

Key factors that contributed to the guitar developing
into a solo instrument in the early 19th century

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solo instrument in the early 19th century

by

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Key words

- Dionisio Aguado
- Ferdinando Carulli
- Fernando Ferandiere
- Fernando Sor
- Francesco Corbetta
- Francesco Goya
- Francois Champion
- Francois le Coque
- Giulio Regondi
- Liuigi Boccherini
- Mauro Giuliani
- Matteo Carcassi
- Mensural notation
- Michel Corette

1.1 Terms and definitions

Apoyando: The Spanish word for ‘rest stroke’. It is a right-hand technique where the finger plucking the string of a guitar rests on an adjacent string after the note has been plucked.

Courses: Two strings strung in unison or an octave apart and played as one string.

Mensural notation: The form of music notation that is used today.

Method: In this study, a method will imply a pedagogical work written by a guitarist that gives instruction on how to play the guitar.

Tablature: An early form of notation used specifically for fretted instruments. Guitar tablature uses a diagram of the neck where fret placement is indicated by numbers on the strings and rhythm is indicated on top of the diagram.

1.2 Motivation for and background to study

During the 18th century the guitar was an obscure instrument. There were few composers writing for the guitar and aspiring musicians showed little interest in learning how to play it well (Wade 1980:80). The guitar was mainly used as an instrument for vocal accompaniment (Heck 1971:1). Even solo pieces were simple and uninspiring, hardly venturing past the fifth fret (Ophee 1983:25). In Italy, guitar music was overshadowed by large-scale instrumental works, church music and opera. Other instruments such as the violin, cello and harpsichord were more developed than the guitar was during the early 18th century. However, there were a handful of guitarists who gave attention to the development of the guitar, and began a process that would cause the guitar to become a more established solo instrument in the early 19th century, and it is this phenomenon that this study wishes to investigate.

The mid-to-late 18th century saw major developments in guitar construction such as the loss of courses and the addition of a sixth string. In 1799 Don Fernando Ferandiere (1779-1830), a guitarist and violinist, wrote his method for guitar, *The Art of Playing the Spanish Guitar* (Lang 1963:678) for the six-course guitar. In the same year, Federico Moretti (1760-1838) published his guitar method, *Principios Para Tocar la Guitarra de Seis Ordenes* (Wade

1980:97). Both Moretti and Ferandiere acknowledged that single-stringed instruments were becoming more popular than coursed instruments.

There was a gap in the guitar's repertoire in the very early 19th century because until then most guitar music was composed for the five-course guitar. When six-string guitars and new guitar methods became available, Europe saw an increased interest in the guitar (Turnbull 1978:82). The loss of the guitar's courses meant that the technical approach of playing the guitar changed (Wade 1980:100). Tablature became outdated and mensural notation was adopted in 1763, but still had to be developed further. This encouraged guitarists to write new methods and new compositions.

Guitarists such as Fernando Sor (1778-1839), Mauro Giuliani (1781-1829) and Dionisio Aguado (1784-1849) were some of the most influential guitarists at this time. Their compositions and guitar methods contributed to guitar technique and helped to broaden the small repertoire. Fernando Sor played a significant role in making the guitar a solo concert instrument, as is evident in this excerpt from *The Harmonicon* (March 1824), a 19th-century music magazine, which states:

Amongst the once-favored musical instruments, now for some time neglected, and coming into practice again, is the guitar. To the exquisite and wonderful performances of M. Sor this may be attributed; he makes the instrument 'speak so sweetly and so well' that hundreds fly to strike the chorded shell', who never before dreamt of what it was capable of producing... (Turnbull 1978:93).

If it were not for guitar composers such as Sor, Giuliani and Aguado, the guitar would not have developed into a solo concert instrument, as it did during the years 1800-1850. These influential guitar composers and pedagogues brought about two important developments for the guitar: firstly, they expanded the guitar's repertoire, and secondly, they provided pedagogical material for future guitarists (Wade 1980:99).

For modern guitarists, music from this period forms an significant part of their repertoire. A great deal of this material is dedicated to the development of technique (Turnbull 1978:88). Sor, Giuliani, Aguado and Carcassi wrote studies and exercises that are integral to the modern guitarist's repertoire. Guitar music from the early 19th century can be technically challenging, but at the same time leaves many possibilities for expressive interpretation. A good performance of a work by Sor or Giuliani can show a guitarist's true quality. Wade

(1980:109) states, “you can still estimate a player’s capabilities by his rendering of a Sor study”.

The early 19th century focused much more attention on the guitar. In a span of fifty years (1800-1850), the guitar was transformed into a solo instrument. Guitar virtuosos such as Sor, Aguado and Giuliani revolutionized people’s perceptions of what the guitar was capable of. This study aims to examine factors involved in causing this change.

1.3 Objective of this study

The objective of this study is to explore contributing factors which caused the classical guitar to develop into a solo instrument. In a short period of time (1800-1850) the guitar had gone from being an obscure and neglected instrument into a popular solo concert instrument. In the following table, one can see the significant changes the guitar had undergone during the early 19th century.

Table 1: A representation of the transformation the guitar had undergone from the 18th to the early 19th century

| C.1700 - C.1799 | C.1800 - C.1850 |
|---|--|
| Used mainly as an accompaniment instrument for voice. | Was a solo concert instrument |
| Few soloists | Many guitar virtuosos |
| Very little repertoire for solo guitar | Many large-scale works with extended forms for solo guitar |
| Outdated baroque guitar methods | Excellent methods for the six string guitar from leading guitar virtuosos such as Sor, Aguado and Giuliani |

In order to know how the guitar evolved from only being used for simple accompaniment into a solo concert instrument, I will examine the contributions of guitar virtuosos, composers

and pedagogues who had a significant role in the development of the classical guitar in the 18th and 19th centuries.

A secondary objective of this study is to highlight the various factors that helped the guitar to develop into the instrument that 19th-century guitarists played. The constructional development of the guitar during the 18th century will be discussed in Chapter 2.

A final objective is to gain and provide deeper insight into the guitar's first substantial repertoire.

1.4 Main research question and sub-questions

The premise of this study states that the work of guitar composers such as Sor, Giuliani and Aguado established the guitar as a solo concert instrument. To substantiate this, the following questions will be answered. Each chapter will deal with a sub-question in order to ultimately answer the main research question.

Main research question:

What were the key factors that contributed to the guitar developing into a solo instrument in the early 19th century?

Sub-questions:

Chapter 2: The 18th-century guitar

- What was the role of the guitar in the 18th century and what foundations were laid for the virtuosi of the early 19th century to aid in the development of the guitar into a solo instrument?
- What improvements were made to the construction of the guitar in the 18th century?

Chapter 3: Fernando Sor

- How did the compositions and pedagogical works of Fernando Sor affect the guitar's development in the 19th century?

Chapter 4: Mauro Giuliani

- How did Giuliani's compositions contribute to the guitar's transformation into a solo instrument?

Chapter 5: Dionisio Aguado

- What were Aguado's most significant contributions with regard to guitar technique and pedagogical works?

Chapter 6: Other significant composers for the guitar

- What significant roles did other guitar composers play in transforming the guitar into a solo instrument?

Chapter 7: Conclusion

- What are the suggestions for further research?

1.5 Research methodology

This study will follow the research design map of a literature review shown in Mouton's *How to succeed in your Master's and Doctoral studies* (2001). He states that a literature review should provide an overview of scholarship in a certain discipline through an analysis of trends and debates.

This study will compile a historical literature review focusing on how the guitar developed into an instrument capable of virtuosic solo performance. Literature will be collected and researched in an attempt to chronologically re-construct the transformation of the guitar into a solo instrument as accurately as possible. Conclusions of the research will be inductive.

The research material will be handled by following the procedure Mouton suggests, as previously mentioned. By finding research material that is non-empirical and only focusing on material that can answer key research questions the process of research will be streamlined. As Mouton suggests, the selection of sources will be driven by theoretical considerations found in the aim of the study.

Literature research will be done on the subject of guitar development in the 18th and 19th centuries, as well as on influential guitar composers and their most significant works, highlighting significant aspects of 19th-century guitar pieces specifically relevant to the topic. Important information on how composers conceptualized the instrument and what they regarded as important for the development of technique, as found in various methods, will be provided.

Research will be done by categorizing the available literature on the subject of guitar development in the same way Mouton shows in table 6.1 in section 3 of *How to succeed in your Master's and Doctoral studies* (2001). The literature included in this study will be categorized as follows:

Table 2: A representation of the categorization of research material for this literature review

| Type of Information | Location | Means of access |
|--------------------------|---|--|
| Books | Library, inter-library loan, supervisor, internet | Catalogue |
| Articles | Library, supervisor, internet | Catalogue, index of available magazines |
| Guitar Methods | Library, supervisor | Catalogue |
| Theses and Dissertations | Library, inter-library loan | Index to South African and international theses or dissertations |
| Music scores | Library, supervisor | Catalogue |

An exploration of every guitarist and composition in the 18th and 19th century would be exhaustive and unnecessary. Of the many composers and pedagogues during this time, there are a certain number who provided such important works for the guitar that they greatly influenced later guitarists and ensured the development of the guitar to a greater degree than most other composers and pedagogues. During the research process, these composers and pedagogues will be identified and focused on in order to answer the research question. This list of selected composers and compositions can be seen in 1.9 Proposed Chapters.

1.6 Literature review

1.6.1 Publication dates

Although there are many sources that can be found dealing with the subject of 18th- and early 19th-century guitar development, most of them are not recent publications. The books that have been written so far by authors such as Grunfeld, Turnbull, Wade, Jeffery and Heck are considered to be the most authoritative and comprehensive on the subject of guitar development to date. Many of these authors' books have been revised into updated editions, but largely remain similar to the original publications.

Articles published in guitar journals and magazines are probably the most recent literature that can be found on this topic. Although articles are significant research material and provide up-to-date literature (some of which are written by the aforementioned authors), they are only a few pages long and mostly deal with very particular subject matter.

This is why an up-to-date study into the development of the guitar is applicable. This study will combine older, trusted sources with more recent ones to give a new dimension on the guitar's development during the 18th and early 19th century.

1.6.2 Using the internet

Finding websites as a source for this study is difficult because there are so few credible publications available. Many independent websites that offer information on this topic do not mention an author or give a bibliography, thus the reliability of the source is in question. Also, some websites can be edited at any time by an unqualified person. *Google scholar* can be consulted, but few sources on this topic can be found that are not already available in libraries and guitar journals.

1.6.3 General guitar development

The history and development of the guitar has been well documented by authors such as Graham Wade (1980, 2001), Frederick V. Grunfeld (1978) and Harvey Turnbull (1978). The literature studied from these authors' accounts of the guitar's development provides an overview of the 18th- and 19th-century guitar and the main contributions by composers of that time.

In Grunfeld's book *The Art and Times of the Guitar: An Illustrated History of Guitars and Guitarists* (1978), he states that the guitar gained popularity in Europe in the early 19th century. During this time there was a significant rise in interest in the guitar, here described as *La guitaromanie*, a term used in France meaning 'an all embracing mania for the guitar' (Grunfeld 1978:169). Grunfeld identifies significant 19th-century guitar composers, and gives a general overview of their biographies and significant works. Grunfeld discusses how

Giuliani was called the ‘Paganini of the guitar’ and how he contributed to advancements in guitar construction (Grunfeld 1978:198).

Wade is a leading figure in guitar research and has written many books on the guitar’s development and its main composers. In his book *Traditions of the Classical Guitar* (1980) Wade provides a detailed account of the guitar’s development. Although he discusses the works of many guitar composers in the chapters on guitar development in the 19th century, he does not deal with the specific factors in these works that contributed to the development of the guitar into a solo instrument. Important composers and their contributions are mentioned, such as Sor’s *Variations on ‘O Cara Armonia’ from The Magic Flute* Op. 9 (1821) and his *Méthode pour la Guitare* (1830) (Wade 1980:103,112). Wade (1980:103) mentions how Op. 9 must have astounded audiences when it was first heard because nothing like it had been experienced before.

In his book *The Guitar from Renaissance to the Present Day* (1978), Harvey Turnbull provides an account of the entire history of the guitar up to the present. What is interesting in the section regarding the development of the guitar in the 19th century in particular, is his inclusion of many excerpts from the guitar magazine called the *Giulianiad*. These entries give good insight into what was important to guitarists and guitar enthusiasts of the time.

The information gathered from sources such as Wade, Grunfeld and Turnbull gives a good overview of the guitar’s development and will provide a foundational body of literature for this study. Although there is substantial information provided by these authors, it is important to look at the contributions of composers such as Sor, Aguado and Giuliani in greater detail.

1.6.4 Biographical literature

Brian Jeffery’s *Fernando Sor: Composer and Guitarist* (1994) provides a detailed account of Sor’s travels, his personal life and his activities as a composer. This book is divided into five chapters, each highlighting Sor’s activities, living conditions and compositions in a specific time and place. It also includes an article on Sor from the *Encyclopedie Pittoresque de la Musique* by Ledhuy and Bertini (1835). Matanya Opee illustrates the importance of Jeffery’s book:

The names of Mauro Giuliani and Fernando Sor are usually uttered in one breath by most guitarists and rightly so. The work of Brian Jeffery on Sor published originally in 1977 occupied in our culture a similar position to that of Heck's dissertation on Giuliani. Without doubt, it was the best work available on the subject of Sor until that time and since (Ophee 1996: 16).

As mentioned in the quote above, Thomas F. Heck wrote an important dissertation on Mauro Giuliani which he later made into a biography called *Mauro Giuliani: Virtuoso Guitarist and Composer* (1995). Heck gives a detailed account of the life of Giuliani, the contributions he made to the notational system of the guitar such as stem direction and his significance as a guitar composer. Heck has included many letters from Giuliani, which provide great insight regarding the composer's intentions on developing the guitar. Heck's book is probably the most significant source on Mauro Giuliani to date.

The books by Jeffery and Heck thus provide valuable insight into the lives and contributions of Sor and Giuliani. The information from this literature is factual and detailed, and gives specific information about composers in order to answer the main question of this study.

1.6.5 Articles

Valuable sources of different perceptions and discussions concerning the 19th-century guitar can be found in magazine articles and music journals such as *Guitar and Lute*, *The Guitar Review* and *Soundboard*. In these articles, the focus is more specific, discussing aspects of the guitar's development and history, as opposed to the general overview provided by Wade, Grunfeld and Turnbull. Thomas Heck (1971:1-6) has written an article called "The role of Italy in the history of the classic guitar". In this article, Heck explores why guitarists left Italy to settle in other countries. He mentions how Giuliani went to Vienna in 1806, while Carulli moved to Paris around the same time. Carcassi moved to France in 1820, then London in 1824. Heck discusses the origins of guitar development, and points out that it was the Italians who first taught the Spanish how best to approach playing and composing for the guitar. He uses the example of Moretti's influence on Sor and Aguado.

Matanya Ophee has written many articles focusing on the history of the guitar. Some of his articles are argumentative, challenging common beliefs about the origins of guitar techniques such as *apoyando* (rest stroke) and of other aspects like guitar notation. In his article "The

History of Apoyando” (1982), Ophee challenges the belief that Francisco Tarrega invented the rest stroke and attributes that development to earlier guitarists such as Giuliani. Another article from Ophee is “New light on the So-Called ‘Modern’ Guitar Notation” (Ophee 1983:20-28) which looks at the transition from tablature to mensural notation. Both articles provide valuable information on the activities of guitarists in the early 19th century.

Guitar methods give insight into the development of guitar technique as well as how guitar composers perceived the instrument. Aguado’s *New Guitar Method* (1843) is one of the most important guitar methods ever written and is still used today by modern guitarists. Fernando Sor’s *Méthode pour la Guitare* (1830) also remains an important guitar method today, with valuable information on how the guitar developed in the 19th century. The concept of the guitar, sitting position, and technique for both hands are instructed in these methods.

Technical development and guitar pedagogy is explored in an article by Lorenzo Micheli. “Mauro Giuliani’s Guitar Technique and Early 19th-century Pedagogy” (Micheli 2003:45-71) explores the pedagogical advances made in the early 19th century.

Alternative insight into the development of guitar technique can be found in Giuliani’s *120 Daily Guitar Studies for the Right Hand* Op. 1, and in Carcassi’s *25 Etudes* Op. 60. These works indicate how the left and right hand techniques developed.

Articles used in this study give the most specific detail of all the sources mentioned. The information gained from these articles gives greater insight into particular aspects of the development of the guitar.

1.7 Problems and delimitations of this study

1.7.1 Problems of this study

- In South Africa, there is a lack of original source material for the guitar such as original scores, letters from composers and original publications.

- There are contradictory sources on the topic of guitar development, therefore the correctness of the opinions of guitar researchers must be scrutinized by comparing the information with a number of different sources.
- There are not many biographers of 19th-century guitarists. Brian Jeffery and Thomas Heck are the leading authorities in this field and only provide full biographies on Sor and Giuliani. This leaves little variety for biographical research on Sor and Giuliani. Newer sources must be found such as journal entries and articles in order to gain new information on Sor and Giuliani. Carcassi, Carulli and Aguado do not yet have full biographies available.

1.7.2 Delimitations of this study

- There are many guitar composers and pedagogues that contributed to the guitar's development such as Paganini, Legnani and Mertz, but not all of them can be discussed in this study. This study will only discuss the composers selected during the research process who made the greatest contribution to the development of the guitar.
- The compositions and pedagogical works mentioned in Chapter 2 will not be discussed at length. Only their relevance to the topic will be identified.
- Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 will not give full biographical accounts, nor provide complete lists of compositions by various composers, but will only discuss those that are relevant to the study.

1.8 Discussion of proposed chapters

Chapter One will introduce the study by supplying a justification of the study topic. The problem statement and research questions are discussed. Research design and methodology will show the reader how the study has been researched. A literature review will be given to provide an overview of available literature.

