

# MODERNIST REPRESENTATIONS OF THE GUITAR AND THE INSTRUMENT'S CLASSICAL REVIVAL IN THE 1920S

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## ABSTRACT

### Background in History of Art (Art Theory, Iconography)

Although numerous studies deal with cubism and some discuss the representation of instruments like the guitar in cubist still-life constructions by Picasso and Juan Gris, practically none have addressed the relation between this modern vision of the guitar and musical thought of the time. While this musical debate attempted to synthesise elements of tradition and the avant-garde, and paralleled the emergence of the concept of “modern classicism”, it was often underpinned by cubist ideas.

### Background in Musicology / Musical Practice

There is a growing body of literature on the re-emergence of the classical guitar in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and its international dissemination in the 1920s. However, little work has been undertaken on the impact of the visual arts in shaping critical constructions of the instrument, and the aesthetics and the repertory of its protagonists.

### Aims

To explore the multifaceted impact of modernist representations of the guitar in the visual arts on the revival of the classical guitar in Spain and the projection of the instrument internationally in the 1920s. An interdisciplinary approach is proposed to examine how Neoclassicism was intimately linked to the rise of the modern classical guitar (and the creation and “rediscovery” of its repertory), and how these constructions of the instrument were drawn from and paralleled in the visual and literary arts.

### Main Contribution

The classical guitar's revival in the 1920s was a phenomenon primarily driven by Spanish protagonists. While closely tied to Hispanic nationalism and the renaissance of Spanish music since the late 19th century, the instrument's links with modernist representations in early 20th-century visual arts and with the emerging aesthetics of “modern classicism” in music were crucial to its critical reception and broader dissemination in Europe and the Americas. These modernist associations also permitted the classical guitar to distinguish itself from the folk and popular music manifestations of the instrument, which had proliferated internationally since the 1890s. This paper will examine the sources behind Picasso and other cubists' fascination with the guitar, explore their representations of the instrument, and outline the dissemination of its modernist imagery. It will be argued that there is a close nexus between this imagery and the literary constructions of the instrument in Spanish authors such as Gómez de la Serna and Federico García Lorca (in whose case, a direct correlation can be seen in his drawings). The modernist visual legacy of the instrument was influential in Manuel de Falla's new aesthetic configuration of the classical guitar. Falla provided the impetus for a new repertory with his original piece for guitar, *Homenaje pour le Tombeau de Claude Debussy*, and his subsequent redefinition of the guitar as a key symbol of Spain's pre-classical legacy, in line with his neoclassical musical reorientation of the 1920s. A consequence of Falla's outlook was the emergence of a modern harpsichord repertory, an instrument he employed to evoke the baroque guitar and the vihuela.

Falla's influence was crucial in shaping the aesthetic outlook and repertory of a number of emerging guitarists in the 1920s, including Andrés Segovia, Regino Sainz de la Maza, Emilio Pujol, as well as more established artists such as Miguel Llobet. The projection and critical reception of these performers in the 1920s will also be examined in the light of allusions to modernist visual and literary topoi associated with the instrument.

### Implications

Our research demonstrates that the revival of the classical guitar in the 1920s was inextricably linked to its modernist representation in the visual arts and emerging concepts of neoclassicism in music.

### Pablo Picasso, Cubism and the guitar

Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, visual representations of the guitar were principally tied to portraiture, and to exoticist and costumbrista depictions of Spain, and the instrument became a familiar topos of this Romantic imagery. By the end of the century the instrument had been portrayed by the impressionists (Edgar Degas, Auguste Renoir), and there were depictions of the new flamenco style in paintings such as John Singer Sargeant's *El Jaleo* (1882). However, it was not until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century that the guitar became a more familiar trope of the visual arts, principally through its association with Pablo Picasso, the cubists and Spanish modernists.

The Spanish guitar was manufactured to a new design by Antonio Torres from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and between 1890 and 1920 it proliferated in different manifestations, adapted to various styles that developed along with the instrument. A variety of popular styles co-existed throughout this 30-year period, with a range of strumming and picking techniques applied to chords (predominantly in first position). The beginning of this period is marked by the enormous success of the *estudiantinas*, which had become an international phenomenon after their spectacular appearance during the 1878 Carnival festivities in Paris.<sup>1</sup> The association of the guitar with the sonorities of the plucked string ensembles was widespread during the last years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is from this period that we see the instrument establish itself as a cheap folk-like urban instrument, and its mass dissemination is linked with the beginnings of the industrialised production of the instrument. Those years also coincided with the decisive evolution of flamenco and its associated guitar techniques, in addition to witnessing the beginnings of the modern school of classical guitar playing under the leadership of Francisco Tárrega and Miguel Llobet.<sup>2</sup> These guitarists focused on the 19<sup>th</sup>-century repertory of the instrument, as well as composing Romantic exoticist and salon pieces, transcribing morceaux and arias, and creating evocative arrangements of Catalan folk songs.

