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The Musicologist Behind the Composer: The Impact of Historical Studies upon the Creative Life in Joaquín Rodrigo's Guitar Compositions

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THE MUSICOLOGIST BEHIND THE COMPOSER: THE IMPACT OF HISTORICAL STUDIES UPON THE CREATIVE LIFE IN JOAQUÍN RODRIGO'S GUITAR COMPOSITIONS

By

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This thesis is dedicated to my cousin Rodrigo Mondelo--who introduced me to Joaquín Rodrigo's music--his daughter Almudena, and my niece Katelyn.

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ABSTRACT

The neoclassical movement in France influenced Spanish composers whose classical musical culture had been exhausted and overplayed. The Spanish composers of the early Twentieth Century were looking for new and fresh ideas to include in their musical works. Although some Spanish composers had great success composing in late Romantic and impressionist styles, French neoclassicism was the new concept they needed in order to transform their compositions from having only local significance into works which would have an artistic impact outside of Spain. Joaquín Rodrigo was influenced by this new trend, and, in turn, created his own style of Spanish neoclassicism known as *neocasticismo*.

Apart from composition, Rodrigo was also interested in musicology, which he studied while in Paris in the mid 1930s. He presented these interests through various media. As a musicologist, he wrote a paper about the *vihuela* and vihuelist composers of the Sixteenth Century, which he presented in 1936 at an event celebrating the works of the sixteenth-century Spanish composer Luis de Milán. In his music, Rodrigo incorporated in his guitar works the forms and compositional techniques commonly found in Renaissance, Baroque, and Classical music. Moreover, he quoted several works by prominent sixteenth- and seventeenth-century composers.

This thesis illustrates how Joaquín Rodrigo's interest in musicology influenced what and how he composed for guitar, and demonstrates how Rodrigo contributed to Spanish musicology by revealing the importance of sixteenth-century vihuelist composers. The paper Rodrigo wrote is transcribed in its original Spanish along with an English translation, followed by a brief analysis of the paper. This thesis also elucidates the importance of Rodrigo's guitar compositions within a musicological and historical context. Finally this research essentially shows how Rodrigo combined his musicological studies and interests along with his knowledge of composition to create guitar works that led him to worldwide fame and popularity. Analysis of three guitar concertos provides evidence of the use of musicological research as a tool, resource, and influence in these works.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background and Significance

The neoclassical movement in France influenced a new group of composers from a neighboring country whose classical musical scene had been exhausted and overplayed. The Spanish composers of the early twentieth century were looking for new and fresh ideas to include in their musical works. Although some Spanish composers had great success composing in late Romantic and impressionist styles, French neoclassicism was the new idea Spanish composers needed in order to propel their compositions into significant status. Prior to the influence of French neoclassicism, the musical scene in Spain was made up mainly of a Spanish folk music revival, which was comprised of the resurgence of flamenco and the cultivation of the *zarzuela*.

Two composers who developed Spanish folk music into highly regarded musical works were Isaac Albéniz (1860-1909) and Enrique Granados (1867-1916). Both composers were influential at the beginning of nineteenth-century Spanish nationalism. Spanish compositions during this time had folk elements and nationalistic tendencies; however, in order to produce a new, more exalted style of work, a non-Spanish style of international significance would be necessary. Spanish composers would only benefit from incorporating a current musical trend that was admired and emulated, even if that trend was not Spanish. That trend would be neoclassicism; and, fortunately for the Spanish, neoclassicism does not refer to any specific culture, but rather it may be incorporated by any culture, assimilated, and appropriated by that culture. This would be the impetus for the new style known as *casticismo*.[1]

The composers associated with *casticismo* are, among others, Manuel de Falla (1876-1946), Joaquín Turina (1882-1949), and Conrado del Campo (1878-1953), the first two being the most famous of their time. Named after a literary group that flourished

[1] See Chapter 3 for full discussion of *casticismo* and *neocasticismo*.

around the turn of the century, these composers were known as the *Generación del '98* (Generation of 1898). Falla and Turina studied in France and were exposed to and influenced by the great French composers of the impressionist and neoclassical styles. This group, in turn, influenced other composers who came together to create their own groups in the late 1920s.

There were at least two important and influential groups that arose in the late 1920s. Although both groups belong to the *Generación del '27* (Generation of 1927) and they were both known as the *Grupo de los Ocho* (Group of Eight), the two were quite different in musical aesthetics and philosophy. The region in Spain in which they flourished distinguishes the two groups. The first group gathered in Madrid and was referred to as the *Grupo de Madrid* (Group of Madrid); the second group flourished in Catalonia and was simply known as *Grupo de los Ocho*.

Because of the type of compositions he produced and the time in which he was an active composer, Joaquín Rodrigo (1901-1999) belonged to the group known as Generation of '27. Rodrigo was heavily influenced by French neoclassicism and *casticismo*. However, because of his longevity, Rodrigo also belonged to another group of composers who, along with Rodrigo, began a new movement later known as *neocasticismo*. This new movement began during and developed after the Spanish Civil War (1936-39).

The political turmoil in Spain during the 1920s and 1930s proved to be significant in defining composers' cultural values, and, consequently, *casticismo* took on an added meaning. While it still maintained a love and practice of traditional customs, *neocasticismo* was presented as a restoration movement. Like the early French neoclassical composers, such as Debussy, Ravel, and others, the Spanish composers looked to the past for inspiration.

The composers who desired to revive Spanish neoclassicism admired the culture that the eighteenth-century *zarzuela* represented. According to Marco, this culture included "aristocracy, *majeza* [nobility from eighteenth-century Madrid], bullfights,

saraos, and guitar playing."[2] The Spanish public, many of whom were only generally aware of their country's rich history, identified the music as Spanish and appropriated the music as their own. The public pinpointed what made these compositions rightfully Spanish. These Spanish elements included regional Spanish dances and rhythms, phrygian melodies and harmonies, zarzuela plots that incorporate Spanish contexts, and flamenco singing and dancing, as well as flamenco-style guitar performance. With the incorporation of these elements in composition and the approval of the Spanish public, success was, therefore, inevitable. This new style was a combination of neoclassicism and nationalism, which Marco labeled *neocasticismo*, as "a kind of nationalism that tends to develop the aspects of popular urban or historicist picturesque or local color, or sometimes evokes an eighteenth-century atmosphere."[3] With many other Spanish composers who wrote in that style, Joaquín Rodrigo stood out as the leader of *neocasticismo*.[4] Within that new style, his musicological research provided the major musical influences, tools, and resources in Rodrigo's works, specifically in his guitar concertos. This research included sixteenth-century madrigals and *diferencias*, *vihuela* and early guitar music, and the eighteenth-century concerto.

With a persuasive recommendation from Falla and the receipt of the *Conde de Cartagena* scholarship, Rodrigo studied musicology at the Sorbonne in 1935. It was during this time at the Sorbonne, at the suggestion of music professor and friend Aurelio Viñas, that Rodrigo wrote his unpublished research paper titled "La Vihuela y los Vihuelistas en el Siglo XVI" (The *vihuela* and vihuelists in the sixteenth century).[5] This paper focuses on the importance of the *vihuela da mano* and the vihuelist composers of the sixteenth century. Furthermore, the paper was presented at the Sorbonne in the spring of 1936 as part of the 400th anniversary celebration of the publication of Luis Milan's *El Maestro*.

The ideas expressed in Rodrigo's paper contributed to the growing musicological

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[2] Marco, p. 129. *Saraos* are soirées or evening festivities and dances.
[3] Marco, p. 242, footnote 10.
[4] See Chapter 3 for a list of composers who composed in the style of *neocasticismo*.
[5] Victoria Kamhi de Rodrigo, *Hand in Hand with Joaquín Rodrigo: My life at the Maestro's side*, translated by Ellen Wilkerson (Pittsburgh: Latin American Literary Review Press, 1992), p. 91.

studies of Spanish music by Spaniards. Additionally, these musicological studies proved to be influential in most of his guitar music, including solo works and those scored with orchestra. His two famous compositions for guitar and orchestra, *Concierto de Aranjuez* (1939) and *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre* (1954), proved to be representative compositions in the style of *neocasticismo*.[6] The former is representative of an eighteenth-century, sonata style concerto; the latter refers to the works of the seventeenth-century guitar composer, Gaspar Sanz (1640-1710). Most of Rodrigo's solo guitar works since his first, *Zarabanda Lejana* (1926), also refer or allude to Spain's musical and cultural past. In continuing his musicological studies, Rodrigo maintained his focus in guitar research even after his *vihuela* paper.

In a 1961 article entitled "El Vuelo Actual de la Guitarra" (The flight of the guitar), Rodrigo reinforced his interest in musicological studies of the guitar twenty-five years after his *vihuela* paper.[7] Rodrigo commented in this article on how the status of the guitar rose from a flamenco instrument to a concert instrument. He also observed the importance of the history of the instrument, naming important composers and musicians who helped raise concert guitar performance to a respectable status. Both articles serve as bookends to his lifelong service to Spanish musicology and guitar composition.

Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this thesis is to illustrate how Joaquín Rodrigo's interest in musicology influenced what and how he composed for guitar. In addition, it shows how Rodrigo contributed to Spanish musicology by revealing the importance of sixteenth-century vihuelist composers. This research elucidates the importance of Rodrigo's guitar compositions within a musicological and historical context.

Another important aspect of this research shows the consistency of his interests in the history of the *vihuela* and the guitar. Both articles serve as end points between which his guitar compositions function as a means rightly justified by those ends. His guitar

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[6] Rodrigo's *Concierto Madrigal* for two guitars and orchestra (1966) is not as famous as the two aforementioned concertos, however, it may be considered as a representative work of *neocasticismo*, since it includes variations on a Renaissance madrigal. See Chapter 5 for further analysis of this concerto.
[7] Joaquín Rodrigo, "El vuelo actual de la guitarra," in *Ya* (July 9, 1961).

compositions concretize his ideas of the importance of studying and evaluating past composers and compositions. His works are a concrete presentation of his interests as a musicologist.

Finally this research essentially shows how Rodrigo combined his musicological studies and interests along with his knowledge of composition to create guitar works that led him to worldwide fame and popularity. Some of the more famous, namely *Concierto de Aranjuez*, *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre*, and *Tres Piezas Españolas* (1954), are performed frequently by professional guitarists. In some cases Rodrigo fulfilled commissions for guitar compositions written for specific performers. Some artists have asked for Rodrigo to transcribe some of his guitar concertos for other instruments--e.g., for Nicanor Zabaleta in 1974, Rodrigo transcribed the *Concierto de Aranjuez* for harp, and for James Galway in 1978, the *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre* for flute.

Method of the research

The methodologies used for this research consist of a translation and analysis of Joaquín Rodrigo's "La Vihuela y los Vihuelistas en el Siglo XVI."

A narrative about the conception and development of neoclassicism in France and Germany provides background information on the growth of *casticismo*. A brief account of *casticismo* and the cultivation of Spanish musicology paints a backdrop to the conception of *neocasticismo*. Furthermore, a concise synopsis of the socio-political situation in Spain during the first forty years of the twentieth century offers a picture of the political environment in which Spanish artists lived. This information is important because it shows how the unstable political climate troubled some artists and even threatened and suppressed artistic freedom.

Score analyses of representative works for guitar and orchestra are provided. The score analyses demonstrate how Rodrigo's ideas and thoughts about Spanish musicology, specifically guitar research, are realized in his compositions. The analyses establish how Rodrigo, in a sense, paid homage to past musicians and their music by referring to, alluding to, or quoting their cultural and musical values in his guitar compositions.

Survey of Existing Literature

The literature considered for this research consists of the following: 1.) Joaquín Rodrigo's "La Vihuela y los Vihuelistas en el Siglo XVI" and "El Vuelo Actual de la Guitarra," 2.) sources that deal mainly with neoclassicism in France and Germany, 3.) sources that are concerned with neoclassicism in Spain, *neocasticismo*, Spanish musicology, and the socio-political and socio-historical situation in Spain, 4.) scores and recordings of Rodrigo's guitar works for solo guitar and for guitar and orchestra, and 5.) writings about Rodrigo's life and music education.

Joaquín Rodrigo's daughter, Cecilia Rodrigo, founder and president of Ediciones Joaquín Rodrigo, has provided the two articles written by the composer. Furthermore, all other texts and articles concerning the composer's biography, recordings, and scores related to this research were provided by Ediciones Joaquín Rodrigo. Frequent communication with the associates of Ediciones Joaquín Rodrigo through electronic mail and telephonic communication have provided access to the latest literature and information pertinent to this research.

There is an abundance of sources that provide significant information concerning the beginning of neoclassicism, as well as its peripheral influences. Scott Messing's *Neoclassicism in Music: From the Genesis of the Concept through the Schoenberg / Stravinsky Polemic* provides accurate and in-depth information about neoclassicism.[8] The text focuses on the conception of French and German neoclassicism, and also includes information about Igor Stravinsky's neoclassical phase. Messing's article "Polemic as History: The Case of Neoclassicism" also offers a more detailed view of French neoclassicism.[9] Arnold Whittall's article titled "Neoclassicism" supplies a general overview of neoclassicism.[10] Martha M. Hyde's "Neoclassical and Anachronistic Impulses in Twentieth-Century Music" observes Stravinsky's neoclassical phase, which

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[8] Scott Messing, *Neoclassicism in Music: From the Genesis of the Concept through the Schoenberg / Stravinsky Polemic* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1988).
[9] Scott Messing, "Polemic as History: The Case of Neoclassicism," *Journal of Musicology* 4/9 (1991).
[10] Arnold Whittall, "Neoclassicism," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), xvii, 753-55.

began in the early 1920s.[11] Hyde provides several arguments as to why Stravinsky's works in the 1920s properly corresponds to the French neoclassicist ideal of the early twentieth century.

Tomás Marco's *Spanish Music in the Twentieth Century* offers in-depth information about the growth of classical music in Spain. Marco traces the development of twentieth-century Spanish music from its early influences of French neoclassicism to the creation and maturation of *casticismo* and *neocasticismo*. Marco also provides accurate information on the many different genres of music that rose to popularity during the first half of the twentieth century. Carol Hess's *Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain* offers much information about Manuel de Falla, his influences, and how he influenced later Spanish composers including Joaquín Rodrigo.[12] Many articles found in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II* concerning individual twentieth-century Spanish composers provide information on how these artists contributed to Spanish music and musicology.[13]

Among the many important resources for biographical information is Vicente Vayá Pla's *Joaquín Rodrigo: su vida y su obra*.[14] This text contains the most detailed account of his life as stated directly from the composer to the biographer from his birth to 1977. Another useful text is Victoria Kamhi de Rodrigo's *Hand in Hand with Joaquín Rodrigo: My life at the Maestro's side*. Although the text is from Joaquín's wife's perspective, she stands as a reliable source of information for their years in Paris during his stay at the Sorbonne and other information regarding Rodrigo's life. Finally Antonio Iglesias's *Escritos de Joaquín Rodrigo: recopilación y comentarios* contains many letters written by Rodrigo, his family, his associates, performers, and other composers, among other important individuals, concerning composition, performance, and other matters.[15] This text also contains copies and commentaries of other musicological articles

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[11] Martha M. Hyde, "Neoclassic and anachronistic impulses in Twentieth-Century music," in *Music Theory Spectrum* 18 (1996): 200-35.
[12] Carol Hess, *Manuel de Falla and modernism in Spain, 1898-1936* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).
[13] See bibliography for all articles consulted.
[14] Vicente Vayá Pla, *Joaquín Rodrigo: su vida y su obra* (Madrid: Real Musical, 1977).
[15] Antonio Iglesias, *Escritos de Joaquín Rodrigo: recopilación y comentarios,* (Madrid: Editorial

about which Rodrigo wrote and presented during academic discourses and conferences. These other studies show how Rodrigo's interests were focused on subjects other than the guitar.

All musical recordings are from *Edición Conmemorativa del Centenario de Joaquín Rodrigo: Grabaciones Históricas, I y II*, which consists of 23 compact discs, including performances by various artists.[16] The CDs I/1, I/3, I/4, II/10, II/11, and II/12 contain recordings of all guitar works by Joaquín Rodrigo. All scores are either readily available or owned by the present author and are from a variety of publishing companies.

Alpuerto, S. A., 1999).

[16] Joaquín Rodrigo, *Edición Conmemorativa del Centenario de Joaquín Rodrigo: Grabaciones Históricas, I y II*, 23 compact discs, various artists (España: EMI Odeon, S. A., 2002).

CHAPTER 2

NEOCLASSICISM IN EUROPE

Beginnings of Neoclassicism

Neoclassicism is defined as:

> A movement of style in the works of certain twentieth-century composers, who, particularly during the period between the two world wars, revived the balanced and clearly perceptible thematic processes of earlier styles to replace what were, to them, the increasingly exaggerated gestures and formlessness of late Romanticism.[1]

Although this definition suffices to describe the movement, the term "neoclassicism" goes back further than the period between the two world wars, and its meaning was not always a positive one. In order to fully understand the implications and transformations of the term, this chapter will trace the beginnings of neoclassicism to late nineteenth-century France, where it first appeared as a pejorative term to describe the exhausted Teutonic music of Richard Wagner, Johannes Brahms, and Gustav Mahler. Also, this chapter will examine how neoclassicism has been modified from a pejorative to a glorified term in order to describe the new music the French were composing at the turn of the century. The chapter also addresses the neoclassic phase of Igor Stravinsky, a champion of the neoclassic phase in Paris. A study of German neoclassicism during the period after World War I warrants further explanation in order to show that the neoclassic phenomenon was not only found in France. This chapter will establish that French neoclassicism of the early part of the twentieth century was influential in the works of composers from other parts of Europe, particularly Spain.

European music could not escape the stronghold of German Romanticism. Richard Wagner's music was highly influential in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, composers such as Giuseppe Verdi, Franz Liszt, Gustav Mahler,

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[1] Arnold Whittall, "Neo-classicism," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), xvii, 753.

Richard Strauss, and Arnold Schoenberg, were following current musical trends by implementing *Leitmotive* and extended harmonies in their respective works. Some French composers, however, did not favor German Romanticism and, consequently, set out to change that dominant trend.

During the 1890s, the French began a revolt of sorts against German Romanticism. The French believed that their history was one that should not be ignored, but rather studied and praised. This acclaim was first extolled by the poet Jean Moréas in a manifesto written in 1891:

> The French *École romane* reclaims the fundamentally Greco-Latin principle in literature, which flourished during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries with our *trouvères*, in the sixteenth century with Ronsard and his school, in the seventeenth century with Racine and La Fontaine . . . . It was romanticism which perverted the principle in conception as well as in style, thus frustrating the French Muses of their legitimate heritage . . . . The *Ecole romane* renews the Gallic bond, broken by romanticism and its Parnassian, naturalistic, and symbolist descendants….Symbolism, which only has an interest as a transitory phenomenon, is dead.[2]

In his manifesto, Moréas described a group of poets with whom he was associated, known as the *École romane*. The *École* modeled poetry after earlier French models. Other French artists during this period also began feeling a disdain toward Wagner's music and looked to the French tradition for inspiration.[3]

According to Scott Messing, the term neoclassicism, or *néoclassicisme* in French, became much used after 1900. He stated that neoclassicism in the first decade of the twentieth century is characterized as "an expression pertaining to nineteenth-century composers who perpetuated the forms of instrumental music made popular during the

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[2] Scott Messing, *Neoclassicism in Music: From the Genesis of the Concept through the Schoenberg/Stravinsky Polemic* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1988), p. 7, 158 footnote 27. Originally published in *Le Figaro*, 14 September 1891, reprinted in *Cent soixante-treize lettres de Jean Moréas à Raymond de la Tailhede et divers correspondants*, edited by Robert A. Jouanny (Paris: Lettres modernes, 1968), 148-49.

[3] Messing quotes Lionel La Laurencie, "The Germans complicate by enlarging; we simplify by condensing . . . " and Jean Marnold, "Today, German music exists in a lamentable agony. It rattles sweetly along in Mendelssohn-Brahms neoclassic chloroform or is stupefied by romantico-Wagnerian morphine," p. 11.

eighteenth century, but who sacrificed originality and depth of musical substance for the abject imitation of structure."[4] The French used this definition to illustrate the German music of Brahms, Mahler, and even Franz Schubert. Moreover, the progressively growing French nationalism further fueled this contempt of German music. In comparing Saint-Saëns to Brahms, Hugo Wolf attacked Brahms by stating that Saint-Saëns's classicism "is a natural outgrowth of his musical development while with Brahms it serves simply to disguise his creative impotence"; Paul Dukas attacked the music of Schumann and Brahms stating that their music has "neoclassic tendencies representing nothing essential in the domain of the symphony"; Romain Rolland, who had also attacked Brahms on several occasions, attacked Mahler in the performance of the Fifth Symphony, conducted by Mahler. Rolland stated,

> This heaping up of music both crude and learned in style, with harmonies that are sometimes clumsy and sometimes delicate, is worth considering on account of its bulk. The orchestration is heavy and noisy. The underlying idea of the composition is neoclassic, and rather spongy and diffuse.[5]

Evidently, in its early stages, the term neoclassicism embodied the works of German romantic composers as described by French musicians and music critics. The notion that German music was unpleasant and overdone, insinuating a mannerism of sorts, was drummed into the musical and artistic aesthetics of French artistic circles. A new classicism, however, was emerging in musical compositions and academic music conservatories. French music, French musicology, and performance practice would merge to create *un nouveau classicisme*.[6]

Impressionism No Longer Impressionable

The style known in music as impressionism, or symbolism, began around the 1890s, just after the symbolist movement began in other areas such as in literature and art. Claude Debussy was by far the leading figure in the short-lived impressionism

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[4] Messing, p. 14.
[5] Messing, pp. 14-5. Also see Scott Messing, "Polemic as History: The Case of Neoclassicism," *Journal of Musicology* (1991) 4/9: 482.
[6] Messing, p. 17.

movement. Just as in the symbolist movement in the other arts, impressionistic music sought a sensual and immediate impression rather than an analytical one. Of importance to an impressionist composer were harmonic colors and an array of timbres that could be immediately perceived; of less importance were harmonic function, form, and rhythm--or any element that may bring the listener into an analytical state of mind, and that could only be perceived as a process through time.

Although composers from other countries composed impressionistic music--such as Frederick Delius, Ottorino Respighi, and Manuel de Falla--the ephemeral movement gave way to other modern, artistic movements, mainly German expressionism and primitivism. The French artists were again searching for a style they could call their own, a style that would last and contend with any contemporary German trend. The result was *un nouveau classicisme*, or a new classicism.

Nouveau classicisme was created and flourished around the turn of the century in the intellectual circles found in French schools, mainly conservatories, and French musicology. Academics and musicians began studying works of past eras and applied their study to performance practice and composition. The development of musical scholarship and high interest in older French music was important in beginning the new classicism, which was to become a truly French style.

As the French musicologist Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray (1840-1910), a music history professor at the Conservatoire, pointed out, "If the study of music history has excited certain individuals of every era, it is one of the honors of our own epoch to have instilled this scientific movement with a freshness and completely new importance."[7] He also indicated the newness of musicology in France by stating that, "Twenty years ago, it would have been scarcely possible to find ten people in Paris interested in musical archaeology. Today it can be said that the study of the musical past has entered education and, up to a certain point, artistic practice."[8] Bourgault-Ducoudray also knew how to target the French public's tastes by revealing to the French artists the "patriotic pride" he felt when comparing "the actual progress of our studies with the state where

[7] Messing, p. 17.
[8] Messing, p. 17.

they languished twenty years ago."[9] He was also instrumental in creating and supporting French musicology.

The new interest in musicology led to the rise of two important institutions: The lesser influential *Société français de musicologie*, founded by Lionel de La Laurence (1861-1933) and Maurice Emmanuel (1862-1938)--two students of Bourgault-Ducoudray--and the *Schola Cantorum*, which played a far more important role in the trajectory of *nouveau classicisme*. The *Schola* was originally a society for sacred music, but was later changed, in 1896, to a "school for the restoration of music of the past."[10]

The *Schola* was founded by Charles Bordes, Alexandre Guilmant, and Vincent d'Indy, one of the leading figures in French music and musicology, in 1894. Each of these founders contributed in a unique way. For example, Bordes contributed his interests in Gregorian chant and sixteenth-century counterpoint; Guilmant contributed by providing Bach's keyboard works and early keyboard music of other composers; and d'Indy contributed his knowledge of Baroque and Classic theater and opera, as well as the instrumental music of German composers and the works of his teacher, César Franck.[11]

Although the *Schola* did not maintain the same desirability during the second decade of the twentieth century, it influenced many composers and performers who continued the tradition of the study and performance of early works. One such musician was the Polish harpsichordist Wanda Landowska (1879-1959). Her interests were in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century keyboard works; furthermore, she sought to perform those works on "authentic" instruments, even though some members of the *Schola* were disinterested in performing early works on period instruments.[12]

One performer prior to Landowska, who also took part in the revival of earlier works, was Louis Diémer (1843-1919). According to Messing, Diémer put together a

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[9] Messing, p. 17 footnote 67. In addition, others who also helped propagate musicology were: Albert Lavignac (1846-1916), professor at the Conservatoire; Lionel Dauriac (1847-1923), professor of musical aesthetics at the Sorbonne; Charles Malherbe (1853-1911), archivist at the Opéra; and Julien Tiersot (1857-1936), librarian at the Conservatoire; Messing also points out the importance of Marie Bobillier (Michel Brenet) who wrote extensively on early music, Messing, p. 18.
[10] Messing, p. 19.
[11] Messing, p. 19.
[12] Messing, p. 21.

concert in 1889 in which several musicians performed works by Marais, Leclair, Handel, Legrenzi, Rameau, Milandre, Loeillet, Couperin, and Daquin--all on period stringed instruments and harpsichord.[13] Interest in early music by Diémer led to the organization of the *Société des instruments anciens* in 1895. Six years later Henri Casadesus (1879-1947) formed a similar group named the *Nouvelle société des instruments anciens*.[14]

One other composer who also propagated neoclassicism was Erik Satie (1866-1925). Just like Landowska, Satie attended the *Schola* in 1905, receiving his diploma three years later. He learned much about French music of the past during his time at the *Schola*. Influenced by earlier music, Satie incorporated elements of Classic and medieval music in his works. He wrote neoclassic works comprised of clear textures, diatonic melodies and harmonies, and straightforward rhythms that were reminiscent of eighteenth-century music. Imitating parallel organum, Satie composed a few compositions modeling Gregorian chant by incorporating harmonies built in parallel fourths moving in succession without bar lines.

With the exception of d'Indy, the underlying theme of the interests of these composers and musicians was that of looking beyond the Romantic tradition. It appears as if there were a reaction to the overbearing Romantic period, which still haunted the French. An interest in the pre-Romantic past was becoming more and more pervasive, and, as Renaissance, Baroque, and Classic period composers were being researched and studied, two composers stood out as the champion of the French tradition: François Couperin and Jean-Phillippe Rameau.

Although Couperin's *Pièces de clavecin* was in circulation as early as 1862, an effort to publish his complete works did not come to fruition until 1871.[15] Under the supervision of Camille Saint-Saëns and Charles Malherbe, the publication of the complete works of Jean-Phillippe Rameau was begun in 1895 but ceased publication in 1911. Many renowned French composers participated in this collection, including Saint-Saëns, who worked on Rameau's keyboard works, chamber works, cantatas, and motets, d'Indy, who worked on Rameau's *Hippolyte et Aricie*, *Dardanus*, and *Zaïs*, Paul Dukas,

[13] Messing, p. 22.
[14] Messing, p. 22.
[15] Messing, p. 23.

who worked on Rameau's *Les indes galantes*, *La princesse de Navarre*, and Guilmant, who worked on Rameau's *Les fêtes d'Hébé*, and *Le temple de las gloire*; and Debussy, who worked on Rameau's *Les fêtes de Polymnie*.[16]

The New Classicism

As Messing indicates, musical works containing the phrase "*dans le style ancien(s)*" first appeared in the titles of works in 1871 and continued appearing well through the first decade of the twentieth century. He reveals that the implication in the title is that of nationalism and "a sympathy for the past."[17] That same sympathy was the impetus for utilizing dance idioms of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the contemporary musical style.

Saint-Saëns was the first distinguished French composer to use such idioms. In some of these pieces, Saint-Saëns alluded to dances of the past by incorporating the same meter, tempo, anacrusis, and even formal layout of the dances suggested.[18] Well educated in the works by Johann Sebastian Bach and Ludwig van Beethoven, Saint-Saëns also made arrangements of Bach's pieces.