Chapter Two will discuss the guitar's development during the 18th century in detail. I will look at the general perception artists and composers had of the guitar. The significant developments of the guitar during the 18th century were important because they provided a foundation for later guitarists and pedagogues. I will discuss these developments, and also look at selected 18th-century guitar methods.

Chapter Three will discuss selected works of Fernando Sor. Sor is seen as one of the most important composers for the guitar and has provided invaluable compositions and pedagogical works. I will discuss compositions that were significant to the development of the guitar, as well as Sor's guitar method.

Chapter Four will discuss specific works of Mauro Giuliani. Giuliani had a decisive role in the growth of the guitar's popularity and repertoire. His most relevant works will be discussed, as well as his studies and exercises.

Chapter Five will mainly discuss the guitar method of Dionisio Aguado. Aguado's method for guitar laid the foundations for modern technique and is useful in tracking the way in which the guitar developed. I will also discuss Aguado's most significant compositions.

Chapter Six will provide information on other 19th-century guitar composers who contributed to the guitar's development. I will discuss the compositions of Carulli and Carcassi and their significance to modern guitarists will be highlighted. Other guitar composers such as Regondi, Mertz, Coste, de Ferranti and Arcas will also be discussed.

Chapter Seven will conclude this study and provide suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2: The 18th-century guitar

2.1. Introduction

During the 18th century the guitar was not as widely composed for and not as frequently played as it is today. The music world was focused on the larger instrumental works from composers such as Bach, Gluck, Vivaldi, Scarlatti and later on the symphonies and operas of Haydn and Mozart.

The fact that there were only a handful of composers interested in writing for the guitar resulted in a lack of solo guitar music in the early 18th century. Aspiring musicians found that playing the harpsichord was less complicated as a beginner's instrument than fretted instruments (Grunfeld 1978:130). But even though the guitar was not as popular as the harpsichord or other instruments such as the violin or cello, there was always some attention directed towards the guitar, albeit a little. Through the activities of the few guitarists and guitar enthusiast's available, significant developments came about, such as the loss of courses, the addition of a sixth string, pedagogic material and the conversion from tablature to mensural notation. However, these developments would take the entire 18th century to become fully realized.

2.1.2 Early 18th-century music in Europe

Leading 18th-century composers preferred using genres such as the symphony, opera and church music. There were many contributions from the great composers in the years 1700-1750. These included *The Well Tempered Keyboard* (1722), *St. Matthew Passion* (1729) and *The Art of the Fugue* (1749) all by J.S. Bach; *Concertos Op. 3* (1712) by Antonio Vivaldi (1678-1741), *Hippolyte et Aricie* by Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683-1764) and *The Messiah* (1742) by G.F. Handel (1685-1759). But while these works were being debuted, the guitar needed almost another century of development before it would receive any significant attention from audiences.

The guitar was found mostly in courtly environments in France and Italy. By looking at the guitar repertoire available to early 18th-century guitarists, one can recognize how the guitar was played and at which occasions it was performed.

2.2. Guitar repertoire in the early 18th century

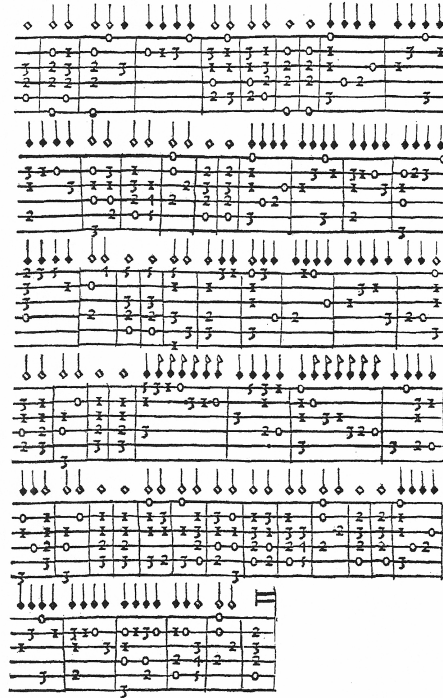
Guitar repertoire in the early 18th century consisted of works from baroque guitar composers of the previous century, such as Francesco Corbetta, Robert De Visée and François Campion as there were few guitar composers who could provide new music.

Because the guitar received so little attention in the early 18th century, the baroque guitar remained physically unchanged, remaining strung with five courses.

2.2.1 Tablature

The five-course guitar had a unique notational system. Composers for the baroque guitar used tablature, an early form of notation used specifically for fretted instruments. Guitar tablature uses a diagram of the neck where fret placement is indicated by numbers or letters on the strings and rhythm is indicated on top of the diagram. A disadvantage of the use of tablature was that it separated the guitar from other instruments as it was difficult to include this system of notation with the mensural notation of other instruments (which was already well established). One can see why learning to play the guitar would have been difficult for someone who was familiar with mensural notation, and unfamiliar with tablature. The guitar's transition to mensural notation would only occur in 1763 (Turnbull 1978:60). The following is an example of tablature.

Figure1: Pavana by Milan (Jordaan 2005:9)



2.2.2 The Baroque guitar and its composers

The number of strings on the Baroque five-course guitar and its tuning is described by Juan Carlos Amat (1572-1642) in the document *Guitarra española de cinco ordenes* (1596) (Turnbull 1978:13).

Figure 2: A modern replica of a Baroque guitar made in the style of René Voboam by Micheal Dunn (www.michaeldunn guitars.com/: 18/11/2010)



One of the most significant composers for the five-course guitar was the court guitarist Francesco Corbetta (1615-1681). Corbetta's *La guitarre royalle* (1671) featured courtly dances such as giges, gavottes and minuets. (Grunfeld 1978:118). Corbetta was an influential guitarist, and was highly regarded for his playing in French courts during the late Baroque period. He resided in the same court as Jean-Baptise Lully, a prominent Baroque composer (Wade 1980:62, 64).

Robert de Visee (1660-1720), who was a student of Corbetta, carried on his master's tradition of playing in courts. He eventually became the guitar tutor of the King of France in 1719 (Turnbull 1978:52). De Visee composed *Livre de guitarre dedie au roy* (1682) (Wade 1980:65) and *Livre de pieces pour la guitarre* (1686), which are two volumes of works for the five-course guitar, both including suites of different lengths (Turnbull 1978:52).

Other guitar music that was played in French and Italian courts was that of Gaspar Sanz (1640-1710). Sanz was a well known Spanish guitar composer whose works are still played today. One of his most popular pieces *Canarios*, is included in modern guitar repertoire. Sanz documented his method which he titled *Instruccion de musica sobre la guitarra Espanola* (1674). It included all his works for guitar (Grinfeld 1978:127).

The contributions of Corbetta, de Visee and Sanz are important because they provided a repertoire for later guitarists such as Santiago de Murcia, Francois le Coque and Francois Campion.

2.3 Guitarists in the early 18th century

In Spain, Santiago de Murcia who was tutor to the Queen of Savoy, compiled a work for guitar in tablature called *Resumen de acompanar la parte con la guitarra* (1714) (Wade 1980:72). This work consists of baroque suites which include dances such as the Allemande, Courante, Sarabande and Gigue, and not only the usual Passacalle. This shows an awareness of what was popular in France and Italy at the time. Influences of Gaspar Sanz can be seen in de Murcia's works, indicating that the baroque guitar tradition was still carried on well into the 18th century.

Francois le Coque was a violinist in the court orchestra in Brussels. He had also compiled an important book for the baroque guitar called *Requeil de pieces de gitarre* (1729) (Wade 1980:95). This book explains the use of tablature symbols and also includes a collection of compositions (Turnbull 1978:60). What is interesting about Le Coque is that he also includes in his book compositions from Sanz, Corbetta and de Visee amongst other baroque guitar composers. This shows that at the time the book was published, guitar music from the late 17th Century was still being played.

French guitarist Francois Campion (1685-1747) was also a well known composer in the 18th century. A defining characteristic of his music is the use of embellishments such as trills and mordents (Grunfeld 1978:124). Composers such as Campion, De Murcia and Le Coque were the last of the Baroque guitar composers.

By looking at the guitar repertoire that was available in the 18th century, one gains an idea of the guitar's reputation as a solo instrument. The music composed for the guitar until this time was substantial, but the guitar was still seen mainly as an instrument for accompaniment. The guitar was being overshadowed by other instruments such as the violin and harpsichord, which were more developed in their repertoire and notation. The guitar still needed to break away from tablature, lose its courses and gain a sixth string in order to be considered as a more serious instrument.

2.3.1 The decline of interest in fretted instruments in the 18th century

It is a common misconception that the lute is an ancestor of the guitar. The lute can rather be considered as the guitar's cousin, because it is a different branch of the fretted instrument family tree.

The lute is an instrument that boasts a repertoire of compositions from the likes of J.S. Bach and S.L. Weiss. Weiss was such a talented player that Bach went to see him perform and even provided him with some compositions (Wade 1980:89). The lute was a noble instrument and its development reached a peak in the early 18th century. But the maintenance and playing of the lute proved to be too troublesome for amateur musicians to put up with. In 1700, ladies wanting to learn music were advised to play the harpsichord instead because it was thought that the harpsichord would allow for a better posture (Grunfeld 1978:130).

Although this might seem to be a superficial excuse to avoid playing the lute or for that matter, the guitar, there were other reasons why keyboard instruments were more popular. Firstly, the lute was an expensive instrument to maintain. Strings needed to be replaced often, and general upkeep of the instrument needed constant attention. Secondly, tuning the lute was a frustrating and laborious task because of the number of strings. The lute used gut strings and had moveable frets, which made tuning difficult. German composer Johann Matheson (1681-1764) commented about the frustrations of lute tuning:

We pay twice for the best lute pieces for we have to hear the eternal tuning that goes with it. If a lutanist lives to eighty years old surely he has spent sixty years tuning (Wade 1980:87).

The lute was an impractical instrument that beginners found difficult to grasp. With amateur musicians choosing to play the harpsichord, cello and violin instead of the lute and guitar, fretted instruments began to lose popularity.

The guitar shared many similarities with the lute. It suffered a decline in popularity in the same way the lute had for many reasons, one being that the repertoire was only available in tablature. The guitar therefore became an instrument that was not given any serious attention because of its lack of new composers and pedagogues. For whatever purpose the guitar was used, it was never in a serious or very advanced context, but rather in a simple and superficial one. To find a better understanding of how people perceived the guitar in the early 18th century, one could look to the artworks of Jean Antoine Watteau.

2.4 Jean Antoine Watteau and the guitar

2.4.1 The use of historical artworks in this study

Using paintings as a source to make deductions about the history of the guitar can be dangerous because paintings are not factual representations of history. Great care must therefore be taken not to make assumptions about the guitar's history based solely on the paintings shown here. It is important to state that no conclusions will be made from the following artworks about the guitar's development. The paintings of Watteau (and later Goya) can however help us gain insight into how artists perceived the guitar, and therefore

possibly give insight into how the guitar was perceived by society during the time of the painting. As Ophee (1993: 18) states:

Eliciting dubious conclusions about the guitar and personalities from details that are found in period pictures and drawings is, at best, questionable. But when scholars express ideas about historical matters, and when such ideas are formed by reference to pictorial material as the sole evidence and proof, the danger of perpetuation of falsehoods and misconceptions become real and immediate. Whether the idea can be corroborated or not, it still becomes quotable material, which we find repeated ad nauseam in articles, Ph.D, dissertations and of course in record sleeve notes, publicity material etc, etc.

While in many cases visual material can be misinterpreted, the paintings of Watteau and Goya can nevertheless give insight into how the guitar was perceived in the late 18th and early 19th century. They are therefore discussed in this dissertation.

2.4.2 *La Gamme d'Amour*

Having previously discussed what the guitar's repertoire consisted of, music available to early 18th-century guitarists is apparent. However, gaining insight into where the guitar would have been played and how the guitar was perceived by its audience is a different matter. Looking at the large-scale music that was produced by the great composers in the early 18th century, one can see that the guitar was wholly excluded from concert halls and opera houses where serious music was being performed.

The paintings of Watteau exhibit idyllic scenes referred to by the French as '*fetes galantes*' (Wade 1980:93). The term refers to dream-like scenes where groups of people or couples are in nature dancing, playing music and enjoying life. There is a sense of innocence, of freeness and of being in perfect harmony with nature. Watteau wanted to express an alternate reality in which the mundane regularities of 18th-century society were not necessary. His work depicts escapism from the ordinary life of a middle class person and from polite mannerisms and etiquette found in courtly society.

The guitar is a regular feature in Watteau's paintings. A good example of this is depicted in '*La Gamme d'Amour*' (The Love Song), in which the guitar is a main feature (Wade 1980:94). The player is sitting in such a way that one can assume that his capabilities on the

guitar are sound. Also, the right hand of many of the guitarists in Watteau's paintings shows a technical knowledge of how to change the timbre of the guitar. The right hand is often seen playing past the sound hole, near the neck of the guitar, which creates a sweet timbre. This is significant because it shows us how the guitar was played and also that the players themselves had reasonable skill. There is evidence that Watteau found great interest in the guitarist's sitting position and hand positioning. He made studies of drawing guitarists' hands; and many of his sketches of guitarists have been preserved (Turnbull 1978:93).

Figures 3 and 4: *La Gamme d'Amour* (left) and study sketches of a guitarist (right) by Jean Antoine Watteau (Turnbull 1978:134)



The paintings of Watteau give insight as to what the purpose of the guitar could have been during the early 18th century. The guitar was not seen in the concert halls of Venice, that much is certain. Rather, it could have been found in the intimate settings of courtly society. Although the dream-like depictions of Watteau's paintings are fantastical, the role the guitar played in his paintings was probably similar to its role in aristocratic society. They used the guitar for leisure and to entertain small audiences on a superficial level, often in an informal environment.

2.5 The guitar's role in Spain during the early-to-mid 18th century

The guitar lost popularity in Italy and France, but this was not as evident in Spain. Spain's close ties with the guitar as a national symbol helped keep the guitar from dying out completely.

In all of Europe, Spain had the deepest cultural connections with the guitar. Here the guitar was a popular instrument in the early 18th century and still is very much a part of Spain's national identity. Even though the guitar was a widely known instrument in 18th-century Spain, composers in Spain did not compose solo works for the guitar that were of great importance. This is partly because the political situation in Spain did not permit to the development of her national culture during the early 18th century.

After the death of Charles II of Spain, Philip V (1700-1746) succeeded the throne as king. Philip V was not interested in maintaining Spain's national identity and was greatly influenced by what was happening in France and Italy. This is because Philip V was the grandson of France's Louis XIV. His wife Elizabeth Farnese, was also an Italian (Lang 1963:675). Spain's national culture therefore (and its cultural influence) began to decline when Philip V took power. Spanish folk music, in which the guitar played a vital role, struggled to contend with the Italian music Philip V was introducing into Spain.

Phillip V suffered from severe depression. The queen's physicians believed in music therapy, which resulted in requests for the talent of the famous Italian castrato singer, Farinelli. The queen commissioned Farinelli to give private nightly concerts for the king in an attempt to help cure his king's depression. In so doing, Farinelli gained favor with Phillip's son and successor Ferdinand VI (who reigned from 1746 to 1759). Farinelli then dominated lyric theatre in Spain (Lang 1963:675).

Another important Italian artist present in early 18th-century Spain was Domenico Scarlatti (1685-1757). Scarlatti moved to Spain in 1729 and was partly responsible for bringing the Italian influence into Spanish music culture. Scarlatti composed mainly for the harpsichord, but was also known to be very fond of the guitar. Although Scarlatti never composed for the guitar, he used harmonies that were derived from the Spanish guitar's sound. Scarlatti must

have been influenced by Spanish folk music. Modern guitarists play Scarlatti's music by means of transcriptions such as the *Sonata in E major* K.380.

The careers of Farinelli, Scarlatti and Boccherini are good examples of how Italian artists and Italian music took over the Spanish music scene. This made it difficult for the guitar to make any real headway in Spain. With Spanish courts allowing foreign influences to dominate, the tradition of Spanish folk music could only carry on in rural Spain. The guitar was a large part of this tradition, and so the character of the guitar remained intact.

One of the most important places of music tuition in Spain is in Montserrat. The Abbey of Montserrat was one of the few good conservatoires in Spain which educated instrumentalists (Lang 1963:676). Montserrat produced many skilled musicians throughout the 18th century, but it is only in the latter half of the century that significant guitarists would be trained there. Don Fernando Ferandiere (1779-1830) and Fernando Sor (1778-1839) were trained at Montserrat. The contributions of Don Fernando Ferandiere will be discussed later in the chapter. Fernando Sor will be discussed in Chapter 3.

2.5.1 Francesco Goya and the Spanish guitar

Another painter whose works show the influence of the guitar was Francesco Goya (1746-1828). His paintings express a slightly different view of the guitar to that of Watteau. The guitar in Goya's paintings is used as a symbol of Spanish culture. His paintings are dark and they comment on nationalistic turmoil caused by the rulers of Spain. In his painting: *Dios se lo pague a usted* (1804), Goya depicts a guitar player being thrown in the air by a bull (Grunfeld 1978:178). These two Spanish symbols (the guitar and the bull) are used to comment on Spain's political position.

Figure 5: *Dios se lo pague a usted* (1804) by Francesco Goya (Turnbull 1978:176)



The only painting in which Goya shows a similar view of the guitar to that of Watteau is in *El Mayo de la guitarra* (1780). In this painting a singer is in the sitting position commonly used in those days. The manner in which the guitarist is playing allows me to infer that the guitar was probably used for vocal accompaniment to Spanish folk songs.

Figure 6: *El Mayo de la guitarra* (1780) by Francesco Goya (Turnbull 1978:178)



The early 18th century produced the genial works of composers such as Bach, Vivaldi and Handel. The European music world was centred on large-scale works, and much development was made in opera, symphony and church music. It is clear that the guitar did not feature at all in this aspect of music history partly because it was in a very early stage of its development in comparison with other instruments.