In their fin-de-siècle Parisian milieu, several Spanish artists and cubists were exposed to the guitar in a variety of contexts. Many of Picasso's associates, from Ramon Casas to Ignacio Zuloaga, were guitar players and aficionados of folk and flamenco styles, who also associated with the leading performers such as Llobet and Angel Barrios. On the other hand we

know of Picasso's interest in café culture and French popular song, as accompanied on the guitar by Frede at the Lapin Agile (as portrayed in Picasso's *Au Lapin Agile*, 1904).

For many cubists, music and its representation were important concerns. From 1908, Georges Braque introduced the representation of musical instruments into his painting. He had studied music, and was particularly engaged with the music of J.S. Bach, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Claude Debussy, Erik Satie and Darius Milhaud, with whom he collaborated on the ballet *Salade* in 1924. Braque was interested in representing the interior volume of the still life, the tactile space at times with the musical instrument at its centre. In his canvases he also tried to evoke music through references to Bach. For example, titles like *Aria de Bach* allude to common stylistic features like concision of content, constructive rigour and the equilibrium that painters and composers sought in the process of liberation from post-Wagnerian weightiness. Like Braque, Juan Gris represented the sonorous volume of instruments as the perfect inter-penetration of volumes, spaces and lines. Both painters indicated that the rhythmic element was closely linked with the constructive element. This is what Jean Cocteau was referring to when he declared that he was trying to "hear the music of Picasso's guitars".

Despite the modernist abstraction of the guitar by Picasso and his milieu, the instrument retained a plethora of historical and cultural associations for many of the artists. The guitar was introduced in synthetic cubism and cubist collage to an even greater extent than in analytical cubism, not just as an *objet trouvé*, but at times as a historicist "object" that provided glimpses of reality and historical evocation. In a similar vein, emerging Neoclassicism in music would incorporate models from the past (at times derived from guitar sources) in an evocative and historicist fashion, yet reconfigured through modern harmonic and rhythmic procedures and timbres.

In his book *Cubist aesthetic theories*, Christopher Gray asserts that Cubism is something more than a tendency of the plastic arts and just another "ism". It is, expressed as much in literature and music as in the visual arts.<sup>3</sup> While cubism exerted a range of influences on the composition of music, most attention has been focused on the relationship between Picasso and Igor Stravinsky.<sup>4</sup> During the course of World War I, one observes in both Picasso and Stravinsky an attempt to reconcile Cubism with conventional perspective, to marry the modern and

<sup>1</sup> *Ilustración española y americana*, 22.10 (15 March 1878), pp. 171-172; 22.11 (22 March 1878), p. 187; 2.12 (30 March 1878), pp. 213-215.

<sup>2</sup> Other classical guitar traditions that drew on early 19<sup>th</sup>-century traditions and/or folk styles existed in parts of Europe and the Americas at the turn of the century, but the modern Spanish school became the dominant tradition by the 1920s.

<sup>3</sup> GRAY, Christopher: *Cubist Aesthetic Theories*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1953.

<sup>4</sup> See CHRISTOFORIDIS, Michael: "Madrid de Igor Strawinsky, Pablo Picasso y la vanguardia", *Campos interdisciplinarios de la musicología*, Madrid, 2001, pp. 1303-1309; CROSS, Jonathan: *The Stravinsky Legacy*, Cambridge, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1998.

novel with the popular and a historical sense. Examples include Picasso's *Three Musicians* (1918) and Stravinsky's *L'histoire du soldat* (1918) and *Pulcinella* (1920).

In Picasso's theatrical works of period, such as the set designs, costumes and curtains for *Parade* (1917), *The Three-Cornered Hat* (1919), *Pulcinella* (1920) and *Cuadro Flamenco* (1921), we see a new alignment of cubist techniques with a neoclassical tendency that introduces figural elements and perspective. *Parade* clearly demonstrates this tension within Picasso's output. The drop curtain also introduces the figure of the bullfighter playing the guitar, which is reminiscent of pre-cubist subjects and relates to his contemporary and future fascination with harlequin guitarists.