Debussy and Ravel soon followed suit. French musicology sparked a great interest in Debussy. He would attend concerts where the members of the *Schola* would perform pieces by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century composers, especially Jean-Philipe Rameau.[19] Debussy would hold Rameau and his works in high praise. Rameau represented for Debussy the conciseness and expression of musical composition. Debussy edited Rameau's opera *Les fêtes de Polymnie*, performed several of his pieces, gained extensive knowledge about him and his works, and even dedicated and entitled one of his pieces from *Images* (1905) "Hommage à Rameau."[20]

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[16] Messing, p. 23.
[17] Messing, p. 24-5. Composers such as Léo Delibes, d'Indy, Albéric Magnard, Gabriel Pierné, Cecil Chaminade, Maurice Ravel, and Bourgault-Ducoudray composed works with "in the ancient style" in the title.
[18] Messing stated that some of these pieces have similar melodic content and phrasing as those used by past composers.
[19] Messing, p. 41. Debussy attended and, under the pseudonym *Monsieur Croche*, wrote flatteringly about the performance of Rameau's *Castor et Pollux*, on 22 January 1903.
[20] Messing, p. 44-5. Debussy also lauded works by Gluck, Couperin, and other seventeenth- and

Another eighteenth-century French composer who was praised highly by Debussy's contemporary, Maurice Ravel, was François Couperin. Ravel was familiar with the works of Couperin, since several editions of Couperin's works were in circulation. Ravel's highest tribute to Couperin was his *Le tombeau de Couperin* (1914-7), which contains several movements with Baroque dance titles, e.g., *forlane*, *menuet*, and *rigaudon*.[21]

In essence, because of political differences during the Franco-Prussian War, the exhausted German music of the late Romantic era, and ardent nationalist support for French culture, it was easy for French composers to simplify their musical compositions based on past models and change the aesthetic outlook on current French music. The French accepted the new aesthetic because of the familiarity suggested by these compositions. This familiarity included the use of dance idioms that were associated with French Baroque and French Classic music, and common rhythmic and melodic gestures were easily recognized by the French musical audience, all of whom were able to connect the new style of music known as *nouveau classicisme*, with the older style of French music depicted in works by Couperin, Rameau, Gluck, and other composers.

This is not to say that the French were composing works that only imitated the works of the past. Composers of the pre-World War I era were still incorporating a complex harmonic language as found in late Romantic and impressionist music. As Messing has pointed out, "novelty was the prized hallmark."[22] This leads to the conclusion that the aesthetic foundation was different than it had been twenty years before, and that it was this new aesthetic that was the most important aspect of the *nouveau classicisme*.

The juxtaposition of familiarity and novelty produced an aesthetic groundwork that had an impact Germany's version of neoclassicism. The following discussion will illustrate how German composers also looked to past musical and literary compositions

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eighteenth-century composers; however, Rameau was his favorite by far.

[21] Messing, p. 51. Ravel has stated that the homage in the *Le tombeau* is a homage to French music of the eighteenth century more so than it is a homage to Couperin. The statement was originally from Maurice Ravel's "Esquisses autobiographique," *La Revue Musicale*, December 1938, p. 17.

[22] Messing, p. 59

for inspiration and innovation, resulting in a radical change in the definition of neoclassicism, from a pejorative to a paradigmatic term.

The German Neoclassicism

German neoclassicism began in the post-World War I era with the redefining of similar terms. According to Messing, *Neoklassizismus* first appeared after the war and referred to French art and architecture from the late eighteenth century. *Klassizismus* referred to an "imitation of models…that was stilted and pale in its subservience to the originals." On the other hand, *Klassik* or *Klassizität* (*Klassik* hereafter) referred to works that were revered as venerable contemporary pieces and associated with Goethe, Schiller, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and other well-respected artists.[23]

Following the redefinition of the three terms above also came a new viewpoint on Wagner's music and the music of the late-Romantic period. Just as the French, some German writers were critical of Wagner's music and all who represented his style, and were yearning for something new. Thomas Mann, a twentieth-century novelist, wrote about his desire for change in German music of the early twentieth century. In 1911, he wrote:

> Wagner is nineteenth-century through and through. Indeed, he is the representative German artist of his epoch whose survival in the thought of mankind will perhaps be as great and certain as it will be unfortunate.
>
> But I think about the masterpiece of the twentieth century and Something occurs to me that differs very importantly and, as I believe, very favorably from Wagnerism--something that appears logical, structural, and clear; something that is equally austere and serene; something not from so petty a will as his, but from a fresher, nobler, and healthier spirituality; something which finds its greatness not in the Baroque or colossal, nor its beauty in frenzy-- a new classicism (*eine neue Klassizität*), it seems to me, must come.[24]

As Messing indicates, the phrase *neue Klassizität* is comparable to the French *un*

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[23] Messing, p. 62.

[24] Messing, p. 63. Despite this quote, Mann had a deep love for Wagner's music. He described listening to Wagner's music as an experience that gives him "a sort of nostalgia for youth and country . . . and puts my spirit under the old bright and thoughtful yearning and cunning magic."

nouveau classicisme. Both terms described a new classicism that surfaced around the turn of the twentieth century and both terms had the converse meaning that their previously similar, yet derogatory, terms--Germany's pejorative *neoklassizismus* and the French's *néoclassicisme*--had.[25] Furthermore, while the French used the iconographic figures Rameau and Couperin, Mann used the works of Goethe as the true German genius and the foundation of Mann's idea of *eine neue Klassizität*.[26]

Ferrucio Busoni (1866-1924) was Mann's musical counterpart. As a traveling pianist, he liked the new trends in music, particularly those trends that employed extreme compositional methods and techniques. He explicitly stated these proclivities toward new music in his famous pamphlet entitled *Entwurf einer neuen Aesthetik der Tonkunst* (Sketch of a New Esthetic of Music), written in 1907.[27] However, after the war Busoni's tendencies toward radically new music had diminished somewhat, and, as a result his interests turned to the conventional mainstream music of European culture.[28] It was in this vein that he wrote a letter to Paul Bekker, a contemporary music critic, stating his penchant for a new classicism. But rather than simply using Mann's definition, which was quite suitable, Busoni coined a new phrase, *junge Klassizität*, meaning "young classicism." Busoni believed that *neue Klassizität* meant an imitation of the past, whereas *junge Klassizität*, as Messing writes, "suggested that musical evolution embodied an ongoing, rejuvenative process, which [Busoni] likened to organic growth in nature."[29]

In Busoni's *junge Klassizität*, there are three criteria a composer must follow in order to produce a work in such a style. The first of which is *Einheit* or unity. *Einheit* was not necessarily a practical criterion as much as it was a philosophical one. Basically,

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[25] Scott Messing, "Polemic as History: The Case of Neoclassicism," from the *Journal of Musicology* (1991) 4/9: 489.
[26] Messing, *Neoclassicism in Music*, pp. 63-5.
[27] For further reading, see Ferruccio Busoni, "Entwurf einer neuen Asthetik der Tonkunst," in *Source Readings in Music History*, volume 7, edited by Robert P. Morgan (New York: W W Norton & Co., 1998), pp. 51-8.
[28] Messing, p. 65. In 1919, Busoni featured himself as a soloist in a concert in which he illustrated through musical examples a history of keyboard works from Bach to the present.
[29] Messing, pp. 67, 169 footnote 28. Busoni's definition of *junge Klassizität* originally appears in *Scritti e pensieri*, translated and edited by Luigi Dallapiccola and Guido Gatti (Florence: F. Le Monnier, 1941), pp. 68-70.

Einheit means that a piece of music does not have any intrinsic qualities, that is, a piece of instrumental music does not possess any extraneous meaning, whether by interpretation or assumption, unless indicated by the title or the text, if a text is used at all. In Busoni's words, "the idea of music *is* music, in and of itself, and that it is not split up into different classes."[30] Busoni added that the idea of *Einheit* is based on the concept that all music progresses from a single source, known as an "eternal harmony," which sounds through the universe, and all artworks exist within it.[31] As Messing mentioned, this idea probably stems from nineteenth-century thought about music as stated and written by Eduard Hanslick, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Arthur Schopenhauer.

The second and third criteria are more practical in terms of musical composition, even though the third can be as subjective as the first criterion. The second criterion states that musical works should be generated from melody rather than harmony. That is, more emphasis and importance should be given to the melody rather than the harmony in order to produce a more highly developed counterpoint. The third criterion maintains that the use of tone-painting and "overripe" harmonies is inexcusable. Rather, Busoni preferred music that was "objective, absolute, serene, distilled, pure, and horizontally generated (melodic importance)" as opposed to music that was "subjective, descriptive, exaggerated, metaphysical, sensual, and vertically governed (harmonic importance)."[32] In Busoni's words:

> A third--no less important--idea is the denial of the "sensuous" and the renunciation of subjectivity . . . . The substance of what is artistic relates only to proportions, to the limits of what is beautiful, to the preservation of taste--it means above all: an art which does not express propositions which lie beyond its nature.[33]

Clearly, there is a major change taking place in France and Germany in the second decade of the twentieth century. The culmination of this change leads to Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971) as the champion of French neoclassicism and Arnold Schoenberg

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[30] Messing, p. 68.
[31] Messing, p. 69.
[32] Messing, p. 70.
[33] Busoni as quoted in the journal *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Messing p. 70, footnote 48.

(1874-1951) as the champion of German neoclassicism.[34] Furthermore, the idea of neoclassicism will have made an about-face from being a term used to describe the tasteless and effete late Romantic music, to a term used to describe the highly revered music of one the most influential composers of the twentieth century. The following paragraphs will discuss how Stravinsky became the chief icon for neoclassicism in France.

Igor Stravinsky in the 1920s: A Champion of Paris

In an article describing Igor Stravinsky's new style of music in 1923, Boris de Schloezer used the term neoclassicism for the first time in the same manner as it is currently understood today.[35] Schloezer's description was quite positive, affirming that Stravinsky's new style belongs in a class to be admired. Although Schloezer stated that he knew about the previous definition of the word, the fashion in which the word was being used to describe music in the recent years prior to Schloezer's comment was no longer carrying that pejorative meaning. Clearly, the definition of *néoclassicisme* became a definition of the past, used to describe the music of Mahler, Brahms, and Wagner, but now it is used to describe one of the leading styles of the twentieth century.

As Messing has shown, Stravinsky's music between *Le Sacre du Printemps* and *Octet* may be classified into four topics: simplicity, youth, objectivity, and cultural elitism. These terms were used to describe the new style of music as opposed to romantic or impressionist music.[36] The French poet Jean Cocteau observed that simplicity applies to a style of music used to describe the music of Erik Satie and the music of the members of *Les Six*. Stravinsky was well aware of the new currents in music in France and, therefore, became associated with current French musicians who preferred to use terms such as "simplicity" and "simple" in order to describe their music. Objectivity refers to

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[34] Schoenberg would not have considered himself to be a neoclassicist or his music neoclassicism.
[35] Messing, p. 87. Messing explained that by 1923, the terms *nouveau classicisme* and *néoclassicisme*, which was the term Schloezer used, were indistinguishable as opposed to prior to World War I, when both terms had opposite meanings.
[36] Messing stated that Stravinsky was probably influenced by a new group of composers known as *l'esprit nouveau*, or "the new spirit," who used phrases such as "the new simplicity" or "return to simplicity" in order to describe their music. The New Spirit group consisted of Jean Cocteau, Erik Satie, and the composers known as *Les Six*.

the "absoluteness" of Stravinsky's music composed after *Le Sacre*. Objectivity is apparent in his choice of titles for his pieces. Stravinsky titled his pieces in a manner that would be free from programmatic expression and extra-musical meaning; for example, *Three Pieces for String Quartet*, *Three Easy Pieces*, and *Symphonies of Wind Instruments*. Cultural elitism is a term that refers to Stravinsky's music that alludes, quotes, or borrows music from pre-nineteenth century music in order to show the admiration for traditional music in a twentieth century musical setting. *Pulcinella* is the model that best fits this type, because it parodies the music by Giambattista Pergolesi.[37]

The second term--youth--refers to Stravinsky's keyboard compositions that exuded "childlike simplicity."[38] Other composers composed in this manner prior to Stravinsky's compositions, suggesting that his compositions were not innovatory. Max Reger composed *Aus der Jugendzeit* in 1895, Bartók composed *Gyermekeknek/Pro dêti* (For Children) between 1908-10, and Satie wrote three sets of piano pieces in 1913, all of which emphasized childlike qualities and performance. The three pieces are *Menus propos enfantins*, *Enfantillages pittoresques*, and *Peccadilles importunes*. According to Messing, Satie might have provided the model that Stravinsky followed, since Stravinsky's earliest sketch of a simple piano piece dates from 1913.[39]

Possibly as a reaction to the manneristic compositions of the *fin de siècle*, and following the model of other composers before him, Stravinsky composed a series of piano compositions between 1914-21 that had a childlike simplicity. Three representative pieces of this period are *Three Easy Pieces*, *Five Easy Pieces*, and *The Five Fingers*. Stravinsky commented on these pieces stating that *Five Easy Pieces* were composed "for amateurs little practiced in the use of the instrument" and as music lessons for his children.[40] He also observed that *The Five Fingers* were intended "for any piano

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[37] Martha M. Hyde, "Neoclassical and Anachronistic Impulses in Twentieth-Century Music," from *Music Theory Spectrum* 18 (1996): 211-4. According Hyde's four models of imitation, eclectic imitation would suit Stravinsky's *Pulcinella* because the ballet "alludes" or "echoes" Pergolesi's music. One may argue that *Pulcinella* also falls under reverential imitation, which follows a classical model with a "nearly religious fidelity or fastidiousness."

[38] Messing, p. 95. Children's pieces proved to be influential among Spanish composers (see Chapter 3).

[39] Messing, p. 97.

[40] Igor Stravinsky, *An Autobiography* (New York: W W Norton & Co., 1962), p. 64; Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Dialogues and a Diary* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1963), p. 41.

debutant."[41]

As for those composers who followed Stravinsky's maxim, a handful of Spanish composers, who either studied or associated themselves in one way or another with Stravinsky, wrote pieces that refer to childlike enthusiasm or character. Among the Spanish composers influenced by the French school, Joaquín Rodrigo wrote numerous pieces between 1924 and 1977 about and for children. His first composition concerning the subject is *Cinco Piezas Infantiles* (1924) for orchestra.[42] Each of these pieces is titled after a typical children's scene, from the rustle of children passing by to a final shout by the children.[43] Rodrigo's proclivity for writing for his only child and two grandchildren is also evident in his compositions. In 1948 he wrote *El Album de Cecilia* (*para manos pequeñas*) dedicating it to his only child Cecilia; and, in 1977, he composed *Sonatina para dos Muñecas* (for four hands) for his two grandchildren.[44] The 1948 piece is comprised of six pieces intended for study of the piano.[45] The *Sonatina para dos Muñecas* is similar to the *Cinco Piezas Infantiles* in the sense that the former alludes to typical events in a child's day.

Another device Rodrigo incorporates into his children's pieces is the use of carols or nativity music. He composed several pieces utilizing carols or poetry that refer to the nativity. In 1952 he composed *Villancicos y Canciones de Navidad*, a five-movement piece for orchestra and soprano, with three poems written by Rodrigo's wife Victoria Kamhi. In 1973 he set two anonymous poems to music entitled *Dos Canciones Para Cantar a los Niños*. In the first of these two movements, the poetry refers to a white lamb (entitled *corderito blanco*), which may be a reference to the nativity scene.

As a final example, the *Berceuse d'Automne* (1923) exploits the subtleties of

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[41] Stravinsky and Craft, *Themes and Episodes* (New York: Knopf, 1966), p. 30.
[42] Rodrigo later published this piece for two pianos in 1928.
[43] The titles are: *Son chicos que pasan* (Children rustling through), *Después de un cuento* (After a story), *Mazurka*, *Plegaria* (Prayer), *Gritería final* (final shout). The present author translated all titles.
[44] Translations for the titles are: Five Children's pieces, Album for Cecilia (for small hands) and Sonatina for two dolls.
[45] Antonio Iglesias, *Joaquín Rodrigo: Su obra para piano*, 2nd edition (Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto, S. A., 1996), p. 205. Iglesias added that, at eight years of age, Cecilia Rodrigo (the composer's own daughter) premiered this piece in 1949 in Madrid.

Rodrigo's compositional technique.[46] Although Rodrigo did not explicitly state that this piece was for or inspired by children, there is a suggestion of a childlike simplicity in this piece. The accompaniment consists of the same two chords played throughout the whole piece.

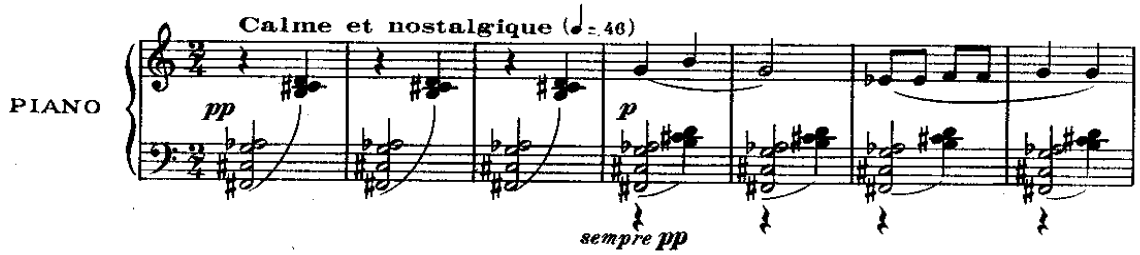

Figure 2-1. Joaquín Rodrigo, *Berceuse d'Automne*, mm. 1-7.

This accompaniment is suggestive of the nanny rocking back and forth in her rocking chair while singing a simple lullaby, suggested by the melodic line. This piece is similar to Satie's *Gymnopedie* No. 2 (1888) in its harmonic coloring, simple melody, and structured form.

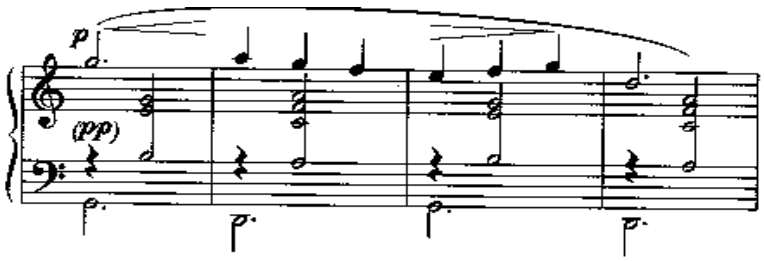

Figure 2-2. Erik Satie, *Gymnopedie* No. 2, mm. 5-8.

Clearly Rodrigo composed children's pieces in a similar vein to that utilized by Stravinsky, Reger, and Bartók. The "childlike simplicity" in Rodrigo's *Album de Cecilia* and *Sonatina* is quite evident. Even though Rodrigo was directly influenced by his child, grandchildren, and his religiosity when he composed these pieces, one may argue that he clearly showed respect and admiration for Stravinsky's "childlike" pieces and the current French school of thought. His reverence for Parisian musical thought manifested itself in his compositions, particularly his *Berceuse d'Automne* and *Cinco Piezas Infantiles*.

[46] Joaquín Rodrigo, *Deux Berceuses: Berceuse d'Automne*, (Mainz: Schott & Co. Ltd., 1928), pp. 6-7.

Conclusion

French neoclassicism spread throughout other parts of Europe rapidly during the early part of twentieth century. The current trend was fresh, new, and an alternative to German romanticism. The leading French composers, including Stravinsky, elevated themselves in high positions and were admired by some and hated by others. Those who admired and emulated the French enhanced their careers and advanced to a higher level.

No other group of composers benefited from the French neoclassicists as much as the Spanish composers of the first half of the twentieth century. Beginning with Manuel de Falla and Joaquín Turina, on through the group of composers known as the *Generación del '27*, and concluding with Joaquín Rodrigo, Spanish composers took advantage of the latest trends in France, absorbed the new material, and showcased their interpretations of neoclassicism in Spain. Along with the nationalistic tendencies these composers already possessed, *casticismo* was the result of the combination of neoclassicism and Spanish nationalist style.

Other Spanish composers also profited from the current musical trends in Germany, including the twelve-tone method of composition. Most of these composers thrived in the symphonic poem genre, following in the same vein as Richard Strauss, while a few excelled in twelve-tone composition, emulating Schoenberg. The following chapter will discuss how the music of Spain broke free of the traditional genre of the *zarzuela*, exploiting the musical capabilities of flamenco music, inspiring a European trend of Spanish nationalistic compositions, and later coalescing with French neoclassicism and musicology to produce *casticismo* and *neocasticismo*, both of which propelled Spanish music to respectable ranks, while maintaining the uniqueness of being Spanish.

CHAPTER 3

CASTICISMO Y NEOCASTICISMO: SPANISH NEOCLASSICISM

Spanish Nationalism: Mid Nineteenth Century through the Early Twentieth Century

A resurrection of flamenco music began around the early to mid-nineteenth century in Spain. Israel Katz called this resurrection the second phase of *cante flamenco*, the first of which consisted of the *cante flamenco* of the Gypsies in Andalusia during the second half of the fifteenth century.[1] The second phase was the result of Carlos III granting citizenship to the Gypsies in 1783 that allowed them to engage in their own cultural activities without persecution. The Gypsies were able to develop and cultivate their music, which consisted mainly of songs about their difficult living conditions and dreams of a better life. These songs became gradually more popular in local taverns and feasts. By 1860 *cante flamenco* was highly popularized and included, along with the traditional *cante hondo*, other genres of song from Andalusia, various other Spanish regions, and the Americas. These others genres were known as *musica aflamencada*, or "gypsified" music.

The platform for flamenco performances was the *cafés cantantes* (singing cabarets), which were mainly located in Seville and other cities in southern and central Spain and generally well attended.[2] The *cafés* were first established in Seville in 1842 and quickly multiplied throughout Andalusia.[3] The flamenco pieces performed in the *cafés* were played by both amateur and professional musicians, which included pianists, guitarists, and accompanied or unaccompanied singers. By the third quarter of the

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[1] Israel Katz, "Flamenco," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), viii, 920.

[2] S. Frederick Starr, *Bamboula: The life and times of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 104. Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829-1869) frequented the *cafés* during his visit to Spain in 1851. During his free time, Gottschalk improvised with some of the piano players who performed regularly in these *cafés*. Gottschalk wrote notes about the music he heard, and, eventually, composed several works for solo piano--including his popular *Souvenirs d'Andalousie*--that contain Spanish folkloristic elements.

[3] Katz, p. 920.

nineteenth century, many Spanish composers were incorporating these folkloristic and nationalistic characteristics in their compositions, possibly due to the newness of these characteristics in classical music. Furthermore, Spanish composers felt a claim of ownership of these characteristics and elements.

Even non-Spanish composers were influenced by *cante flamenco* and incorporated Spanish folkloristic elements in their compositions. Georges Bizet's (1838-1875) *Carmen* (1873-4) features flamenco dances of Spain and the Caribbean; such dances include the *habanera*, *aragonesa*, and *seguidilla*. Eduoard Lalo (1823-1892), who was of Spanish descent and had a strong affinity toward Spanish culture and music, composed his *Symphonie Espagnole* in 1874, inspired by the virtuosic violin playing of the Spaniard Pablo Sarasate (1844-1908). Nicolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1844-1908) featured his interpretation of Spanish folk music in his *Kaprichchio na Ispanskiye Temï* (*Spanish Capriccio*, 1887).[4] Claude Debussy's (1862-1918) *Estampes* (1903), No.2, *La Soirée dans Grenade* evokes the rhythms of the *habanera*. Just as their Spanish counterparts, these European composers incorporated Spanish elements in their music because it was something new to them; however, the element of exoticness was also appealing to these composers.

During the same time that Spanish composers were incorporating Spanish folk elements in their compositions, these composers were also becoming aware of their rich musical culture and were instrumental in the cultivation of Spanish music and musicology. Felipe Pedrell is known today as the father of Spanish musicology, although Pedrell was following in the footsteps of other Spanish music historians such as Hilarión Eslava (1807-1878). Pedrell's main interest was sixteenth-century Spanish music. Other Spanish historians soon followed Pedrell's path. Francisco Asenjo Barbieri (1823-1894) transcribed, edited, and published 459 works from the library of the Royal Palace known as the *Cancionero musical de los siglo XV y XVI*.[5] During the late 1880s and 1890s, Federico Olmeda (1865-1909) and Vicente Ripollés (1867-1943) contributed to Spanish

[4] David Fanning, "Russia: East meets West," from *Late Romantic Era*, edited by Jim Samson (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1991), p. 193.
[5] Barbieri transcribed and edited works originally from the *Cancionero musical de Palacio* (Mp 1335, c. 1505-20) published in Madrid, 1890.

musicology in their studies of Gregorian chant; Olmeda studied music of the twelfth century from Santiago de Compostela, and the *Cantigas de Santa María*.[6] Rafael Mitjana (1869-1921) was instrumental in researching composers of music for the *vihuela*, among other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century music.[7] These academics were not only studying and writing about Spanish music of the past, but also incorporated forms and styles of past music into their own music. Influenced by the concerted efforts in France to study past musical compositions and French musicology, a couple of composers used the French as a leading model.

Two composers who were valuable in bringing authentic, classical music in Spain to the forefront of European music were Isaac Albéniz (1860-1909) and Enrique Granados (1867-1916). Both composers wrote exemplary works which would subsequently be admired by leading Spanish and French composers. Moreover, the networks that the two created between Spanish and French composers would help many later Spanish composers see their education and careers prosper internationally.

Two Paradigmatic Composers of the Late Nineteenth Century

Before he was twenty-three years old, Isaac Albéniz single-handedly created a name for himself by traveling and giving concerts all throughout Europe and South America.[8] Albéniz first ran away from home at age ten, performing on the piano in many cities throughout Spain. At age twelve he stowed away on a ship for America; he traveled and performed throughout North and South America, and the Caribbean before returning to Spain. The following year, he went to the British Isles and Germany, while performing whenever he could. He finally settled in Barcelona in 1883. After exchanging ideas with Felipe Pedrell, Albéniz considered incorporating a more

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[6] Tomás Marco, *Spanish Music in the Twentieth Century*, translated by Cola Franzen (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 16; José López-Calo, "Federico Olmeda," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), xviii, 398; Carlos Gómez Amat, "Vicente Ripollés," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), xxi, 436.

[7] José López-Calo, "Rafael Mitjana," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), xvi, 763;

[8] Tomás Marco, pp. 4-5. For a brief discussion about Albéniz's travels and musical studies, see Frances Barulich, "Isaac Albéniz," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), i, 290-293.

nationalistic mood in his music, even though Albéniz had already composed three zarzuelas.[9] In 1886 he composed *Suite Española* for solo piano, a personal interpretation of representative music from several regions throughout Spain.[10]

Most of the pieces in the *Suite* incorporate many Spanish folk elements, and a few contain harmonic coloring in the French impressionist vein. Each movement is titled after a different region in Spain. The individual movements integrate the dances and/or rhythmic patterns associated with the specific region or local dance-types. The movement *Sevilla* is clearly paradigmatic of the Andalusian dance, the *sevillana*.[11] *Sevilla* is in 3/4 meter, associated with the *sevillana*, and the quickly-arpeggiated chords resemble the way in which a guitarist plays a *rasgueado*--or strums; the danceable lively tempo is also typical of a *sevillana*. Harmonically, the alternation between tonic and dominant, which is noticeable in *Sevilla*, is also conventional in the dance.

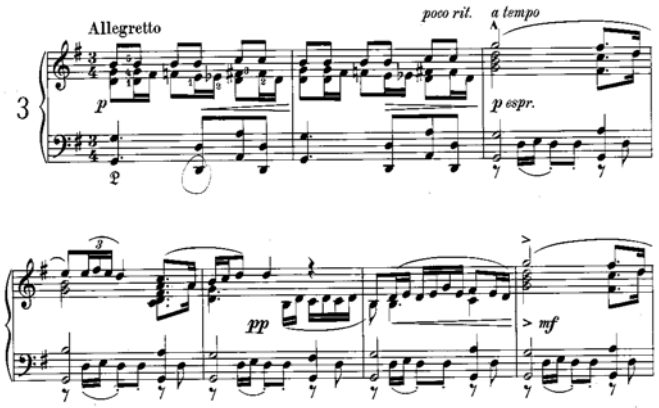

Figure 3-1. Isaac Albéniz, *Sevilla*, mm. 1-6.

After being named Professor of Advanced Piano at the *Schola Cantorum* in Paris in 1898, Albéniz maintained solid contact with the leading French composers. Due to health problems, he stayed for barely two years; however, he learned much about French musical thought and absorbed French impressionism and neoclassicism. Inspired by current French musical trends and Spanish folklore, he composed one of his most well-known works, *Iberia* (1905-08). Albéniz's close contact with the French would become

[9] Barulich, 290. These zarzuelas, which were composed between 1881-82, are now considered lost.
[10] The pieces in *Suite Española* were later transcribed for guitar by composers and guitarists, including Francisco Tárrega, Andrés Segovia, Pepe Romero, Sophocles Papas, and Miguel Llobet.
[11] Isaac Albéniz, *Suite Espagnole, Opus 47: Sevilla*, for piano, edited by Lothar Lechner (Mainz: Schott Musik International GmbH & Co. KG, 1996), pp. 16-23.

encouraging and effective in bringing other Spanish protégés to study composition in France.