The loss of interest in the guitar resulted in its trivialization, because it was perceived as an instrument to fiddle with to pass boredom or perhaps to take along on outings to the countryside. We can see this kind of perspective in the works of Watteau. This was seen more in Italy and France than in Spain, where the guitar was still rooted in Spanish culture. In the works of Goya we can see that the guitar was a part of Spanish national identity. Unfortunately, the Spanish court's infatuation with Italian music made it impossible for the guitar to gain significant attention from prominent musicians. Even so, Scarlatti and Boccherini were definitely influenced by Spanish music and by the Spanish guitar. But as can be seen in their works, this period saw very little guitar development and proved to be a time where the guitar was left overshadowed by other instruments and neglected by composers. It is only in the mid to late 18th century that the development of the guitar started to gain momentum.

2.6 The mid-to-late 18th century

The second half of the 18th century saw many historically significant events both musically and politically. In music, there were events such as the death of Bach in 1750, the life and death of Mozart (1756-1791) and works of great musical significance such as Beethoven's first symphony in 1799. Haydn's symphonies were taking this genre into deeper levels of emotion. The years 1768-1774 saw Haydn changing his views of the symphony. No longer were they seen as light entertainment, but as works that required more attention from the listener. Examples of this phenomenon are his *Symphony nos. 44, 45 and 46*. The works of Mozart such as *The Linz Symphony* (1783), and the operas *The Marriage of Figaro* (1786), *Don Giovanni* (1787) and *The Magic Flute* (1791) are some examples of his vast contribution to the world of music that would later prove to be influential to later guitarists such as Fernando Sor.

Politically, France experienced a social revolution from 1789 to 1794. Spain suffered a loss of national identity because of Charles IV whom the Spanish people found unfavorable. There was a change in the way people thought in the late 18th century. One can find the beginnings of a move away from the idyllic, which was a definitive characteristic of the Classical period (Lang 1963:737). Romantic ideals such as equality and subjectivism began to take shape.

The guitar was still an obscure instrument, but as time passed, major developments in its construction and pedagogical works as well as its role in music would change.

2.6.1 The guitar in the mid to late 18th century

The loss of courses, the addition of a sixth string, the use of mensural notation and important pedagogical writings all happened in the latter half of the century. Up until this time, the guitar was used mainly as an instrument to accompany voice and to play simple pieces. But later, guitarists and composers began to show an interest in taking the guitar out of this role and into a more prominent position. Developments in guitar construction such as the addition of a sixth string and the loss of courses enabled guitarists to find more capabilities for the instrument (such as increasing the amount of voices the guitar can play). This was important because of the Classical style's demand on the guitar. As Paul Cox states in his dissertation on the guitar's development:

The five string guitar was not able to provide satisfactory fulfillment of the requirements of the emerging classical style. Its position was not strong enough to result in either a substantial body of literature or instruments (Cox 1978:16).

We find that guitarists wrote pedagogical works that were of great importance to the guitar's development, the most significant of which came from Spain. Pedagogical works from guitarists such as Padre Basilio, Fernando Ferandiere and Federico Moretti were influential to later guitar virtuosi.

2.6.2 The beginnings of the transfer from tablature to mensural notation

Even though opera was very popular in 18th-century Europe (especially in Italy) there had been many advances in instrumental music. The techniques and capabilities of the violin,

cello and keyboard instruments had been explored by the great composers of the time such as Bach, and were still to be further developed by composers including Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven. From the earliest compositions until 1763, the guitar was being notated in tablature (Wade 1980:95). For the guitar to still be relevant, it had to change to the same notational system as that of other instruments. It was too impractical for a guitarist to learn a different notational system to that of other instruments. The change to mensural notation was a logical step, but there were many problems to be solved and too few guitar experts to make the change-over happen quickly. This resulted in the guitar taking almost half a century to successfully transfer to mensural notation.

The first documented attempt at using mensural notation on the guitar was done by Michel Corette. In his method *Les dons d'apollon: methode pour apprendre facilement a jouer de la guitarre* (1763), Corette provides a method of learning how to play the guitar using both tablature and mensural notation (Turnbull 1978:60). The method describes how one can use the G clef to notate the guitar by writing an octave higher than the guitar's actual pitch. This practice is still used today and shows how revolutionary Correte's method was.

Corette could not have used two staves because the guitar does not have the same range as the piano. Corette (and indeed other guitarists adopting his method of notation) used the violin notational system as a template. This is because the violin also uses only the treble clef and uses fingering indications. The problem that arose from this was that the separation of voices had yet to be explored. The violin uses multiple stops on a single note stem if there are many voices occurring simultaneously (Heck 1971:4). It is a good system to use if a guitarist wants to play more than one voice at once, but it is not detailed enough to identify how long certain notes should sound (in the bass for example). Guitarists were expected to know when and how long certain notes were to sound without indication in the music score. It is only later that we find the attempts to separate voices in guitar notation, but Corette had definitely set the guitar's notational system in the right direction.

Correte's method was published in 1763, so it is possible that this practice was already in use a few years earlier (Turnbull 1978:60). It is also possible that Corette was merely applying new practices to his method and included it in his work to keep up with the current trend. Even so, Corette's method is a milestone in the guitar's development.

With the gradual progression of the mensural notational system, the guitar showed that its potential was greater than many previously thought. There was definitely a growing trend in Europe where guitarists were using both tablature and mensural notation simultaneously.

By looking at the methods that came after Corette, it is evident how guitar music was changing. Antoine Bailleux published *Methode de gitarre par musique et tablature* in 1773, ten years after Corette's method. The French guitarist B. Vidal wrote a method specifically for the use of amateurs in 1778, which included tablature and mensural notation. Vidal also composed solo guitar works as well as concertos and string quartets with parts for the guitar. Pierre-Jean Baillon also wrote a guitar method for amateurs called *Nouvelle method de gitarre selon le sisteme des meilleurs auteurs* (1781) (Wade 1980:97). These methods were all adopting the same combination of notation systems that Corette used. They are also a good indication that the guitar was gaining popularity in Paris.

Even though much more development needed to occur to iron out the guitar's notational problems, it was now possible for the guitar to be included in ensembles because it could share a common notational system. One of the first major composers to write works for the guitar in an ensemble setting is Liugi Boccherini.

2.7 Liugi Boccherini

Liugi Boccherini (1743-1805) was well known in Italy as a child prodigy on the cello. After working in Paris and Madrid, he went to Spain in 1768, and eventually became as famous as the castrati Farinelli. He was *virtuoso di camera* to the king's brother Infante Don Luis as well as to the Benavente-Osuna family (Lang 1963:676). As we have seen, it was common for Italian composers to work in Spanish courts because of Italian music's popularity at that time.

Boccherini wanted to introduce more classical music into Spain. He was sometimes referred to as 'Haydn's wife' because of how greatly Haydn's influence showed in his compositions (Grunfeld 1978:136). There is evidence that Boccherini did not care much for Spanish folk music. He preferred to see true classical music being performed because he thought it to be in better taste. In the letters of the English author William Beckford (1760-1844) it is indicated what Boccherini's views of Spanish folk music were. While visiting Spain in 1787, Beckford

quotes Boccherini at a party where Spanish folk music was being played: “If you dance and they play in this ridiculous manner, I shall never be able to introduce a decent style into our musical world here...” (Grunfeld 139:1978).

It is clear that Boccherini would not have composed for the guitar out of his own will, because of his dislike of Spanish folk music. He had to be commissioned by his patron, the Marquis of Benevante, to compose for the guitar. The Marquis was himself an amateur guitarist, and encouraged Boccherini to write guitar parts for his ensemble works (Grunfeld 1978:137). Boccherini included a guitar part in orchestral works such as *Sinfonia concertante in C major* Op. 7. Other works that included the guitar are the *Twelve Quintets* for two violins, guitar, viola and cello.

The following excerpt is from the guitar part of the second quintet and shows how the guitar was only meant to accompany.

Figure7: Second quintet in C major *La Ritirata di Madrid* (Escape to Madrid), bars 15-27 (Boccherini 1999:3)



The fourth quintet imitates a fandango which the composer wanted a specific guitarist to play. The guitarist was Padre Basilio Miguel Garcia, who must have impressed Boccherini with his playing abilities, regardless of Boccherini’s views about the guitar. A note in the manuscript reads: “Quintet imitating the Fandango played by Padre Basilio on the guitar”

(Turnbull 1978:83). This was the first collection of chamber music from a well-known composer which included the guitar (Wade 2001:67).

Even though Boccherini composed substantial works for the guitar, it would seem that he treated even his own guitar music with little respect and didn't see any need for it outside of Spain. One of his quintets is titled *Night music of the streets of Madrid*, which imitates the sounds one would hear in the streets of Madrid, perhaps during a celebration or festival. The sounds of familiar folk tunes, dancing rhythms, strumming guitars and merry-making are included in the quintet, with Padre Basilio providing the correct playing style the composer required. Boccherini stated that his quintets, especially *Night music of the streets of Madrid*, would be useless outside of Spain because they were so typically Spanish-sounding, and few people outside of Spain would appreciate it. Also, Boccherini was certain that performers outside of Spain would not be able to play the pieces like they were supposed to be played (Lang 1963:676).

It is ironic that Boccherini, who openly disliked Spanish folk music, would compose for the guitar. One would have expected Scarlatti to have composed for the guitar because of his confessed love of the instrument, yet he composed no guitar music. Unfortunately, only enough guitar music was composed to satisfy the needs of the Marquis of Benevante because Boccherini had no desire to supplement the guitar's repertoire any more than what was requested.

2.8. The addition of a sixth string and the loss of courses

It is difficult to follow the guitar's development during the 18th century because of the lack of music composed for it. This makes it difficult to pinpoint the time and location of the appearance of a sixth course as well as the eventual loss of courses.

As previously stated, the transfer from tablature to mensural notation had begun by 1763. The next step in the guitar's evolution was to gain a sixth course. After the sixth course was added, it was not long before the guitar was to lose its courses altogether, leaving six single strings. Some five-course guitars were strung with triple strings on the fourth and fifth courses, which would have possibly made the making of a sixth course easier by just double-stringing the fourth and fifth course and adding a sixth course (Jeffery 1994:6).

It is unknown who first used a six-course or single-six-string guitar because sources contradict one another. In France, it was thought that Marechal was the first to use the six-course guitar. Some guitarists who were thought to have been the first to use a six-course guitar were Simon Molitor (1766-1848), guitarists in Italy and even guitarist Otto Jacob August in Weimar Germany (Pujol 1952:13). In Spain there are a number of guitarists who were involved with the development of the six-course guitar. With rumours of a six course first appearing in Italy, France, Germany and Spain, one can deduce that the six-course guitar was a developing trend throughout Europe.

2.8.1 The six-course guitar in Spain

In Brian Jeffery's biography of Fernando Sor, he states that Spanish guitarists would definitely not have used six-course guitars until after 1800. He also states that France and Italy would have incorporated a sixth course into their guitars before Spain did. Jeffery argues that a French publication called *Etrennes de Polymnie* (1785), which shows a low G note that could only have been played with a sixth course. He also uses an Italian example from P. Delicati's *Sei Canzoncini* from Rome in 1797 which shows a low E note (Jeffery 1994:6). Although Jeffery's arguments are sound, when different sources are consulted, they conflict with Jeffery's statement that the six course guitar did not appear in Spain until after 1800. In Pujol's *Guitar School Books I-III* one finds a reference to a guitar method, *Obra para guitarra de seis ordenes* by Antonio Ballesteros published in Madrid in 1780 (Pujol 1952:13) which places the six-course guitar in Spain before 1800, thus contradicting Jeffery.

Even though Spain might not be the country of origin of the six-string guitar, we can deduce that it was where the six-string guitar was most active, by looking at the amount of pedagogic material that came out of Madrid. Guitarists such as Padre Basilio, Federico Moretti (1760-1838), Antonio Ballesteros and Fernando Ferandiere (1779-1830) were all working on the development of the guitar by contributing pedagogical works which included the use of a sixth course. As previously stated, Italian music was dominant in Spain in the late 18th century and we find that many of the guitarists who wrote substantial pedagogical works in Spain were indeed Italian. Nevertheless, guitarists in Spain were beginning to show an interest in elevating the guitar from its small role as a simple accompaniment instrument, and were starting to explore its extensive capabilities.

2.8.2 Padre Basilio

Padre Basilio was one of the first guitarists to develop the guitar into a more significant instrument. He was also one of the first guitarists to use a six-course guitar in Spain. Padre Basilio (his secular name was Miguel Garcia) was a monk in the Cistercian order (Turnbull 1978:82). Originally, Padre Basilio played the organ in the Convent in Madrid, but his talent on the guitar grew to such prominence that he began to draw attention to himself. Charles IV (1748-1819), who was then the ruler of Spain, invited Padre Basilio to perform for him. Padre Basilio must have made quite an impression because he was asked to become the court guitar tutor. His students included many influential people in the Spanish court including the queen Marie-Louise (Turnbull 1978:82).

Padre Basilio was an influential guitarist and had a playing style that later guitarists would base their technique on. Brian Jeffery (1994:xiii) quotes Soriano Fuertes who discusses Basilio's playing in the preface in *Dionisio Aguado: The Complete Works*:

He did not use complicated arpeggios; he always used octaves and tenths, and he pushed the guitar to its limits, seeking to make it give more tone than it naturally does.

Basilio was known to play fast scale passages, and impressed people with his thorough knowledge of the fingerboard. As it turns out, this was not a desirable trait in the eyes of Fernando Sor:

His master [referring to Basilio being Aguado's master] shone at a period when rapid passages alone were required of the guitar, when the only object in view was to dazzle and astonish (Sor 1971:17).

Unfortunately, Basilio did not write a guitar method but passed his knowledge on verbally to his students. Two of his students, namely Federico Moretti and Fernando Ferandiere would write their own methods in 1799 which was an extension of Padre Basilio's style. Basilio also had an important influence on Aguado, who wrote one of the most significant guitar methods in history, namely his *Nuevo Metodo* (1843).

2.8.3 Federico Moretti

Federico Moretti (1760-1838) was a guitarist living in Spain but was born in Naples, Italy (Wade 1980:97). He was a student of Padre Basilio's and was influential to later guitarists such as Sor and Giuliani. According to Moretti, the six-course guitar was found mainly in Spain. In other countries such as Italy, the five-course guitar was still in use. Moretti had already published a method for the five-course guitar in 1792 in Italy, so one can assume that the development of the guitar was happening more in Spain than anywhere else in the world in the late 18th century. Moretti is known to have played on a guitar with seven single strings (Pujol 1952:13). This showed that he was well ahead of his time, because the six course guitar was quite a new instrument, and in the rest of Europe, the five course guitar was still being played. In 1799, Moretti published his *Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis ordenes* in Madrid. This method was written for the six-course guitar because that was what was being played in Spain at the time, even though Moretti preferred to play on single strings. This method proved to be of great value to later guitarists such as Fernando Sor.

2.8.4 Fernando Ferandiere

Another guitarist and pupil of Padre Basilio was Fernando Ferandiere (1779-1830). He was professor of music at the Spanish court and like his teacher, also served under Charles IV. Ferandiere wrote a method which was published in Madrid in 1799. His *Arte de tocar la guitarra espanola* is a good example of how the guitar had developed at this time. In his method Ferandiere explains exactly how to play the six-course guitar using mensural notation, although, like Moretti, he also preferred to play on single strings. Ferandiere was originally a violinist and had published a method for the violin in 1771 titled *Pontuario musico*. With the guitar gaining popularity in Spain, and the new development of using a system of notation based on that of the violin, it would seem a natural move that Ferandiere would choose to apply his knowledge of the violin to write a method for the guitar. At the end of Ferandiere's guitar method is a list of works which he had composed for the guitar. These include chamber music with guitar as well as six concertos for guitar and full orchestra. Regrettably, none of these works survived.

Although many of Ferandiere's guitar compositions did not survive, through his method we can still see how the guitar was developing in Spain. In the last couple of decades of the 18th

century, the guitar started to develop faster and it was not long before guitarists in Italy and France also adopted single strings, like Moretti and Ferandiere.

2.8.5 Experiments with guitar strings

Not only were single-stringed guitars being adopted, but the question of how many single strings to add to the guitar was being asked. According to Pujol, in 1773 a twelve-string guitar was made by a certain Van Hecke. In 1788 a seven-string guitar was invented in Paris. In 1789 a double-necked guitar was invented by Aubert de Troyes. An eight-string guitar was made in Vienna, and a Russian by the name of Labadeff created a ten-string guitar (Pujol 1952:13).

Although the guitar's construction was being heavily experimented with throughout Europe from 1773, the guitars that were built with more than six strings never became popular. Even the six-single-string guitar only became popular in the beginning of the 19th century. The addition of a sixth string and the loss of the guitar's courses were more of a natural development over time instead of the invention of one man. However, guitarists such as Padre Basilio, Moretti and Ferandiere did greatly improve the guitar's standing.

2.9 Timeline no.1

The following page includes a timeline which shows significant events which happened in the 18th century and contributed to the development of the guitar. The timeline shows how the guitar developed into the six-single-string guitar that was used in the early 19th century.