The Ballets Russes productions were perceived by some contemporary French, English and Spanish critics as embodying a new aesthetic with symptoms of classicism, through their stylised synthesis of high and popular culture, with recourse to abstract gesture and linearity in elements of their design, music and choreography. These same features were highlighted in relation to the sonority, and the early and modern repertoires, of "revived" instruments such as the harpsichord and the guitar.<sup>5</sup>

#### **Spanish nationalism, Manuel de Falla and changing constructions of the guitar**

The idea of a stylised guitar removed from the popular realm and recognised as a classical instrument begins to gain currency in Spain in the first decades of the 20th century. The theories of the Spanish composer and musicologist Felipe Pedrell on the synthesis between the traditions of high art and the popular were essential to this process. These theories also had their parallel in the current of *Institucionismo*, which proposed the creation of a national-universal language.<sup>6</sup> The need to reconcile the national with folklore, the natural, the popular and the avant-garde aesthetic led to Neoclassicism becoming a dominant aesthetic. On the other hand, the need to unite modern music with both early and popular traditions, created the frameworks for certain manifestations of high art and folk music to be identified with each other. Neoclassicism allowed for the metaphorical use of pre-Classical elements and the construction of the folk source as a neutral form. In 1917, Falla wrote of the guitar as an example of reconciliation between the popular and high art traditions united in a stylised revival of the past, which had been anticipated by Pedrell's nationalist

theories and realised in his union of old musics with popular traditions.<sup>7</sup>

The historicist recuperation of Spain's musical past through musicological research fomented the theoretical and aesthetic revival of the country's musical tradition from a modernist perspective. An especially important result of this was the recovery of the repertory for vihuela—and to some extent the baroque guitar—and ideas about reviving the guitar as a classical instrument. The vihuela provided an ideal example of Spanish classicism in that it was perceived as synthesising the popular and high art traditions. During the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the re-discovery of the Spanish vihuelists of the 16<sup>th</sup> century took centre stage. In addition to the writings of Pedrell, other sources include Rafael Mitjana's essay "Para música vamos!", which included a chapter on the history of the guitar,<sup>8</sup> and the papers read by Cecilio de Roda in 1905 at the Ateneo de Madrid's celebrations of the tercentenary of the publication of Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quijote*. Roda spoke about the songs, instruments and dances in *Don Quijote*,<sup>9</sup> and proposed the following as examples of the incursion of popular music into high art: Gaspar Sanz's 1674 guitar treatise,<sup>10</sup> dances from Cervantes' era and the songs of the vihuelist Francisco Guerrero.

These ideas had enormous repercussions in the recitals of the guitarists Regino Sainz de la Maza and Emilio Pujol. Sainz de la Maza presented repertoire for lute, vihuela and guitar from his earliest concerts in Barcelona (which took place in 1917), and his interest in 16<sup>th</sup>-century music grew from there.<sup>11</sup> Pujol and Sainz de la Maza alternated contemporary works with re-discovered works from the past in their programmes, including among other items guitar transcriptions of vihuela pieces and music by Bach. Both performers were praised in the principal musical journals from 1917. After Emilio Pujol's celebrated Barcelona concert in January of that year, in which he performed works by 17<sup>th</sup>-century vihuela composers and by Bach, Luis Millet noted:

It is no longer the guitar of the popular tavern, but [...] dignified and modernized

<sup>5</sup> PIQUER SANCLEMENTE, Ruth: "El concepto estético de clasicismo moderno en la música española (1915-1930)", Doctoral dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2008, pp. 69-77, 431-442.

<sup>6</sup> This was especially reflected in the activities and concerts of the vanguard institution, the *Residencia de Estudiantes* in Madrid.

<sup>7</sup> "A cuantos quieran hacer música estrictamente nacional, que oigan lo que podríamos llamar orquestas populares (en mi tierra las guitarras, los palillos, y los panderos), y sólo en ellas encontrarán esa anhelada tradición, imposible de hallar en otra parte": FALLA, Manuel de: "*Nuestra Música*", *Música*, 2 (June 1917).

<sup>8</sup> MITJANA, Rafael: "La guitarra española y Miguel Llobet", *Para música vamos, Estudios sobre el arte musical contemporáneo en España*, Valencia, Sempere y Cía, 1909, pp. 83-94.