Enrique Granados was also important in bringing Spanish music to the forefront of European music culture. Unlike his contemporary Albéniz, he received a more formal training in music. He studied piano with regional musicians before his teens, then studied composition beginning in 1883 with Felipe Pedrell. Just like Albéniz, Granados was also moved by Pedrell's suggestion to assimilate a nationalistic style. Between 1887-9, Granados was an "auditeur" at the Paris Conservatoire.[12] He collaborated closely with Jacques Thibaud (1880-1953), Camille Saint-Saëns, and Gabriel Fauré (1845-1924).[13] After composing a collection of piano compositions entitled *Goyescas* in 1911, Granados received worldwide fame as a true Spanish nationalist composer.[14] Granados maintained his reputation as a nationalist composer with works such as the zarzuela *María del Carmen* (1898), and the piano pieces *10 danzas españolas* (1900).

As Larrad has observed, Granados's music is comprised of elements found in current European trends mixed with traditional Spanish folk music.[15] His piano compositions not only contain the rhythmic elements of popular flamenco, such as the *jota*, but also obscure regional dances, such as the Basque *vascongada* and the Murcian *paranda*. Granados's *Goyescas* was his attempt to imitate the eighteenth-century *tonadilla* and other Spanish folk elements. His proclivity for Romantic programmatic music is apparent in his character pieces for piano, such as *Escenas románticas* (1903-4) and *Cuentos de la juventud* (1910).

Albéniz and Granados were similar in that they had popularized a genre that was obscure in Spain: instrumental music. Even though Albéniz and Granados wrote an extensive number of zarzuelas, which were quite popular throughout the nineteenth

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[12] Mark Larrad, "Enrique Granados," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), x, 277.
[13] Larrad, 10: 277. Larrad stated that Granados performed alongside Thibaud and Saint-Saëns, and was invited by Fauré to jury for the Dièmer Prize in 1907.
[14] Larrad, 10: 278. The popularity of *Goyescas* was so great that the Paris Opera wanted Granados to write an opera based on the music, which he did. Although World War I kept Granados from realizing the opera in France, he was able to see it performed by the New York Metropolitan Opera in New York on 26 January 1916.
[15] Larrad, 10: 278.

century, none was highly successful. They focused on the instrumental music genre instead. Through extensive study with French and other European composers, Albéniz and Granados would produce a large body of well-respected instrumental works that are comparable to works of other European composers of high status. The instrumental genre would prove to be the principal domain in which future Spanish composers would excel and succeed. Even Spain's greatest composer of the twentieth century, Manuel de Falla, would reap the benefits of composing instrumental works.

A Change in Spain's Musical Scene: The Coming of *Casticismo*

Named after a literary group that flourished around the turn of the century, the group of musicians known as the *Generación del '98* (Generation of 1898) began a new style of composition that would pave the way for future Spanish musicians.[16] These musicians are Manuel de Falla (1876-1946), Joaquín Turina (1882-1949), Conrado del Campo (1878-1953), Julio Gómez (1886-1973), Jesús Guridi (1886-1961), and Oscar Esplá (1886-1976). Having learned from their predecessors, Albéniz and Granados, these composers would create a musical movement known as *casticismo*.

Casticismo is a Spanish term that means "a love for *castizo*; the cultivation of the purity of a culture, language, or lineage, free of foreign influence and neologisms."[17] Cola Franzen stated:

> *Casticismo* (noun) and *casticista* and *castizo* (adjectives) are concepts that have no exact equivalent in English. The dictionary of the Spanish Royal Academy defines *casticismo* as love of old traditional ways in customs, usages, and manners. In language it indicates use of a pure language with no mixing of foreign words or expressions. In music it implies something like a return to authentic traditional values and ethnic roots.[18]

In essence *casticismo* represented Spanish neoclassicism for Spanish composers of the early twentieth century. This movement is very similar to the early stages of French

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[16] Musicians associated with the *Generación del '98* actually wrote many of their important works well after 1898. I will refer to this group as '98. The writers and musicians known as '98 were not as close and collaborative as the name would suggest.

[17] The present author translated the term from *Trébol: Diccionario Enciclopédico Color* (Barcelona: Ediciones Trébol, S. L., 1996), p. 192. The Spanish definition reads, "amor a lo castizo; actitud de quien cultiva la pureza de la lengua, evitando extranjerismos y neologismos."

[18] Franzen quoted from Marco, p. 33, asterisk footnote.

neoclassicism in the sense that both Maurice Ravel and Claude Debussy observed and assimilated a past French musical custom, while maintaining compositional novelty.[19] The French, therefore, became the model for Spanish composers.

The French music schools were most appealing to the Spanish for several reasons: the French schools were apparently the most current in new music, as opposed to the dominating late-romantic music of the Germans; the proximity of the French school made it easier for the Spanish to travel back and forth, rather than traveling to Italy or Germany; and the Spanish composers, Isaac Albéniz and Ricardo Viñes, had already created fine contacts with the more popular French composers. Therefore it is no wonder why four out of the six composers studied in France. Falla studied in France, befriending Debussy and Ravel. Turina studied piano with Moritz Mozkowski and enrolled at the *Schola Cantorum*, later meeting Paul Dukas. Guridi took courses at the *Schola Cantorum* and studied organ and composition with Vincent d'Indy. Esplá worked with Camille Saint-Saëns.[20] This would begin a longstanding relationship between French and Spanish musicians, many of whom owe a debt of gratitude to Manuel de Falla.

Falla is considered one of the more important, successful, and influential Spanish composers of the twentieth century. His works are considered today as some of the more respectable compositions of classical music composed in Europe. His compositions are the epitome of *casticismo* combined with the current harmonic and timbral preferences of his day.[21] As Marco points out, "the 'Spanishness' does not come from the use of direct folkloric elements. Rather, Falla recreated the material with extraordinary elegance of means and with stylistic cohesion; each movement of the work is strongly monothematic."[22] Without question, Falla's oeuvre became the model for other Spanish

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[19] See previous chapter for discussion about neoclassicism in France.
[20] Del Campo was the only composer who studied German symphonic music and incorporated those elements with Spanish *casticismo* in his works. Gómez made important contributions to musicology by rediscovering eighteenth-century Spanish quartets of Manuel Canales, as a musical biographer, and translating writings by Richard Wagner.
[21] Carol A. Hess, "Stravinsky in Spain, 1921-25, " from *Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain, 1898-1936* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 161. Hess stated that Falla recognized and praised the "neoclassic values" in Stravinsky's music and, therefore, integrated those values in Falla's post-1919 works. In other works, for instance *Noches en los jardines de España* (1911-15), Falla combined French impressionism and *casticismo*.
[22] Marco, p. 22.

composers to emulate.

No one would be more instrumental in bringing Spanish composers over to study music in France than Manuel de Falla. The appeal and solid partnership between the French composers and Falla would influence later Spanish composers to study in France, including Joaquín Rodrigo. In the generation after the group of '98, almost every Spanish composer who studied music in France was involved with Falla or his works, in one way or another.

During the early part of the twentieth century and prior to the *Generación del '27*, a number of composers flourished in Spain.[23] Some of these composers traveled to France to study composition with influential French composers or study music at the top conservatories and music institutions, just as Falla and others did. Composers such as Joaquín Nin (1879-1949), Pedro Sanjuán (1887-1976), and Federico Mompou (1893-1987) studied in France and contributed to Spanish musicology. Their music showed clear influences of French neoclassicism and character. Richard Peter Paine compared Mompou's pieces to those by Debussy, Ravel, and Satie.[24] Mompou even emulated Satie by leaving out bar lines in his manuscripts. As Paine observed, Mompou was considered more cosmopolitan than any of his contemporaries, which is noticeable in the titles to his pieces, some of which are French and others are Spanish.[25]

In essence, Spanish composers of this period were becoming aware of their country's musical past as well as looking for fresh ideas to follow. They took advantage of the current European trend in France, incorporating those musical characteristics into their nationalistic, folkloristic compositions in order to create *casticismo*. With a new focus on *casticismo*, these composers sought ways to excel in their craft. In addition, they developed others areas of music, such as music education and musicology. These Spanish composers, consequently, paved the way for other Spanish composers to benefit

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[23] The present author has provided an extensive list of Spanish composers who were influential in the development of Spanish music throughout the twentieth century (see Appendix A). For further discussion about these composers, see Marco, *Spanish Music in the Twentieth Century*, translated by Cola Franzen (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

[24] Richard Peter Paine, "Federico Mompou," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), xvi, 912-13.

[25] Paine, p. 912.

from such great advances, especially those of the *Generación del '27*.

A New Group of Intellectuals Emerges around 1927

The group of composers known as the *Generación del '27* flourished around 1927 in central and northeastern Spain. Unlike the group of '98, this group collaborated closely on many occasions with the poets and literary writers known by the same name.[26] As a result of this alliance, Spanish music reached a high level of recognition in Europe, comparable to those of French neoclassicism and German twelve-tone composition.

The two musical groups that flourished during this time were each referred to as the *Grupo de los Ocho*, one of which was from Madrid and the other from Catalonia. The Catalonian group was later referred to as the *Generación de la Republica*; however, as Marco pointed out, this term is not accurate, because these musicians were active prior to the establishment of the political group known as *La Segunda Republica* (1931-35) from which their named derived, and which some of these musicians supported during the Spanish Civil War. The group from Catalonia will be referred to as the *Grupo de la República*, whereas the other group will be referred to as *Grupo de Madrid*; however, Marco has collectively recognized both of these groups as the *Generación del '27*.[27]

As with most of the musicians of the group of '98, the majority of the members of the group of '27 studied with the leading composers of France and Germany. Many felt that in order to become a leading composer, one had to follow in the footsteps of others who had achieved successful careers. In that respect, no other composer was emulated as much as Manuel de Falla. Many considered Falla's career a paradigm, and, as referred to above, those of the new generation used his influence and connections in order to become successful.

As Marco stated, the new generation knew that in order to become a well-respected composer, one must not only follow Falla as a model, but also go beyond him.[28] That is, they could not abandon what Falla has laid before them; however, it was

[26] Marco, p. 102. The poets and literary writers were known as the *Generación del '27* before the musicians were so named.
[27] Marco, p. 102.
[28] Marco, p. 102.

incumbent on them to find an individuality of their own, keeping up with the new European trends. Moreover, in order to keep up with the new times, they had to learn from or collaborate with leading composers. Most of them knew that receiving an education from the leading French music schools would help them thrive in composition. Some also felt the same way about receiving an education from the leading German composers. As a result, this group of '27 "combined neoclassicism, atonal experiments, twelve-tone music, and *casticismo* into an amalgam that reflected wonderfully well the folkloric, neoclassical, avant-garde, and surreal combinations in the work of the poets of '27."[29]

The composers who belonged to the group known as the *Grupo de la República* from Catalonia were Roberto Gerhard, Agustín Grau, Juan Gibert Camins, Eduardo Toldrá, Manuel Blancafort, Baltasar Samper, and Ricardo Lamote de Grignon. Roberto Gerhard (1896-1970) was the most successful and popular composer of this group. From 1923-1928, Gerhard studied with Arnold Schoenberg, when Schoenberg was making his last visit to Barcelona before leaving for the United States.[30] Gerhard was Schoenberg's only Spanish student. The majority of his compositions did not always feature twelve-tone style elements, but featured a combination of twelve-tone compositions and Spanish folkloristic elements, specifically Spanish dance rhythms and meter. Unfortunately, Gerhard emigrated to England in 1939, and, as a result, some of his works written while in England were never performed in Spain.[31]

Conceived in 1930 by Adolfo Salazar (1890-1958), the other group known as the *Grupo de Madrid* was comprised of Ernesto Halffter, his younger brother Rodolfo Halffter, Salvador Bacarisse, Juan José Mantecón, Fernando Remacha, Gustavo Pittaluga, and Rosa María Ascot. A critic and writer who studied music with Ravel, Salazar wrote music treatises that are of great importance. These treatises include *La música contemporánea en España* (The contemporary music of Spain, Madrid, 1930), *La*

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[29] Marco, p. 102-3.
[30] Malcolm MacDonald, "Roberto Gerhard," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), ix, 692; Marco, p. 104.
[31] Marco, p. 104-5. Marco maintained that Gerhard was successful in England, and he continued to combine twelve-tone compositions and *casticista* elements in his works.

música en el siglo XX (The music of the twentieth century, Madrid, 1936), *La música actual en Europa y sus problemas* (The present music in Europe and its problems, Madrid, 1935), *El siglo romántico* (The romantic era, Madrid, 1936), *La música de España* (The music of Spain, Buenos Aires, 1953), and *La música orquestal en el siglo XX* (Twentieth-century orchestral music, Mexico, 1956). Salazar attended many European festivals where the latest musical trends were often showcased. Well respected and well known, Salazar contributed to Spain's literary, musical, and musicological circles. Furthermore his group reaped the benefits of his wide knowledge of art and culture.[32]

In keeping with the latest artistic trends and aesthetics, and following Salazar's lead, the composers of the group of Madrid rejected nationalism, impressionism, and any other elements that might have been associated with some traditional custom. They preferred originality to replication. One of its members, Gustavo Pittaluga, stated that he fancied music with "no romanticism, no chromaticism, no divagations [sic], and no chord of the diminished seventh."[33] The group's philosophy and attitude toward music was not always pragmatic. As a matter of fact, the more famous and successful compositions contained either elements of Spanish folklore, French neoclassicism, or were Stravinskian in nature.

The most important composer of the group of Madrid was Ernesto Halffter (1905-1989). Salazar appointed Halffter as the head of the group and recommended that he study with Falla, which he did. His most significant work is *Sinfonietta*, written when he was only twenty years old. As Marco argued, *Sinfonietta* is a "perfect work" that shows Halffter's musical understanding, which was rooted in Falla, French music, and neo-Scarlattism.[34] Disappointingly, because *Sinfonietta* was so successful during the early part of his career, Halffter was never able to achieve the same recognition for subsequent

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[32] Marco, pp. 103-04. Jack Sage and Israel J. Katz, "Adolfo Salazar," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), xxii, 143-44.
[33] Mosco Carner, "Music in the Mainland of Europe: 1918-1939," in *New Oxford History of Music*, 10 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 10: 319.
[34] Marco, p. 105-6. Marco explains that neo-Scarlattism means the "Spanish version of neoclassicism derived from European and Stravinskian models." This is a reference to early Classic composer Domenico Scarlatti, an Italian composer who worked for many years as a composer in Spain and was instrumental in developing and cultivating contemporary music during the mid-eighteenth century.

works.

The group of '27 helped put Spain on the map of highbrow European music, and its members were instrumental in learning from and teaching the latest trends practiced throughout Europe, especially French neoclassicism. The freedom they exercised in composition showed their desire to place themselves--and Spanish music--among the very best composers on the continent. This freedom was terminated unexpectedly when the Spanish Civil War began in 1936. The events leading up to the civil war foretold what was destined to happen.

The War and a Call for Restoration

In 1923 the right-wing, ex-military politico, Miguel Primo de Rivera (1870-1930) came to power with the consent of King Alfonso XIII (1886-1941). He ran a dictatorship, which was not supported by many, and by January 1930, he passed his administrative power to General Dámaso Berenguer (1873-1953), whose reign lasted only one year. In the elections of 1931, the Second Republic defeated Berenguer and remained in control until the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). The Second Republic, a socialist government, was opposed to King Alfonso XIII and eventually dissolved the monarchy.

Although there was great political turmoil between 1923 and 1936, artistic freedom and learning were never suppressed, as during the civil war. Because artists, writers, poets, and musicians were able to exercise their creativity just before the Civil War, they sided with the Second Republic. Writers of the Generation of '27, including one of Spain's most famous writers, Federico García Lorca (1898-1936), thrived under the Second Republic. Many artists enjoyed the intellectual arena in which they were able to express their newest ideas without persecution. Unfortunately, this freedom was taken away when the civil war began. Many artists suffered as a result of the war; some went into exile, others were killed.

Of those who were killed, the most well known was García Lorca, who was executed in 1936. The president-to-be, Francisco Franco, had García Lorca killed by his

henchmen, despite the efforts of Falla and others to prevent it.[35] Other incidences that occurred were the assassination of Antonio José and the *zarzuela* composer Manuel Font de Anta.[36] Some composers went into exile during or after the Spanish Civil War, while others emigrated.[37] Gerhard spent his years in exile in England, while Rodolfo Halffter spent his years in Mexico. Both were very successful in their new homelands. Another composer who was successful despite going into exile was Salvador Bacarisse, who was able to evolve musically in Paris. Ernesto Halffter simply left Spain and moved to Portugal. He was comfortable living in Portugal, probably because his wife was Portuguese, and because he had an enchanting visit to Lisbon prior to the outbreak of the war. Julián Bautista and Fernando Remacha were not as fortunate as these other composers, however. Bautista fled to Buenos Aires, Argentina and worked in film scoring, a career which he was forced to take up due to financial difficulties.[38] Remacha worked as head of a family business, silencing himself from music until 1957, when he was appointed director of the Pamplona Conservatory and remained in that position until his retirement.[39]

After the war *casticismo* took on an added meaning. While it still maintained a love and practice of traditional customs, *casticismo* was presented as a restoration movement. For the three years during the civil war, compositional output from the great Spanish composers was minimal. Furthermore, French neoclassicism was coming to a close, neoromanticism was emerging, and the European musical "brain-drain" had begun with Schoenberg's move to the United States in 1934. What was needed was an infusion of life into the neoclassical movement in Spain. As in the early part of the French neoclassical movement with Debussy, Ravel, and other French composers, the Spanish

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[35] Carol Hess, "Manuel de Falla," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), viii, 532.
[36] Marco, p. 233, footnote 1.
[37] Not all Spanish composers were averse to Franco's rule. Therefore, the present author agrees with Marco that some composers simply left Spain in order to receive a different type of musical education, although some may argue that anyone who left was a response to the fascist government.
[38] Film scoring was a popular trade in Argentina and easy work for Bautista.
[39] Marco, p. 110. Christiane Heine, "Fernando Remacha," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), xxi, 176. For all information about the aforementioned composers and their trials and tribulations during and after the Spanish Civil War, see chapter 8 in Marco.

composers looked to the past for inspiration. While Falla's instrumental works were paradigmatic, the zarzuela was at this point the traditional model that infused inspiration into Spanish musical life.

The composers who desired to revive Spanish neoclassicism admired the culture that the eighteenth-century zarzuela represented. According to Marco, this culture included "aristocracy, *majeza* [nobility from eighteenth-century Madrid], bullfights, *saraos* (festive regional parties), and guitar playing."[40] Referring to these elements in musical compositions, the public could easily identify with the nuances, gestures, and dances in the music. With the incorporation of these elements in composition and the approval of the Spanish public, success was, therefore, inevitable. This new style was a combination of neoclassicism and nationalism, which Marco labels *neocasticismo*.

Marco described *neocasticismo* as "a kind of nationalism that tends to develop the aspects of popular urban or historicist picturesque or local color, or sometimes evokes an eighteenth-century atmosphere."[41] The term *neocasticismo* does not necessarily refer to, allude to, or reflect only the music and culture of the eighteenth century. *Neocasticismo* may refer to any music or culture of the past, including the Renaissance, Baroque, Classic, and Romantic periods. Therefore, each composition is unique because one work may refer to one musical past, and a second work may refer to another musical past, yet both are considered *neocasticista* compositions. While many Spanish composers wrote in that style, Joaquín Rodrigo stood out as the leader of *neocasticismo*.[42]

Rodrigo's most well-known and successful composition, *Concierto de Aranjuez* (1939) for guitar and orchestra, bests represents *neocasticismo*. This three-movement concerto characterizes the eighteenth-century style concerto with its allusions to popular Spanish dances and rhythms. According to Rodrigo, he considered his concerto "a piece of pure music" that "evokes a courtly dance" and "by situating it in Aranjuez, [he]

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[40] Marco, p. 129.
[41] Marco, p. 242, footnote 10.
[42] Other composers who wrote in the *neocasticismo* style include Rafael Rodríguez Albert, Javier Alfonso, Jesús Arámbarri, Vicente Asencio, Gaspar Cassadó, Victorino Echevarría, Rafael Ferrer, Tomás Garbizu, Jesús García Leoz, José Muñoz Molleda, Angel Martín Pompey, José Mas Porcel, Rodrigo de Santiago, Matilde Salvador (Asencio's wife), Carlos Suriñach, and Arturo Dúo Vital. Salvador Bacarisse should be included in this list since his music, after 1939, began incorporating *neocasticista* elements. Marco, pp. 129-41.

wanted to indicate a specific time: the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, the courts of Carlos IV and Fernando VII, a subtle style of *majas*, bullfighters, and Spanish sounds."[43] The harmonies are not complex in comparison to his French and German contemporaries, and his melodic lyricism reflects an eighteenth-century Italianate style, with its stepwise motion and limited ambitus.[44]

Rodrigo's *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre* (1954) for guitar and orchestra exemplifies his interpretation of Spanish music representative of an older style than his *Concierto de Aranjuez*.[45] Based on guitar compositions by the Spanish Baroque composer, Gaspar Sanz (1640-1710), this four-movement concerto is the result of Rodrigo's interest in past Spanish composers and the guitar. This attraction toward music of a past era can be traced to his first guitar composition, *Zarabanda Lejana* (Distant Sarabandes, 1926), in which the title clearly refers to a Baroque dance. It was during this time when Rodrigo embarked on an exploration of the history of the guitar and the music composed for the instrument.

Conclusion

With all that Rodrigo was exposed to musically and academically--that includes studying with the Valencian composer and musicologist Eduardo López Chávarri (1875-1970), studying with Paul Dukas at the *Ecole Normale de Musique* in Paris, studying musicology at the Sorbonne, and the growing interest in Spanish musicology by composers before his time--Rodrigo was able to do musicological research in the area of his interests. On a scholarship and with a strong recommendation from Falla, Rodrigo studied musicology at the Sorbonne in 1935. It was during this time at the Sorbonne, at the suggestion of the music professor and friend Aurelio Viñas, that he wrote his unpublished research paper entitled "La Vihuela y los Vihuelistas en el Siglo XVI" (The

[43] Cecilia Rodrigo, "My Father," *Classical Guitar* 15/9 (May 1997), p. 22.
[44] Analyses of this and other concertos will be given in further detail in Chapter Five.
[45] By interpretation, the present author means that Rodrigo not only quoted material by Sanz, but also added his own signature to the piece by incorporating wrong-note harmonies, lengthening the movement by adding his own variations on an original theme, and in his orchestration and guitar-playing virtuosity. For further analysis, see Chapter 5.

vihuela and vihuelists in the sixteenth century).[46] This paper focuses on the importance of the *vihuela da mano* and the vihuelist composers during the sixteenth century. The article was presented at the 400th anniversary celebration of the publication of Luis Milan's *The Maestro*. Although the paper was never published, Rodrigo first presented readings of this paper at the Sorbonne in the spring of 1936. In the following chapter, Rodrigo's paper is translated and contextualized.

In conclusion, the Spanish neoclassical movements *casticismo* and *neocasticismo*, proved to be helpful for Spain to keep up with the current trends in France and Germany, while still maintaining its own persona. The combination of French neoclassicism, twelve-tone composition, and Spanish folklore elements enriched Spanish musical life. Although there was a group of composers who had some success composing zarzuelas, the zarzuela was no longer the only genre in which Spanish composers could thrive. Many composed in instrumental genres and became highly successful. Moreover, a revival of sacred music throughout the first half of the twentieth century preserved that genre.

No other group of composers proved to be more successful than those of the *Generación del '27*. They created the paradigm which many subsequent groups followed.[47] The group's interaction with other artists and intellectuals was an important model for later composers. Spanish composers of later groups worked together with other European and American composers and artists in order to keep up with the current trends. Although one may never know what could have happened to the group of '27 had the Spanish Civil War not taken place, the idea of looking forward and toward new concepts and trends was demonstrated by that group and emulated thereafter.

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[46] Victoria Kamhi de Rodrigo, *Hand in Hand with Joaquín Rodrigo: My life at the Maestro's side*, translated by Ellen Wilkerson (Pittsburgh: Latin American Literary Review Press, 1992), p. 91.
[47] These later groups, as Marco called them, include those who composed in the *neocasticista* style, the composers of the *Generación del '51*, those known as the "transitional group," and those known as the "recent arrivals."

CHAPTER 4

SHORT BIOGRAPHY AND "LA VIHUELA Y LOS VIHUELISTAS EN EL SIGLO XVI"

Biography of Joaquín Rodrigo: 1901-1936

Early Childhood Years

Joaquín Rodrigo Vidre was born on 22 November 1901 in Sagunto, in the Valencian province of Spain. The following inscription appears above the door of his birth home, written on a bronze plaque:

> In this house was born, on 22 November, St. Cecilia Day, the Patron Saint of Music, the genial composer Joaquín Rodrigo. Sagunto, with pride and love, dedicates this remembrance to its favorite son on 30 July 1953.[1]

Born to Vicente Rodrigo Peirats and Juana Vidre Ribelles, Joaquín lived in Sagunto with nine siblings and step-siblings.[2] At age three Joaquín contracted diphtheria, resulting in blindness.[3] Although eye surgery the following year enabled him to see some light and distinguish colors, Joaquín's eyesight gradually deteriorated into a complete loss of vision by his late forties.

Joaquín Rodrigo was exposed to music at an early age and maintained a high interest in music. Because of his handicap, Rodrigo entered the *Colegio de Ciegos* (School for the Blind) in Valencia at age seven. Apart from elementary studies, he also studied piano. As a child, he would often attend musical and theatrical performances at

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[1] Vicente Vayá Pla, *Joaquín Rodrigo: su vida y su obra* (Madrid: Real Musical, 1977), p. 17. Translated by the present author. The Spanish inscription reads: "En esta casa nació el 22 de Noviembre de 1901, festividad de Santa Cecilia, patrona de los músicos, el genial compositor Joaquín Rodrigo. Sagunto, con orgullo y cariño, dedica este recuerdo a su hijo predilecto 30 de Julio de 1953."

[2] Pla, p. 18. Joaquín's father had four children from a previous marriage and had five more children with Juana Vidre.

[3] Pla, p. 19. Fortunately for Joaquín, his blindness was his only handicap as a result of contracting the disease, which was an epidemic that had spread throughout Sagunto in 1903. Other children in Sagunto who contracted diphtheria lost their lives.

the local theater, accompanied by friends and family.[4]

Early Musical Education

At age sixteen, Rodrigo's formal instruction in music began at the Valencia Conservatoire, even though he was not officially enrolled at the institution. He studied harmony and composition with Francisco Antich, and also became a close associate to two other musicians, Enrique Gomá and Eduardo López Chávarri, professors who allowed Rodrigo to audit their classes.

Because Rodrigo was unable to perform duties that required eyesight, his father hired Rafael Ibañez to attend to Rodrigo's needs. Ten years Rodrigo's senior, Ibañez assisted Rodrigo, read books to him about philosophy, novels, articles, and monographs on diverse subjects, and copied Rodrigo's first musical works. Ibañez was instrumental in keeping Rodrigo updated on all current events. Ibañez would remain by Rodrigo's side through Rodrigo's travels to Paris and until Rodrigo married in 1933.[5]

From the early to mid 1920s, Rodrigo composed several compositions for small musical ensembles, for a variety of musical media. His first compositions date from 1923, beginning with *Dos Esbozos* (Two sketches) for violin and piano, followed by the *Suite Para Piano*, *Cançoneta* for violin and string orchestra, and *Ave Maria* for voice and organ. In that same year, Rodrigo composed his first work for large orchestra, *Juglares* (Jongleurs), which was premiered by the Orquesta Sinfónica de Valencia in 1924.[6] Well received and triumphant with *Juglares*, the ambitious and confident Rodrigo entered the Concurso Nacional de Composición--a national composition competition--in 1925, presenting his *Cinco Piezas Infantiles* (Five Children's Pieces). He received an honorable mention for the composition, which was premiered two years later.[7]

In 1926 Rodrigo produced the compositions that brought him early fame and respect among composers. The first of these was the *Preludio al Gallo Mañanero* (The

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[4] According to Pla, Rodrigo's nurse stated that it was impossible to start a conversation with Rodrigo because he was so engaged once the performance began. She also claimed that he would constantly ask her if she had bought tickets for the following event. The performances Rodrigo attended were performed at the *Apolo* Theater, which no longer exists. Pla, p. 24.

[5] Pla, p. 27.

[6] Rodrigo dedicated this work to Chávarri and Gomá, Pla, p. 29.

[7] First prize went to Ernesto Halffter's *Sinfonietta* (1925). Pla, p. 30.

Prelude to the Dawn Cockerel) for solo piano. A couple of years later while Rodrigo was studying in Paris, a portion of this difficult piece was later published in a July 1928 issue of *Le Monde Musical* in which the following note appeared:

> With this fragment we give an example of the talent of this notable musician, a pupil of Paul Dukas at the Ecole Normale de Musique, who will soon prove himself the successor of Albéniz and of Manuel de Falla, although in his work the influence of folk melodies is not as great as in his illustrious compatriots.[8]

The second piece is his first published composition for solo guitar *Zarabanda Lejana* (Distant Sarabande). This piece was dedicated to the *vihuela* of Luis Milán. Although Milán never composed a *sarabande*, this dedication is an early example of the interests Rodrigo had in composers and compositions of the past.