Timeline no 1: Details

Year

Event

| | | |
|--|------|--|
| Juan Carlos Amat wrote <i>Guitarra Espanola de Cinco Ordenes</i> in 1596. This document established that the Baroque guitar has five courses. | 1596 | Juan Carlos Amat's <i>Guitarra Espanola de Cinco Ordenes</i> (1596) |
| This collection of pieces carries on the Baroque guitar tradition into the 18th Century and show the influence of Gaspar Sanz. | 1714 | Santiago de Murcia's <i>Resumen Acompañar con la Guitarra</i> (1714) |
| German composer Johan Matheson expresses his frustration towards the difficulties of lute tuning and its general impracticality. The lute was at its peak of development, but was too impractical. The guitar was similar to the lute in that is also had courses, was similarly tuned and used tablature. The guitar needed to distance itself from being like the lute in order to avoid becoming an extinct instrument. | 1727 | The decline of the lute: Frustration expressed by Johann Matheson (1681-1764) |
| le Coque provides a collection of pieces with explanations of tablature symbols, showing that tablature was still in use at this time. Le Coque also includes pieces from Corbetta, Sanz and de Visee in this work which shows that Baroque guitar music was still played at this stage of the 18th Century. | 1729 | Francois le Coque's <i>Requell de Pieces de Guitarra</i> (1729) |
| Corette's method is a breakthrough in guitar notation. It is the first attempt in liberating the guitar from tablature by including menural notation together with tablature. | 1763 | Michel Corette's <i>Les d'Apollon: Methode pour apprendre facilement a jouer de la Guitarre</i> (1763) |
| Fernando Sor was born in 1778. He was educated at Montserrat. He became one of the most important guitar virtuosos in the early 19th Century. | 1778 | Fernando Sor (1778-1839) |
| Ballesteros' method was the first pedagogical work to include the use of a sixth course. | 1780 | Antonio Ballesteros' <i>Obra para Guitarra de Seis Ordenes</i> (1780) |
| Giuliani was born in 1781 and was to become one of the most famous Italian guitarists of the 19th Century. | 1781 | Mauro Giuliani (1781-1829) |
| Aguado was born in 1784. His method is arguably one of the most important guitar methods ever written. | 1784 | Dionisio Aguado (1784-1849) |
| Both guitarists published a method in Madrid in 1799. These methods are good examples of how much the guitar had developed over the 18th Century. They used mensural notation and played on six course guitars. | 1799 | Fernando Ferandier's <i>Arte de Tocar la Guitarra Espanola</i> and Federico Moretti's <i>Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis ordenes</i> |

A timeline of major developments for the guitar during the 18th Century

2.10 Foundations for composers in the early 19th century

Guitar music in the early 18th century was a continuation of what had been done in the previous century. From 1700 to 1763, when the notational system changed, the guitar did not develop much at all. This is unfortunate because in the broader musical sense, there was much development in other musical genres and instruments. The guitar was neglected and left to develop at a much slower pace. Probably the most unfortunate aspect of the guitar's slow development was that major composers such as Mozart, Beethoven and Haydn did not see the guitar as an investment worthy of their time and effort. It is understandable however, because the guitar used an early form of notation which was outdated.

By the mid 18th century, the production of fretted instruments was declining. The lute was losing popularity because of its impracticality and because of its close similarities with the guitar at that time; the guitar was also not a favoured instrument. For the guitar not to suffer the same fate as the lute, it had to develop into something entirely different, not only physically, but in the perception of musicians as well.

The guitar was nothing more than an amusing instrument used for uncomplicated strumming and simple pieces. It was not used for concert audiences, only appearing, when needed, to supply accompaniment to a song in informal environments. The paintings of Watteau give testament to the way in which the guitar was perceived in France and Italy.

What is fortunate is that, despite the guitar's apparent lack of status as a musical instrument, there was always some attention given to the development of the guitar. We find that after many years of experimentation, significant changes to the guitar were made in the late 18th century. With the inclusion of mensural notation in Corette's method in 1763, there were a number of publications which followed that developed this new method of notation. Bailleux, Vidal and Ballion were all guitarists who helped to improve the guitar's notational system, even though their works were meant only for amateur guitarists.

Throughout Europe we find that the guitar's construction was always being experimented with. The loss of the guitar's courses ran parallel with guitar builders adding extra single-strings to the guitar in an attempt to increase its range. Guitars were built with 7, 8, 10 and even 20 strings, and there was also a double necked guitar made. Even though there were

many variants of the guitar's design, time would show that the right number of courses for the guitar is six. Ballesteros' method and the later methods of Moretti and Ferandiere solidified the idea that the guitar was to be strung with six courses. When Moretti and Ferandiere's methods for the six-course guitar came out in 1799, they themselves preferred single-stringed instruments; they probably only published their methods for coursed instruments to satisfy the demand, and did not push for an immediate change. It was only a matter of time before single-stringed guitars would be played by all guitarists.

By 1800, the changes that were necessary for the guitar to enter into a new stage in its development had occurred. The technique used to play the guitar would have to change a great deal because guitars were now made with single strings instead of courses. Also, with the addition of a sixth string, the guitar was now capable of playing more voices. The foundations were set for guitar composers to expand the guitar's repertoire and explore new techniques.

In the years between 1800 and 1850, there was a rapid increase in guitar activity throughout Europe. The guitar had developed into an instrument that was now capable of virtuosic feats, never before experienced by audiences. Guitarists such as Fernando Sor, Mauro Giuliani and Dionisio Aguado were to revolutionize how audiences perceived the guitar.

2.11 Virtuosity in the early 19th century

It was fashionable to attend instrumental performances given by the virtuosi of the time. There was a definite interest and amazement in experiencing the feats musicians accomplished on their chosen instruments. This was partly because people of all classes were coming to see concerts as the political situation in Europe was in the process of changing during the early 19th century.

Music was no longer exclusive to nobility, but there were also public concerts open to anyone who could afford a ticket. With this growth in numbers came a decline in musically educated audiences. Many audience members had very little musical knowledge, and this could explain why audiences were so easily dazzled by virtuosic performances designed to show off the performer's skill.



2.12 The chosen works of Sor, Giuliani and Aguado

There are many compositions that show the guitar's capabilities as a solo instrument. The works discussed in this study have been specifically chosen for their developmental importance to the solo guitar. Publication dates and locations have also been taken into consideration because some works pioneer certain developments for the guitar.

Chapter 3: Fernando Sor

3.1 Introduction

Although the guitar underwent significant development during the 18th century, European audiences' perception towards the guitar did not change. The guitar was still seen as an inferior instrument to be used only for accompaniment or for simple pieces. In the following chapters, I will provide evidence of how this perception was challenged by the works and performances of guitar composers such as Fernando Sor and Mauro Giuliani. The periods in which Sor and Giuliani practised as performing guitarists overlap, but because they each worked in different parts of Europe, I will discuss their contributions to the guitar separately.

Fernando Sor (1778-1839) is one of the first composers who brought the guitar out of its limited accompaniment role and to have transformed it into a solo concert instrument. He composed works that stretched the guitar's musical capabilities. Sor enjoyed recognition as a composer and virtuoso guitarist. He began composing and playing from his birthplace Spain, and enjoyed a successful career which took him to Paris, London and even to Russia.

To think of Fernando Sor simply as a virtuoso guitarist would be underestimating his abilities as a composer. Even in his earlier years in Spain, Sor was a well known composer of operas and patriotic Spanish music. He composed for many genres which include: piano music, chamber music, two symphonies, a concerto for violin, ballet music, vocal music, operas and songs. Unlike Giuliani, who mainly composed for the guitar, Sor enjoyed great success with his operas and ballets and can be considered an all-round composer. It is this aspect which distinguishes Sor from other guitar composers; his talent as a composer is apparent in his guitar music. Even his most simple of studies are well composed pieces of music. Within the context of composing for the guitar, this difference between Sor and other guitarists (like Giuliani for example), can be described in an excerpt from the *Giulianidad* (1833).

If it is said of Giuliani, that “he must be considered as the inventor of a new method of playing”, perhaps I may be permitted to say, that we ought to consider Sor as the inventor of a new method of composing (Jeffery 1994:27).

Wolf Moser (2007: 20), in his article on Fernando Sor, goes as far as to say that Sor put his aspirations as a composer of operas before his aspirations as a composer for the guitar. Moser explains how Sor was rejected twice by the French when he tried to produce an opera there. First in 1813-1817, and then in 1826/7, his proposals for writing an opera were denied.

Moser states:

Instead of a successful guitarist with a genuine lust for life, we find an unsuccessful opera composer, who is forced by external circumstances to make a living as a musician and, as a result, to rely more and more heavily on the guitar.

If this is the case, it was Sor's substantial contributions for the guitar that kept him alive in the early 19th century as well as in the modern world of music.

3.2 Sor in Spain

Fernando Sor was born in Catalonia in 1778. At a very early age, he had already started learning how to sing and how to play the guitar and violin. Sor's formal musical education started when his mother allowed him to join the monastery at Montserrat. His principal teacher was Father Viola (Jeffery 1994:4). It is worth noting that the guitar was not taught at Montserrat in the same way that guitar is taught in modern schools today. If a student was studying the guitar at Montserrat, they would learn accompaniment, because that was all that was expected from the instrument in those days. Even so, Sor showed talent on the guitar beyond what was expected, as Baltasar Saldoni states, quoting priest Marti who studied with Sor: "When he was at that school, he performed such prodigious things on the guitar that all his co-pupils who heard it were amazed" (Marti in Jeffery 1994:5).

Sor's first important composition was an opera he wrote when he was seventeen. This composition greatly improved his reputation as a composer. The opera *Telemaco* was a success in Barcelona. Performances started in August 1797, and ran for the whole year (Jeffery 1994:7).

An important event in Sor's early career was the patronage of the Dutchess of Alba. It is said that Sor was treated much like a son by the Dutchess and was given a room in her house.

Here, Sor was able to compose for and practise on the piano. He was also given a reasonable amount of money when the Dutchess left Madrid on account of an illness she had developed. Unfortunately she died in 1802.

When Sor was living in Madrid during the years 1798-1802, Sor met the guitarist Dionisio Aguado. The two guitarists discussed aspects of guitar playing such as the use of nails. Sor mentions in his method that he “pointed out the inconvenience of using nails” to Aguado, who used nails (Sor 1971:22). Because modern guitarists use nails, it would prove that Aguado was correct in this regard. But strangely, Aguado himself states that if he could start playing guitar over again, he would not use nails. Aguado will be discussed in Chapter Five.

3.3 Sor in France

Sor enjoyed success with *Telemaco* and also received good reviews for his instrumental performances. In 1803, Sor was given much praise for a solo he played on the double bass, which shows how multi-talented he was as an instrumentalist (Jeffery 1994:10).

It is possible that Sor would have stayed in Spain were it not for the Napoleonic invasion in 1808. Until this time, Sor was not too deeply involved in politics, even though he had an administrative position in the Spanish army. The Spanish government was already corrupt under the leadership of Charles IV, but when the French invaded Spain, the Spanish opposed them out of sheer patriotism. Sor composed patriotic music and became a captain in the Cordovan volunteers to fight the French. But after some consideration, Sor chose to follow the more liberal French rather than fight. He thus became known as an *afrancesado* (Jeffery 1994:12).

The next logical step was to move to France, as *afrancesados* were violently opposed by the patriotic division of Spain. In 1813, Sor lived in a section of Paris where a Spanish community had been growing (Jeffery 1994:33). Sor intended to compose an opera in France, but he was told by librettist Marsollier that his compositional style was too Italian and would not please French audiences. He also failed to attain a position in the Royal Chapel as a viola player. In an attempt to prove his compositional skills, Sor composed *Fantasy for the guitar* Op. 7.

His first *Fantasy for the guitar Op. 7*, is such a grandiose work comprising an introduction, a theme, seven variations and a coda...Though it is written for the guitar, none of Sor's contemporary guitar players could play it, and for most of them it was not even possible to read it. Despite this, Sor unexpectedly reached a dead end in the French capital when Parisian musicians, though quick to congratulate the guitarist on his success, decidedly rejected him as a composer of operas (Moser 2007: 23).

London would prove to be a much more promising location for Sor to carry on composing. London also accepted Spanish exiles and in so doing had developed a taste for Spanish art. It is in London where Sor published some of his most important works and gave many concerts for solo guitar.

3.4 Sor as a composer in London

Until 1815, the English knew very little about the guitar. The first real guitar experience the English had came with the arrival of Sor. Some of his best compositions for the guitar were published in London. This is also where Sor was well known as a performer, showcasing the guitar in a way that was previously unfamiliar to the public. Seventeen of his concerts are documented, but Sor must have played many more which were held privately.

Sor was not only known as a guitarist, but also as a singer. He sang at a concert held by the Duke of Sussex in 1816 where he sang in the style of Crescentini, who was the last great castrato singer (Jeffery 1994:46). This quote from Ledhuy, an earlier biographer of Sor's described the listener's reaction: "If Sor's guitar-playing reveals a great composer, his manner of imitating Crescentini reveals a great singing-master" (Ledhuy in Jeffery 1994:46).

In 1819, Sor appeared in a public concert not as a guitarist but primarily as a singer (Jeffery 1994:48). He was also known to teach singing. During this time Sor had many students who took up singing, and this seemed to take up a large amount of his time. Sor's singing performance and teaching resulted in him composing eleven sets of Italian ariettas for voice and piano, as well as other vocal duets which became as popular as his guitar compositions (Jeffery 1994:39).

Sor also composed many works for the piano which include works for voice and piano, waltzes and divertimentos for solo and duet piano. It can be said that during Sor's stay in

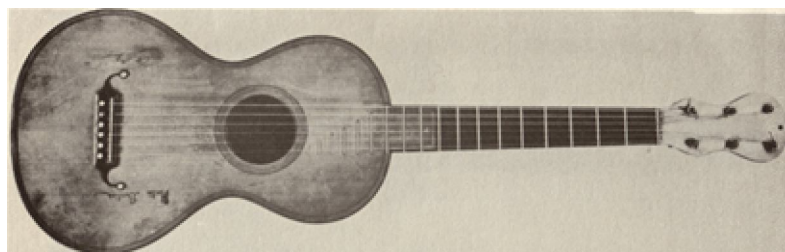
London he was not only known as a guitarist, but also as a composer of ballets, vocal works, piano works as well as a talented singer. This gives testament to how diverse he was as a composer and performer. Sor therefore enjoyed success with audiences and publishers in London.

3.5 Sor's concerts in London

Sor's first concert was on 20th April 1815 in a venue called the Argyll Rooms, where he played one of his *Fantasias*. What is interesting about Sor's first appearance playing guitar in London is that his reputation as a guitar virtuoso had preceded him. In the concert's advertisement, Sor was referred to as 'the most celebrated performer in Europe on the Spanish guitar'. The concert was in benefit of two Spanish musicians who were probably fellow exiles along with Sor (Jeffery 1994:40). Sor must have made quite an impression in his first concert because it was still remembered in *The Giulianiad* in 1833: "The impression he then made on his first performance at the Argyll Rooms...was of a nature which will never be erased from my memory..." (Jeffery 1994:41) This fantasia could have been his Op. 4 (Jeffery 1994:42). If Sor was not playing a solo on the guitar in these first concerts in 1815, he would have accompanied his singing with the guitar.

Sor would have been playing on a six-single-string guitar in his London debut. Here is an example of what the guitar would have looked like in the early 19th century. This guitar was played by Paganini and Berlioz, but resembles what Sor's guitar would have looked like.

Figure 8: An example of an early 19th-century guitar (Summerfield 1982:193)



Upon Sor's arrival in London, he was accepted as an associate in the Philharmonic Society. Two years later, on 24 March 1817, Sor gave one of the most important concerts of his career. It was the third concert of the season and he played a Concertante for the guitar (Jeffery 1994:47). Sor was applauded for his execution and compositional skill.

It was a prestigious achievement to be chosen to give a concert for the Philharmonic Society. This society could be considered as the foremost concert organization of that time. For Sor to have given a concert which featured the guitar in this way is quite significant in the guitar's history. Many people high up in the London music scene would have heard Sor play the guitar. It is possible that many people in the audience were surprised at what the guitar was capable of playing. After this concert, Sor's reputation in London as a composer and guitarist grew substantially. In 1822, he became an honorary member of the Royal Academy of Music, which proved his high status as a composer (Wade 1980:112).

3.5.1 Reactions to Sor's concerts in London

To gain a better perspective of London's reactions to Sor's guitar performance, we look to at a review found in *Repository of the Arts* (1820), which is quoted in Brian Jeffery's biography on Sor. This review gives a good indication of how Sor completely surprised audiences with his performances. The review was for *Six divertimentos for guitar, 4th set Op. 13*.

If hitherto guitar-music has been considered by us as lying out of the sphere of our critical functions, we candidly plead in our defense, the opinion which our own experience had led us to entertain of the limited powers of the instrument; and the unimportant nature of the compositions which had come under our cognizance. It is with this bias that we recently chanced to hear Mr. Sor touch the guitar, and our previous prejudice instantly gave way to astonishment and admiration (Jeffery 1994:62).

This review proves that Sor had a great deal to do with the transformation of the guitar into a solo instrument. Without the revolutionary guitar compositions and performances of Sor the guitar would have, at least in London, remained obscure.

What is interesting about Sor's performances in London is that he did not give full guitar recitals of his own compositions, but was rather allocated a specific time in a concert that included other musicians who played a variety of instruments.

According to Lawrence Johnson (1993: 25-27), Sor's compositional style, at least for the guitar, was conservative. He states that chromatics and 'stormy' effects were detrimental to the quality of guitar compositions. This is why Lawrence says that Sor did not use harmonies that were progressive at the time, because it would not have worked well on the guitar. This theory can be contested, but does give an explanation as to why the compositions of early 19th-century guitarists were so classical in style as opposed to progressive.

Sor was an active composer from 1815 to 1819, but did not appear in any more concerts (Jeffery 1994:47). As previously mentioned, Sor was well known as a singer and composer of other instruments. It is possible that he was focusing primarily on publishing and composing and not on guitar performance. Even though Sor was not performing as much, his publications for the guitar were doing well, as was his vocal and piano music. Some of his most significant compositions for the guitar were performed and published in London.

3.6 *Twelve studies Op. 6*

Op. 6 was published between 1813 and 1817 in London by W. Milhouse. The original title for this work was *Studio for the spanish guitar Op. 6*. Sor was 37 years old and already well known in London as a guitar virtuoso (Jeffery 1993: preface). With the exception of Aguado, Sor stands out as a leading figure of the guitar's technical development.

An important characteristic of these studies is the fact that they are so well composed. They are not only technical studies but also good music and can easily be included in a concert repertoire.