<sup>9</sup> RODA, Cecilio de: *Los instrumentos músicos y las danzas en el Quijote, con ocasión del tercer centenario de Cervantes*, Madrid, Bernardo Rodríguez, 1905.

<sup>10</sup> SANZ, Gaspar: *Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española*, Zaragoza, herederos de Diego Dornor, 1674.

<sup>11</sup> NERI de CASO, José Leopoldo: "Federico García Lorca-Regino Sainz de la Maza. Una amistad musical", *Musicalia, Revista del Conservatorio Superior de Música Rafael Orozco*, Córdoba, 4 (January 2006), pp. 95-111.

[...]. This is the true guitar, worthy pupil of the vihuela and the lute.<sup>12</sup>

Critics noted the instrument's history in the vihuela tradition and highlighted the features of clarity, purity and return to the past that were equally relevant to the emerging aesthetics of Neoclassicism.<sup>13</sup>

In the previous year, Falla had already begun to experiment with a synthesis of folk and historical material in his pantomime *El corregidor y la molinera*, a process that would be accentuated when the work was recast alongside Picasso's tempered cubist designs as *The Three-Cornered Hat*. This work, which forms a milestone in the reconciliation of folklore and modernity, is also infused with a modernist orchestral evocation of a variety of guitar styles. Falla continued with a primitivist cubist collage of flamenco in the *Fantasia Baetica* (1919). Falla took his cue from the stylised austerity of Stravinsky's contemporaneous folk-inspired output, and presented the juxtaposition of motives and melodic/rhythmic/harmonic cells abstracted from various sources, drawing heavily on a range of flamenco guitar motives.

Falla's move to Granada in 1920 inspired him to write for guitar, creating a work that is in effect a collage of motives and gestures from Debussy's scores evoking Spain (many of which display the French composer's fixation with Granada and interest in the guitar's harmonic possibilities) in the *Homenaje*. In the process Falla strengthened the ties of old friendships with Llobet and Angel Barrios, and developed longstanding friendships with Andrés Segovia, Pujol and Sainz de la Maza, despite the promise of further works for the guitar never eventuating.<sup>14</sup>

During this period, Falla was undergoing a major stylistic shift during the composition of his *El retablo de Maese Pedro* (1918-1923). This Neoclassical work superficially eschewed the Andalusian accent of his previous output in favour of the synthesis of historical and folk sources that highlighted Spain's Castilian heritage. However, many of the cubist-inspired compositional techniques are retained and developed, and Falla continued to evoke the guitar, albeit drawing from folk, 17<sup>th</sup>-century and vihuela sources.

In the midst of composing *El retablo de Maese Pedro*, Falla organised the first Cante Jondo (flamenco song, mostly with guitar accompaniment) Competition in Granada in 1922 with the aid of the poet Federico García Lorca and a number of

Grenadine colleagues. While there is a primitivist air to the purpose of this competition, and its aims to save a rarefied artefact, there are also Neoclassical overtones. In the previous year Diaghilev had produced a flamenco spectacle billed as *Cuadro Flamenco*, which was framed by a Picasso backdrop of cubist artifice. The photos of the production suggest a tableau vivante of guitarists and dancers framed by the modernist artifice of the decor. In an accompanying program note Stravinsky went so far as to define flamenco as an essentially classical art of composition, describing it in terms of "logic", "precision" and "cold calculation".<sup>15</sup> That same year the classicised cubism of Natalia Goncharova was employed to illustrate the cover of Falla's flamenco-inspired *El amor brujo*, incorporating the imagery of the guitar.

The Cante Jondo Competition of 1922 drew on an avant-garde vision of flamenco and the guitar, divorced from their Romantic topoi, just as the main *ultraísta* publications *Ultra*, *Horizonte* and *Alfar* were speaking of a neoclassicist return to order. The competition revived the interest of the upper classes in folk music, at a time when this legacy was being reconsidered by poets and musicians.<sup>16</sup>

The debate about musical essentialism was paraphrased by Lorca in his speech at the Cante Jondo Competition,<sup>17</sup> in which he compared the *seguiriya gitana* with Bach,<sup>18</sup> describing them as circular structures simultaneously creating a sense of infinite horizontality. Lorca viewed this as a classical synthesis of the Apollonian and the Dionysian, a dichotomy that in its Nietzschean manifestation had been integral to the cubist ideal of objects constructed from different perspectives.