As Rodrigo's wife, Victoria Kamhi de Rodrigo, stated, these two compositions were the key to her husband's early success. In 1927 during a visit to Paris in which Manuel de Falla was made a member of the elite *Légion d'Honneur*, a ceremony was organized in celebration of his membership and several pieces by Falla and other Spanish composers were scheduled for performance. At the ceremony, Rodrigo played his *Preludio al Gallo Mañanero* and *Zarabanda Lejana* on harpsichord.[9]

In Paris with Paul Dukas

In 1927 Rodrigo began his studies in composition with Paul Dukas at the *Ecole Normale de Musique* in Paris. In the following five years, Rodrigo would create more friendships and business associates than compositions. It was during this time that he met and worked with the finer Spanish and French composers and musicians. It was also during this time that he met his wife and life-long partner, Victoria Kamhi.

After courting for four years, Rodrigo married Kamhi in 1933. She assisted him

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[8] Victoria Kamhi de Rodrigo, *Hand in Hand with Joaquín Rodrigo: My life at the Maestro's side*, translated by Ellen Wilkerson (Pittsburgh: Latin American Literary Review Press, 1992), p. 61.

[9] Kamhi, p. 67-8. Although the original plan was to perform pieces only by Falla, Falla requested that the program include pieces by other Spanish composers, such as Ernesto Halffter and Joaquín Turina. Kamhi claimed that the ceremony was performed before the "French intelligentsia" and was a great success for her husband, who soon received several contracts to publish for the Maison Eschig and the Maison Rouart & Lerolle publication companies.

in most professional matters similar to the way that Ibañez assisted him. An excellent pianist, she was also instrumental in the creation, interpretation, and copying of his compositions.[10] She helped him greatly during negotiations by working as his translator.[11] Clearly Kamhi's support of her husband's career helped him greatly in achieving worldwide fame and popularity.

The couple moved to Valencia after he finished his studies in Paris. While Rodrigo composed few works compositions between 1932 and 1935, he did produce two fine compositions in 1934, *Cantico de la Esposa* (Canticle of the wife) and *Per la Flor del Lliri Blau* (The Blue Lily). The former composition is a song with words by St. John of the Cross; the latter composition--a large-scale symphonic poem for orchestra based on the folklore of a Valencian king--won him a *Círculo de Bella Artes* prize in Valencia.

In 1934 Rodrigo and his wife decided that it would be a good idea for him to proceed with his studies in music. Rodrigo applied for the *Conde de Cartagena* scholarhip--a scholarship offered by the *Real Academia de Bellas Artes* (Royal Academy of Fine Arts) every two years to musicians, painters, sculptors, and other artists. The couple immediately began a campaign in order to win the scholarship. They lobbied for votes from the more popular Spanish composers and musicians. Much to the couple's dismay, they heard, while gathering with Rodrigo's delegates in a café, that a violinist patronized by one of Rodrigo's supporters would probably land the scholarship. According to Kamhi, the composer Enrique Fernández Arbós (1863-1939) told Rodrigo that he had to vote for his student violinist; however, he would vote for Rodrigo, if Rodrigo were to apply for the scholarship at another time.[12]

Strangely enough, Kamhi wrote a letter to Enrique Arbós's wife, Berenjela, asking her if there were any way Berenjela could help Rodrigo. While in a concert two days later, Berenjela told Rodrigo and Kamhi that he should ask for Manuel de Falla's support. The couple wrote a letter asking for his help in Rodrigo's obtaining of the scholarship. Not long after, Falla sent a letter to the Count of Romanones, director of the Academy, urging him to vote for Rodrigo and that the Count exert his influence over

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[10] Kamhi wrote many lyrics to his songs.
[11] Kamhi was fluent in five languages including Spanish, English, French, German, and Hebrew.
[12] Kamhi, p. 83.

others on the board. Rodrigo received the scholarship. However, Falla did not follow through on his promise to give a speech in support of Rodrigo's membership to the Academy.[13] In March 1935, Rodrigo and his wife left for Paris.

Back to Paris: Musicological studies at the Sorbonne

While in Paris, Rodrigo studied several different subjects in several institutions throughout the city. He attended courses at the *Instituto de Estudios Hispánicos de la Universidad de Paris* (Institute of Hispanic Studies at the University of Paris); he also studied the history of opera from Monteverdi to Lully and Rameau at the National Conservatory with the music history professor, Maurice Emmanuel; Rodrigo also attended music history courses focusing on the music of Orlando de Lassus taught by André Pirro at the Sorbonne. Although Dukas died in 1935, Rodrigo was able to attend a few of his composition courses. Kamhi also enrolled in classes given at the same institutions. She stated that, although the "topic [of Lassus] was somewhat arid for nonprofessionals . . . they seemed extremely interesting, and it amazed me that there were only four of us in the class."[14] The Rodrigos were taking advantage of their time in Paris by receiving all the education they could afford.

Clearly Rodrigo developed a proclivity for the academics of music during this time, absorbing all that he could about musicology and music history. In furthering his interests in musicology, the couple visited several places in Austria in 1935, serving as correspondents for the Summer Festivals held in that country. During this time Rodrigo met several festival coordinators and representatives who introduced him to German and Austrian musicology.[15]

Because the *Conde de Cartagena* is only a one-year scholarship, Rodrigo reapplied for it in 1936. Fortunately for Rodrigo, the cultural attaché and professor, Aurelio Viñas, a person with whom the Rodrigos developed a close friendship when they met in March 1935, interceded, providing a sound recommendation in favor of Rodrigo obtaining the scholarship which he received for one more year.[16]

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[13] Kamhi, p. 83; Pla, p. 49.
[14] Kamhi, p. 87.
[15] Kamhi, pp. 88-9.
[16] Kamhi, p. 91. Although the scholarship is offered every two years, as stated above, a recipient may

In the spring of 1936, Viñas persuaded Rodrigo to write a paper and present that paper at a conference held at the Institute of Hispanic Studies in Paris in May of that year. Rodrigo wrote his unpublished work entitled "La Vihuela y los Vihuelistas en el Siglo XVI" (The *vihuela* and vihuelists in the sixteenth century) for this conference. The paper focuses on the importance of the *vihuela da mano* and the vihuelist composers during the sixteenth century. Furthermore, the paper was presented at the 400th anniversary celebration of the publication of Luis Milán's *El Maestro*. It is evident that Rodrigo was now focusing his interests in Spanish musicology.

Additionally, Rodrigo had befriended the Catalonian guitarist and composer, Emilio Pujol (1886-1980), during Rodrigo's first visit to Paris in 1927.[17] Pujol and Rodrigo collaborated in 1936 during the conference in which Rodrigo's paper was presented.[18] Pujol performed pieces by Milán and other vihuelist composers on the vihuela as musical examples to Rodrigo's text.

Pujol also had interests in Spanish musicology. After touring and performing extensively until the 1920s, he began transcribing and arranging works, nearly 300 in all, which were published in the *Bibliotheque de Musique Ancienne et Moderne*.[19] The compositions transcribed include Gaspar Sanz's *Canarios* and *Españoleta*, both of which were quoted and orchestrated in Rodrigo's *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre*. Pujol became professor of vihuela at Barcelona Conservatory in 1945 and taught frequently at Lisbon Conservatory (1946-9) and the Chigiana Academy in Siena (1953-63).[20]

Between 1936 and 1939 Rodrigo presented this paper in many conferences throughout Europe, including France, Austria, and Switzerland at the Hispano-Swiss Society of Zurich.[21] In Switzerland, the President of the Society invited Rodrigo to give a lecture and a performance in the Tonhalle. Rodrigo obliged and read his article while his wife performed the short musical examples on the piano. Among distinguished

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reapply for an extra year.
[17] Vayá Pla, p. 36.
[18] Vayá Pla, p. 36.
[19] The transcriptions and arrangements were published in Paris in 1927, Max Eschig Publications; Thomas F. Heck with Ron Purcell, "Emilio Pujol," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), xx, 594-5.
[20] Heck, p. 595.
[21] Vayá Pla, p. 76.

guests and musicians, the President of the Swiss Republic attended the performance.[22]

In 1951 Rodrigo was invited to present the same *vihuela* paper in London. Accompanied by his wife, she played a few pieces by Renaissance composers that Rodrigo had transcribed and compiled as a suite for piano in 1938. The suite is titled *Cinco Piezas del Siglo XVI*. Each of the five pieces--four of which were originally for *vihuela*--was written by four Spanish Renaissance composers: one piece each by Antonio de Cabezón, Enríquez de Valderrábano, Alonso Mudarra, and two pieces by Luis de Milán. Rodrigo's article discusses the lives and works of the last three composers.

Rodrigo condensed forty years of *vihuela* treatises into five pages. While this paper may not be acceptable by today's musicological standards, Rodrigo's article brings attention to the importance of these treatises and composers and their place in Spanish musical history.[23] Furthermore, Rodrigo made it clear that he, along with Pujol, found value in researching the *vihuela* and the context in which it existed.

[22] Kamhi, p. 93.
[23] All the names and spellings as written by Rodrigo are translated in the same manner. Corrections are given below in the analysis of the translation.

LA VIHUELA Y LOS VIHUELISTAS EN EL SIGLO XVI

1- Ha padecido nuestra historia musical verdaderos cataclismos, revoluciones que han hecho olvidar la música que les precedió, su manera de ser leida, su modo de interpretarla, los órganos de expresión han sido reemplazados por otros.

2- Las viejas ediciones fuéronse perdiendo y hoy las pocas que poseemos se guardan en museos y bibliotecas como documentos preciosos. Además se ha perdido la costumbre de cantar en coro y sin ellos, al no ser cantada esta música no adquiere su belleza y su fuerza expresiva.

3- Con la vihuela nos ocurría que hablabamos mucho de ella pero no sabíamos a ciencia cierta en que consistía; se la confundía, y esto por personas de solvencia artistica con el "luth" francés, la tiorba italiana, la mandora o la guitarra. Esta confusión es también explicable, porque hasta hace apenas dos años nadie había podido tener una vihuela en sus manos.

4- Ni Pedrell, ni Mitjana, ni Morphi ni Barbieri pudieron encontrar jamás una vihuela; ¿Cómo explicar que la vihuela instrumento de moda en el siglo XVI, hasta el punto que no había caballero que de tal se preciara que no supiera tañerla, y cuya fabricación debió ser considerable y regular no haya dejado rastro alguno?

5- Pero en París, por azar, nuestro admirable guitarrista Emilio Pujol dió con nuestro instrumento que posee el museo Jacquemart-André.

THE VIHUELA AND VIHUELISTS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

1- Our musical history has suffered real cataclysms, revolutions that have made us forget the music that preceded it, and the manner in which it is read; the method of interpretation and the modes of expression have been replaced by others.

2- Old editions vanished and the few we possess today are being kept and guarded in museums and libraries as precious documents. Furthermore the custom of solo and choral singing has been long forgotten. Without this tradition, this music cannot acquire its true beauty and expressive force.

3- We know that we have talked much about the *vihuela*, but we have not really known the science behind it. It has been confused, by highly respected artisans, with the French "luth," the Italian theorbo, the mandora (bass lute), and the guitar. This confusion is understandable, though, until the last two years, no one has been able to obtain a *vihuela*.

4- Not Pedrell, not Mitjana, not Morphi, not Barbieri could find a *vihuela*. How can these authors explain the *vihuela* in the same manner as it was described in the sixteenth century, when none could play the instrument; and furthermore, there was no blueprint of the instrument, yet it was highly produced in large numbers?

5- But in Paris, our admirable guitarist Emilio Pujol came across the *vihuela* in the Jacquemart-André Museum by accident.

6- Juzgad de la emoción de nuestro guitarrista al hallarse frente a una vihuela, auténtica; tal fué su emoción, su turbación que cometió en este momento algo que yo llamaría un delito de lesia patria, no robando bonitamente la vihuela al museo.

7- No lo hizo pero copió el instrumento que yacía medio destripado punto por punto, dimensión por dimensión.

8- Esta vihuela data según se dice, del año 1500 y se cree procede del Monasterio de Guadalupe.

9- Nuestra vihuela y más tarde nuestra guitarra española, demostraría según unos, al laud caldeo-asirio que en transmisiones sucesivas nos traerían los árabes a España. En efecto, nos trajeron su guitarra; pero esta no da origen a nuestra vihuela.

10- La segunda teoría es la que hace proceder a nuestro instrumento de la kethara asiria, kitara griega, o citara en Roma. Crota o rota instrumento muy usado hasta la edad media, fidicula o vigola, viele, viola, vihuela.

11- Esta última teoría se ha visto muy reforzada con el hallazgo de un manuscrito del siglo XVIII, el código de salmos de Utrecht, en el que puede verse una serie de miniaturas. Primero aparece la citara, cuyos brazos van cerrandose por sus extremidades y que dejan al instrumento con unas incurvaciones parecidas a las de la guitarra. Luego se le añade un mango con tres clavijas, más tarde los trastes y finalmente aparece en una última miniatura tocada en posición horizontal.

6- Our guitarist was filled with emotion to find himself face to face with an authentic *vihuela*; so much was his joy that I wonder if it did not occur to him to commit the crime of stealing the beautiful instrument.

7- He did not steal it, but he did analyze the instrument, which lay in pieces.

8- According to specialists, this instrument is dated around 1500, originating from the Guadalupe monastery.

9- Our *vihuela* and our Spanish guitar, some observed, is similar to the Assyrian lute, which were transmitted by the Arabs to Spain. They brought the guitar, but this is not the origin of the *vihuela*.

10- A second theory holds that the *vihuela* originated from the Assyrian, Greek, or the Italian *kithara*. The *crota* or *rota* instrument was also used often until the Middle Ages, also called the *fidicula* or *vigola*, *viele*, *viola*, *vihuela*.

11- This last theory holds true according to the eighteenth-century discovery of the Utrecht Psalter, which contains a series of miniatures. The first miniature is that of an Italian *cithara*, with its construction very similar to that of a guitar. Following the miniature is a picture of a handle with three pegs, the next few miniatures show the frets and finally, the last miniature shows the horizontal playing position.

12- La primera mención de la vihuela la hallamos en San Isidoro, en su libro de las "Estimologías", él nos da la que acabo de señalar. Una alusión más directa la encontramos en el libro de Apolonio, siglo XVIII, cuando dice:

13- "*Aguisose la dueña, ficieronle logar templó bien la vihuela en un son natural*."

14- Las cantigas del rey sabio ya nos muestran dos miniaturas; en una vemos una guitarra oval tocada por un moro; otra una guitarra de fondo llano que tocaría uno a modo de romano.

15- La primera con tres cuerdas, la segunda con cuatro.

16- Que convivían guitarras, vihuela, laud, etc., nos lo prueba la crónica de Alfonso XI, cuando hablando de las bodas de dicho monarca nos dice:

17- "*El laud iban tañendo instrumento falaguero*
La Vihuela tañendo el rabe con el salterio,
La guitarra serransista estrumento con razón."

18- Finalmente, el arcipreste de Hita en su encantadora nominación de instrumentos, dice:

19- "*Alli sale gritando la guitarra morisca*
De las voses aguda, de los puntos arisca,
El corpudo laud que tiene punto a la trisca
La guitarra latina, con esto se aprisca."

12- The first mention of the *vihuela* is found in the writings by Saint Isidore of Sevilla in his *Etymologies*. A more direct allusion is found in the eighteenth-century text by Apolonio, which states:

13- "The lady prepares to play, while they furnished the place, then she played the *vihuela* in all of its beautiful tone."

14- In the Cantigas of Alfonso "The Wise," he has shown us two miniatures. In the first miniature we find an oval guitar played by a moor; in the second we find a guitar with a flat back similar to the Italian type.

15- The first instrument is comprised of three strings, the second is comprised of four.

16- The existence of guitars, *vihuelas*, lutes, etc. is chronicled by Alfonso XI in his discussion about his marriage; he states:

17- "The lute, they were playing the fingered instrument
The vihuela played with the *rabãb* and the psaltery,
The Spanish guitar, instrument of beauty."

18- Finally the Archpriest de Hita stated in his charming nomenclature of instruments:

19- "Then came the screaming Moorish guitar,
Of shrill voices, with harsh tones,
The big-bodied lute keeping tempo,
And the Spanish guitar, grouped among them."

20- Tres clases de vihuela conviven: la vihuela de arco, la de plectro y la de mano.

21- De estas tres suertes pues, de vihuelas la que hoy nos interesa es la de mano.

22- Se nos aparece en el siglo XVI que cruza como un meteoro y como él fugaz, dotada de seis cuerdas dobles; estas se afinaban según el padre Bermudo en su declaración de instrumentos 1549, sol do fa, la, re, sol; y añade: como el laud.

23- Esto ha originado en primer lugar una confusión entre los dos instrumentos, confusión imposible por su forma plana en la primera, oval en el segundo, luego las diferencias de acordaje, de afinación interior, por decirlo así, pues en nuestra vihuela se afinaban las dobles cuerdas el unísono, excepción hecha de la sexta cuerda, mientras que en el "luth" francés las tres cuerdas graves se afinaban a la octava, lo que da una afinación menos lógica que realizaría un cruzamiento de voces en la armonía de tino más rudimentario, más primitivo.

24- Nuestra vihuela cruza el siglo XVI como un astro fugaz; en efecto, la obra de nuestros músicos se encierra en el corto período de treinta y nueve años, lo que va de la publicación de Milán 1536 a la de Daza 1575, fechas que marcan la primera y la última aparición de música para vihuela.

25- Y aún más se concentra esta obra en sólo 18 años lo que va de la publicación de Milán a Fuenllana. Estos dos músicos son a mi ver vertices de la escritura guitarrista, el primero por su

20- Three types of *vihuelas* exist: bowed *vihuela*, *vihuela* played with a plectrum, and the *vihuela* played with the hand.

21- Of these three, we are interested in the *vihuela* played with the hand.

22- In the sixteenth century, which came and went as quickly as a meteor, we find a six double-course stringed instrument. According to Bermudo, in his treatise of 1549, the tuning was sol, do, fa, la, re, sol (G C F a d g), just like the lute.

23- This description may cause confusion between the two instruments. This is an obviously impossible confusion, since its shape differs--flat back in the former, oval in the latter instrument--and both instruments are tuned differently. The *vihuela* is tuned in unison except for the sixth string, whereas the French lute has the three lower courses tuned in octaves, which gives a less logical tuning since it produces a cross-voicing in the more rudimentary harmony.

24- Our *vihuela* takes flight through the sixteenth century like a shooting star. The works of the musicians of this time are captured in a short period of thirty-nine years, from Milán's publication in 1536 to Daza's publication in 1575--dates that mark the first and last of the music for *vihuela*.

25- We focus more on the works of Milán and Fuenllana, whose works span eighteen years. These two musicians are, in my opinion, the zenith of the *vihuela* literature. The first composer

elegancia, su nobleza, su gracia señoril; el segundo por su originalidad desconcertante, su adivinación sorprendente.

26- La vihuela de Fuenllana marcará el período de esplendor su non plus ultra.

27- En 1536 se publica en Valencia el primer libro de cifra para vihuela: se titula El Maestro; y su autor es Luís de Milán.

28- En 1538 aparece la segunda obra para vihuela; la componen los seis libros del "Delfín" de Luís de Narbaez.

29- Alfonso Mudarra, canónigo de Sevilla, publica en 1546 sus tres libros de cifra.

30- Un año más tarde en 1547 publica Enríquez de Valderrábano su música encerrada en un título un tanto culterano.

31- "Silva de Sirenas" es el libro de cifra de Diego Pisador.

32- Fuenllana: oriundo de Navalcarnero, (Madrid); ciego de nacimiento, músico de la marquesa de Tarifa. Acerca de este músico el ilustre musicólogo Higinio Anglés nos acaba de revelar que fué músico de la reina Isabel de Valois, con sueldo de 53.000 maravedises.

33- Más de veinte años debío de ser Fuenllana vihuelista del palacio real, pues que en 1561 reclaman sus herederos gages debidos a nuestro músico. Fué parece ser habilísimo organista y tan consumado vihuelista como diestro postillón.

represented elegance, nobility, and humanity; and the second composer known for his unimaginable originality, and surprising divination.

26- Fuenllana's *vihuela* marks a period of splendor--its *non plus ultra*.

27- In 1536 Milán published in Valencia his first book for *vihuela* entitled *El Maestro*.

28- In 1538 the second book for *vihuela* appears. The six books of the *Delfín* was published by Luís de Narbaez.

29- In 1546 Alfonso Mudarra, canon of Sevilla, published three books for *vihuela*.

30- The following year, in 1547, Enríquez de Valderrábano published his book with a title respective of its style.

31- "Silva de Sirenas" is the tablature book by Diego Pisador.

32- Fuenllana, native of Navalcarnero (Madrid) and blind from birth, was the court musician to the Marquise of Tarifa. The musicologist Higinio Anglés stated that Fuenllana was a musician to the Queen Isabel de Valois, receiving 53,000 maravedises annually.

33- Fuenllana spent more than twenty years in the Palacio Real, until his replacement in 1561. Fuenllana was a considerable organist and a skillful vihuelist.

34- En efecto, por raro que nos parezca y según el testimonio de Zapata en circunstancias de hallarse el rey de Bohemia en Madrid, este ciego singular salía todas las mañanas con el correo, guiando la posta, que era verlo y no creerlo.

35- Pedrell nos dice: esto puede parecer fantasía, pero considerando la genial labor de Fuenllana en la vihuela, y las dificultades que debió vencer para transcribir tantas y tantas obras, y de qué manera, podemos creer en tales hazañas.

36- Su libro, "Orfenica Lira" 1554, contiene un número impresionante de motetes, villancicos, romances, tientos, etc., que pasma pensar como pudo este hombre aprenderse todo aquello de oídas para poder hacer luego la transcripción.

37- Pedrell sigue pasmándose de cómo Fuenllana pudo corregir pruebas, etc. Tuvo este músico no cabe duda un buen colaborador, su trabajo de correción queda en una labor de paciencia y atención si es que no lo tocaba en su vihuela y otro lo cifraba.

38- Inventan, hablando su propio lenguaje, toda una literatura musical; la música instrumental se debe a ellos casi tanto como a los organistas. Sus fantasías, creaciones abstractas, son los primeros modelos de lo que más tarde se llamará con razón o sin ella, música pura. Con sus diferencias, es decir, el arte de variar un tema.

34- As rare as it appears to us and as Zapata has confirmed in his research, Fuenllana walked every morning with messages in hand, amazingly guiding the messenger.

35- Pedrell observed that this might seem unreal, but considering the brilliant labor of Fuenllana on the *vihuela*, and the difficulties he had to overcome to transcribe so many works, we can believe such deeds.

36- His book "Orfenica Lira" was written in 1554 and contains a number of motets, *villancicos*, romances, *tientos*, etc. It astounds us to think how could this man have learned all those pieces by ear and then have transcribed them.

37- Pedrell was still astounded by how Fuenllana was able to correct proofs, etc. Fuenllana had a great collaborator, who had the patience and attention to write out the music even as Fuenllana played it.

38- They would create music, speaking their own secret language. Instrumental music was much their own, just as much as the organists owned their music of their period. Their fantasies, abstract creations of a sort, were the first models of what will later be known as pure music. With the invention of the *differencias*, they created the art of variation.

39- Crearán el tipo de música objetiva, decorativa, música que no querrá tener más fin que en sí misma y de la cual se abusará en los últimos años del siglo XVIII.

40- Recogiendo la música de danza preparan, esbozan el plan de la suite, por consiguiente de la sonata, la "Catedral Sonora" como la llamó d'Indy.

41- Hábiles instrumentistas, improvisadores geniales, audacia de sus dedos ágiles, ensancharán prodigiosamente los ámbitos armónicos, melódicos.

42- Finalmente, y esta no es su menor mérito, fueron recopiladores de toda la música popular de su época. De todos aquellos romances, villancicos, sonadas, tonadas vaqueras, serranillas, canciones de amigos y de ladinos; de toda aquella música que se cantaba o se bailaba, ellos supieron legárnosla en toda su fragancia primera, en toda su lozanía y sin ellos se hubiera perdido fatalmente, irremisiblemente.

43- Un estudio profundo, detenido sustancioso de nuestro folklore, no puede hacerse sin antes desmenuzar, triturar la obra de nuestros vihuelistas y esto está todavía por hacer.

44- Sería interesante y aleccionador de como van formandose los diferentes sentimientos regionales de la música española, un estudio comparativo de nuestros compositores.

45- En fuerte contraste con Milán se nos aparece Luís de Narbaez.

39- They would create the kind of music that is objective and decorative, music that is complete and that will be mannerist toward the end of the eighteenth century.

40- Through collections of dance pieces, they sketch out a plan for the suite, resulting in the sonata, and create the "Catedral Sonora," as Vincent d'Indy has dubbed it.

41- Able instrumentalists, genial improvisers, with their agile fingers, they
expanded the harmonic and melodic ambitus prodigiously.

42- Finally, this not being of lesser merit, they were the compilers of all the popular music of its time. They were collector of all those romances, *villancicos*, *sonadas*, *tonadas vaqueras*, *serranillas*, *canción de amigos* and *ladinos*; as creators and collectors of all the music that was sung or danced, their style impacted us, and without them, the music would have been fatally and inexcusably lost.

43- A deep study, which takes a second look at our folklore, cannot be achieved without analysis in detail of the works of our vihuelists, which has not been done.

44- It would be interesting and instructional to see how thoughts of Spanish music differ from region to region, that is, to show a comparative study of our composers.

45- In strong contrast with Milan we have Luís de Narbaez.

46- Narbaez tiene un sentido armónico, menos refinado, es más áspero a pesar de que su "Delfín" de música se publica dos años más tarde a la obra de Milán su sentido tonal es más vacilante, más primitivo, sin embargo, su contrapunto va más lejos, lo que le presta una escritura más aérea, más barroca; su trabazón temática queda así más vaporosa.

47- Es por otra parte, Narbaez quien introduce modificaciones al cifrado de Milán que seguirán todos los demás vihuelistas.

48- Muy otra es la escritura de Mudarra; su armonía es tan atrevida, que obliga a sus transcriptores a llamarnos constantemente la atención para que no creamos que son erratas. Tal es su audacia que se llega a creer si es genialidad o un sentido armónico un poco desviado.

49- Mudarra escribe "Romanescas" bellísimas, combina al ejemplo de los italianos la pavana con la gallarda, es decir, la danza lenta con la rápida; siente predilección por los cantos bíblicos romances que cantan las desventuras del pueblo de Israel y que él subraya con acordes macizos, reiterados que dan una impresión de grandeza y fatalismo.

50- En flagrante contradicción con lo que nos hiciese presumir el nombre, en verdad poco eufónico de Valderrábano, este músico es el más tierno, el más poético de los vihuelistas; es un poeta sensible. Sus pavanas nos aporran un sentimiento delicado de españolismo, sus villancicos son los más poéticos, aquellos villancicos de sabor tan penetrante.

46- Narbaez had much harmonic sense, less refined, more harsh in spite of the fact that his *Delfin* is published two years after Milán's book. His tonal sense is more hesitant, more primitive, nevertheless, his counterpoint goes beyond the norm, what would be considered more ethereal, more baroque, with the main themes more airy.

47- On the other hand it was Narbaez who edited Milan's treatise. Other vihuelists also followed suit by editing the works of their contemporaries.

48- Another is Mudarra's work; his harmony is so daring that it obliges one to call on transcribers to prove to us that those harmonies are not errors. So much was his audacity that one wonders if it were his humor or a defiant harmonic sense.

49- Mudarra wrote beautiful *romanescas* by combining the Italian *pavana* with the *gallarda*, which means, slow with fast dancing. He had a predilection for biblical songs, romances that sing the misfortunes of the Jewish people of Israel, songs that he emphasized with massive chords, which reiterate an impression of destined greatness.

50- In great contrast with what was known of him, in little truth of Valderrábano's euphony, this musician was the warmest, the most poetic of the vihuelists, a sensitive poet. His *pavanas* give us a delicate feeling of Spanishness, and his *villancicos* are most poetic.

51- Pero he aquí a Pisador. El nos lleva al Escorial en alas de su música, música austera, escueta de perfil, serio este Pisador como su música encontraría resonancias hermanas en las frías estancias del monasterio.

52- Fuenllana inventa poca música, y sin embargo, ¡cómo nos suena a original; a personal! Es que este músico crea en el reducido ámbito de la transcripción, una atmósfera, la que conviene, cuatro o cinco notas le bastan para situarnos, para formar un ambiente.

53- Además con una adivinación sorprendente, comprondá sus armonizaciones a estrambotes y villancicos de la propia sustancia melódica y rítmica de estos cantos.