The 12 studies in Op. 6 are not intended for beginners. This work requires the player to be at an advanced level, and stretches the capabilities of the guitarist who attempts to play them. In fact, there are very little fingering indications in the music which would have given guitarists an idea of where to place the fingers of the left and right hand. The guitar's notational system was not as developed as it is today and still needed to include fingerings, but Sor did not include any in his music. He expected guitarists to have a reasonable knowledge of the fingerboard before they attempted his music. This is quite an optimistic request and perhaps Sor expected too much from the guitarists of his day. Even modern guitarists play music that is published with fingerings for the right and left hand. Apart from not including fingerings,

Sor was constantly asked by publishers to simplify his compositions because players found his music too difficult.

By looking at Op. 6 we can see how Sor had already explored the guitar's capabilities. Each study identifies problem areas in guitar technique. The following excerpts are from specific studies that indicate how Sor assessed these technical problems for the guitar. In order to better understand these studies, I will first discuss the right hand technique Sor used in his own playing, which he expected to be used in his music.

3.6.1 Sor's technique

What is interesting about Sor's right hand technique is that he rarely used the third finger (or the *a* finger as it is called by guitarists). Sor only used his thumb, first and second fingers (otherwise known as *p*, *i* and *m*), when playing the guitar. This practice is unique to Sor, as modern players do use the *a* finger, even when playing Sor's compositions. In his method for guitar, Sor explains the technique he used for right hand fingering:

The common position of my fingers places my first below the second string, the second below the first string, and the thumb within reach of all the other strings, without displacing the hand (Sor 1971:32).

Notice that *a* finger is completely left out. The melody would have been played by the first two fingers. If the melody needed to be played lower in pitch and required a lower string, Sor would have changed his hand position:

If the melody is lower than the note of the open first string, I pass my first and second fingers to the third and second strings (Sor 1971:32).

Sor clearly explains his right hand technique, but also states in his method that he only shows what works for him, and does not imply that his is the only one to use, as he indicates in the very first words of his method:

I would be understood to speak of that only which my reflections and experience have made me establish to regulate my own play (Sor 1971:5).

With Sor's unique right hand technique in mind, the studies can now be examined with greater understanding of how Sor expected them to be played.

The first study deals with the development of the thumb. An interesting aspect of this study is that the thumb (*p*) plays the melody while *i* and *m* play the accompaniment. This was unusual at that time because traditionally the thumb would have played only the bass part or root notes.

Figure 9: Op. 6 no. 1, bars 1 – 4 (Sor 1993:1)



The second study applies a similar idea, but changes the fingering of the right hand. Where Study no.1 uses the thumb, Study no. 2 uses the *m* finger to play the melody.

Figure 10: Op. 6 no. 2, bars 1 – 5 (Sor 1993:2)



The fingering Sor would have used to play a short succession of notes or passages which required speed is also explained in his method. Modern guitarists would often use an alternation of the *i* and *m* fingers to play such passages, but Sor used an alternation of *p* and *i*.

The reader may make the experiment, by playing one string rapidly several times alternatively with the first and second fingers. He will see that he cannot do so, without moving the third and fourth; but let him perform the same operation with the thumb and first finger, and he will perceive the lower part remain without any other motion than that which the thumb communicates with the whole hand (Sor 1971:33).

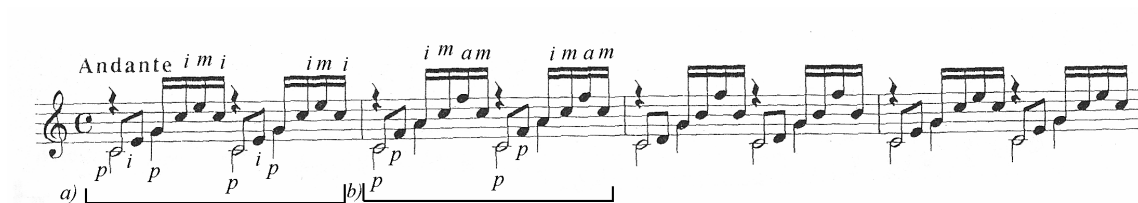
Sor applies this principle in his 4th and 5th studies.

Figure 11: Op. 6 no. 4, bars 1 to 5 (Sor 1993:3)



Study no.5 could make use of the *a* finger, but Sor wrote this study specifically for exercising the alternation of *p* and *i*. The first bar (a) shows Sor’s intended fingering and the second bar (b) shows a different fingering using the *a* finger.

Figure 12: Op. 6 no. 5, bars 1 to 4 (Sor 1993:4)



The execution of thirds on the guitar may become complicated because of the position shifts and the constant change of fingering. Sor addressed this problem in his sixth study. In his method, Sor explains how he developed a system of playing thirds on the guitar.

I therefore tried to play over the scale in thirds, by establishing one mode of fingering for the major and another for the minor thirds (Sor 1971:24).

Here is an exercise given in Sor’s method representing one of his fingerings for C major in thirds:

Figure 13: Plate no. 8 exercise no. 33 (Sor 1971:56)

VIII



The following is an excerpt of a study that practices the playing of thirds.

Figure 14: Op. 6 no. 6, bars 1-12 (Sor 1993:5)



Playing a scale in octaves can be even trickier than playing in thirds. In the following study Sor deals with this problem.

Figure 15: Op. 6 no. 10, bars 10-12 (Sor 1993:10)



These studies are of great importance for two reasons. Firstly, they deal with problems regarding guitar technique that came with the newly developed guitar of the early 19th century. Secondly, these studies showed what the guitar was capable of doing. Sor brings the guitar into a far different light from its simple accompaniment role it had in the 18th century. Sor's first collection of studies for the guitar was unusually demanding on guitarists who were only beginning to understand the guitar's full potential. Considering the fact that his method was only published in 1830, approximately fifteen years after his first set of studies, Sor expected a great deal from beginner guitarists.

3.7 Sor's Variations on 'O Cara Armonia' from *The Magic Flute* Op. 9

One of the most popular compositional forms in Sor's time was the theme and variations. It was common for composers to take famous themes and compose variations on them. Instrumentalists and singers were also known to improvise variations to show their skill.

There seems to be a “variation” mentality shared by musicians at the time, for they not only composed variations on any theme whatever, but also improvised them on instruments extemporaneously (Heck 1995:176).

Sor wrote many compositions in this style and proved to be a true master at it. His Op. 9 is not only one of his best guitar works, but also one of the most famous compositions for guitar. Sor was comfortable composing in the styles of Haydn and Mozart, and Op. 9 is an example of how he grasped the ‘Mozartean charm’. In Mozart’s *The Magic Flute*, the theme ‘O cara armonia’ which occurs at the end of Act 1 is the one Sor used to compose this theme and variations. The first major production of *The Magic Flute* in London was in 1819, where Sor might have first gained inspiration for Op. 9.

Sor composed one of the first real showpieces for guitar and it is still played today to show off technique and dazzle audiences. One can therefore imagine how people would have reacted to this work during the early 19th century. Typically they would not have expected much more than simple compositions or accompaniment. Sor must have completely surprised audiences with this virtuosic work for solo guitar.

The first edition of Op. 9 was published in London in 1821. The following excerpts show Sor’s inventive compositional style and how he created virtuosic music for solo guitar.



Figure 16: Op. 9 theme (Sor 1996:59)

THEME
Andante moderato

Variations Four and Five are two of the most technical and dazzling variations.

Figure 17: Op. 9 Variation 4, bars 73-75 (Sor 1996:62)

Più mosso

Figure 18: Op. 9 Variation 5, bars 89-91 (Sor 1996:62)

Più mosso

3.8 Sor's *Méthode pour la guitare*

In 1822 Sor left London to stay in Russia with Felicite Hullin, a ballerina with whom he was involved. Sor gave noteworthy concerts in Russia, even some for the imperial family. He had written the ballet *Cendrillon* which was very successful in France, and was still in production while he stayed in Russia. In 1826, Sor returned to Paris with Felicite Hullin, but when she left to go back to Russia, he remained in Paris and would remain there for the rest of his life (Jeffery 1994:82).

It is known that he intended to write an opera when he returned to Paris, but Sor was not in demand. He was thought of as using forms from Russia and Germany which were too strict (Jeffery 1994:87). Nevertheless, he gave most of his time to the guitar, composing many studies and exercises for the guitar and writing his guitar method.

Sor's method for the guitar is one of the most important pedagogical works in the guitar's history. It gives us great insight into 19th-century guitar performance and the perspectives of Sor himself. His method has many relevant comments pertaining to the context of this study, but also has aspects that are no longer applicable to modern guitarists.

Sor's right hand technique and how it differs from the modern technique is mentioned earlier in the chapter. He distances himself from the modern right hand technique even further by strictly dismissing the use of nails and he has much to say on the matter.

Never in my life have I heard a guitarist whose playing was supportable, if he played with the nails. The nails can produce but very few graduations in the quality of the sound: the *piano* passages can never be singing, nor the *fortes* sufficiently full. (Sor 1971:17).

Another difference Sor has with modern players is his sitting position. His sitting position involved leaning the guitar on a small table. The sitting position modern guitarist's use would not be introduced until the latter half of the 19th century by Francisco Tarrega.

Figure 19: Sor's sitting position (Sor 1971:10)



Modern guitar methods may differ from Sor's method in some respects, but his contributions to the guitar's repertoire and the development of the guitar into a solo instrument outweigh these differences. With regards to the context of this study, Sor has much to say on the perception of the guitar in the early 19th century and how he changed it.

At first I took up this instrument merely as an instrument of accompaniment; but from the age of sixteen years, I was shocked to hear it said by those who professed to have but little talent, "I only play to accompany"... Hence I concluded that there were no masters for me, and I was confirmed in the idea that what was taken for mastery on the instrument was the very cause preventing its attainment (Sor 1971:5,6).

3.9 Conclusion

By the time of his death in 1839, Sor had revolutionized the guitar in Spain, France, England and Russia. As seen in his method, he took up the guitar for accompaniment, but saw its true potential from an early age.

Sor was an all-round composer, writing for voice, piano and orchestra. It is his knowledge of composing for other genres and instruments that took the guitar out of its minor role and enabled it to be included in the same category as other prominent solo instruments. There were no examples for Sor to follow, and he devised a method of playing the guitar which worked for him.

In London, audiences were surprised to hear what the guitar was capable of playing. Never before were there guitar pieces of such a virtuosic nature. Sor's performances certainly put the guitar into a more significant light. The excitement caused by his performances influenced more people to buy his guitar music.

Sor published many works for guitar in London, such as *Divertimentos for guitar* Op. 1, 2, 8 and 13, and *Studies for guitar* Op. 6. His studies proved to be of great value to the development of guitar technique and are still popular today. They also taught guitarists how to take the guitar more seriously, taking it out of its insignificant role of an accompaniment instrument. Sor's Op. 9 is a milestone in the transformation of the guitar. Compositions such as these put the guitar on a new platform. The guitar would not regress into a simple accompaniment instrument again.

Sor's method, which was published late in his life, instructed future guitarists how to perceive and play the guitar. The method sums up many years of performance experience and explains tried and tested techniques which Sor practiced throughout his career.

By 1830, with the publication of Sor's method and the many guitar publications that came before that, the guitar was a transformed instrument. During Sor's lifetime, Mauro Giuliani was also achieving new heights with the guitar. Where Sor had developed the guitar in Spain, Paris, London and St. Petersburg, Giuliani would do so in Vienna and Italy.

Chapter 4: Mauro Giuliani

4.1 Introduction

Giuliani composed primarily for the guitar, but also included it in ensembles with orchestral instruments. Audiences were astounded by what they experienced in Giuliani's music. They never thought it possible for the guitar to be included in ensembles, and some music critics did not want to accept this new role for the guitar. Giuliani played his ensemble pieces with other virtuoso performers like the violinist Josef Mayseder and the pianist Ignaz Moscheles. He spent most of his life in Vienna and found it easy to fit into the musical circles there, seen as a contemporary of the great composers of the time, such as Beethoven.

A feature of Giuliani's performances that is frequently referred to is his expressiveness on the instrument, his ability to make the guitar 'sing'. Considering the nature of the early 19th-century guitar, this is a remarkable comment. The instrument Giuliani played on was much smaller than the modern guitar and used gut strings, which did not have as much sustain and volume as modern strings.

Giuliani was the first prominent composer to write concertos for the guitar, which was crucial for the guitar's transformation into a solo instrument. Because of the ever-growing demand for ensemble music in Vienna, he also composed more ensemble material which includes the guitar than any other guitarist of his day (Heck 1995:49).

4.2 Why Italy was not a good place for the guitar in the early 19th century

Giuliani was baptized in Bisceglie Italy in 1781. Unfortunately, little is known about his early education. He spent most of his youth in Barletta, but moved to Vienna in 1806 because of unfavourable circumstances for the guitar in Italy during that time (Heck 1995:17). Giuliani was not the only significant guitarist to leave Italy. Federico Moretti, who was discussed in Chapter 2, was the first to leave Italy. He moved to Spain. Others such as Carcassi and Carulli left Italy for France (Heck 1971:1). More information on Carcassi and Carulli will be given in Chapter 6. One would not have expected Italy to produce leading figures in the guitar world. But ironically, we find that it was the Italians who introduced the correct

method of playing the guitar to other countries. A good example of this is Moretti, an Italian who influenced Sor and Aguado, both Spaniards (Heck 1971:1).

There are various reasons why guitarists left Italy to establish careers in other countries. One of the main reasons was because opera was so popular in Italy at the time and the guitar could not compete with the spectacle of opera productions. Venice was a hot-spot for viewing operas; it had seven opera houses open at once (Heck 1995:24). Even if a guitarist were to somehow rent an opera hall to give a performance, the guitar would not be loud enough for a space that large.

The guitar was still very much a vocal accompaniment instrument in Italy at this time. Ironically the popularity of opera would ensure the guitar's survival as an accompaniment instrument. However, at the same time it would be detrimental to the guitar as a solo instrument. Because the guitar was doing well as an accompaniment instrument, there were many guitar teachers and a lot of competition amongst accompanists (especially in Naples). There was also a lack of patrons in Italy, so guitarists immigrated to countries that had promise of more opportunity. To make matters worse, the economic situation in Italy was bad because of the wars during that time (Heck 1995:26). For these reasons, Italy was not a good place for guitarists to start their careers and why Giuliani felt he should move to Vienna.

4.3.1 Reviews of Giuliani's concerto Op. 30

The cultural life in Vienna was very much alive in the early 19th century. The performing arts were a main source of entertainment for the Viennese public. Other than musical entertainment such as instrumental music, ballet and opera, audiences also appreciated poetry, theatre and pantomimes (Heck 1995:35).

The very first review of Giuliani's performances comes from the musical journal *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (AmZ) in 1807, in which it was said that Giuliani was enjoying great success amongst the many guitarists in Vienna (Heck 1995:38). By this time, Giuliani's works were already in print. A notable composition was *Otto variazioni* Op. 6. This composition exhibits the typical Giuliani style which uses the guitar idiomatically (Heck 1995:38). It shows that Giuliani was already aware of how to write for the guitar in a way that seemed natural to the instrument.

Even though Giuliani's works were in print and regularly performed around 1807/8, the guitar was still seen as an accompaniment instrument. There were many guitarists in Vienna, but none that played the guitar in such a virtuosic manner. By looking at later reviews of Giuliani's performances, one can see how difficult it was to change the pre-conceived notion people had of the guitar.

In 1808, *AmZ* reviewed an honorary concert held to celebrate Haydn's music just before Haydn's 76th birthday. Here we can see that Giuliani had considerable status as a musician because he was included in the program with some remarkable composers of the time such as Beethoven and Hummel (Heck 1995:39). Giuliani was well prepared for this concert and showed Viennese audiences a work for guitar that had never been thought possible. He performed his *Concerto for guitar in A* Op. 30, and a set of variations with orchestra (Heck 1995:39). It must have been a total surprise for the audience to see the guitar playing the role of a solo instrument with an orchestra. There were certainly mixed feelings about this performance. The fact that Giuliani managed to perform so well on the guitar was applauded, but as one can see in the following review people were not so sure that the guitar was appropriate in such a setting:

One absolutely has to have heard the musician himself in order to get an idea of his unusual skill and his precise, tasteful execution...But if one considers the music itself...Well, just try to imagine the guitar next to an orchestra with trumpets and kettle drums: isn't it almost unbelievably amateurish to devote such a great talent, as Giuliani had done, to this perennially weak-volumed instrument? (Heck 1995:39)

The reviewer makes his point clear:

I, for one, could not avoid thinking, while listening, what Music would have gained if this talent, this incredible diligence and perseverance in conquering the greatest difficulties, had been applied to an instrument more rewarding even to the musician himself...We must put the guitar back in its place-let it stick to accompaniment-we will always be happy to hear it. But as a solo instrument, it can be justified and appreciated only by fashion (Heck 1995:40).

This critical perception of Giuliani's Op. 30 was restated in 1814. Below is part of a review from *AmZ* (1814) of a concert held in Kassel, Austria. This was the first time a work of Giuliani's was performed in another country by a guitarist other than the composer. This is significant because it shows that music for the guitar was proliferating and played by other

capable guitarists. Even though the guitar was gaining popularity, it had difficulty convincing music critics that it was worthy of the concert stage.

The brilliant and loud tutti sections contrasted too much with the solo parts. The guitar, as everyone knows, is soft by nature – an instrument suited only to pleasant [musical] treatment. A composition intended for it must conform to this requirement in its character and overall layout (Heck 1995:59).

All the reviews quoted here show different sides of the guitar's development. The guitar was being put into the role of a solo instrument with an orchestra. Even so, critics were not convinced that the guitar was able to carry the responsibility of a solo instrument. One would like to say that the guitar has proved the old critics wrong, considering the popularity of the classical guitar today, yet there are still sceptics who do not think the modern guitar should see a concert stage. Thomas Heck explains the situation in Giuliani's time quite clearly:

Attitudes such as this reviewer's were more the rule than the exception at the time... It meant that guitarists of Giuliani's day had an uphill battle to gain acceptance of the guitar as more than a simple accompaniment instrument for songs (Heck 1995:60).

