n19, 47n26, 52, 52n3, 53n7, 68n23, 76n1, 240n3, 244n9
- U
- ud 18
Ueber den Bau ... (Otto) 86, 87n5-7
 Ulreich, Nura 137n12
Uma tablatura para guitarra barroca ... (Borges de Azevedo) 20n7
Un fondo desconocido de música ... (Briso) 54n12, 72n48
Un viaje sin destino ... (Gimeno) 105n9
Una parte de la biblioteca ... (Briso de Montiano) 59n43, 194n11, Unión Musical Española 108
 Universidade de Coimbra 21
Unravelling the Discussion ... (Martin-Gil) 79n16
 Urban VIII, pope 40

V

- Vado y Gómez de la Cruz, Juan
Bautista del 12
- Valdambri, Ferdinando 35, 36
- Valente Pereira, Paulo 161
- Valente, Fernando 163, 165
- Valente, Paulo 116
- vandola 53
- Varella, Reynaldo 112-113
- Varèse, Edgard 125
- Vargas y Guzmán, Juan Antonio 54
- Variations ... Reinhardt (Brouwer) 256
- Variations de las Folias d'Espagne
(Castro de Gistau) 57, 58
- Variations on the Folia (Ponce) 125
- Variations sur l'Air du Minuet
Afandangado (Castro de
Gistau) 57
- Variazioni attraverso i secoli
(Castelnuovo Tedesco) 125
- Varii caprici per la ghitarra spagnola
(Corbetta) 34
- Varii scherzi di sonate ...
(Corbetta) 34, 35
- Vasconcellos, Joaquim de 66n16,
68n27, 69, 69n29, 69n34-36,
72n51, 73n56
- Vaz de Carvalho, Paulo 121, 158,
161, 249, 256
- Veiga de Oliveira, Ernesto 64n5
- Vera, Alejandro 14n28, 15n30
- Verdi, Giuseppe 73, 83, 83n25,
100, 170, 178
- Verdú, José 118, 119n31
- Verling, Maria Antónia 117
- Versuch einer vollständigen methodischen
... (Molitor) 39n2, 92
- Vianna, Alieksey 158
- Viazovskiy, Roman 158
- Vida y Obra del Músico Federico Moretti
(Carpintero) 54n13
- Vidal 52, 55, 55n17-18, 55n20,
61, 192
- Vidigal, Manoel José 66
- Vidović, Ana 158
- Vieira Nery, Rui 64n5, 71n44, 113,
113n7, 113n9, 114n10, 114n12
- Vieira, António 162
- Vieira, Ernesto 66n16, 28, 68n27,
71n46-47, 72n48, 73n55
- Vieira, Maria Helena 204n13,
207n17
- vihuela 8, 14, 18, 18n1, 22, 30n11,
53, 117-118, 117n26, 170, 173,
173n13, 194
- vihuela de mano 18n1, 19, 25
- Villa-Lobos, Heitor 118, 125, 132,
176, 221, 244
- Villa-Rojo, Jesús 108
- Viloteau, Thomas 159
- Viñas, José 99, 100
- Vincenti, Alessandro 30n12
- viola 19-20, 22, 68n22, 68n28, 70,
71, 71n41-42, 71n44, 72, 72n52,
111, 111n2, 113, 113n7, 114,
114n11, 115, 117, 117n26, 118
- viola braguesa 162
- viola dedilhada 114n11, 119
- viola franceza 73, 73n54, 111,
111n1, 112, 112, 112n5
- viola toeira 67, 67n22, 70, 73n56
- Violão sem Mestre ... (Alves
Rente) 65n8
- Viscardi, Antonio 45
- Visée, Robert de 15, 20, 118, 141,
241
- Vitorino de Almeida, António 162
- Vivaldi, Antonio 176, 240
- Vliet, Ari Cornelis van 59n41
- Vogel, Fritz 140
- Voggenreiter Verlag 184
- Voigt, Johann Georg 89
- Voigt, Wilhelm 89
- Vollständiges Verlagsverzeichnis
... 169n4
- Vom Kamieretraum zum ... (Menze
et al.) 182n9
- Von allen Saiten ... (Muncan) 181n4
- Voyage musical dans l'Europe ...
(Burney) 70n39
- W**
- Wagenseil, Georg Christoph 86
- Walker, Louise 144
- Walton, William 124-126
- Ward, John M. 18n1
- Was Foscarni also Weir? Baroque
Guitar ... (Hall) 33n23
- We Hate the Guitar ...
(Stenstadvold) 89n8, 135n8
- Weber, Carl Maria von 94, 139,
235
- Weber, William 85
- Webern, Anton 107, 124-125
- Weinmann, Alexander 169n4
- Weiss, Johann Jakob 42
- Weiss, Johann Sigismund 173n13
- Weiss, Silvius Leopold 2, 41-43,
47, 173
- Weiss, Silvius Leopold (Reilly et
al.) 42n12
- Weiss's Lutes: The Origin of ...
(Lundberg) 41n9
- Werthmüller, Franz 186
- Westbrook, James 52n3, 59n40,
59n43, 68n24, 76n3, 78n11-12,
80n18, 82n22, 89n9, 169n2
- Westminster Cemetery 55n22, 57,
57n36
- Whispering Voices (Santos) 160
- Wiedemann, Augustin 158
- Wieland, Christoph Martin 87
- Wiklund, Leif 158
- Wild, Carl Gottlob 89
- Willcocks, Allan 186
- William, prince of Orange 57
- Williams, John 125, 149-150, 158
- Wolkenstein, Christoph Franz von 47
- Wolzogen, Elsa Laura von 139
- Women and the Guitar ... (Pinell) 8n6
- Wordless Letter (Abreu) 165n6
- World War II 3, 113-114, 123n1,
125, 132
- Wroblewsky, Govinda 182, 182n9,
183n10-12
- X**
- XII Serenatas for the guitar (Costa) 66
- Y**
- Yakeley, June 9n10
- Yamashita, Kazuhito 158, 176,
250-252
- Yang, Xuefei 158
- Yepes, Narciso 106-107, 115, 125, 147
- Yoshimatsu, Takeshi 252
- Young, La Monte 130
- Z**
- Zagreb Guitar Trio 158
- Zanon, Fábio 121, 158-160, 176
- Zapateado (Sáinz de la Maza) 105
- Zarabanda lejana (Rodrigo) 104
- Zaradin, John 150
- Zecca Laterza, Agostina 82, 82n23,
169n3
- Ziani, Pietro Andrea 13
- Zigante, Frédéric 177
- Zucchali, Enrico 45
- Zwölfte Lection des Music Meisters
(Weiss) 43
- ZZ Top 151

As a result of the Erasmus+ project ‘Let’s Play Classical Guitar Together’, this book offers an overview of the history of the guitar, an instrument deeply rooted in the culture of Western Europe, from the sixteenth century to the present day. Due to the limits of this project, this work is devoted to four countries: Spain, Portugal, Italy and Germany. However, on account of international influences, other countries will be in play throughout the different chapters.

Therefore, revisiting the most well-known names related to this instrument throughout history — as well as many forgotten figures — this book aims to provide a symphony of names that the reader may explore, while avoiding the excessive amount of information that we find in in-depth musicological studies. This provides a way to continually refresh the metaphorical internet browser or music provider to offer new aural experiences. Particular attention is given to the recent history of the guitar and the ways its teaching has been institutionalised in conservatories of the referred countries. Additionally, the latest trends in composition for this instrument are highlighted, as well as the place of the guitar in current education, significant institutions and new technologies applied to its service.

ISBN 978-84-9041-483-5



Funded by
the European Union