54- Esta fue la vihuela, estos sus músicos, ésta su música.

55- Resumiendo y glosando a exacta frase de Tionel de la Lanrencie podemos decir que estos compositores fueron maravillos “receptores, amplificadores, vulgarizadores e innovadores”.

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51- And now to Pisador. He carried us to the Escorial on the wings of his music--austere and simplistic. A serious composer, as is his music, he incorporated the same frigid resonances of the monastery.

52- Fuenllana created little music, yet, incredibly original and personal! Within a short ambitus comprised of four or five notes, this musician created a pleasant, musical ambiance.

53- Furthermore, with surprising intuition, he employed his harmonizations to *estrambotes* and *villancicos* with the melodic and rhythmical nuances of these types of poems.

54- This was the *vihuela*, its musicians, and its music.

55- In summary, quoting Tionel de la Lanrencie, we can say that these composers were marvelous "receivers, elaborators, conventionalists and innovators."

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Analysis of Translation

An analysis and discussion of specific and important points are warranted. These focus on the explanation of terminology and explication of unexplored ideas. This discussion also provides information Rodrigo might not have explicitly stated. The present author suggests other important and useful texts and articles for further reading. Only the essential parts of Rodrigo's paper are discussed, confining the analysis to descriptions of the prominent authors and composers, rectifying incorrect information, and providing useful references to which Rodrigo referred during his investigation of the *vihuela* and vihuelists.

The four authors and musicians to whom Rodrigo refers in paragraph four are Felipe Pedrell (1841-1922), Rafael Mitjana (1869-1921), Guillermo Morphy (1836-1899), and Francisco Ansejo Barbieri (1823-1894). All were contemporary Spanish musicologists who helped propel the discipline in Spain. Mitjana wrote a text concerning religious and secular art music in Spain.[24] Morphy, an amateur musician and author who composed opera, edited the two-volume text entitled *Le luthistes espagnols du XVIe siècle*.[25] Barbieri wrote articles and edited texts concerning Spanish music of the sixteenth century.[26] Pedrell, widely known as the father of Spanish musicology and who taught Falla, Albéniz, and Granados, wrote extensively on the history of music in Spain.[27]

In paragraphs 11-19, Rodrigo refers to several sources in which references to the *vihuela* or some type of plucked stringed instrument appears. The first of these indications is in paragraph eleven in which Rodrigo suggests that these miniature images appear in the Utrecht Psalter, which was rediscovered in the eighteenth century.[28] The eleventh paragraph actually reads: "This last theory holds true according to the discovery

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[24] Rafael Mitjana, *La Música de España (Arte Religioso y Arte Profano)* (Madrid: T. G. Forma, S. A. 1920).
[25] Guillermo Morphy, *Le luthistes espagnols du XVIe siècle* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1902); Sydney Robinson Charles, George R. Hill, Norris L. Stephens, and Julie Woodward, "Editions, Historical, I, 3 (iii): Anthologies: Small Instrumental," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), xxviii, 193.
[26] 'Más sobre las danzas y bailes en España en los siglos XVI y XVII', *La ilustración española y americana*, xxii (1878), nos.13–14, 44-5; *Cancionero musical de los siglos XV y XVI* (Madrid, 1890).
[27] For more information about Pedrell, see Walter Aaron Clark, "Felipe Pedrell," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), xxix, 278-79.
[28] Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, Bib. Rijksuniv., MS. 32, c. 820-835).

of a manuscript of the eighteenth century, the Utrecht Psalter…." Read this way, one would conclude that the Utrecht Psalter was *written* in the eighteenth century rather than the ninth century. However, in all likelihood, Rodrigo meant that the *discovery* of the manuscript was made in the eighteenth century. In the following paragraph, Rodrigo calls attention to *Etymologiarum sive Originum libri xx* by Isidore of Seville (c559-636) and the *Libro de Apolonio* (1250).[29] Mistakenly, Rodrigo states that *Apolonio* is from the eighteenth century rather than the thirteenth century.[30] The text that Rodrigo quotes from *Libro de Apolonio* corresponds to verse 178.[31]

In paragraphs 14-17, Rodrigo speaks of two images of musicians playing a lute and a flatter type of stringed instrument, possibly a vihuela. These images appear above the Prologue and the first cantiga in the *Las Cantigas de Santa María*.[32] Another instance in which both types of stringed instruments are performing is in the chronicles of Alfonso XI's (1311-1350) wedding in which several musicians performed for the occasion. The verses appear in *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* as verse numbers 408-409.[33] Several other verses discuss other instruments played in the wedding, such as a trapezoidal psaltery (*medio canón*), a Moorish flute (*exabeba morisca*), and a German harp (*la farpa de don Tristán*).[34] The next two paragraphs refer to the Arcipreste de Hita (Juan Ruiz, c1283-c1350) and his *Libro de buen amor* (Book of True Love, 1330), in which he refers to thirty-seven instruments.[35] This quote is from verse 1228 and it refers to the clerics, friars, nuns, and jongleurs who come to receive Sir Love.[36]

In paragraph twenty, Rodrigo indicates that there are three types of *vihuelas*. The

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[29] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive Originum libri xx*, edited by Wallace M. Lindsay (New York: Oxford University Press, 1911); *Libro de Apolonio*, in *Elliott Monographs in the Romance Languages and Literatures*, edited by C. Carroll Marden (New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1965).
[30] Rodrigo writes in the twelfth paragraph that *Apolonio* is from the XVIII century. This could simply be a typographical error in which the copyist meant to write 'XIII' rather than 'XVIII'.
[31] *Libro de Apolonio*, p. 21. The present author translated the quote in paragraph 13, p. 51 above.
[32] Alfonso X, *Las Cantigas de Santa María*, Escorial 1, códice T.j. I. f., 5 a-b.
[33] Alfonso XI, *Poema de Alfonso Onceno*, edited by Juan Victorio (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1991), p. 122.
[34] Alfonso XI, p. 122, verses 409-410.
[35] Robert Stevenson, "Arcipreste de Hita," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), i, 863-4; Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor*, edited by Anthony N. Zahareas, translation in verse by Saralyn R. Daly (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978).
[36] *Libro de buen amor*, pp. 310-11. The present author's translations are used in paragraph nineteen.

first is the *vihuela de arco*, which is a bowed fiddle; the second is named *vihuela la de plectro*, which means it is played with a quill; the third is the one of which is the focus of this research, *vihuela da mano*, or finger-plucked *vihuela*.[37]

Rodrigo mentions Juan Bermudo's (c. 1510-after 1559) treatise of 1549 in paragraph twenty-two. This particular treatise, titled *El libro primero de la Declaración de instrumentos*, does not deal with musical instruments. Rodrigo probably consulted Bermudo's 1555 treatise, titled *Declaración de instrumentos musicales*, which deals with the practical nature of instruments, especially the *vihuela*.[38]

In paragraphs 26-31, Rodrigo mentions several authors and their treatises but does not give any dates. Therefore, dates of the persons and their treatises are provided here.

Luis de Milán (c1500-after 1560) wrote his treatise *Libro de música de vihuela de mano intitulado El Maestro* in 1536 and published in Valencia.[39] His treatise is followed by Luis de Narváez's (flourished 1526-49), *Los seys libros del Delphín de música de cifra para tañer vihuela*, published in Valladolid, Spain in 1538.[40] Alonso Mudarra (c1510-1580) followed with his treatise *Tres libros de música en cifra para vihuela*, published in Seville in 1546.[41]

The following year Enríquez de Valderrábano (fl. 1547) published his treatise entitled *Libro de música de vihuela intitulado Silva de Sirenas* in Valladolid.[42] Rodrigo erroneously attributed the title of Valderrábano's treatise to Diego Pisador (1509/10-after 1557), whose treatise is actually entitled *Libro de música de vihuela* (Salamanca 1552).

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[37] For more information see, Diana Poulton and Antonio Corona Alcalde, "Vihuela," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), xxvi, 605-9. The second of these *vihuelas* is also known as *vihuela de pendola* or *peñola*.

[38] Juan Bermudo, *El libro llamado Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (Osuna, 1555/Kassel, Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1957).

[39] Luis de Milán, *Libro de música de vihuela de mano intitulado El Maestro*, edited by Charles Jacobs (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971).

[40] Luis de Narváez, *Los seys libros del Delphín de música de cifra para tañer vihuela*, *Monumento Musical de España*, iii, (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1971).

[41] Alonso Mudarra, *Tres libros de música en cifra para vihuela*, *Monumento Musical de España*, vii, transcriptions by Emilio Pujol (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1949). Rodrigo wrote Alfonso rather than Alonso.

[42] Enríquez de Valderrábano, *Libro de música de vihuela intitulado Silva de Sirenas*, partly edited in *Monumento Musical de España*, xxii-xxiii, transcriptions by Emilio Pujol (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1965).

Finally, Rodrigo mentions Miguel de Fuenllana (fl. 1553-78) who is one of the central figures of Rodrigo's article. Fuenllana's publication, *Libro de música para vihuela, intitulado Orphénica lyra*, was published in Seville in 1554.[43] Rodrigo mistakenly stated that Fuenllana left his post as musician to the Marquise of Tarifa in 1561. John Griffiths asserted that Fuenllana actually left by 1559 and was appointed to work for Isabel de Valois (d. 1568) the following year.[44] Rodrigo might have had an affinity toward appreciating Fuenllana's oeuvre and professionalism, since the Renaissance composer was also blind from birth.

The person whom Rodrigo calls "Tionel de la Lanrencie" in the final paragraph, is actually Lionel de La Laurence (1861-1933). La Laurence was a lawyer and scientist who later worked in French musicology.[45] Among many publications, he wrote the article "Une dynastie de musiciens aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: Les Rebel," which focuses on a family of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French musicians.[46]

Although other aspects of this work may be explored further, the present author believes that any more investigation of other facts, events, and individuals mentioned in the *vihuela* paper is beyond the scope of this research.

The foregoing discussion has attempted to offer a better understanding of the intentions Rodrigo had with this work. He clearly wanted his audience to appreciate past musicians and their music that had not previously been fully explored. Furthermore, he and Pujol found similar interest in the exploration and importance of the *vihuela* during the time in which the instrument flourished. The two revealed the importance of studying the *vihuela*, which would lead to a better understanding of the guitar and its history.

Clearly Rodrigo had no intentions of terminating his musicological investigations with the *vihuela* paper; rather, this work proved to be the first of many papers concerning

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[43] Miguel de Fuenllana, *Libro de música para vihuela, intitulado Orphénica lyra*, edited by Charles Jacobs (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978). For more information about these and other *vihuela* authors, see Samuel Rubio, *Historia de la música española: Desde el "ars nova" hasta 1600* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1983), pp. 219-241.

[44] John Griffiths, "Miguel de Fuenllana," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), ix, 313.

[45] G. B. Sharp and Jean Gribenski, *Lionel de La Laurencie*, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), xiv, 149-50.

[46] Lionel de La Laurencie, "Une dynastie de musiciens aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: Les Rebel," *Sammelbände Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft*, vii (1905–6), pp.253-307.

other areas of music academia in which he was interested. Rodrigo published articles that explored music and medicine, performance techniques, compositional processes, and future musical movements.[47] Additionally, his focus was mainly directed toward Spanish music, Spanish composers, and Spanish musicians.

Rodrigo's admiration of the musical past in Spain becomes apparent in his guitar compositions. In the following chapter, a connection between Rodrigo's research of past Spanish music and his guitar compositions is shown. An analysis of representative guitar pieces, arranged for solo and with orchestra, is also presented. The chapter will also explain the importance of Rodrigo's guitar compositions within a musicological and an historical context. This part of the study will show how his guitar compositions, in a sense, pay homage to and realize that which he found important to explore. The examination will show that what he achieved in his guitar compositions was worldwide fame and popularity, because it showed that what he deemed significant should also be significant for his audience.

[47] For an insightful presentation, history, and analysis of articles written or lectured by Rodrigo, see Antonio Iglesias's *Escritos de Joaquín Rodrigo: recopilación y comentarios*, (Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto, S. A., 1999) pp. 253-325. Iglesias's text does not contain the *vihuela* article.

CHAPTER 5

SCORE ANALYSES OF REPRESENTATIVE GUITAR COMPOSITIONS

Joaquín Rodrigo's guitar compositions realized his ideas of the importance of studying and evaluating past composers and compositions by combining his musicological studies and interests along with his knowledge of composition to create the guitar works that led him to worldwide fame and popularity. His works are the tangible presentation of his interests as a musicologist. In order to illustrate how Rodrigo's interest in musicology influenced what and how he composed for guitar, one must consider and analyze his guitar compositions that are representative of *neocasticismo*. The analyses will show how his guitar compositions, particularly his guitar concertos, paid homage to and realized his musicological interests in the history of Spanish music.

The focus is on the guitar concertos: *Concierto de Aranjuez* (1939) for guitar and orchestra, *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre* (1954) for guitar and small orchestra, and *Concierto Madrigal* (1966) for two guitars and orchestra. Of the five guitar concertos Rodrigo composed, these three concertos directly refer to the music of another era. The *Concierto de Aranjuez* suggests the Classic period, the *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre* quotes the works of Baroque composer Gaspar Sanz, and the *Concierto Madrigal* quotes and elaborates on a madrigal by the Renaissance composer Jacques Arcadelt (ca. 1507-1568). In each of these concertos, Rodrigo employs some of the forms and techniques appropriate to their different historical styles.

Representative Guitar Concertos

Concierto de Aranjuez for guitar and orchestra (1939)[1]

A brief history. In 1938 Rodrigo was invited to teach summer courses at the University of Santander in the northern part of Spain. During their return to Paris in late August, the Rodrigos arranged to meet with the guitarist Regino Sáinz de la Maza, whom

[1] Joaquín Rodrigo, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, edited by Renata Tarrago (New York: Belwin Mills Publishing Corp., 1959).

the Rodrigos had known for a while in the Spanish city of San Sebastián. According to Victoria Kamhi, the three were joined by the Marqués de Bolarque, a music aficionado, who asked the composer to write a concerto for guitar and orchestra. Sáinz de la Maza suggested that he would play it in Madrid under the direction of Jesús Arrambarri. Rodrigo stated enthusiastically that he would write the concerto and dedicate it to Sáinz de la Maza.[2]

Upon their return to France, the Rodrigos found themselves busy working for Radio Paris, preparing small recitals, orchestrating works on commission, and writing scores. Therefore, Rodrigo did not begin composing the concerto until 1939. During that year, Kamhi was pregnant with their first child; however, the pregnancy ended in miscarriage. According to Kamhi, while his wife was recovering in the hospital, Rodrigo spent his nights alone at home playing the theme of the second movement of the concerto in the dark. She stated that in playing the theme, he evoked "the happy days of our honeymoon, when we walked in the park in Aranjuez, and at the same time, it was a love song. And for those reasons, the work would be entitled *Concierto de Aranjuez*."[3]

Analysis. The *Concierto de Aranjuez* features a Classic-style concerto.[4] The concerto is based on the forms used in the late eighteenth century, commonly comprised of a three-movement composition in which the outer movements were fast and lively as opposed to the middle movement, which was usually slower.[5] The *Concierto de Aranjuez* contains three movements of which the first and third movements are in D major, marked *Allegro con spirito* and *Allegro gentile* respectively, and the contrasting second movement is an *Adagio* in B minor. Rodrigo strays from the typical opening of a Classic-style concerto in the first and third movements by having the soloist state the

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[2] Victoria Kamhi de Rodrigo, *Hand in Hand with Joaquín Rodrigo: My life at the maestro's side*, translated by Ellen Wilkerson (Pittsburgh: Latin American Literary Review Press, 1992), pp. 105-20; Vicente Vayá Pla, *Joaquín Rodrigo: su vida y su obra* (Madrid: Real Musical, 1977), pp. 55-6. All historical information about the concerto given hereafter is taken from these two sources.

[3] Kamhi de Rodrigo, pp. 108-9. Some have suggested that Rodrigo composed the second movement as a memorial for the unborn child. However, Kamhi stated that Rodrigo had already composed the last two movements of the concerto prior to her miscarriage, Kamhi de Rodrigo, p. 107.

[4] Unlike the *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre* and the *Concierto Madrigal*, Rodrigo titled each movement of this concerto after their tempo marking. Rodrigo's *Concierto Andaluz* and *Concierto para una Fiesta* contain three movements each and are also titled after their tempo markings.

[5] Arthur Hutchings et al., "Concerto," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), vi, 240.

opening thematic material rather than the orchestra; however, he remains true to the opening of an eighteenth-century concerto in his second movement by beginning with an orchestral ritornello.

Common in the first movement of a Mozart concerto, according to Cliff Eisen, is an opening ritornello, followed by a solo reiterating the theme, then a medial ritornello, which leads into a free development-like section, with a transition to the recapitulation, ending with a ritornello.[6] The ritornellos serve as "contrasting sonorities" to the soloist's performance rather than "pillars around which the concerto is built."[7] Similar to a Classic-style concerto, the first movement of Rodrigo's concerto employs sonata form in $\frac{6}{8}$ time, comprised of two parts: the first part in the tonic key, the second part in the dominant minor key. The first theme serves as tonic-defining material and does not return until the beginning of part two.

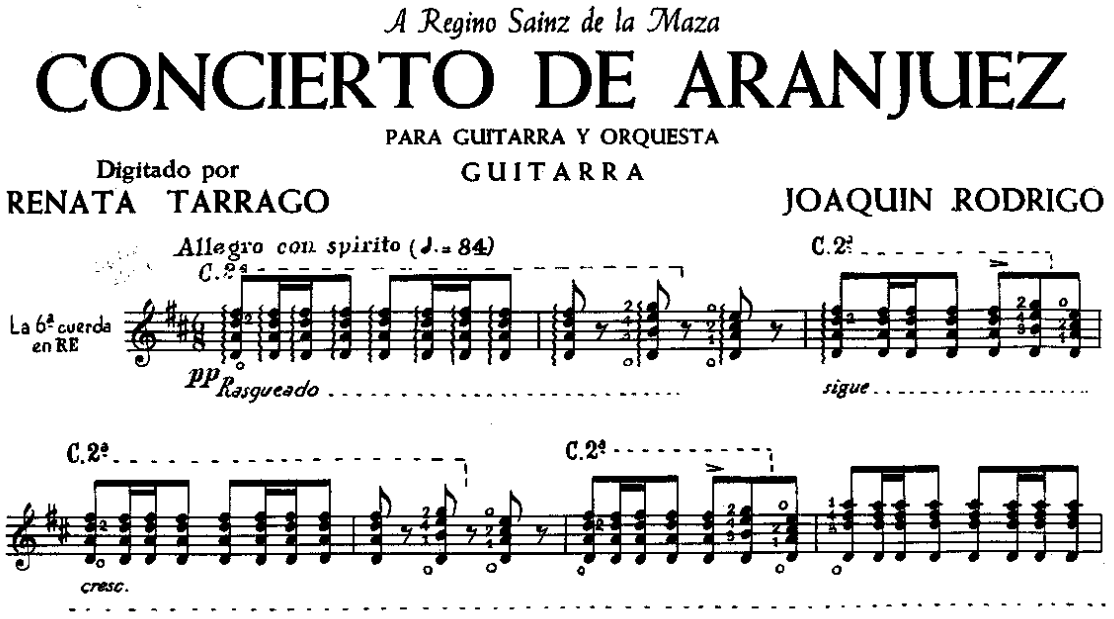

Figure 5-1. Joaquín Rodrigo, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, first theme, mm. 1-7.

The harmonic progression is a simple I-ii-V-I, over a pedal D, which refers to the simplicity and tonic-centered progressions of the Classic period.

After the first theme is reiterated by the orchestra, two other themes appear,

[6] Cliff Eisen, "Concerto, III, vii, b: Form," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), vi, 249-50.
[7] Eisen, p. 249.

separated by transitional material.

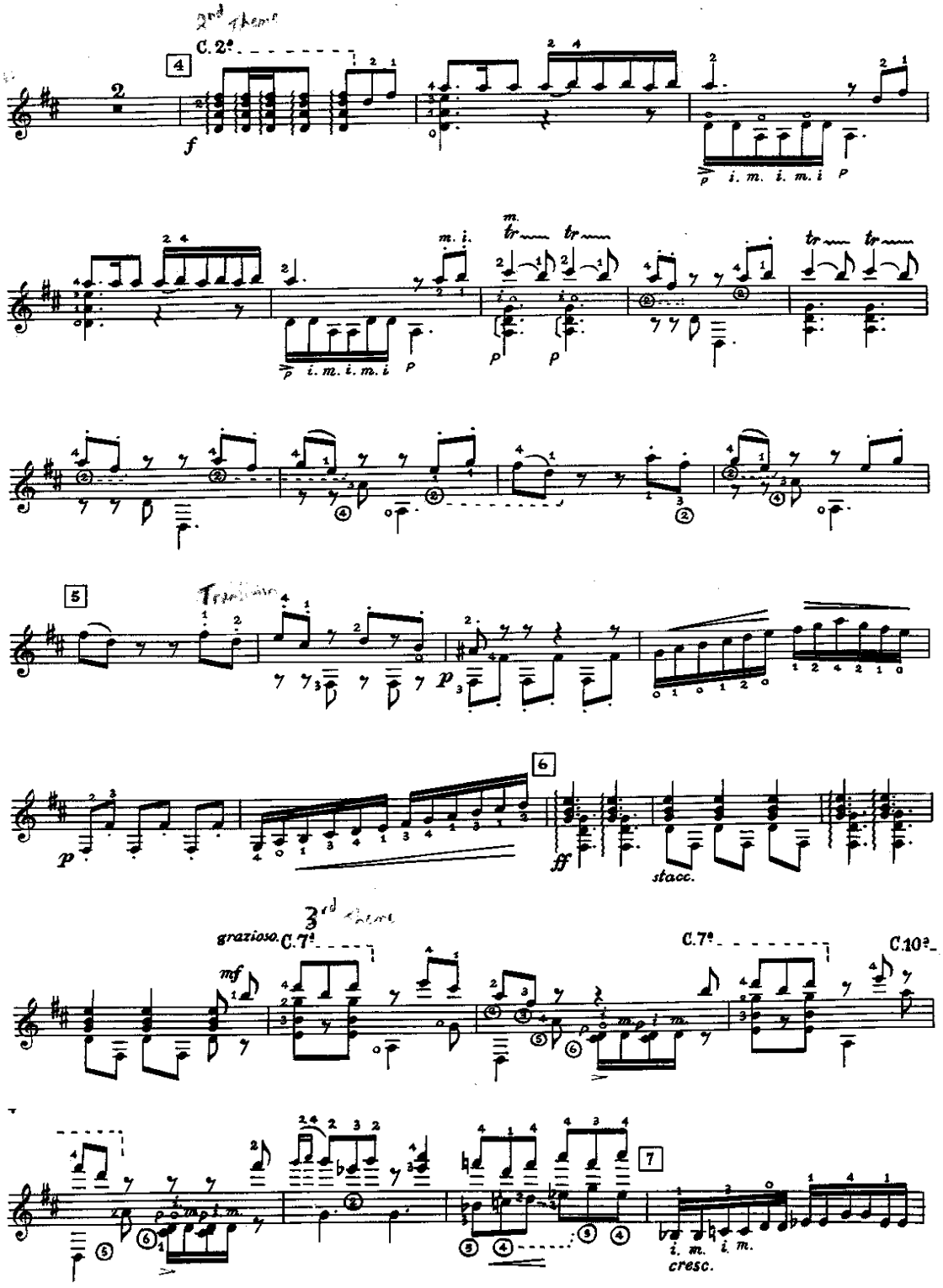

Figure 5-2. Rodrigo, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, second theme, transitional material, and third theme, rehearsal nos. 4-6.

The melodic phrasing is concise and contained within a limited range, although Rodrigo

reiterates the phrase in remote registers. Rodrigo expands the theme with the idea of ascending, descending, and neighboring minor and major thirds in the melody throughout some of the second theme and most of the third theme. Throughout the entire first section, the transitional material and third theme progress through a series of modulations, which ends on the fifth scale degree, A minor. Similarly, a common Classic-style concerto also often modulates to the major dominant within the first part of the movement.

At first hearing, the second part begins in A minor, played by the orchestra, which is followed by the soloist in A major . This, however, is merely a play on contrasting keys because the soloist immediately follows the opening with a quick modulation back to A minor.

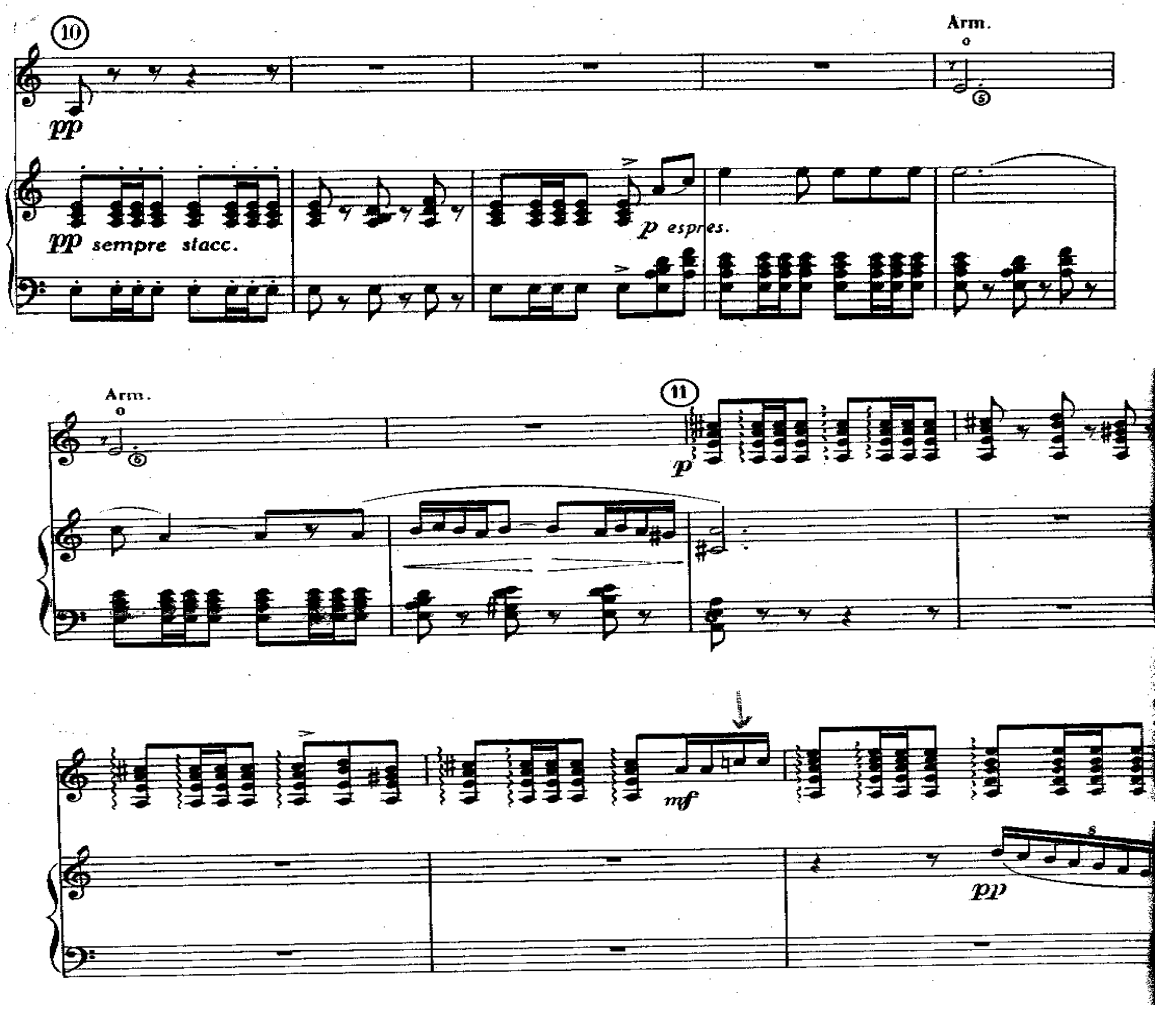

Figure 5-3. Rodrigo, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, second part of first movement, rehearsal nos. 10-11.

Rodrigo employs a series of fantasy-like passages, long scale runs, *rasgueados*, and

modulatory passages throughout the second part.