4.3.2 Giuliani and Beethoven

Although the general perception of the guitar had not changed much, Giuliani still managed to impress audiences with his playing. Not only was he considered to be a prominent guitar virtuoso, but he was also part of the musical elite together with Beethoven and Hummel. It is known that Beethoven attended a concert of Giuliani's in 1810. Unfortunately, Beethoven was already quite deaf and could probably not hear the soft instrument (Heck 1995:55). There is also a record of Giuliani and Beethoven dining together with Hummel and his wife in 1813 (Heck 1995:55).

4.3.3 Giuliani's solo performances

In 1815, Giuliani was invited by Hummel to take part in a concert series. The series was called the 'Dukaten Concerte' because each concert ticket would only cost a ducat. The soloists were Giuliani, Hummel and Mayseder, all popular virtuosos of the time. The fact that Giuliani was performing concerts with other virtuosos tells us two things: firstly, Giuliani was taken seriously by his contemporaries as a composer and performer, and secondly, they

did not appear to have any prejudice against the guitar like what we saw in the previous reviews. Another review in *AmZ* (1815) states:

Since the violinist Mayseder and the guitarist Giuliani similarly delighted the Viennese at the time, Hummel got together with these two in the spring of 1815 for a cycle of six subscription concerts...Each of the three artists executed one or two solo pieces, and for the finale the virtuosity of all three was combined (Heck 1995:64).

This collaboration would prove to boost Giuliani's popularity. In the same year, a student of Giuliani's and a prominent figure in Viennese nobility, Count Franz Palfy, commissioned these artists to hold a few concerts at the botanical gardens in Vienna (Heck 1995:65). Many people of high status attended these concerts which show that Giuliani was considered to be one of the top musicians of his time.

In 1816, Giuliani gave a concert in Prague. He included in his performances the *Concerto in A Op. 30*, which would be conducted by Carl Maria von Weber. As we have already seen, reviews of this concerto were not good, but in this next excerpt from Weber's own writings, we find a slightly different take on this specific work. We also gain insight into Giuliani's own performance.

The guitar is the most meagre and unrewarding of all concert instruments, but his playing was marked by such an agility, a control and delicacy that he often achieved a real cantabile, much to our own delight and admiration. The present writer enjoyed most of all the concerto, which may well be the most idiomatic and well written of all the concertos for this instrument (Heck 1995:74).

Weber himself was known to play the guitar well. Above we see that the guitar is referred to as a concert instrument. The concerto was well received in 1816 and Giuliani's performance was given much praise. Taking all the reviews into consideration, we find that the guitar was at times accepted as a solo concert instrument, and at other times preferred as an accompaniment instrument.

4.4 Giuliani's *Studio for the guitar Op. 1*

Giuliani did not write an official method. It is unusual for a guitarist of his stature not to have written one, considering how many other guitarists did. It is unfortunate not to have a document containing explanations of his technique in his own words, especially because

many reviews contain descriptions of his tone production and his ability to play *cantabile*. The closest works resembling a guitar method from Giuliani are his studies for the guitar, especially Op. 1.

As the guitar was becoming more popular and significant works were being composed for it, there was a growing need for new pedagogical material. Guitarists in Vienna did not have any significant study material which would help to improve their technique until 1812, when Giuliani published his studies Op. 1. Although the opus number suggests that it was his first published work for guitar, the number was reserved for a major work. It was published together with his Op. 34 and 35 (Jeffery 2002: ix).

An interesting aspect about these studies (as with Fernando Sor's Op. 6) is that this material was not intended for beginners. It is made clear by Giuliani that anyone who attempts these studies must already know the basics of harmony, and must have a fundamental knowledge of playing the guitar. These studies were intended for "those who, already possessing the first elements, wish to perfect themselves without the assistance of a teacher" (Giuliani 2002: preface).

These studies were meant for the private practice of the guitar student, and were not intended for performance (Heck 1995:183). The studies in Giuliani's Op. 1 are focused on pinpointing specific techniques that might cause problems in bigger works meant for performance.

The first part of Op. 1 is dedicated to warm-up exercises for the right hand. They include repeat signs which imply that the exercises should be played many times over until it can be played comfortably. Giuliani normally does not use right-hand fingering in his music, but here he uses symbols for different right-hand fingerings. The thumb is indicated by a caret (^) and the *i* and *m* fingers are indicated with one or two dots (Micheli 2003:61).

As with Sor's music, it is possible to play all Giuliani's music using only the *p*, *i* and *m* fingers, but Giuliani was more liberal with in the use of his *a* finger. The *a* finger would mostly be used in arpeggio passages or passages that make use of four strings (Micheli 2003:61). The following example shows that Giuliani was more inclined to use the *a* finger than Sor was.

Figure 20: Op.1 no. 31 (Giuliani 2002:5)



Study no. 96 shows an example of what might be the beginnings of the tremolo technique. A note is played three times in succession with the *a*, *m* and *i* fingers. If this is repeated and played fast enough, it imitates a sustained note. Compositions that include tremolo were only written after Sor and Giuliani's time.

Figure 21: Op. 1 no. 96 (Giuliani 2002:12)



The second section of Op. 1 is dedicated to left hand development. These exercises include the practice of playing intervals such as thirds, sixths, tenths and octaves. An important indication of these exercises is that all the right hand exercises are to be played with the thumb and index finger. The notes with stems facing down must be played with *p* and the stems facing up with *i*. Modern players can alter the right hand fingering, but this would distort the purpose of the exercise (Jeffery 2002:x). Giuliani also makes a distinction between voices by turning bass-note stems downwards. This is a significant development made by Giuliani because it improved the guitar's notational system. As Jeffery points out, the notes with stems facing down are to be played with the thumb.

In all the examples in part II the bass, that is the notes with downward facing stems, are to be played with the thumb, and the others with the index finger of the right hand (Jeffery 2002:x).

The third section of the Op. 1 deals with ornamentation. This includes examples of ornaments and effects which the guitar is capable of. Here, Giuliani deals with the prolonging of notes paying special attention to giving bass notes their proper value. Other techniques such as

dampening are exercised in order to stop notes when they should be stopped. Effects and ornaments such as staccato, appoggiatura, turns, ligado, strisciato, trills and mordents are looked at. The fourth section is a collection of twelve progressive lessons. These lessons are not difficult and are intended for beginners (Jeffery 2002:x).

4.5 *Grand Overture Op. 61*

Grand Overture was published in 1814. This prominent work for the guitar has great significance because it is a work that uses the sonata-allegro form. Guitar composers such as Sor and Giuliani did not compose many works based on the sonata form or its variants. The few works from Giuliani that exhibit this form are his Op. 15, Op. 61 and Op. 150 (Heck 1995:182). Of these, Op.15 is the most famous example of a guitar work in sonata form. The posthumously published *Grand sonata eroica* Op. 150 is under some scrutiny concerning its authenticity, because it was published long after Giuliani handed the manuscript over to publishers. This means the music could have been tampered with.

This work shows the true capabilities of the guitar as a solo instrument. *Grand Overture* is supposed to replicate a classic overture that would normally have been played before an opera. An important fact is that the guitar is made to sound like an entire orchestra in miniature, as Heck describes:

In listening to a fluent and thoughtfully nuanced performance of this work, one can almost identify the different sections of the orchestra being evoked: strings here, woodwinds there, and was that a timpani roll I just heard?-all emanating from a modest guitar as the music runs its exciting course (Heck 1995:180).

The work begins with an *Andante sostenuto* for fifteen bars in A minor. The *Allegro* which follows is in A major, but does not establish the key until the eighth bar. *Grand Overture* exhibits Giuliani's flashy style of composing for the guitar.

Figure 22: Op. 61 *Andante sostenuto* in A minor, bars 1-4 (Giuliani 1986:2)



Figure 23: Op. 61 *Allegro maestoso* in A major, bars 20-22 (Giuliani 1986:3)



4.6 *Le Rossiniane* Op. 119 – Op. 124

The *Rossiniane* are good examples of how much the guitar had developed by the early 19th century and are highlights in the guitar’s repertoire. These works clearly show how the guitar is capable of playing an independent melody, bass line and inner voices at once.

Giuliani composed six *Rossiniane* (Op. 119 – Op. 124). Each is a fantasia based on the themes from Rossini’s operas. One would have to be familiar with all of Rossini’s operas to be able to identify the themes that appear in Giuliani’s works. In modern editions, a list of the themes is given to help identify them, as Jeffery states:

At the time, when those operas were at the height of their popularity, most listeners would probably have been able to identify most of the themes. Today, however, the identification is not always so easy (Jeffery 1986:v).

Further: “They combine Rossini’s melodic gift with Giuliani’s instrumental virtuosity” (Jeffery 1986:i). The following examples show how themes from Rossini’s operas were woven into solo guitar music.

Figure 24: ‘Assisa a pie d’un salice’, Scena e Romanza, from *Otello*, Act III (Desdemona) Op. 119 bars 66 – 83 (Giuliani 1986:2)



Figure 25: ‘Di paicer mi blaza il cor’, Cavatina, from *La Gazza Ladra*, Act I (Ninetta) Op. 120 variations bars 20 – 27 (Giuliani 1986:10)



4.7 Concerto Op. 30

Giuliani composed three concertos for the guitar, Op. 30, Op. 36 and Op. 70. As previously mentioned, there were mixed reactions to these concertos because of the public’s perception of the guitar. Some felt that the guitar should stick to accompaniment but others were amazed at Giuliani’s success at making the guitar a solo instrument. Regardless of the difference of opinion over the matter, the fact remains that material exists for the guitar in which the guitar is a solo instrument with orchestra.

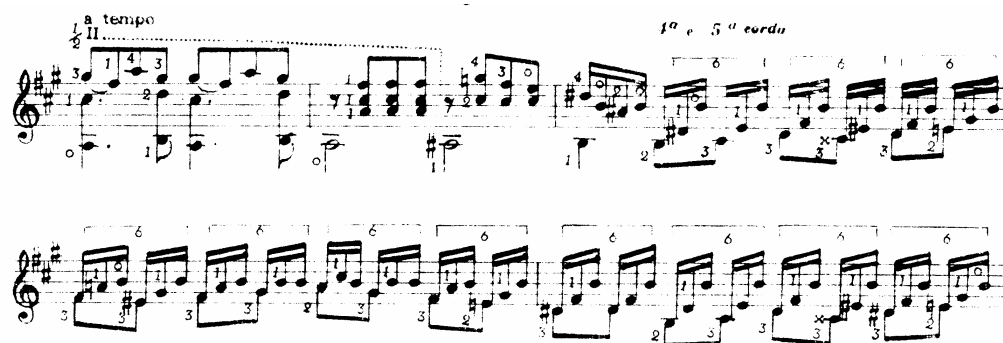
Op. 30 was first performed in 1808. This performance marked the guitar's greatest achievement in history because the concerto is traditionally one of the most demanding genres for a solo instrument. Op. 30 is one of the best known concertos in the guitar's repertoire. There is nothing experimental about the form and compositional structure in the first movement of this concerto. This shows that Giuliani had mastered the classic concerto early in his career (Heck 1995:173). The second and third movements of Op. 30 keep with the usual forms that were popular in Giuliani's day. The second movement is a slow 6/8 *Andantino Siciliano* and the third movement is a fast *Alla Polacca*.

Figure 26: The main theme of Op. 30, bars 60-64 (Giuliani 1969:1)



Bars 93-97 are a good example of how technically demanding this work can be. The septuplets are quite an impressive sounding sequence when played at tempo (112 bpm) and are another example of Giuliani's idiomatic compositional style.

Figure 27: Op. 30, bars 93-97(Giuliani 1969:3)



4.8 Nails

There is no definite evidence that Giuliani did or did not prefer to use nails. However, Micheli points out in his article ‘Mauro Giuliani’s guitar technique and early nineteenth century pedagogy’ (2003), that because Giuliani played so much ensemble music and guitar concertos, using nails would have helped increase the guitar’s volume. We can therefore assume that it is more likely that Giuliani used nails instead of just flesh.

4.9 Conclusion

In the early 19th century, Vienna was Europe’s music capital. The guitar here was popular as an accompaniment instrument, much like it was in Italy. Italy proved to be too concerned with opera for the guitar to stand a chance of being noticed.

The exercises in Giuliani’s Op. 1 gave later guitarists the technical ability needed to play solo music on the guitar. Many pedagogical and technical advances were made for the guitar. An important advancement of the guitar’s notational system was highlighted by changing the note stem direction.

Giuliani’s greatest achievement was writing concertos for the guitar, which made true the fact that the guitar was capable of more than just playing accompaniment. As we have seen, perceptions of the guitar varied. Many reviewers did not like the idea of putting the guitar on a concert stage while others were highly impressed with the instrument. Giuliani always enjoyed favourable reviews commenting on his skilful execution and the wonderful tone he produced. But recognition of the guitar as a solo instrument depended largely on the listener’s acceptance of this new role.

Chapter 5: Dionisio Aguado

5.1 Introduction

Sor and Giuliani can be considered as the 19th century's leading guitar virtuosos in Europe. Both guitarists were regular performers and elevated the guitar in their own unique styles. A third guitarist who was also from Spain, Dionisio Aguado (1784-1849), can be placed alongside Sor and Giuliani with respect to his contributions to the guitar. Although Aguado did not perform as many concerts as Sor and Giuliani did, his contributions to the guitar's repertoire and technical development surpass that of Sor and Giuliani in some respects.

One can assess Aguado's character by looking at how and where he lived, as well as by consulting sources from Balastar Saldoni's diary entries and Aguado's will. It seems that he was more conservative than Giuliani, and a great admirer of Sor. He was humble, affable and not one to chase after celebrity status. His life was dedicated to the study of the guitar and the constant improvement of his own method.

Of the three guitarists mentioned here, Aguado is the only one who composed exclusively for solo guitar. Giuliani composed a large amount of ensemble music and Sor was known as a composer of ballets and operas over and above his guitar contributions. Aguado did not even compose for guitar duo, but where he lacked in composing for ensemble or other instruments, he gave an enormous amount of input into his compositions and pedagogical writings for solo guitar. Examples of his virtuosic compositions are the *Trois rondo brillants* Op. 2 and *Le menuet affandango* Op. 15 which mixes the popular Spanish fandango with a minuet form.

Although Aguado composed great works for solo guitar, he is relevant today largely because of his *Nuevo metodo para guitarra* (1838/9). This guitar method was published near the end of Aguado's life, and is an extremely detailed pedagogical work. Aguado published pedagogical works prior to the *Nuevo metodo*, but his last pedagogical publication is the most comprehensive. Brian Jeffery (1994:i) emphasises the importance of Aguado's method in the preface to *Dionisio Aguado: Complete works for guitar, vol.II*:

Anyone who studies the book and successfully works his way through it will probably have received the most solid grounding in technique that any book can give him.

Aguado was also known for his invention called the tripod, or tripodison as it was originally called. This invention was meant to improve the sitting position of the guitarist, but it never caught on.

5.2 Aguado in Spain

Aguado was born in Madrid in 1784. He was born into an active and growing musical culture. As we saw in Chapter Two, the guitar was growing in popularity in Spain, and by 1799 there were three new methods for the guitar: Moretti and Ferandiere's methods, and a third by Abreu and Prieto which was published in 1799 (Jeffery 1994:xiii). Aguado was fifteen years old at the time. His father Thomas sent him to guitar lessons with the well known Padre Basilio (see Chapter Two) to learn the guitar simply as a pastime, but he obviously showed more interest and talent than expected. Aguado was also influenced by Moretti's method, *Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis ordenes* (1799).

Dionisio Aguado was quite young when his father died. Thomas Aguado was an ecclesiastical notary and owned an estate called Fuenlabrada, 22 kilometers outside of Madrid. Aguado's father must have died before 1807 because he inherited the estate and moved there with his mother in that year (Jeffery 1994:ix).

If we were to make a comparison between Aguado and Sor, it is in 1808 where we see the first significant difference between the two. The Napoleonic invasion of Spain had begun in 1808 and Aguado was of the right age to join the army. This is exactly what Sor did, as we see in Chapter Three. Aguado, on the other hand, remained at Fuenlabrada with his mother, and did not become involved with the war at all, although French soldiers did attack his estate no less than five times. Aguado also had to pay heavy taxes to the French (Jeffery 1994:ix). He eventually moved to Madrid for a short while before immigrating to France.

The second difference we find between Sor and Aguado is in their musical activities. Sor composed for many different genres and instruments, where Aguado composed exclusively for solo guitar. Aguado had been compiling pedagogical works as well. His first known

publication was *Colleccion de Estudios* (1820) in Madrid (Jeffery 1994:xv). Aguado was 36 years old and had already spent much of his life exploring guitar technique.

What he is doing in the *Colleccion de Estudios* is systematizing his knowledge, giving the guitar the perspective which Aguado as a well-educated man could clearly see outside Spain, in the spirit of a new age (Jeffery 1994: vi).

This work can be considered as the first draft of Aguado's method. The beginning deals with an introduction to the guitar, and then provides 46 studies. Shortly after *Colleccion de estudios*, his *Tres rondos brilliants* (published in 1825/6 in Paris as *Trois rondo brilliants* Op. 2) was composed in Madrid (Jeffery 1994:xv). Aguado gained quite a reputation in Spain for being a phenomenal guitarist, and his style harked back to that of his teacher, Padre Basilio. Brian Jeffery, in his biography on Aguado, quotes from the *Encyclopedie Pittoresque de la Musique* of A. Ledhuy and H. Bertini:

And so it was that the qualities of Padre Basilio were the same qualities which began Aguado's reputation: A remarkable clarity, precision and cleanness of playing... He is shown to make notes follow notes, scales upon scales, on the guitar, with an inconceivable agility, because that was what the old Spanish guitarists used to call 'good playing' (Jeffery 1994:xiv).