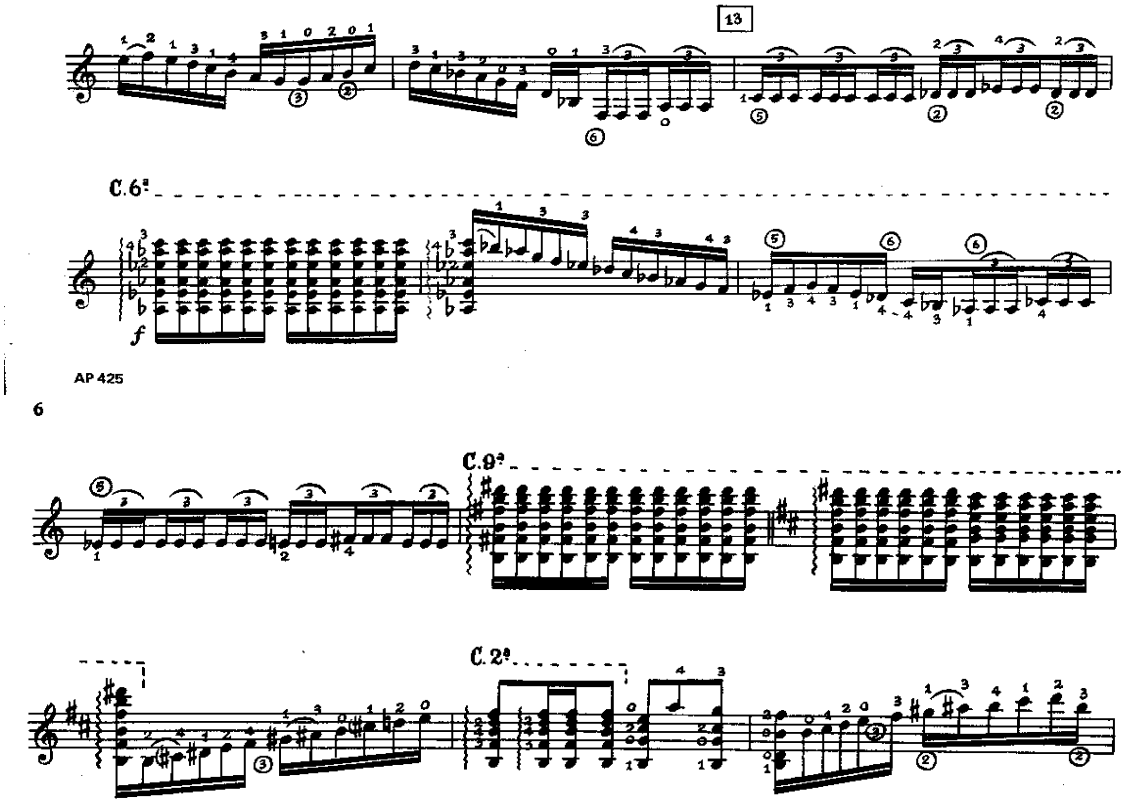

Figure 5-4. Rodrigo, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, modulatory passages, *rasgueados*, and scale runs, rehearsal no. 13.

This section shows the guitarist's virtuosity, as in a typical classical concerto. After this section, the orchestra restates the opening material. After a short coda, a final statement of the first theme ends the movement. The outline of this first movement is as follows:

Table 5-1. Joaquín Rodrigo, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, first movement.

Part 1			
Solo	Tutti	Solo guitar with orchestral accompaniment	
1st theme	1st theme/ part of 2nd theme	2nd / transition / 3rd themes	
Measures 1-26	Rehearsal numbers 1-3	Reh. nos. 4-9	
D major	D major	Modulates to several keys / ends in A minor	
Part 2			
Tutti	Solo with orchestral accomp.	Tutti / solo with accompaniment	Tutti
1st theme	1st theme / fantasy	2nd / transition / 3rd themes	coda
Reh. no. 10	Reh. nos. 11-15	Reh. nos. 16-21	Reh. nos. 22-24
A minor	A major / A minor	D major / modulates to other keys	D major

One can see that the first movement is comparable to the sonata form employed in

a common Classic period concerto. Both examples employ a two-part form in which the second part modulates to the fifth scale degree. They contain thematic and transitional material that revolve around the tonic key in the first part, and the second part is reserved for the showcasing of the soloist's skill and eventually modulates back to the tonic key. The harmonic progressions remain within a simple progression, and the melodic phrasing is short and concise. There is a clear sense of balance between the solo and tutti passages.

The second and third movements are in variation form. The third movement is similar to the second movement in that it incorporates a variation form on a primary theme. The analysis of the second movement will suffice for evidence of Rodrigo's use of classic-style variation form. The *Adagio* second movement is in common time and centered around a three-note, neighboring tone motive (see figure 5.5). The motive is developed through a series of modulations and varying guitar techniques.[8] Rodrigo's permutations on this three-note motive reveals his full command of the compositional technique. He first introduces the theme, played by the orchestra.

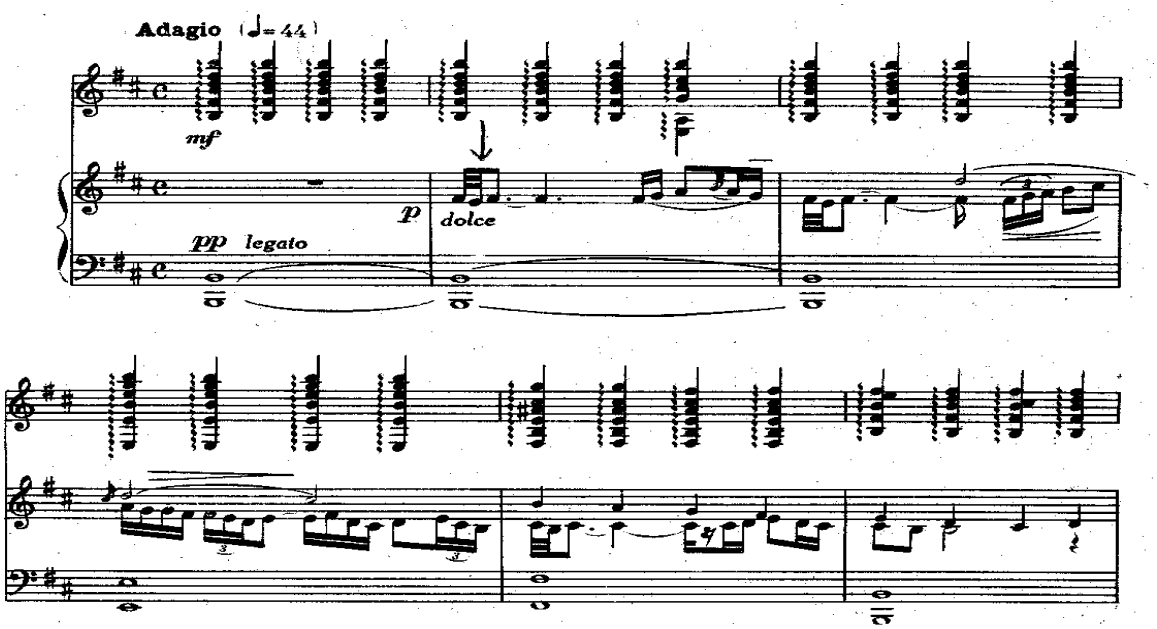

Figure 5-5. Rodrigo, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, three-note motive and theme, second movement, mm. 1-6.

[8] See below for a further discussion of Rodrigo's compositional techniques for the guitar.

The theme is reiterated by the solo guitar with orchestral accompaniment, in the tonic B minor key.

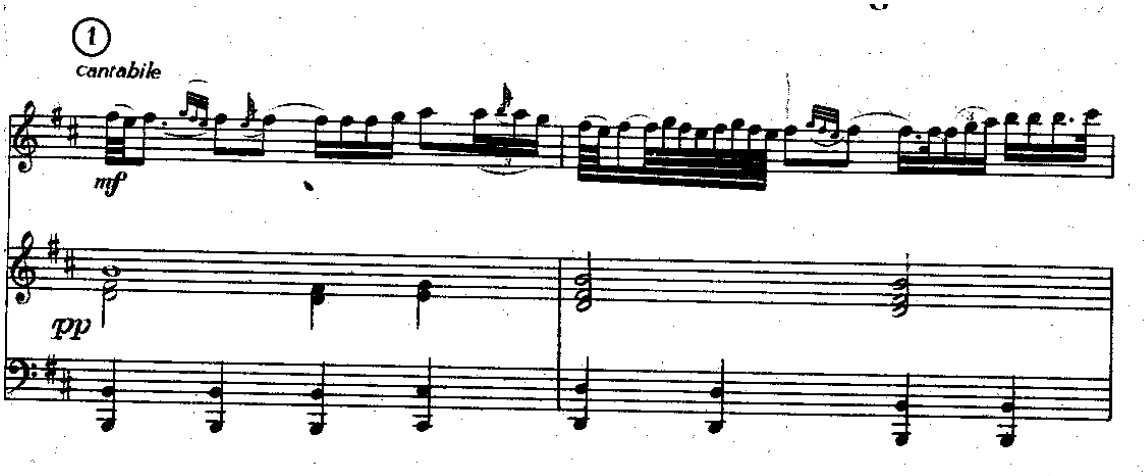

Figure 5-6. Rodrigo, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, second movement, rehearsal 1.

The melody is then varied in a number of ways. The first variation is performed by the solo guitar, in E minor. The soloist also performs the accompaniment, which is comprised of wrong-note harmonies.[9]

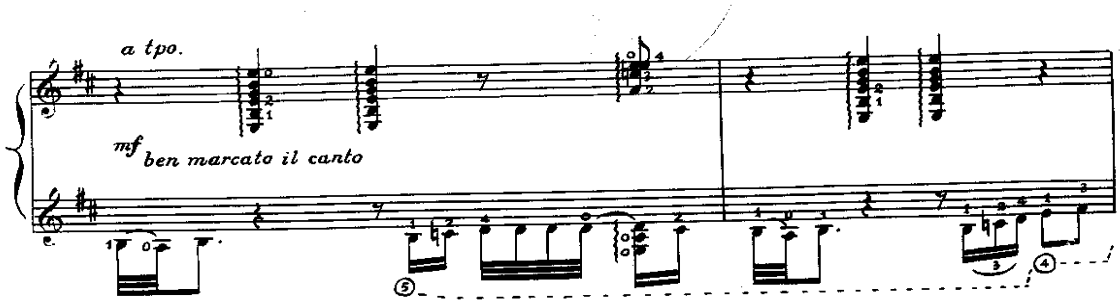

Figure 5-7. Rodrigo, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, second movement, three measures after rehearsal 7.

[9] See below for a further discussion of wrong-note harmony.

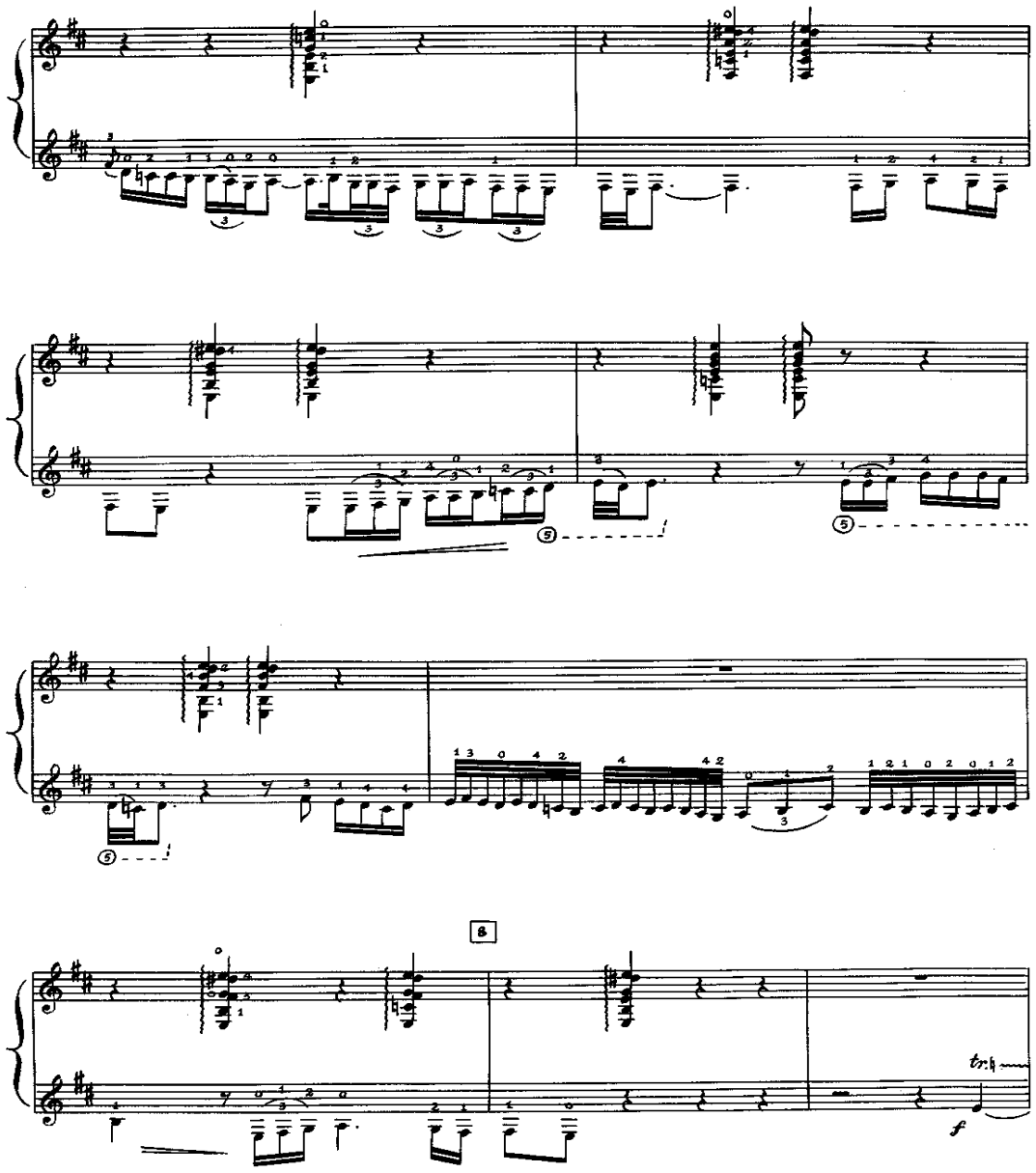

Figure 5-7, continued.

In another variation, the three-note motive is interspersed throughout the entire cadenza. The theme is partially played in G-sharp minor, but the focus is clearly the three-note motive.

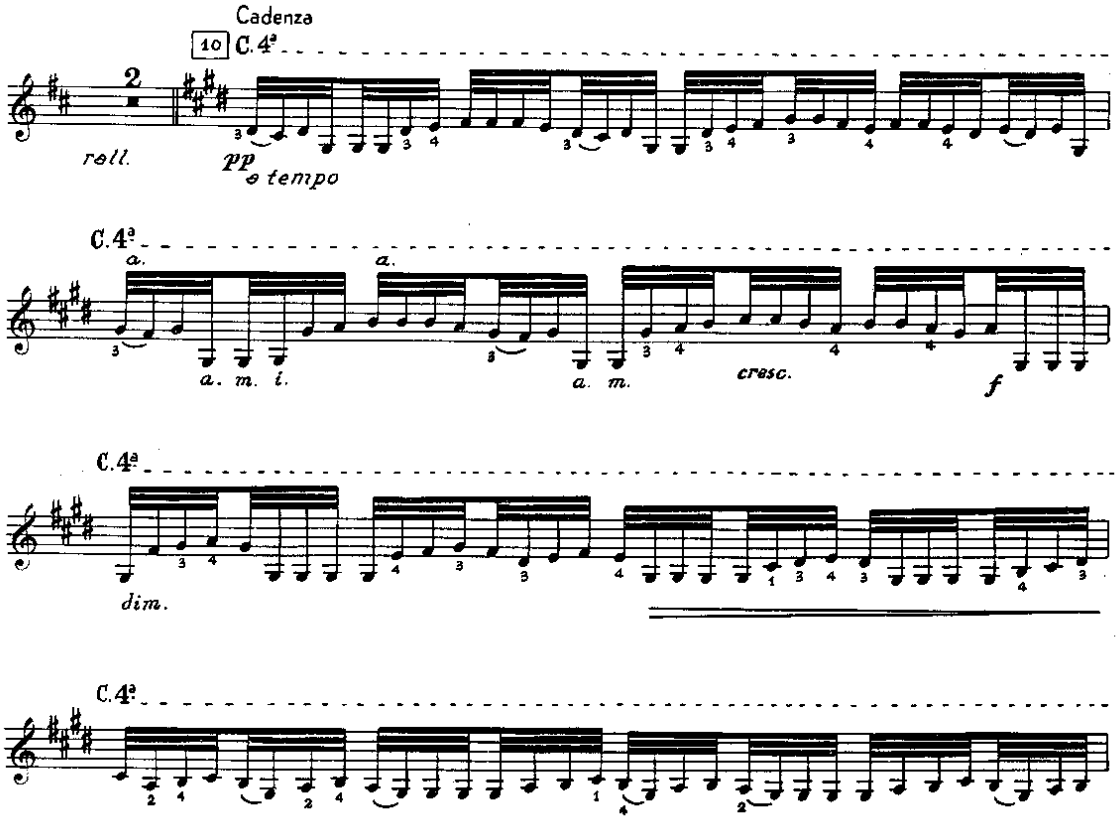

Figure 5-8. Rodrigo, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, cadenza of the second movement, rehearsal no. 10.

A final full variation is heard in the climactic point of the movement. The melody, this time in F-sharp minor, is completely played by the full orchestra.

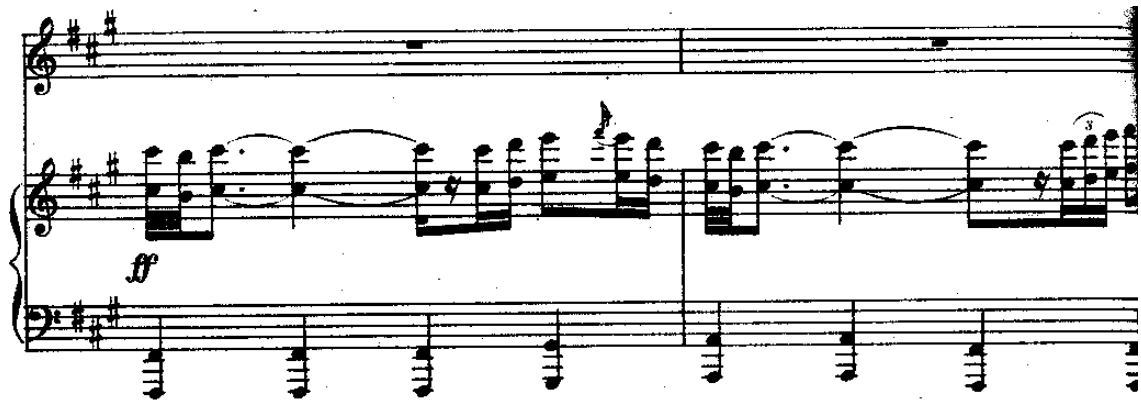

Figure 5-9. Rodrigo, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, second movement, three measures after rehearsal no. 11.

The three-note motive is varied once more at the end of the movement; however, it is disguised as a trill.

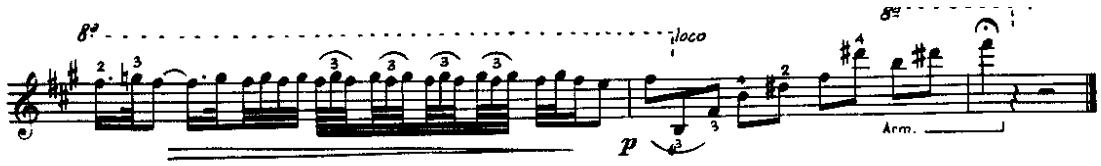

Figure 5-10. Rodrigo, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, second movement, penultimate measure.

As in the first movement, the melody is contained within a narrow range and there is a balance between the soloist and orchestra; however, it differs from the first movement in its length and lyricism. The melody in the second movement is comprised of several short phrases, mainly in stepwise motion, suggesting a lyrical style. The length of the melody of the second movement is quite a bit longer than the themes of the first movement. Furthermore, because the second movement is a theme and variation form, Rodrigo uses one theme as opposed to several themes.

Because this melody is a bit longer, the harmonic rhythm may be extended. As was common in the Classic period, the harmonic rhythm changes every measure. Rodrigo incorporates a simple harmonic progression that is based on a i-vii-i-iv-V-i harmonic progression, which is similar to progressions found in the music of the Classic era (see figure 5-5). In both cases, the progression is centered around the tonic, with the most tension provided by the V chord, which resolves to i. The other chords provide harmonic coloring and also build tension. Although this progression does vary at other times, the fundamental harmonic progression remains the same.

Clearly Rodrigo incorporated variation form-- a common form used in the second and third movements of typical concertos of the Classic period. He also included a simple harmonic progression and lyrical melodies as the foundation of the movement. Most importantly, he created a simple three-note motive and developed it through transpositions, modulations, and inversions.

As he explicitly stated, Rodrigo paid homage in this concerto to Domenico Scarlatti and Padre Antonio Soler, two distinguished eighteenth-century composers who wrote excellent works in Spain.[10] The *Concierto de Aranjuez* is Rodrigo's interpretation of the Classic style. He incorporated common forms, harmonic progression, and melodic content and contour similar to those of the Classic period. His interests in the music

[10] See footnote 31 below.

history of Spain is clearly exemplified in his concerto. Rodrigo's interests, moreover, continued through other ages and other music. Eventually, he created works that realized his interpretations of the Baroque and Renaissance styles.

Fantasía para un Gentilhombre for guitar and orchestra (1954)[11]

A brief history. Joaquín Rodrigo received high acclaim and success with his first and most famous guitar concerto--the *Concierto de Aranjuez* (1939). For years after the premiere of *Concierto de Aranjuez*, he did not desire to write another guitar concerto, despite requests to do so.[12] Rodrigo composed concertos for other instruments during this time, such as *Concierto Heroico* for piano and orchestra (1942), *Concierto de Estío* for violin and orchestra (1943), *Concierto in Modo Elegante* for violoncello and orchestra (1949), and *Concierto Serenata* for harp and orchestra (1952). However, it was not until 1951, after a short meeting with the guitarist Andrés Segovia, that Rodrigo considered writing another guitar concerto.[13]

The Rodrigos heard about Segovia's performances in Madrid after years of his absence from performing in Spain, possibly due to political differences and professional commitments. Although Segovia performed and the Rodrigos participated almost yearly at an annual festival in Granada, the Rodrigos did not collaborate with other musicians in those festivals until 1963.[14] The first time the couple met Andrés Segovia was some time in the early 1950s during a ballet in which the *Concierto de Aranjuez* was performed. Soon after that meeting, Segovia approached Rodrigo, in 1951, about composing a guitar concerto for guitar and small orchestra. During that summer, Rodrigo and Segovia met in the Rodrigos's summer chalet in Torrelodones to "exchange ideas."[15] That was the birth of the *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre*.

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[11] Joaquín Rodrigo, *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre*, edited by Andrés Segovia (Mainz: Schott, 1964).
[12] Kamhi de Rodrigo, p. 174.
[13] Vayá Pla stated that Segovia and Rodrigo first met and discussed the essentials of the guitar concerto in New York in 1957, p. 121. This date is dubious considering that *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre* was written in 1954. Furthermore, a letter from Segovia to Rodrigo on November 1954 indicated that Segovia knew about the guitar concerto Rodrigo was composing for him. The letter begins, "My dear Rodrigo: Believe it or not, this is the third letter I've written to you since receiving your announcement about the *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre* [Mi querido Rodrigo: Aunque parezca mentira, esta es la tercera carta que le mando desde que recibí su anuncio referente a La Fantasia para un Gentilhombre]," translated by Ellen Wilkerson, in Kamhi de Rodrigo, pp. 184-87.
[14] Kamhi de Rodrigo, p. 173.
[15] Kamhi de Rodrigo, pp. 173-4.

Fantasía para un Gentilhombre was premiered 5 March 1958, performed by the San Francisco Symphony at the War Memorial Opera House, conducted by Enrique Jordá, featuring Andrés Segovia. After its premiere the concerto took flight as a work equal to the *Concierto de Aranjuez*. Victoria Kamhi de Rodrigo has stated that the *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre* "can now be said to compete with the *Concierto de Aranjuez*."[16] Just as in the case of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* concerto, the *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre* received high acclaim through its worldwide performances and requests to Rodrigo for different versions.[17]

Analysis. The *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre* is comprised of four movements based on six musical works by Gaspar Sanz (1640-1710) taken from his three-volume *Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra Española* (1674, 1675, 1697).[18] The six works are *Villanos*, *Fuga 1ª por primer tono al ayre Español*, *Españoleta*, *La Cavallería de Nápoles con dos Clarines*, *Danza de las Hachas*, and *Canarios*.[19] Rodrigo's *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre* combines *Villanos* and *Fuga* (titled "Ricercare"), and *Españoleta* and *La Cavallería de Nápoles* (titled "Fanfare de la Caballería de Nápoles") together as one movement each, followed by the *Danza de las Hachas* and closing with *Canarios*, producing four movements.

Many German and French composers of the late Baroque period incorporated at least four dance movements as the core of their suite. One could argue, therefore, that

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[16] Kamhi de Rodrigo, p. 175.

[17] Kamhi de Rodrigo, p. 342. An arrangement for flute and orchestra was performed by James Galway in 1978.

[18] Gaspar Sanz, *Instrucción de música española y método de sus primeros rudimentos hasta tañerla con destreza con dos laberintos ingeniosos, variedad de sones y danças de rasgueado y punteado al estilo español, italiano, francés e ingles. Con breve tratado para acompañar con perfección sobre la parte muy esencial para la guitarra, arpa y órgano, resumido en doze reglas y exemplos lo más principales en contrapunto y conposición* (Zaragoza, 1674, 1675, 1697), transcribed by Rodrigo de Zayas (Madrid: Alpuerto, 1985).
As for Sanz's dates, there has been some dispute as to when Sanz lived. Robert Strizich states that Sanz was born in Calanda, Aragón, around the mid-seventeenth century, and died in the early part of the eighteenth century, "Gaspar Sanz," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), xxii, 268. Rodrigo de Zayas, upon researching the records belonging to the church of Calanda de Ebro, believes that Sanz was baptized on 4 April 1640 as Francisco Bartolomé Sanz y Celma. Rodrigo de Zayas, "Gaspar Sanz and his Music," *Guitar Review*, 40 (1976): 3.

[19] Rodrigo titled the second of the dances "Ricercare," which was another name for an imitative piece. "Ricercare" will be used hereafter.

Rodrigo composed his concerto using the form of a Baroque suite.[20] Considering that he studied music composition in Paris and music history at the Sorbonne, Rodrigo was probably well aware of the Baroque suite. The first movement establishes D major tonality, even though it begins in A major. The contrasting second movement follows in A minor, with a short excursion to D major. The third movement provides even further contrast by establishing itself in D minor. The fourth movement, in D major, relieves the harmonic tension created by the other movements. D is clearly pervasive in all movements, which serves as the tonic core of the entire concerto.

Table 5-2. Comparison of Joaquín Rodrigo's concerto and Gaspar Sanz's works.

Rodrigo's *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre*	Sanz's works for guitar
"Villano" - 1st movement	*Villanos*, Book 2, page 6
"Ricercare" - 1st	*Fuga 1ª por primer tono al ayre Española*, Bk. 1, p. 16
"Españoleta" - 2nd movement	*Españoleta* - Bk. 2, p. 5
"Fanfare de la Caballería de Nápoles" - 2nd	*La Cavallería de Nápoles con dos Clarines*, Bk. 2, p. 12
"Danza de las Hachas" - 3rd movement	*Danza de las Hachas*, Bk. 2, p. 3
"Canario" - 4th movement	*Canarios*, Bk. 1, p. 8

Unlike a Baroque suite, he did not set the six pieces in the same key. Rather, he composed them in contrasting keys and combined separate dances or compositions into a single movement. Although it was common for a Baroque lute suite to be composed in the same key, composers also composed suites in contrasting major and minor modes.[21] On the other hand, one could argue that this concerto is comparable to the classical concerto because of its large-scale I-v-I progression from D major to A minor to D major. The first part, "Villano," is in A major, the second part, "Ricercare," is in A minor; however, the movement ends in D, which is the tonic. Gaspar Sanz's *Fuga* also begins in A Aeolian mode, ending in D Phrygian mode (minor). The first part of the second movement, "Españoleta," begins in A minor and--although Rodrigo inserted the second part in the middle of the movement, "Fanfare de la Caballería de Nápoles," written in D major--the movement concludes with the first part which began the piece, thus, establishing A minor. The final two movements are a complementary pair as far as key

[20] David Fuller, "Suite, 5: The Classical Suite," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), xxiv, 672. Baroque composers also added other pieces to their suites, if they desired to do so.
[21] Fuller, p. 667.

relation is concerned: the "Danza de las Hachas" is in D minor; the "Canario" is in D major. Both movements share D as their tonal center. One may observe how Rodrigo might have considered his concerto as Classical in style, yet paid homage to the Baroque composer, Gaspar Sanz, by quoting his works.

Although Rodrigo incorporated his own compositional ideas, he maintained congruence between his concerto and Sanz's pieces. According to facsimiles copyrighted by Harmonia-Uitgave in 1966, the modern notation is transcribed in the same keys that Rodrigo wrote his concerto. James Tyler has observed that Sanz's preferred tuning of the guitar was: a/a-d'/d'-g/g-b/b-e'.[22] If one applies this tuning to the dances chosen by Rodrigo for his concerto, then the modes of each dance correspond to the keys in which Rodrigo composed them: the "Villano" in A major, "Ricercare" in A minor, "Españoleta" in A minor, "Fanfare de la Caballería de Nápoles" in D major, "Danza de las Hachas" in D minor, and "Canario" in D major. In conclusion, one may rightfully argue that Sanz's modes, Rodrigo's keys, and the Harmonia-Uitgave transcriptions are congruent.[23]

Rodrigo was also careful to remain faithful to the harmonic progressions the dances suggest. The dances are usually characterized by their tempo and/or harmonic progressions. In the "Villano" and the "Canario," both are characterized by their shared harmonic progression: I-IV-I-(IV-)V-I.[24] This progression serves as the core of the two dances.

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[22] James Tyler, "Guitar, 4: The five course guitar," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), x, 557.

[23] One difference between Rodrigo's assigned keys and the Harmonia-Uitgave transcriptions occurs in the "Villano." Rodrigo gives this movement three sharps, whereas the transcription assigns it two sharps. This is the result of different interpretations of music theory by Sanz and Rodrigo. Sanz dealt with modal harmony whereas Rodrigo composed mainly with tonal harmony in mind. Therefore, it was easier for Rodrigo to simply add another sharp in the key signature and compose it in A major, rather than in A Mixolydian.

[24] Richard Hudson and Meredith Ellis Little, "Canary," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), iv, 921-2; Gaspar Sanz, *Instrucción de música española*, transcribed by Rodrigo de Zayas (Madrid: Alpuerto, 1985), xlix, lxiv.

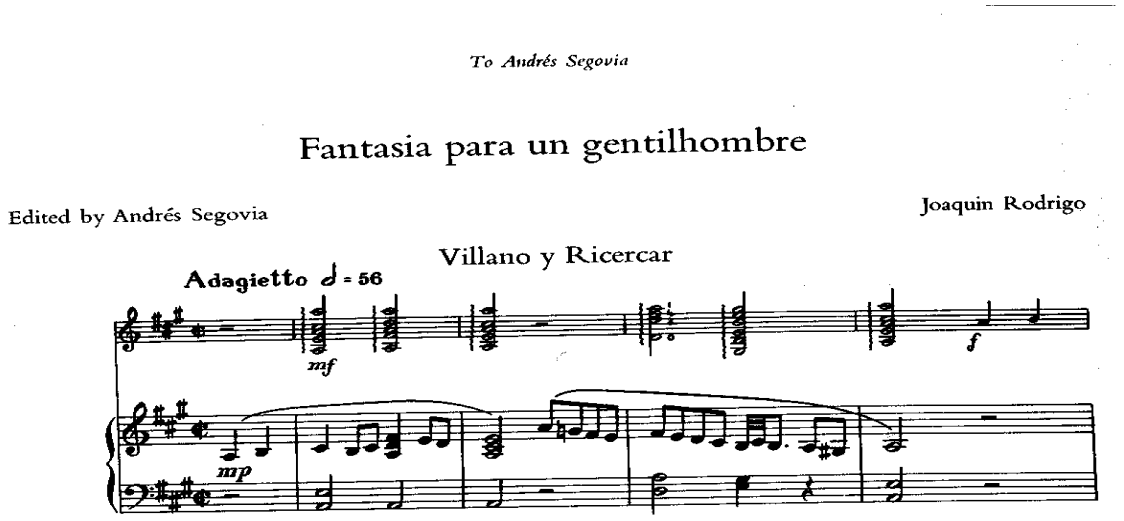

Figure 5-11. Rodrigo, *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre*, "Villano," mm. 1-5.

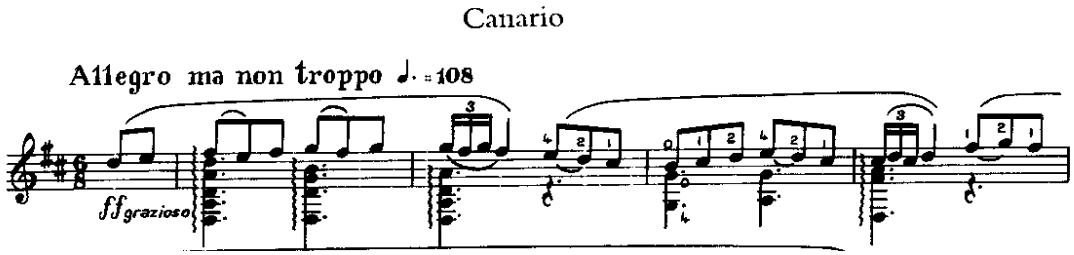

Figure 5-12. Rodrigo, *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre*, "Canario," mm. 1-5.

It is not known exactly which transcription or facsimile of Sanz's tablature Rodrigo used.[25] However, it is likely that Rodrigo used transcriptions by Emilio Pujol, since Pujol had worked closely with the works of Gaspar Sanz and other earlier composers for the guitar and the *vihuela* in the 1920s. Pujol and Rodrigo, as stated in the previous chapter, became close associates in Paris in 1927. Pujol worked closely with Rodrigo, interpreting, editing, and performing Rodrigo's guitar works, such as *Zarabanda Lejana* (1926), and later transcribing Rodrigo's *Fandango del Ventorrillo* (1938, 1965) for guitar, which was originally for piano.

Moreover, in 1927, Pujol published his *Bibliotheque de Musique Ancienne et Moderne* in Paris. This publication contains many transcriptions of Sanz's works, including the *Canario* and *Españoleta*. Furthermore, Pujol also investigated an authentic

[25] Electronic mail communication with Katherine Zegarra from Ediciones Joaquín Rodrigo informed the present author that she has no information concerning which transcription was used. November 8, 2004 6:57:55 AM EST.

vihuela dating back to the early sixteenth century. This is the same *vihuela* that Rodrigo refers to in his paper "La Vihuela y los Vihuelistas en el Siglo XVI."[26] With the permission of the director of the Jacquemart-André Museum in Paris and the help of the Spanish luthier, Miguel Simplicio, Pujol was able to obtain a playable reproduction of a *vihuela* similar to the one he observed at the museum.[27] On 23 April 1936 Pujol gave his recital comprised of works by Luis de Milán, Enríquez de Valderrábano, Diego Pisador, and Miguel Fuenllana; several songs were also performed by Conchita Badía accompanied by Pujol.[28] In May 1936, Pujol played representative pieces in conjunction with Rodrigo's reading of his paper during the musicology conference at the Institute of Hispanic Studies in Paris. Finally, in July 1954, Pujol gave a recital that included pieces by Sanz, including the *Españoleta* and *Canario*.[29] Given all the information above, it is possible that Rodrigo may have had access to the copies Pujol had of Sanz's pieces. Because the two were close friends and colleagues, one may deduce that both remained in contact and shared information concerning music of the past.

In conclusion, the six dances Rodrigo chose for his concerto are complementary in many ways. Melodically and harmonically Rodrigo remains faithful to Sanz's originals while adding his twentieth-century harmonic coloring and melodic variation. Even the melodic variation may be compared to the *diferencias* composed in Spain during the Renaissance and Baroque periods. Appropriately, out of the many composers Rodrigo could have chosen, he chose one of the better Spanish composers of the period--Gaspar Sanz. Sanz's music for the newly-invented, five-course guitar in Spain was innovative and influential. His model was emulated by later Spanish composers, even Santiago de Murcia. Sanz's pieces are paradigmatic for Rodrigo's expression of his *neocasticismo*. Finally Rodrigo incorporated into his concerto the suite, which also demonstrated his reverence for the past.

In choosing a representative composer and his pieces, Rodrigo has stated that he

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[26] See translation in previous chapter, paragraphs 5-8.
[27] Juan Riera, *Emilio Pujol*, prologue by Joaquín Rodrigo (Lerida: Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses, 1974), pp. 51-2.
[28] Riera, p. 52.
[29] *Spanish Songs: Historical live recording of the 1954 Madrid recital*, various artists, Emilio Pujol, vihuela, Rosa Barbany, soprano (Madrid: EMEC, 2002), recorded 16 July 1954.

has the utmost respect for Gaspar Sanz for he represents the Golden Age of Spain, in which aesthetics and reason come together.[30] Given that Rodrigo had already paid homage to Domenico Scarlatti (1685-1727) and Padre Antonio Soler (1729-1783) in his previous guitar concerto, his focus is directed toward the Baroque in his *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre*. Rodrigo stated:

> In my music there are incursions, not unfortunate in this case, of the Golden Age of our music, that which binds the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, arising from the vocal-instrumental music (*Cuatro Madrigales Amatorios* [Four Lovely Madrigals, 1948], with intentions to capture Scarlatti's thumbprint through Padre Soler; in order to bridge these last two, which was the premise of my previous concertos and reason to procure a *neocasticismo* as opposed to neoclassicism of a few years ago, it was necessary to call on the music of Gaspar Sanz, which would therefore complete this subtle tapestry, bridging the age of beauty with the age of reason.[31]

However, this is not the last time he searched through music of other eras for compositional material. In his quest to utilize material from other periods, Rodrigo again employed material from the Renaissance in his *Concierto Madrigal* (1969) for two guitars and orchestra.

Concierto Madrigal for two guitars and orchestra (1966)[32]

A brief history. In 1960, Alexandre Lagoya (1929-99) and Ida Presti (1924-67), also known as the Presti-Lagoya duet, wrote to Rodrigo requesting a concerto for two guitars and orchestra.[33] Lagoya was so excited about the composer's positive answer that he met with Rodrigo during a music festival Bordeaux in 1962 and reminded him about

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[30] Joaquín Rodrigo's comments about his *Fantasía*, published in the concert programs for the performance in 24 October 1958, from *Escritos de Joaquín Rodrigo: recopilación y comentarios*, edited by Antonio Iglesias (Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto, S. A.), 198-200, 216.

[31] Iglesias, p. 199. The text reads: "En mi música figuran incursiones, no del todo desafortunadas, por el Siglo de Oro de nuestra música, y muy especialmente a la vértebra que une el siglo XVI con el XVII, en el costado de la música vocal-instrumental (*Cuatro madrigales amatorios* [1948]), así como intentos para apresar la huella scarlattiana a través del padre Soler; esto ultimo, que me parecía premisa previa, para procurarme un neocasticismo que oponer al neoclasicismo de hace algunos años, era preciso completarlo prendiendo en esta malla sútil el cabo suelto del siglo XVII, y para ello me parecía necesario acudir a Gaspar Sanz, músico en el que se dan cita, en esta encrucijada, el espíritu de este siglo que moría con el del siglo naciente: el entronque de la ternura con la razón."

[32] Joaquín Rodrigo, *Concierto Madrigal* (Mainz: Schott, 1967).

[33] CD notes in *Joaquín Rodrigo 100 años: Conciertos III* (Spain: EMI-Odeon, S. A., 2001), p. 10.

his promise to write a concerto.[34] Rodrigo completed the concerto in 1965 after working on it for several years.[35]

The Rodrigos met Presti in Paris when she was twelve years old. She was already considered a child prodigy, having given several concerts throughout France. At 24, she gave the French premiere of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*. Unfortunately, Presti's untimely death did not allow for the intended premiere of the concerto in Munich.[36] The concerto was premiered in 1970 in Los Angeles, at the Hollywood Bowl, with Angel and Pepe Romero as featured guitarists, conducted by Maestro Rafael Frühbeck de Burgos.

Analysis. The *Concierto Madrigal* is comprised of nine dances and one fanfare. The inspiration for this concerto comes from the Renaissance composer Jacques Arcadelt's (ca. 1507-68) madrigal, *O felici occhi miei* (1539).[37]

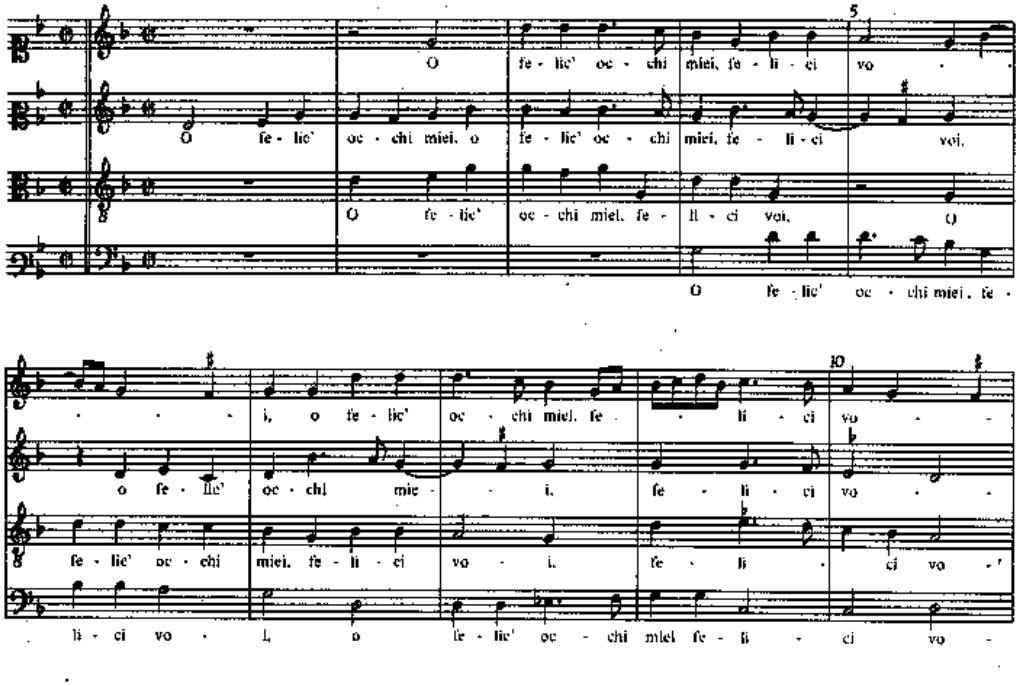

Figure 5-13. Jacques Arcadelt, *O felici occhi miei*, mm. 1-10.

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[34] Kamhi de Rodrigo, p. 204.
[35] Kamhi de Rodrigo, 217. Rodrigo also wrote *Concierto Andaluz* (1967) for four guitars and orchestra during this time.
[36] John Duarte, "Ida Presti," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), xx, 305.
[37] Jacques Arcadelt, *O felici occhi miei*, in *Opera Omnia*, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* (published by the American Institute of Musicology in collaboration with the American Musicological Society, 1965), vol. xxi.

Rodrigo might have used Diego Ortiz's *Tratado de Glosas*, which contains Arcadelt's madrigal with four variations composed by Ortiz.[38]

Although Rodrigo disguises the quotation in his own orchestration, one can still hear the opening melody of the madrigal.

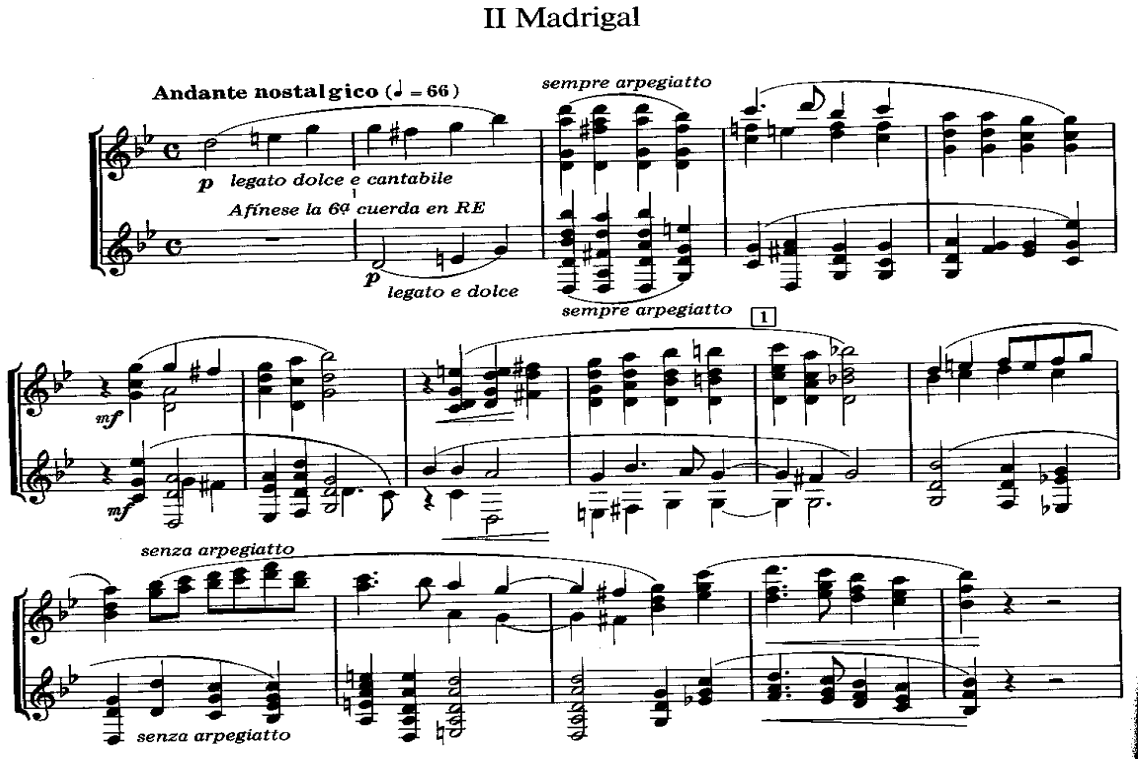

Figure 5-14. Rodrigo, *Concierto Madrigal*, "Madrigal," mm. 1-16.

After the first two movements--titled *fanfare* and *madrigal*--the third and the final four movements are variations on the main theme of the madrigal. Rodrigo conceals the original theme in each variation; however, the incipit of the madrigal, is always detected by the first four notes of the subject entry as sung in the bass and the soprano (see Figure 5-13). The ascending leap of a fourth or fifth, depending on whether it is a 'd' to a 'g' or a 'G' to a 'd,' followed by a repeat of the upper tone is clearly heard in each variation.

[38] Diego Ortiz, *Tratado de Glosas* (Rome 1553, modern edition Kassel, 1967).

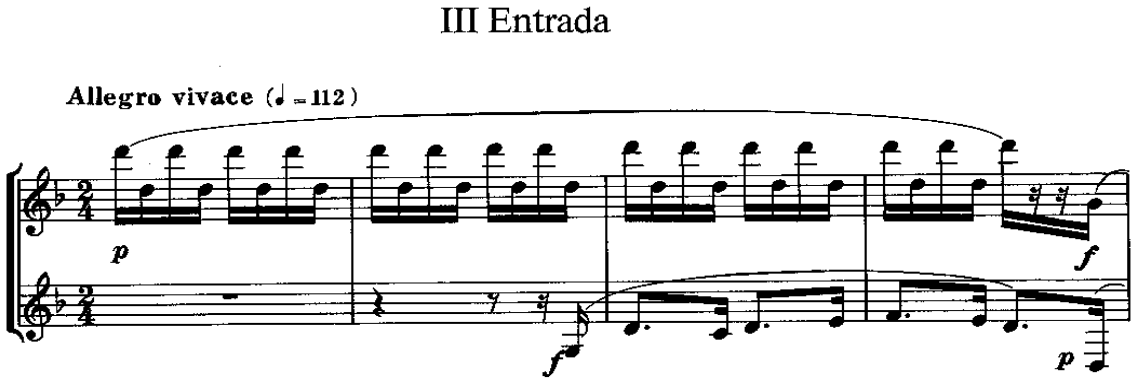

Figure 5-15. Rodrigo, *Concierto Madrigal*, "Entrada," mm. 1-4, second guitar.

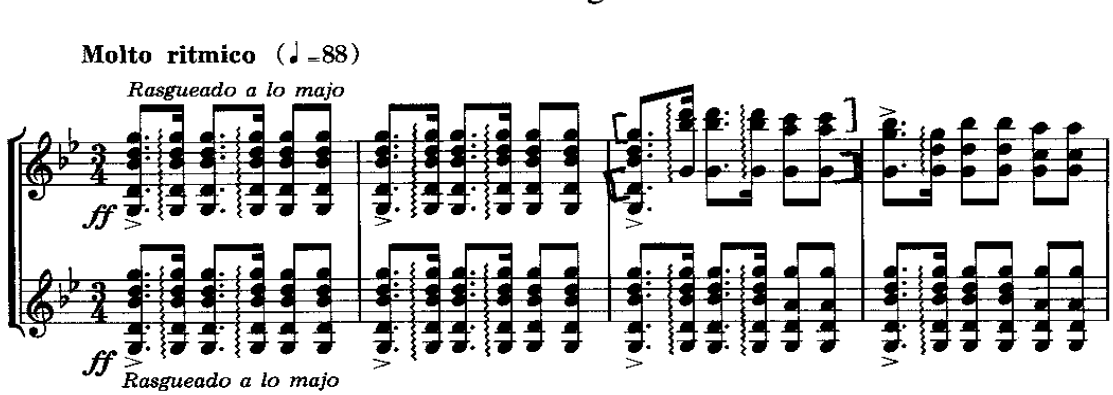

Figure 5-16. Rodrigo, *Concierto Madrigal*, "Fandango," mm. 1-4, first guitar.

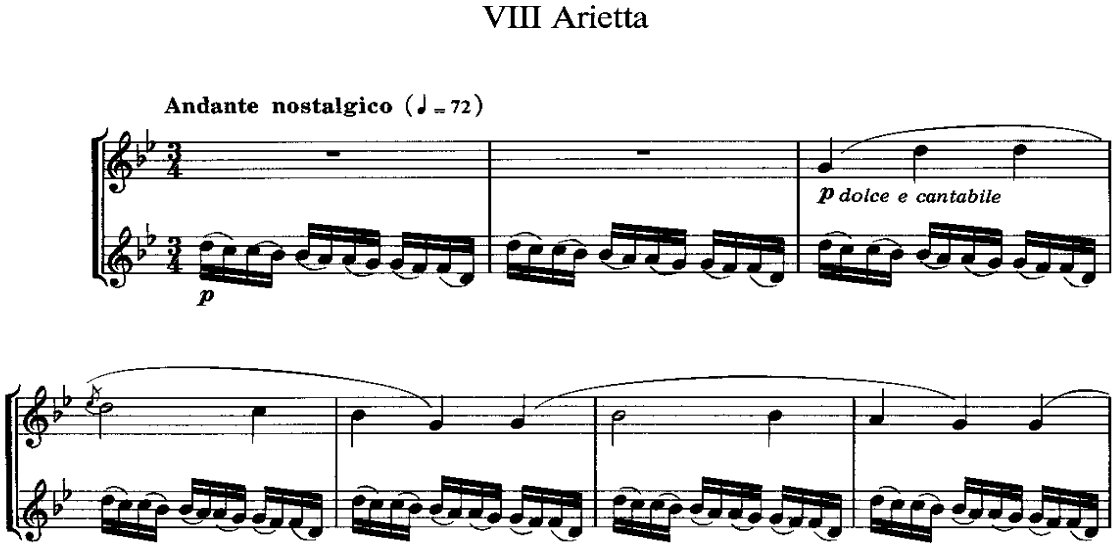

Figure 5-17. Rodrigo, *Concierto Madrigal*, "Arietta," mm. 1-7, first guitar.

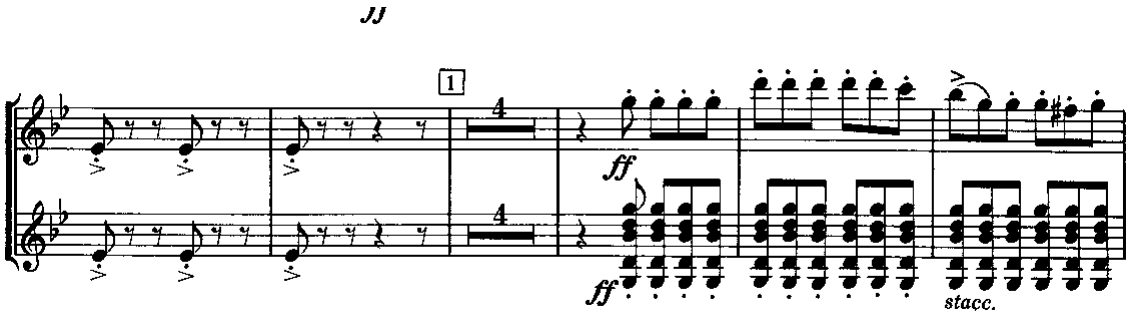

Figure 5-18. Rodrigo, *Concierto Madrigal*, "Zapateado," mm. 8-16, first guitar.

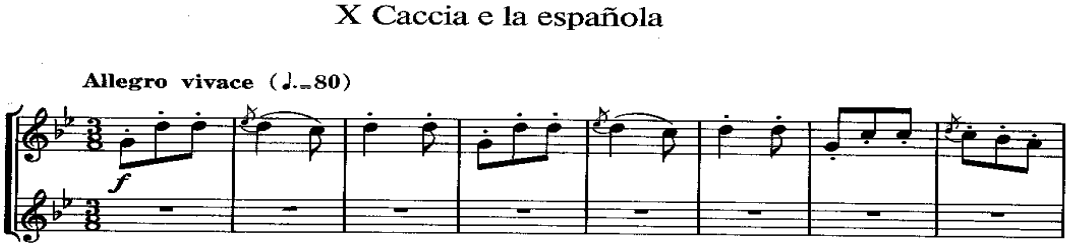

Figure 5-19. Rodrigo, *Concierto Madrigal*, "Caccia a la Española," mm. 1-8.

The cadenza at the end of the ninth movement also reiterates the incipit in several keys, yet it is clearly heard in each version. These variations mainly showcase the virtuosity of the guitarist by incorporating scales played at fast tempos and dense chordal arpeggios.

Another set of variations is also apparent in the concerto. Rodrigo plays with the idea of weaving in motifs throughout these variations. The fourth movement, titled *Pastorcico, tú que vienes, pastorcico, tú que vas*, is the subject of a three-movement theme and variation, all of which is woven into the concerto.[39] The final variation of this second set includes an excerpt of the short fanfare that opened the concerto.

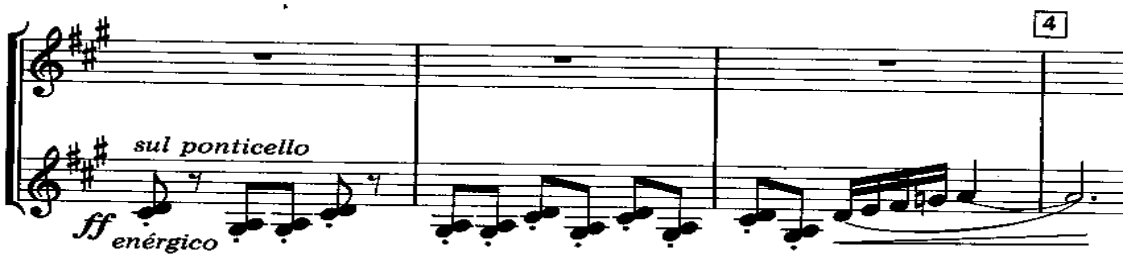

Figure 5-20. Rodrigo, *Concierto Madrigal*, "Pastoral," mm. 37-39.

This is also reminiscent of the "Fanfare" that Rodrigo wove into the middle of the

[39] The title reads: "Little shepherd boy, you come, little shepherd boy, you go." According to Pedro González Mira, this is a popular Spanish carol. CD notes in *Joaquín Rodrigo 100 años: Conciertos III* (Spain: EMI-Odeon, S. A., 2001), p. 10.

"Españoleta" in the second movement of the *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre* (see fig. 5-22). Both motives contain a dissonant second, or wrong-note harmony, moving in fourths. Another case in point of weaving in a recognizable motif is clearly heard in the last movement of the concerto. Rodrigo wove the first theme of the first movement of his *Concierto de Aranjuez* into the "Caccia a la española."