5.3 Aguado in Paris

Before Aguado's arrival in Paris, his *Six pieces d'etudes* (no copy of this publication exists) was published with the help of his friend Francois de Fossa, a French composer and guitarist. Aguado moved to Paris in 1825/6 and at that time published three other works there: the *Douze valse* Op. 1, *Trois rondo brilliants* Op. 2 and his next pedagogical work *Escuela* (Jeffery 1994:xv). From Op. 3 onwards, Aguado published all his compositions himself and arranged distribution with his previous publishers.

One of the reasons Aguado went to Paris was to liaise with Fernando Sor. The two guitarists had met before in Spain and influenced each other greatly. Aguado lived in Hotel Favart from 1826-1837 (Jeffery 1994:xv). Sor lived there too with his daughter from 1827-1832, so there would have been much collaboration between the two Spanish guitarists.

Aguado performed in Paris, but only six reviews of public concerts were found by Brian Jeffery. On either 14 June or 14 July 1829, 27 March 1831, 29 November 1835 and 24 April 1836 we find evidence of Aguado playing guitar duets with Sor. It is likely that in concerts after 1829, Sor's *Les Deux Amis* (1829) was performed by the duo. Sor dedicated this and other guitar pieces (*7e Fantasie* Op. 30 and *Fantasie Villageoise* Op. 52) to Aguado. In *Les Deux Amis*, the guitar parts are marked 'Sor' and 'Aguado'. Sor refers to Aguado quite often in his method and remarks on how Aguado was proficient with fast scale passages on the guitar. Aguado alternated the *i* and *m* fingers where Sor (as discussed in Chapter Three) preferred to alternate the *p* and *i* fingers. Therefore in *Les Duex Amis*, fast scale passages featured more in Aguado's part.

When it is [a] question of a staccato passage without accompaniment, I have heard several guitarists (and chiefly Mr. Aguado) who make them with surprising neatness and velocity, by employing alternately the first and second or third fingers (Sor 1971:32).

The following example shows the fast scale passages Aguado would have played.

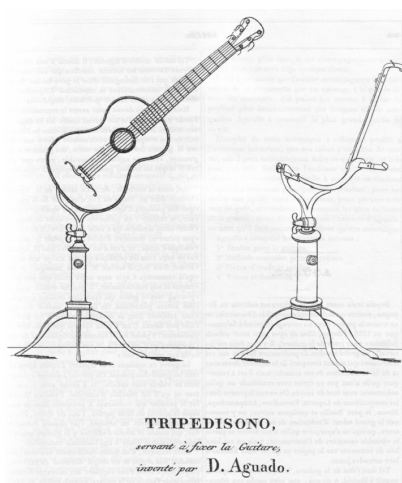
Figure 28: Op. 41 Variation 2, bars 1 - 5 (Sor 2004:5)



In these concerts with Sor, and in other concerts where Aguado was known to have performed solo works (21 March 1832 and 39 November 1835), the reviewers make mention of Aguado's invention, the tripodison. This contraption holds the guitar in place and frees the

performer from unnecessarily touching the guitar, thus encouraging better vibration of the instrument. Aguado states in his method that his compositions and pedagogical works can be performed with or without the tripodison. He himself used it in his performances instead of placing the guitar on his legs or on a table. Today we do not use the tripodison. It never caught on with many other guitarists in the 19th century either.

Figure 29: The Tripodison (Aguado 1981:4)



5.4 *Trois Rondo Brillants Op. 2*

As previously mentioned the *Trois rondo brillants Op. 2* was composed in Spain and then published in Paris in 1825/6. These rondos are virtuoso works and can be considered as some of Aguado's best compositions. Each of them begins with a slow introduction lasting one page, followed by a faster rondo. The first is an Adagio followed by a Polonaise, and the other two are both an Andante followed by a Rondo.

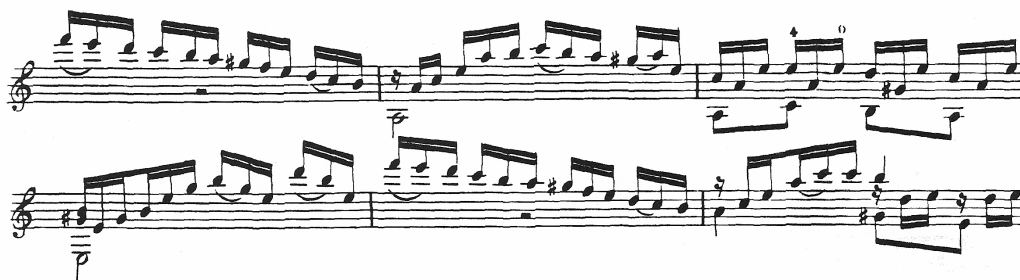
Aguado weaved a Spanish aesthetic into his compositions, which is also evident in his *Fandango Op. 15*. The following examples come from the second rondo which has an Andante introduction followed by a Rondo. The first extract is from the Andante introduction in A minor. It is slow and dramatic and harmonically it moves mostly between the tonic and dominant. The harmony moves from the dominant to the tonic in bars 15-16. One expects the dominant to occur again in bar 19, but the lowered leading tone is played. This is an example of a Spanish characteristic in Aguado's work.

Figure 30: *Trois rondo brilliants andante* Op. 2, bars 15-21 (Aguado 1994:15)



Figure 31: *Rondo*, bars 58 to 63 (Aguado 1994:21)

This example shows scale passages that Aguado would have played with *i, m* or *i, a*.



In figure 32 bars 83-90, the thumb plays a pedal point on the A bass note with the melody running above it, played by the *i* and *a* fingers. Bars 90-95 show the same idea inverted, and now the pedal is played by the *i* and *a* fingers and the thumb plays the melody.

Figure 32: *Rondo*, bars 80-95 (Aguado 1994:22)



5.5 Fandango Op. 15 and 16

The guitar always had a place in Spanish culture. Even though it was not considered a solo instrument, it was part of Spanish folk music and dance. Before the Napoleonic invasion in 1808, Aguado would have been exposed to Spanish folk music, especially in his youth.

The fandango is a type of Spanish dance usually in triple metre danced by couples accompanied by guitar. Between 1835 and 1838, Aguado published his *Le menuet affandangado* Op. 15 and as well as *Le fandango* Op. 16. These pieces are unique in comparison to his other works and revisit the fandangos that Aguado knew in earlier days (Jeffery 1994: preface to *vol.III*).

In the following excerpt, Aguado combines the minuet with the Fandango:

Figure 33: *Le Menuet Affandango* Op.15, bars 38 – 61 (Aguado 1994:169)

Menuet afandangado. And^{te} con moto.



Le Fandango Op. 16 is composed as a pure Fandango.

Figure 34: *Le Fandango* Op.16 *Allegro vivace*, bars 1 – 4 (Aguado 1994:181)



5.6 *Nuevo metodo para guitarra*

According to Brian Jeffery, Aguado left Paris either late in 1838 or early in 1839. Upon his return to Madrid, Aguado was persuaded by friends to settle there. He remained in Madrid until his death in 1849.

In this last period of his life, Aguado published his most important pedagogical work the *Nuevo metodo para guitarra*, as well as a few compositions (such as the Spanish versions of Op. 2, 15 and 16), an arrangement of Sor's *Gran solo* and other short pieces (Jeffery 1994:xix).

Throughout his career, Aguado focused most of his attention on the development of guitar technique. The *Collecion de estudios* (1820) is his first set of studies for the guitar. In 1825/6 the *Escuela de guitarra* was published in Paris; it contains most of the studies that were already in the *Collecion de estudios*. *Nuevo metodo para guitarra* was published in 1843 and includes some new material. However, it also includes a considerable amount of the material already shown in previous pedagogical works. *Nuevo metodo* can therefore be considered to be the 'final draft' of Aguado's pedagogical studies.

There are many aspects of the *Nuevo metodo* which make it significant for modern guitarists. Firstly, it was published when Aguado was fifty-nine years old which means that he already had about fifty years of experience in playing the guitar. The fact that Aguado dedicated so much time to the study of guitar technique ensures that his *Nuevo methodo* only included

tried and tested exercises and information which he had accumulated over the course of his life. Secondly, one can trace the development of early 19th-century guitar technique by comparing the pedagogical works that Aguado had published throughout his career.

As Brian Jeffery (1994:i, *vol.II*) points out in the preface to the *Nuevo metodo*, this work is valuable because Aguado covers all aspects of guitar technique in great detail. He also states that:

All the essentials of today's guitar technique is already in Aguado. No major changes have taken place since his day. Hand positions, angle of fingers, type of stroke, use of the nails, arpeggio technique, special effects-all are there in terms which are directly relevant to the modern player.

Apart from the studies and exercises that are typically found in a guitar method, Aguado includes a substantial amount of theoretical information about the guitar in the first part of the *Nuevo Metodo*. Here he discusses the nature of the guitar, conditions for guitar playing, choosing a good instrument and choosing a good performance location. The only sections in the method that would not apply to modern guitarists are Part One, Chapter Four and Part Two, Chapter One, which describe the use of the tripod.

Part Two is the practical section of the method which includes extensively detailed discussions and exercises covering every aspect of guitar technique. All lessons and exercises in this part of the method have detailed explanations that help one with technique and interpretation.

Aguado even includes a discussion on expression. In the title of Part Two, Section Four, reads: "General considerations on how to give feeling to the music" (Aguado 1981:143). The fact that Sor and Giuliani never provided similar discussion on interpretation in any of their pedagogical works gives testament to the detail in which Aguado compiled this method. It gives some good insight into correct historical interpretation for playing 19th-century guitar music today.

An appendix to the *Nuevo methodo* was posthumously published in 1849, the year of Aguado's death. The appendix includes a recitation of some discussions featured in the method with some added information.

5.7 Conclusion

The life of Aguado can almost singularly represent the transformation of the guitar into a solo instrument. When he was young, there was a growing interest in guitar methods published in Madrid in 1799. Also, the number of guitar teachers was on the rise. By the time of Aguado's death, the solo guitar's technical foundation was set by Aguado's pedagogical works. While he might not be given absolute credit for this transformation (because there are many other significant 19th-century guitarists), he certainly played a pivotal role in the development of the guitar.

Aguado's main influences were Padre Basilio and Federico Moretti, who helped motivate Aguado to pursue the unwavering study of the guitar which lasted his entire life. It is possible that Aguado was the first musician to exclusively study and compose for the solo guitar.

The acquisition of his father's estate enabled Aguado to study the guitar whilst taking care of his mother during the war which started in 1808. It was around this time that Aguado's pedagogical writing began and his first publications became available in Madrid. Even his early compositions show that Aguado had spent a lot of time working on guitar technique and that he had explored many of the problems guitar technique presented.

In Paris, Aguado and Sor played together in a duo. On these occasions Aguado received a lot of attention for his newly invented tripod. This invention was geared towards improving the resonating properties of the guitar, but it did not become widely used. However, it shows the ingenuity and drive Aguado had to improve the guitar's sound. References of his tone production can be found in the writings of Balastar Saldoni. It is the attention Aguado gives to tone production and quality of sound in his method that sets Aguado apart from his contemporaries and makes his method so important to modern guitarists.

Aguado is a leading figure in pedagogical works. His *Nuevo metodo* goes into such detail that there is no other method in the 19th century (including Sor and Giuliani's pedagogical works) that sets a better foundation for guitar technique. Every aspect of guitar technique can be found in the *Nuevo metodo*. This method is another milestone in the development of the guitar into a solo instrument. By the time the *Nuevo metodo* was published in 1848, there was no refuting the guitar's pertinent role as a solo instrument.

Chapter 6: Other important guitar composers

6.1 Introduction

The contributions made by Sor, Giuliani and Aguado represent the pinnacle of guitar activity in the early 19th century. Still, there were many more guitar composers in Europe who made significant contributions to the guitar. Ferdinando Carulli and Matteo Carcassi's pedagogical and compositional works were respected in the 19th century and are still relevant today.

6.2 Ferdinando Carulli

Ferdinando Carulli was one of the many Italian guitarists who were not able to draw much attention to the guitar in their homeland because of the dominating popularity of opera. Carulli was born in Naples in 1770. His first instrument was the cello, but at an early age he showed talent on the guitar. Carulli achieved a high status as a guitar virtuoso and a teacher while in Italy (Summerfield 1982: 65). In 1808 he moved to Paris, because the guitar was growing in popularity there (Heck 1971:1).

Of all the 19th-century guitar composers, Carulli was the most prolific. His total number of works reaches up to 400. He composed 366 works with opus numbers and many without. His compositions are composed in the late 18th-century Neapolitan style and show an excellent understanding of musical form (Chiesa (a) 1992:35). The various genres Carulli used include sonatas, trios, quartets and concertos. Some of his most notable solo guitar music can be seen in the *Grand sonata* Op. 9a, *Trio sonates* Op. 21a, and *Variazioni su l'arietta italiana 'sul margine d'un rio* Op. 142. The latter work is a theme and variations which, according to Ruggero Chiesa ((a) 1992: 38), can be seen as a work of great value: "The musical virtues of the Variations Op. 142 and their ingenious writing win them a worthy place alongside their more famous counterparts by Sor and Giuliani".

According to Chiesa ((b) 1992:35), Carulli has written about 80 works for duo, which is the most that any 19th-century guitar composer has written for this genre. The duo pieces contain some of Carulli's best composition work. Carulli composed 60 works for flute and guitar, 20 works for guitar and piano and 10 for violin and guitar.

The following example shows an easily playable guitar duo.

Figure 35: *Sechs kleine duette* Op. 34 no.4, bars 1-15(Carulli 1953:3)



David E. McConnell (1992) says that Carulli was well received in Paris, where he achieved quite a high status as a performer. His compositions were in demand. This cannot be said for the present, as Carulli is not a common addition to the concert repertoire of modern performers. A recurring comment amongst modern players is that Carulli's music lacks conviction and is very simple, but Chiesa has done extensive research into Carulli's solo and duo works. He argues that it is Carulli's horizontal (violin-like) compositional style that makes his music sound uninspiring.

The concept of horizontal, almost violin like development that distinguishes so many of Carulli's works, especially those of his first Parisian period, in fact engenders an uneasy instrumental balance. This, rather than the inventive weaknesses which are by no means lacking in the composer's long catalogue, is undoubtedly the reason his solo works are so seldom heard [in] today's concert programs (Chiesa (a) 1992: 35).

Even though Carulli is not a favourite in modern concert halls, his pedagogical works and compositions are used for teaching purposes. This is because Carulli's compositions are not difficult to play and interpret. They provide favourable material for the student guitarist to use in order to learn Classical interpretation and performance.

Carulli wrote his method for guitar in 1810 and this proved very successful. Four editions were published in his lifetime (Summerfield 1982: 65). His method is divided into three parts. The first part deals with rudimentary lessons like holding the instrument, left and right hand placement and plucking the strings. Carulli also provides scales in the first position, an explanation of barre's and some information on chords and arpeggios (Micheli 2003:47). Part Two provides exercises in alternating fingers, articulation and fretboard harmony. Part Three has 24 lessons and a grand study in all keys and positions.

6.3 Matteo Carcassi

Carcassi was also an Italian guitarist who found it necessary to move to Paris. Like Carulli, he was a successful performer and his method for the guitar was popular. Also, Carcassi is relevant to us today mainly because of his method and studies written for the guitar. His works are not part of modern concert repertoire and it is unlikely that they will be revived (Wade 2001:86).

Carcassi was born in Florence in 1792. Little is known about his early life in Italy (McConnell 1992:21). According to Summerfield (1982:63), Carcassi was well known in Italy as a guitar virtuoso and teacher before he moved to Paris in 1820. By this time Carulli was a prominent guitarist in Paris, but it was not long before Carcassi became popular through his own performances. Says McConnell:

He introduced a different style of music, more modern, fully of melody, brilliant, abounding in artistic and pleasing effects and of but medium difficulty...What both works [Op. 1 and 2] is a freedom in the use of higher positions of the guitar, and

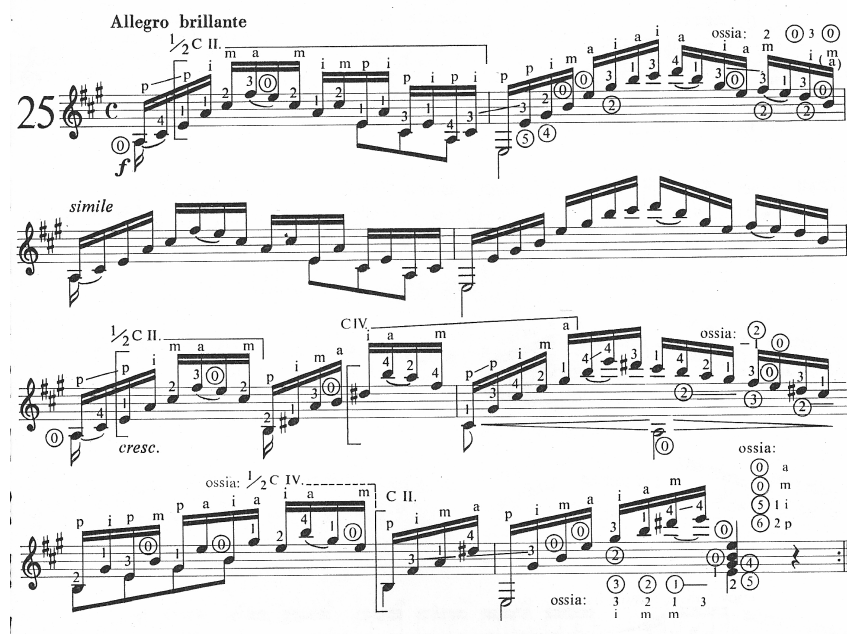
considerably greater flexibility in modulation than, for instance, Carulli (McConnell 1992: 22).