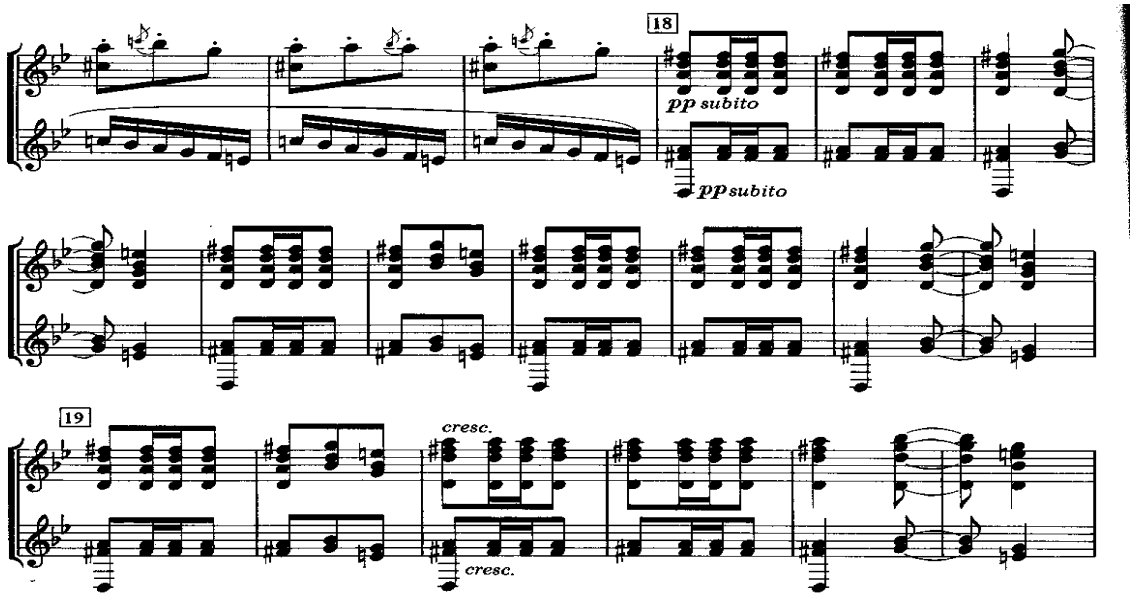

Figure 5-21. Rodrigo, *Concierto Madrigal*, "Caccia a la española," rehearsal nos. 18-19.

All these variations reference the common sixteenth-century compositional technique and form found in Spain: *diferencias*. Variations were not new to composers in the sixteenth century, however, the technique was being formalized into a compositional principle. Consequently, the variation technique became a form or structure in and of itself. In the early part of the sixteenth century, Spanish and Italian composers incorporated this new principle into their works and became quite prolific in the art of variation form. It was apparent in his *vihuela* paper that Rodrigo was well aware of this form as used by sixteenth-century Spanish composers. Therefore, he was comfortable incorporating variation form into his compositions.

One can ascertain the veneration Rodrigo had for the music of previous ages. Clearly he paid homage to the music in the three aforementioned guitar concertos. Rodrigo also expressed his admiration toward earlier music through other musical media. In fact Rodrigo desired musical examples for his reading of his 1936 article of the

vihuelists. Therefore, in 1938 he arranged five Renaissance pieces for piano--four of which were originally written for the *vihuela*--titled *Cinco Piezas del Siglo XVI*. Rodrigo's *Concierto in Modo Galante* (1949) for cello and orchestra hints at the music of the Galant style. His *Cinco Sonatas de Castilla con Toccata a Modo de Pregón* (1951) for piano suggests the sixteenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries by incorporating the forms and contrapuntal techniques appropriate to the different styles. However, in order to make these compositions twentieth-century works, particularly Rodrigo's, he had to incorporate his own compositional techniques.

Rodrigo's Common Compositional Techniques for Guitar

Essentially, Rodrigo integrated two distinct techniques in his guitar works: wrong-note harmony and variation.

Rodrigo jested about Sanz possibly recognizing his tune in the concerto by stating, "my ultimate and maximum satisfaction, in the end, would be to think that if Gaspar Sanz were to see this score, he would declare: 'It is not my music, but I recognize my work in it!'"[40] Rodrigo incorporated his own taste for twentieth-century harmonies and melodic variations in order to make it his own. In the *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre*, Rodrigo employs what has been his thumbprint in his guitar compositions--wrong-note harmony. Graham Wade has defined this type of harmony as "conventional chords rendered discordant by the inclusion of one or more notes foreign to the tonality."[41] These types of chords usually contain a minor second or a major seventh, although any other discordant sonority may be used. In the *Concierto de Aranjuez*, one may clearly hear this wrong-note harmony in the second movement. In this example, the melody ends in an E minor chord colored by a D# (see example 5-7, mm. 5, 10). One can see this type of chord also employed in the "Fanfare de la Caballería de Nápoles" of the *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre*.

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[40] Iglesias, p. 200. "Mi última y máxima satisfacción, en fin, será pensar que, si Gaspar Sanz se mirará en esta partitura, pudiera exclamar: 'No soy yo, pero me reconozco!'"

[41] Graham Wade, *Distant Sarabandes: The Solo Guitar Music of Joaquín Rodrigo* (Leeds: GRM Publications, 1996), p. 20-21. Wade uses the term in order to describe the opening of Rodrigo's *Tres Piezas Españolas*.

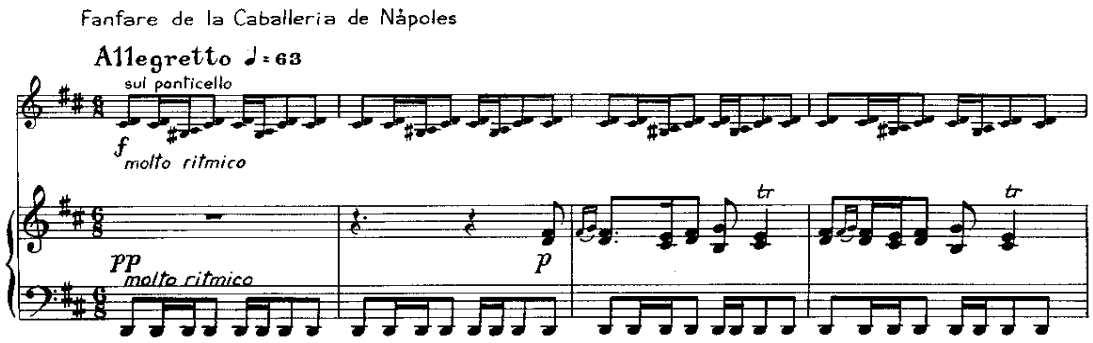

Figure 5-22. Rodrigo, *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre*, "Fanfare de la Caballería de Nápoles," mm. 1-4.

The wrong note is, of course, the C# in the midst of consecutive D major chords. In the following passage, Rodrigo inundates the chords with minor seconds by coloring the IV^6_4 chord in measure 24 with a double wrong note, which includes the C# and A# intertwined in the G major chord.

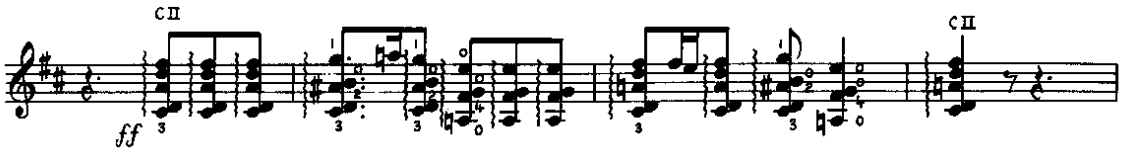

Figure 5-23. Rodrigo, *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre*, "Fanfare," mm. 23-26.

One may argue that Rodrigo incorporated the wrong-note harmony as a way to pay homage to Domenico Scarlatti and his thumbprint technique: the *acciaccatura.* The *acciaccatura*, which is roughly translated as a "crushed note," is defined as "a non-harmonic note played a tone or semitone below any of the main notes in arpeggiated chords."[42] This note was commonly incorporated into eighteenth-century compositions or indicated in eighteenth-century sources by composers such as Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714-88), Francesco Gasparini (1661-1727), Friedrich W. Marburg (1718-95), and Domenico Scarlatti. However, because the non-harmonic tone was immediately released, as was common in eighteenth-century practice, it was considered an ornament rather than harmonic coloring. Rodrigo incorporated wrong-note harmony as a coloring figure rather than ornamentation. The "wrong note" does not resolve, but rather it provides more

[42] Robert E. Seletsky, "Acciaccatura," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians II*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), i, 50. The German translation is *zusammenschlag*, and the French translation is *pincé étouffé*.

texture, density, and color to the chord.

Another of Rodrigo's traits is his ability for the development of a variation on a theme or motive. He showed his mastery in the second movement of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*, as shown above. In the *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre* Rodrigo demonstrates his skill of variation in the "Españoleta" and "Canario." In both movements the main theme is varied by using different guitar techniques and modulating to closely related keys. These techniques are commonly incorporated as a variation of an accompaniment pattern. Rather than playing a monotonous strumming pattern, Rodrigo employed several types of accompaniment patterns. He incorporates either an ascending only pattern (fig. 5-24),

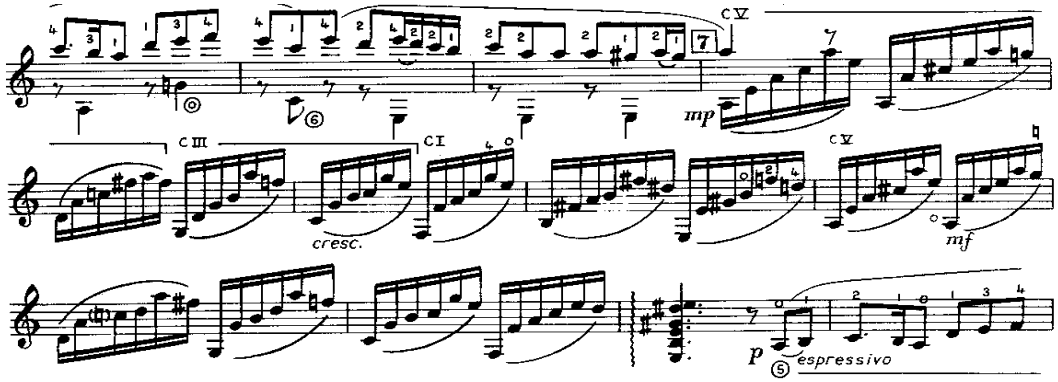

Figure 5-24. Rodrigo, *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre*, "Españoleta," rehearsal no. 7.

an ascending-descending pattern (fig. 5-25), which makes the guitar sound like a harp,

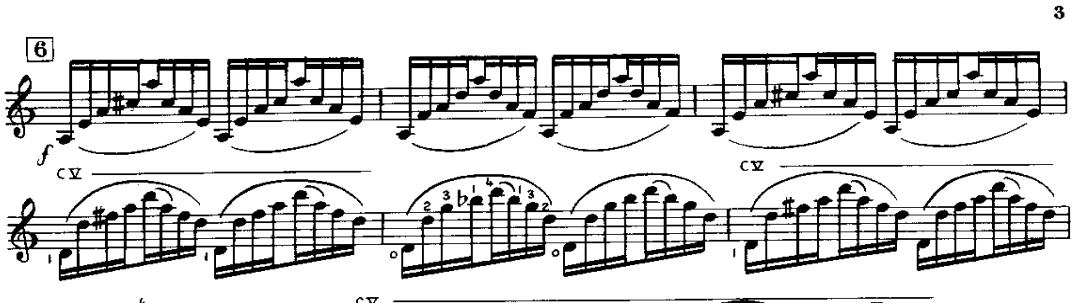

Figure 5-25. Rodrigo, *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre*, "Ricercare," rehearsal no. 6.

a descending pattern (fig. 5-26),

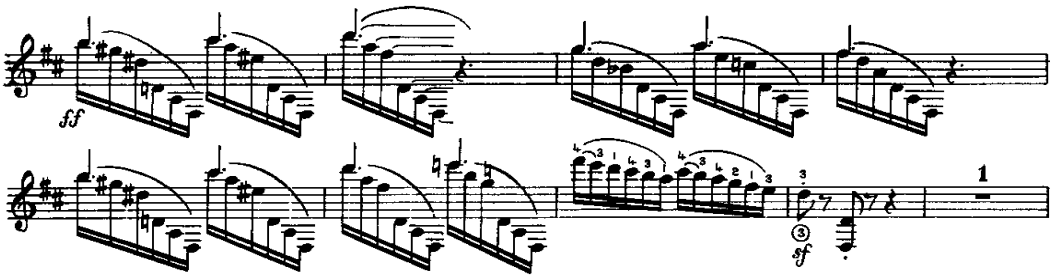

Figure 5-26. Rodrigo, *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre*, "Canario," mm. 47-55.

or a combination of the three. Along with the ascending-descending arpeggiated patterns, Rodrigo also incorporates long scale patterns, whether ascending or descending, into his compositions in order to show variation.[43] In the "Villano," the first appearance of a long scalar pattern is heard in measures 14-21 (fig. 5-27).

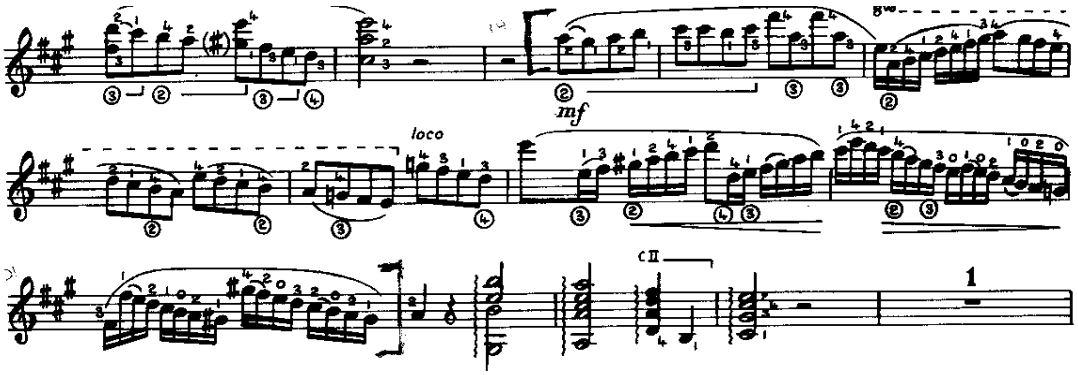

Figure 5-27. Rodrigo, *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre*, "Villano," mm. 14-27.

Rodrigo also added a cadenza in the "Canario," which is mainly comprised of the two techniques described above--ascending and descending scalar and arpeggiated patterns--and a few *rasgueado* passages.[44]

Representative Pieces for Solo Guitar

Neocasticismo implies that a piece of music may refer to or allude to music of a cultural past.[45] In this vein, one may argue that the solo guitar works by Rodrigo are also examples of *neocasticismo*. Some pieces merely suggest a dance or a style, such as *Invocación y Danza* (1962) and *Tres piezas Españolas*, which include titles such as

[43] Rodrigo's use of arpeggiated and scalar patterns as variation technique in concertos extends back to his *Concierto de Aranjuez*.
[44] Sanz did not write a cadenza for the *Canarios*.
[45] See Chapter 3.

fandango and *zapateado*, whereas other pieces refer to a specific dance or piece of another time--for example, *Zarabanda Lejana* or *Tiento Antiguo* (1947). However, they do not represent or refer to a style of the past in the music itself, as is clearly evident in his three guitar concertos discussed above. The majority of the forms used in the solo guitar works are easily described as a typical A-B-A; for example, "Fandango" in *Tres piezas Españolas* and *Tiento Antiguo*.

In essence, Rodrigo strikes a balance between flamenco and classical guitar techniques in his solo guitar works. He combines scalar passages with chordal accompaniment, which was typical in the guitar works of Gaspar Sanz, in order to create the kind of music that alludes to the past and containing elements of the present. Furthermore, by situating certain pieces to regions in Spain and natural landscapes--for example, *Por los Campos de España* (In the countryside of Spain, 1939, 1942, 1954)--Rodrigo expressed his love for the old traditional ways and customs, and, therefore, produced works representative of *neocasticismo*.[46]

Similarly, some of these solo guitar pieces contain the essence of Tomás Marco's definition of *neocasticismo*. He stated that *neocasticismo* is "a kind of nationalism that tends to develop the aspects of popular urban or historicist picturesque or local color."[47] That is, music that refers or alludes to landscapes are also representative of that style. In that sense, Marco's definition allows for other guitar compositions to be regarded as *neocasticista*. One may argue that popular urban or historicist picturesque or local color may refer to flamenco music or any number of the traditional regional music and dances of Spain. The majority of Rodrigo's solo guitar music refers or alludes to flamenco or

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[46] The three-movement piece *Por los Campos de España* is comprised of "En los trigales" (In the wheatfields, 1939), "Bajando de la meseta" (Descending from the plateau, 1954), and "Entre Olivares" (Among olive groves, 1942). Each movement was composed independently as an individual piece for solo guitar. Rodrigo placed the three pieces as a suite after all pieces were composed. Graham Wade stated that Rodrigo composed "En los trigales" in 1938, *Distant Sarabandes* (Leeds: GRM Publications, 1996), p. 12; however, according to Kamhi de Rodrigo (p. 349) and Raymond Calcraft, *Joaquín Rodrigo: Catálogo General* (Madrid: Ediciones Joaquin Rodrigo, 1990), p. 30, the composition was composed in 1939. Although the recordings have all three movements as one piece, Calcraft and Kamhi have the suite with only two of the three movements: "En los trigales" and "Entre olivares." Rodrigo has added that *Junto al Generalife* (Close to the Generalife, 1959) "forms part of the imaginary Suite that describes the Spanish landscape," Kamhi de Rodrigo, p. 334.

[47] Tomás Marco, *Spanish Music in the Twentieth Century*, translated by Cola Franzen (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 242, footnote 10.

regional music. Pieces such as *Por tierras de Jerez* (In the land of Jerez, 1960), *Un tiempo fue Itálica famosa* (Once upon a time Itálica was famous, 1981) and the two last movements of *Tres pequeñas piezas* (Three small pieces, 1963) refer to the flamenco music of southern Spain; whereas *Ecos de Sefarad* (Echoes of the Sephardic, 1987) captures the music of the Sephardic Jew in Spain by incorporating Middle Eastern scales.[48]

Conclusion

Neoclassicism clearly had a great impact in France. The style opened up different areas for research and influenced French composition. French musicians became more aware of their rich musical past, and consequently created institutions that encouraged the research of the history of the music, namely musicology. This style evidently offered composers the opportunity to work in the style in which they were interested, maintaining admiration for earlier composers and their works. Consequently, his style impacted Europe, including Spain.

French neoclassicism clearly influenced Spanish composers. Spanish composers looked to the French for newness and inspiration and also found importance in researching their country's musical past. The result was *casticismo*. Those who worked in this style thrived in the areas of composition and musicology. Furthermore, they helped bring Spain and its music to the forefront of high art music. Other Spanish composers took advantage of the new style and created their own avenues to research. One such composer was Joaquín Rodrigo.

Rodrigo's *neocasticismo* was a resurgent style that brought back traditional Spanish musical culture. He explored many earlier styles and composers of his interest. He combined his love for research in Spain's unique musical past and his twentieth-century techniques to create his own style, which proved to be influential. This combination is quite apparent in his guitar music, his guitar concertos in particular.

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[48] Rodrigo was clearly influenced by his wife's Jewish musical culture, and he incorporated some of those musical elements in his compositions for other instruments: *Tres Canciones Sefardíes* (Three Sephardic Songs, 1950, 1951) for chorus, and *Cuatro Canciones Sefardíes* (Four Sephardic Songs, 1965) for voice and piano; both pieces contain many anonymous texts adapted by Victoria Kamhi de Rodrigo.

Clearly, Rodrigo's guitar music, especially his guitar concertos, are representative of *neocasticismo*. Rodrigo led the way for other composers to write in that style, which made him famous and influential throughout the world. He was undoubtedly influenced by Spain's past musical culture. He studied and learned the rich musical culture of his country's past and incorporated those elements in his guitar pieces. Furthermore, in choosing the guitar as the ideal instrument to showcase his affinity for past music, he solidified his belief in the guitar being a traditionally Spanish instrument. His audience, especially his Spanish audience, were aware of the elements used in his music. They identified with the music, understood its place as a twentieth-century composition, recognized past musical characteristics, and appropriated Rodrigo's music as truly Spanish music. Rodrigo acknowledged the main religious cultures that have historically influenced and shaped Spanish culture: Muslim, Jewish, and Catholic. By incorporating flamenco elements, he honored the Muslim tradition in Spain; by using Sephardic texts and scales, he valued the Jewish tradition; by featuring variations based on Christmas carols, he admired the Catholic tradition. Rodrigo understood the history of the music in Spain, and he distinctly venerated that history in his guitar music.

APPENDIX A

Important Spanish Composers of the Twentieth Century[1]

Generación del '98		Regional Nationalists	
Manuel de Falla	(1876-1946)	Apeles Mestres	(1854-1936)
Joaquín Turina	(1882-1949)	Antonio Nicolau	(1858-1933)
Conrado del Campo	(1878-1953)	Lluis Millet	(1867-1941)
Julio Gómez	(1886-1973)	Enric Morera	(1865-1942)
Jesús Guridi	(1886-1961)	Juli Garreta	(1875-1925)
Oscar Esplá	(1886-1976)	Eduardo Toldrá	(1895-1962)
Generación de los Maestros		Regional Nationalists--Spanish Levant	
Romantics		Eduardo López Chávarri	(1875-1970)
Vicente Arregui	(1871-1925)	Leopoldo Magenti	(1896-1969)
Rogelio del Villar	(1874-1937)	Manuel Palau	(1893-1967)
José María Guervos	(1870-1944)	José Morens Gans	(1897-1976)
Facundo de la Viña	(1876-1952)	Bartolomé Pérez Casas	(1873-1956)
Joan Manén	(1883-1917)	Baltasar Samper	(1888-1966)
Francisco Calés Pina	(1886-1957)	Antonio Torrandell	(1881-1963)
Pablo (Pau) Casals	(1876-1963)		
Nationalists		Regional Nationalists--Galicia	
Joaquín Nin	(1879-1949)	Andrés Gaos	(1874-1959)
Fernando Obradors	(1879-1945)	Gregorio Baudot	(1884-1938)
Padre José Antonio Donostia or			
José Antonio de San Sebastian	(1886-1956)	Regional Nationalists--Interior Spain	
Angel Barrios	(1882-1964)	Madrid, León, Nueva y Vieja Castilla,	
Benito García de la Parra	(1884-1954)	Aragon, Extremadura, and La Rioja	
*Maria Rodrigo	(1888-1967)	Enrique Fernández Arbós	(1863-1939)
José María Franco Bordóns	(1894-1971)	Ricardo Villa	(1871-1935)
		Emilio Vega	(1877-1943)

[1] Tomàs Marco, *Spanish Music in the Twentieth-Century*, translated by Cola Franzen, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993). The composers and musicologists listed above are placed in the order in which their names appear in Marco's text. Birth and death dates were verified at www.grovemusic.com. Some composers may be categorized into more than one group. This list contains only the names and dates of the more important composers and musicologists of the groups. The present author was unable to confirm the date of death of the composers with a question mark (?) placed within the parentheses, if those composers are indeed deceased.

Innovators

Jaime Pahissa	(1880-1969)
Pedro Sanjuán	(1887-1976)
Andrés Isasi	(1890-1940)

Independent, Integrational Maestros

Federico Mompou	(1893-1987)
Manuel Blancafort	(1897-1987)

Generación de Motu Propio de Pius X--Ecclesiastical Music

Arturo Saco del Valle	(1869-1932)
Luis Iruarrizaga	(1891-1928)
Eduardo Torres	(1872-1934)
Norberto Almandoz	(1893-1970)
Nemesio Otaño	(1880-1956)
Antonio Massana	(1890-1966)
Juan María Thomas	(1896-1966)
José Ignacio Prieto	(1900-1980)

Zarzuela Composers

José María Usandizaga	(1881-1915)
Rafael Calleja	(1874-1938)
Amadeo Vives	(1871-1932)
Pablo Luna	(1879-1942)
Jacinto Guerrero	(1895-1951)
Pablo Sorozábal	(1897-1988)
Vicente Lleó	(1870-1922)
Reveriano Soutullo	(1884-1932)
José Serrano	(1873-1941)
Francisco Alonso	(1887-1948)
Federico Moreno Torroba	(1891-1982)

Generación del '27

Grupo de la República

Roberto Gerhard	(1896-1970)
Agustín Grau	(1893-1964)
Eduardo Toldrá	(1895-1962)
Manuel Blancafort	(1897-1914)
Baltasar Samper	(1888-1966)
Ricardo Lamote de Grignon	(1872-1949)

Grupo de los Ocho--Madrid

Juan José Mantecón	(1897-1964)
Fernando Remacha	(1898-1984)
Rodolfo Halffter	(1900-1988)
Ernesto Halffter	(1905-1989)
Julián Bautista	(1901-1961)
Gustavo Pittaluga	(1906-1975)
*Rosa García Ascot	(1906-?)
Salvador Bacarisse	(1898-1963)
Adolfo Salazar	(1890-1958)

Neocasticismo

Joaquín Rodrigo	(1901-1999)
Jesús García Leoz	(1904-1953)
José Muñoz Molleda	(1905-1988)
Carlos Suriñach	(1915-1997)
Jesús Arámbarri	(1902-1960)
Gaspar Cassadó	(1897-1966)
Arturo Dúo Vital	(1901-1964)
Victorino Echevarría	(1891-1965)
Rafael Rodríguez Albert	(1907-1979)
Vicente Asencio	(1903-1979)
*Matilde Salvador-Asencio's wife	(1918-)
Tomás Garbizu	(1901-?)

Independents

Xavier Montsalvatge	(1912-2002)
Gerardo Gombau	(1906-1971)
Joaquín Homs	(1906-)
*María Teresa Prieto	(1908-1982)
José Bagueña	(1910-?)
Francisco Llácer Plá	(1918-?)
Francisco Escudero	(1912-)

Círculo Manuel de Falla (1947-1955)
aka *Club del '41*

Juan Hidalgo	(1927-)
Josep Cercós	(1925-1989)

Rodrigo de Santiago	(1907-?)	Josep María Mestres-Quadreny	(1929-)
Javier Alfonso	(1905-?)	Juan Comellas	(1913-)
Angel Martín Pompey	(1902-)		
José Mas Porcel	(1909-?)		
Rafael Ferrer	(1911-?)		

Generación del '51

Cristóbal Halffter-nephew	(1930-)	Luis de Pablo	(1930-)

The Progressive of '51		The Associates of '51	
Carmelo Bernaola	(1929-2002)	Joan Guinjoan	(1931-)
Ramón Barce	(1928-)	Josep Soler	(1935-)
Josep María Mestres-Quadreny	(1929-)	Leonardo Balada	(1933-)
Josep Cercós	(1925-1989)	Claudio Prieto	(1934-)
Xavier Benguerel	(1931-)	Agustín González Acilu	(1929-)
		Agustín Bertomeu	(1931-)
The Moderates of '51		Miguel Alonso	(1925-)
Manuel Castillo	(1930-)	Gonzalo de Olavide	(1934-)
Antón García Abril	(1933-)	José Luis de Delás	(1928-)
Armando Blanquer	(1935-)	Antón Larrauri	(1932-2000)
Angel Arteaga	(1928-)		
Román Alís	(1931-)		
Jordí Cervelló	(1935-)		
Salvador Pueyo	(1935-)		

The Transitional Group

Miguel Angel Coria	(1937-)	Tomás Marco	(1942-)
Jesús Villa Rojo	(1940-)	Carlos Cruz de Castro	(1941-)
Francisco Cano	(1939-)	Eduardo Polonio	(1941-)
Angel Oliver	(1937-)	Juan Alfonso García	(1937-)
Andrés Lewin-Richter	(1937-)	Jordí Alcaraz	(1943-1985)
Joan Lluis Moraleda	(1943-)	David Padrós	(1942-)
Carles Guinovart	(1941-)	Albert Sardá	(1943-)
Carles Santos	(1940-)	Francisco Otero	(1940-)

Recent Arrivals

Francisco Guerrero	(1951-1997)	José Ramón Encinar	(1954-)
Pablo Riviere	(1951-)	Alfredo Aracil	(1954-)
José Manuel Berea	(1953-)	*María Escribano	(1954-)
Llorenç Balsach	(1953-)	Jesús Rodríguez Picó	(1953-)
Lluis Gásser	(1951-)	*Ana Bofill	(1944-)
*María Teresa Pelegrí	(1907-?)	Miguel Roger	(1954-)
Benet Casablancas	(1956-)	Salvador Brotóns	(1959-)
Juan José Olives	(1951-)	Josep Lluis Berenguer	(1940-)
Amadeu Marín	(1955-)	Javier Navarrete	(1956-)
Llorenç Barber	(1948-)	José María García Laborda	(1945-)

Ramón Ramos	(1954-)	Fernando Palacios	(1952-)
Miguel Angel Martín Lladó	(1950-)	José Luis Turina-grandson	(1952-)
Manuel Seco de Arpe	(1958-)	Antonio Agúndez	(1952-)
José Iges	(1951-)	Adolfo Núñez	(1954-)
Enrique Macías	(1958-)	Manuel Balboa	(1958-)
Pedro Guajardo	(1960-)	*Zulema de la Cruz	(1958-)
Miguel Angel Roig-Francoli	(1953-)		

Musicologists

Francisco Ansejo Barbieri	(1823-1894)	Emilio Arrieta	(1823-1894)
Hilarión Eslava	(1807-1878)	Felipe Pedrell	(1841-1922)
Higinio Anglés	(1888-1969)	Miguel Querol	(1912-)
Samuel Rubio	(1912-1986)	Federico Sopeña	(1917-1991)
José López Calo	(1922-)	Antonio Martín Moreno	(1948-)
Emilio Casares	(1943-)	Tomás Marco	(1942-)

*denotes women composers

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