Carcassi performed in London in 1822 and received so much attention that he returned annually to perform and teach. Of Carcassi's compositions, the fantasias and variations can be considered his best. Some of his more notable solo works include arrangements of the overture 'Semiramis' Op. 30 and Auber's 'Gustave' Op. 49 (McConnell 1992:24). It is unfortunate that these works are not performed by modern guitarists. McConnell (1992:24) argues that guitar composers who wrote good didactic works are judged solely on those works, and no distinction is drawn between them and their compositions intended for performance.

Some composers find it extremely difficult to write didactic or easy music which is both inspired and of high quality; it may be unrealistic to expect this of them and yet, so often, their entire output is both judged and dismissed on the basis of these works, without further investigation. Carcassi may be a case in point.

Today, Carcassi's 25 studies Op. 60 is the work that is most used by students. The studies begin at a beginner level and progress to a more intermediate level. By the 25th study, many different guitar techniques and positions are exhibited.

Figure 36: Op. 60 no.25, bars 1-8 (Carcassi 1982:38)



6.4 Guitar virtuoso's born in the early 19th century

Sor, Giuliani and Aguado were pioneers in bringing the guitar out of its accompanying role and showed the music world what the instrument was capable of. Their influence stretches into the present and thus must have greatly influenced the generation of guitarists born in the early 19th century. Some of the most prominent performers and composers in the guitar's history were born in the first half of the 19th century such as Zani de Ferranti (1801-1878), Johann Kaspar Mertz (1806-1856), Napoleon Coste (1806-1883), Giulio Regondi (1822-1872) and Julian Arcas (1832-1882).

While the guitar's role as a solo instrument had already been established by Sor, Giuliani and Aguado, these afore mentioned virtuosos would carry on that tradition by composing and performing works of such a high standard that they are still regarded today as the pinnacle of guitar virtuosity.

6.4.1 Zani de Ferranti

Zani de Ferranti (1801-1878) started his musical career in Italy as a child prodigy on the violin and continued to play violin in Europe until 1820 when he became a librarian in St. Petersburg.

De Ferranti's first guitar recital was in 1824 in Germany, and soon he became known as a guitar virtuoso. He continued to perform concerts in Europe and in the United States of America (Summerfield 1982:86).

In 1834, de Ferranti was appointed honorary guitarist in Belgium at the court of King Leopold I and moved to Bologna in 1854 where he dedicated the rest of his life to the guitar, composing many great solo works. Works from de Ferranti include *Fantaisie caprice* Op. 4 and *Fantaisie variee sur le carnival de Venise* Op. 5.

6.4.2 Napoleon Coste

Napoleon Coste (1805-1883) was part of a group of guitarists that came after the generation of Sor, Giuliani and Aguado and was greatly influenced by them. Born in France, Coste made

a name for himself as a guitarist and guitar teacher in Paris. He also became friends with leading guitarists such as Aguado, Carulli, Carcassi and was a pupil of Sor.

Coste's compositions for the guitar were well recognised, winning him a second prize in the International music contest in Brussels for *Serenade* in 1856. The first prize was posthumously awarded to J.K. Mertz. After the competition, Coste published over sixty works for the guitar (Summerfield 1982:72). His compositional style is harmonically more elaborate than Sor.

6.4.3 Johann Kaspar Mertz

Johann Kaspar Mertz (1806-1856) was born in what is now known as the Czech Republic. Known as a child prodigy on the guitar and flute, he moved to Vienna in 1840 and worked as a concert guitarist where he enjoyed great success (Summerfield 1982:136).

Mertz was known to play on interesting guitars strung with eight and ten strings. He composed many great solo and duo guitar works ranging from easy to advanced levels of difficulty. His guitar works are not as frequently played today as those of other more famous guitar composers such as Sor and Giuliani. His most commonly played works being the *Elegie* and *Fantasie hongoise* Op.65, no.1 (Wade 2001:89).

Mertz was not only known as a performer but also as a composer. In 1856 he was awarded first prize in the International music contest in Brussels, but had unfortunately died on account of heart problems before the award could be presented. The award was given posthumously.

6.4.4 Giulio Regondi

Giulio Regondi (1822-1872) began giving concerts at the age of five. He had such an impressive reputation that he was known as 'the infant Paganini' (Summerfield 1982:167). Throughout his life he was regarded as one of the best guitarists in history and his compositions were highly praised in his time.

What is surprising about Regondi's compositions is that they were completely neglected from his death until the 1980's (Wade 2001:91). What makes Regondi's compositions so attractive to modern players (when they were eventually published) is that they are works for the virtuoso. Regondi's compositions exhibit the highest level of 19th-century virtuosity and are in a true romantic style, using no guitaristic clichés.

One of Regondi's most popular works is the *Reverie (Nocturne)*, Op.19. It is a good example of what the guitar's highest capabilities are as an instrument and is the first piece to use the tremolo technique. It is a work that requires advanced skills.

6.4.5 Julian Arcas

Julian Arcas (1832-1882) was one of the greatest Spanish guitar virtuosos and composers. He was a source of inspiration for Francisco Tarrega, who attended a concert by Arcas when he was ten years old (Wade 2001:94). Arcas was hailed as the greatest guitarist of his time by audiences who attended his performances. Between 1860 and 1870, he toured as a concert guitarist in Spain.

Arcas also advised and encouraged the luthier Antonio de Torres to design a guitar that would revolutionise how guitars would be made. Torres designed the guitar's basic structure as we know it today.

Some important works of his are *El Delirio* (a fantasia), *Jota Aragonesa* and *Los Panderos* (a bolero). Arcas' compositional style combines flamenco and classical techniques and is rooted in the Spanish folk music idiom.

6.5 The decline in interest in the guitar in the 1850's

From around 1850, the guitar's popularity began to wane. Reasons for this decline could have been because the guitar was not as sought after as the new piano forte (which had been available from the 1850's). Another reason is because guitar music composed at that time was becoming ever more chromatic and experimental. This meant that learning to play the latest guitar compositions was becoming more difficult, as opposed to learning similar pieces on the piano which was easier (Wade 2001:88).

Wade quotes Hector Berlioz:

The guitar has dropped into somewhat rare cultivation, excepting in Spain and Italy. Some performers have studied it, and still study it, as a solo instrument; in such a way as to derive effects from it, no less original than delightful (Wade 2001:88).

The performers Berlioz is talking about could be Mertz, Coste, De Ferranti or Regondi. Even so, the guitar lost popularity in the 1850's which would only change in the late 19th century with the contributions of Francisco Tarrega, now known as the golden age of the guitar.

6.6 Timeline no.2

The following timeline shows some of the important events that contributed to the guitar developing into a solo instrument.



Timeline no.2: Details Date Event

| | | |
|--|--------|--|
| Zani de Ferranti is considered one of the greatest guitar virtuosos of the 19th century. | 1801 | Zani de Ferranti (1801-1878) |
| Both Mertz and Coste composed significant works for the guitar's repertoire in the early 19th century. | 1806 | Johann Kasper Mertz (1806-1856) and Napoleon Coste (1806-1883) |
| Giuliani played his Concerto Op. 30 in an honorary concert held for Haydn. It must have been a total surprise for the audience to see the guitar playing the role of a solo instrument with an orchestra. | 1808 | Giuliani performs his Concerto Op. 30. |
| Sor's first concert was on 20th April 1815 in a venue called the Argyll Rooms, where he played a one of his Fantasias. Sor must have made quite an impression in his first concert because it was still remembered in The Giulianiad in 1833: "The impression he then made on his first performance at the Argyll Rooms... was of a nature which will never be erased from my memory..." | 1815 | Sor's first London performance |
| In 1816, Giuliani did a concert tour of Prague. He included in his performances Concerto in A Op. 30, which was conducted by Carl Maria von Weber. Audiences did not expect much more than simple compositions or accompaniment from the guitar. Sor must have completely surprised audiences with this virtuosic work for solo guitar. | 1816 | Giuliani concert tour of Prague |
| Giulio Regondi was one of the greatest guitar virtuosos in the 19th century and composed many significant works for solo guitar such as Reverie (Nocturne) Op.19. | 1821 | Sor publishes Variations on 'O Cara Armonia' from The Magic Flute Op.9 |
| Aguado publishes Douze valse Op. 1, Trois rondo brilliants Op. 2 and his second pedagogical work Escuela. | 1822 | Giulio Regondi (1822-1872) |
| Sor's method is one of the most important pedagogical works ever written for the guitar. | 1825/6 | Aguado published important works |
| Julian Arcas was one of the greatest Spanish guitar virtuosos and composers. He was a source of inspiration for Francisco Tarrega. | 1828 | Sor publishes Méthode pour la guitare |
| These pieces are unique in comparison to his other works and revisit the fandangos that Aguado knew in earlier days. | 1832 | Julian Arcas (1832-1882) |
| Anyone who studies the book and successfully works his way through it will probably have received the most solid grounding in technique that any book can give him. (Jeffery 1994:i). | 1835-8 | Aguado publishes Le menuet affandango Op. 15 and Le fandango Op. 16 |
| | 1843 | Aguado publishes Nuevo metodo para guitarra |

A timeline of significant events and publications during the early 19th Century

Chapter 7: Summary, conclusion and recommendations for further research

7.1 Summary of findings

Chapter 2: The 18th-century guitar

- In the early 18th Century, the guitar was not well known and mostly used to accompany voice.
- There was a decline in interest for fretted instruments in the early 18th century and other instruments such as the harpsichord, violin and cello were favoured.
- Artworks from the period such as Jean Antoine Watteau's *La Gamme d'Amour* show the guitar's trivial role in aristocratic society.
- In the mid-to-late 18th century, interest in the guitar improved and important changes in the guitar's structure and notation happened.
- In 1763 the guitar began to transfer from tablature to mensural notation as seen in Correte's *Les dons d'apollon: methode pour apprendre facilement a jouer de la guitarre* (1763).
- The guitar changed its courses for single strings and a sixth string was added.
- Composers such as Fernando Ferandiere and Fererico Moretti both published important guitar methods in 1799, which would influence guitar composers in the early 19th century.

Chapter 3: Fernando Sor

- Fernando Sor was recognised not only as a guitar virtuoso but also as a composer of operas, ballet, vocal and piano music.
- Sor moved to France as an *afrancesado* and gave guitar recitals where audiences were astounded by the virtuosity of his compositions such as *Fantasy for the guitar* Op. 7.
- Sor was not able to produce an opera in France and so moved to London where he was recognised as a guitar virtuoso, vocalist, pianist and music teacher.
- Some of Sor's most important performances on the guitar were in London such as his *Fantasias, Six divertimentos for guitar, 4th set* Op. 13, *Studio for the Spanish guitar* Op. 6, *Variations on 'O Cara Armonia' from The Magic Flute* Op. 9. These pieces elevated the guitar's status as an instrument.
- Sor's *Twelve studies* Op. 6 and his *Méthode pour la guitare* are milestones in the guitar's development as a solo instrument.

Chapter 4: Mauro Giuliani

- Giuliani was one of the many Italian guitarists who had to leave their native land and move to a place where there was more interest in the guitar. Giuliani moved to Vienna.
- Giuliani surprised audiences with his extraordinary *cantabile* on the guitar.
- His *Studio for the guitar* Op.1 was another important work for the development of the guitar as a solo instrument, giving significant studies for the improvement of guitar technique.
- Compositions such as *Grand Overture* Op. 61 and *Le Rossiniane* Op. 119 – Op. 124 pushed the capabilities of the guitar to levels not heard before.

- Combining the guitar as a solo instrument with orchestra was very rare and changed audience's perceptions about the guitar's role in music as with Giuliani's *Concerto* Op. 30.

Chapter 5: Dionisio Aguado

- Aguado dedicated his entire musical career solely to the development of the guitar.
- Aguado composed only for solo guitar.
- Aguado's most significant contributions to the guitar are his pedagogical works such as his *Collecion de Estudios* (1820) and later *Nuevo metodo para guitarra* (1843).
- Compositions such as *Trois rondo brilliants* Op. 2, *Le menuet affandangado* Op. 15 and *Le fandango* Op. 16 exhibit how the guitar had developed into a solo instrument.

Chapter 6: Other important guitar composers

- Ferdinando Carulli composed up to 400 works for the guitar, making him the most prolific composer for the instrument in the early 19th century.
- While Carulli's compositions are not often played in modern guitar recitals, many of them are used for student material.
- Matteo Carcassi's *25 studies* Op. 60 is an important work for the guitar and is still widely used today to develop technique.
- Composers born in the early 19th century such as Zani de Ferranti, Napoleon Coste, Johann Kaspar Mertz, Giulio Regondi and Julian Arcas composed some of the most virtuosic solo guitar music in history.

7.2 Conclusion

The key factors that contributed to the guitar's development into a solo instrument can be traced right back to the early 18th century. The guitar played a small role during the early 18th century, and the compositions of Corbetta, De Visee and Campion made up most of the baroque guitar's repertoire. Still using tablature when all other instruments were notated with mensural notation aggravated the guitar's development further.

It was in the mid-to-late 18th century where the most significant changes were made to the guitar such as the loss of courses, the addition of a sixth string and notating for the guitar with the mensural notation system.

Having so many changes made to the guitar meant that the guitar's capabilities, the applied technique and compositional style needed to be re-evaluated by guitar composers of the 18th century. The methods of Moretti and Ferandiere published in 1799 are the results of such research. With the structural and pedagogical contributions that happened in the 18th century, a good foundation was set for the next generation of guitar composers.

Even though the guitar had gone through so much development in the 18th century, its repertoire was still small in comparison with other instruments. The perception of the guitar as a trivial accompaniment instrument had not changed by 1800. In order for the guitar to become a solo instrument, it needed solo compositions that would make use of the guitar's capabilities. The contributions of Sor, Giuliani and Aguado were of great importance because they introduced the guitar as a solo instrument to Europe and showed what the guitar was capable of performing.

At a time when virtuosity was an important aspect of solo performance, these three guitar composers not only surprised audiences by performing virtuosic compositions with impeccable technique, but also by playing these works on a newly developed instrument that was previously thought of as nothing more than an instrument for simple accompaniment.

The pedagogical works written by Sor, Giuliani and Aguado explained how to achieve a good standard of solo guitar playing. Once their methods, studies and compositions were

published, the guitar's repertoire grew considerably. With this new repertoire, the guitar could now be seen as an instrument capable of a very high standard of solo performance.

During the early 19th century, the guitar had become popular and audiences were excited by the dazzling performances from guitar virtuosos of the time. However, this caused a division amongst concert-goers. There were those who thought that the guitar was a wonderful instrument and welcomed it into concert halls, even to take the stage as solo instrument with an orchestra. Then there were those who did not approve of the guitar because of its few but significant drawbacks namely its lack of volume, and its lack of repertoire when compared to other instruments. To a large extent, this has always been the guitar's problem, not only in the early 19th century but also in the present.

Once Sor, Aguado and Giuliani had set the foundation for the solo guitar, other guitar virtuosos of the early to mid 19th century such as Matteo Carcassi, Ferdinando Carulli, Zani de Ferranti, Napoleon Coste, Johann Kaspar Mertz, Giulio Regondi and Julian Arcas also made invaluable contributions to the guitar's repertoire. They composed some of the most virtuosic works for the guitar in its entire history.

Before 1800, there was a small repertoire for guitar and it was largely perceived as an accompaniment instrument. After 1850, Sor, Giuliani and Aguado had provided a significant repertoire of solo guitar music and outstanding pedagogical works that established the guitar as a solo instrument. Even though the guitar's popularity waned when the pianoforte was introduced, the fact that the guitar had during the early 19th century been transformed into a solo instrument is indisputable.

Another conclusion would suggest that the guitar, even with the rise in popularity it received in the early 19th century, still remained an instrument better suited for a lesser role in music such as simple accompaniment. Many critics and composers argued that the guitar is an instrument that is too soft and unrewarding an instrument to put on a concert stage, and some still feel that way today. The decline in the guitar's popularity in the mid 18th century would help to support this claim.

The fact remains that the guitar is still composed for today as a solo instrument. It is the writer's opinion that early 19th-century guitar composers had elevated the guitar out of its simple role, but whether the guitar can be regarded as a worthy solo instrument or not largely depends on the listener.

The history of the guitar, its composers and players has been well documented, but with little emphasis put on the effect their contributions had in making the guitar a solo instrument. It is often overlooked that the guitar was never taken seriously by audiences as a solo instrument before 1800. All the information given in this study contributes to the awareness of the significant change in the guitar's role in the early 19th century.

The conclusions found in this study are significant because they show the contributing factors that brought about the guitar's transformation into a solo instrument. The knowledge gained from this makes us aware of the journey the guitar had to take in order for it to become a solo instrument, and what guitarists had to do to change the perception of audiences. Thus our perception of early 19th-century guitarists and their contributions is also deepened.

Most modern guitarists study early 19th-century compositions only with the music in mind. The conclusions in this study show that it is also important to take into consideration the historical context of the works and the effect they had on early 19th-century audiences who were not used to the guitar as a solo instrument.

7.3 Recommendations for further research

The early 19th century was an important time in the development for the guitar. Sor, Giuliani and Aguado are the most significant composers associated with this period. After Sor, Giuliani and Aguado (who are all born before 1800) the next significant development in the guitar's history was the compositions and performances of Francisco Tarrega (who was born after 1850).

To a large extent, the generation of guitar virtuosos born between 1800 and 1850 are often overlooked. This generation of guitarists include Zani de Ferranti, Napoleon Coste, Johann Kaspar Mertz, Giulio Regondi and Julian Arcas.

Further research into the lives and contributions of this generation of guitarists should be done because it is from this group of guitar virtuosos that we find some of the most valuable music ever composed for the guitar. The contributions from these composers fall outside the scope of this study because the solo repertoire of the guitar had already been established by Sor, Aguado and Giuliani. General information on these guitarists can be found in most books dealing with guitar development, but it is not extensive. South African born Simon Wynberg has focused on some of these composers in more depth.

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