Falla also published a pamphlet entitled *El "cante jondo" (canto primitivo andaluz)* [*Cante jondo (Primitive Andalusian Song)*] to coincide with the competition, which concludes with an appraisal of the flamenco guitar, its historical ties to Spanish culture and the exploration of its resources in Western art music. He gives Domenico Scarlatti a pivotal role in evoking the instrument's harmonic possibilities, a statement that reflects his own reorientation in drawing from the instrument in his Neoclassical works.

The modernist overtones of the Cante Jondo Competition were encapsulated in Manuel Angeles Ortiz's surrealist cubist poster created for the event, which highlights the guitar. In Lorca's contemporary

<sup>12</sup> MILLET, Luis: "Recital de Emili Pujol. Sala Mozart", *Revista Musical Catalana*, (15 February 1917), p. 43.

<sup>13</sup> "Recital histórico de guitarra de Sainz de la maza en Sala Mozart", *Revista Musical Catalana*, 161 (May 1917), p. 136.

<sup>14</sup> Preliminary sketches exist for a further guitar work, and Falla employs 2 guitars to accompany an aria in the incidental music for *El gran teatro del Mundo* (1927), guitar parts that were edited by Barrios.

<sup>15</sup> STRAWINSKY, Igor: "Les espagnoles aux ballets russes", *Comoedia*, 15 May 1921.

<sup>16</sup> BERGAMÍN, José. "Clasicismo", *Horizonte*, 3 (15 December 1922).

<sup>17</sup> Lorca's paper is included in PERSIA; Jorge de: *I Concurso de Cante Jondo, 1922-1992. Edición conmemorativa, una reflexión crítica*, Granada, Archivo Manuel de Falla, 1992.

<sup>18</sup> GARCÍA LORCA, Federico: *Epistolario Completo*, Madrid, Cátedra, 1997 (ed. Christopher Maurer y Andrew A. Anderson), p. 119.

poem “Adivinanza de la guitarra”, one of the caprichos dedicated to Sainz de la Maza, Lorca abstracts his imagery of the guitar, which had previously been laden with Andalusian folk overtones, with allusions to Neoclassical themes and cubist planes.<sup>19</sup>

En la redonda  
encrucijada,  
seis doncellas  
bailan.  
Tres de carne  
y tres de plata.  
Los sueños de ayer las buscan  
pero las tiene abrazadas  
un Polifemo de oro.  
¡La guitarra!

Andrés Segovia attended the Cante Jondo Competition and gave several recitals in Granada at the time, in which he included performances of some flamenco genres, music that he would later preclude from the classical guitar’s repertoire. This Andalusian legacy would increasingly become marginalised from the projection of the new instrument, and only figured prominently in guitar transcriptions of the piano pieces of Albéniz, a composer who had mediated Andalusian and flamenco guitar elements through his idiomatic late Romantic style. One of the few Spanish composers to engage with the guitar’s Andalusian and primitivist associations when writing for the instrument in the 1920s was Joaquín Turina. Primitivist constructions persisted in the reception of flamenco and other guitar styles in the 1920s, including jazz and tango.<sup>20</sup>

### Neoclassicism and the emergence of the new Spanish Guitar School

By the early 1920s guitar programmes in Spain were dominated by vihuela repertory, 17<sup>th</sup>- and 18<sup>th</sup>-century pieces, and the music of Bach.<sup>21</sup> Critics highlighted the aesthetic values in this repertory that were most closely linked with the concept of neoclassicism: purity, clarity of line, plasticity, all features that were also attributed to the harpsichord movement as practised by Wanda Landowska and Joaquín Nin.<sup>22</sup> The similarities between the guitar (and plucked instruments) and the harpsichord were

observed as much in Spain as in France and England, and the guitar was increasingly identified with a broader modernising Spanish synthesis of high and folk art. The rediscovery of this pre-Classical repertoire was also aided by contemporary musicological publications, such as Martínez Torner’s *Colección de vihuelistas españoles del siglo XVI* (1923).<sup>23</sup> This edition had repercussions in France when the *Revue de Musicologie* dedicated a long article to the subject,<sup>24</sup> which highlighted the contrapuntal writing, the profile of the lines and the popular “aroma” of pieces by the 16<sup>th</sup>-century composer Luis de Narváez. The 1924 correspondence between Martínez Torner and Salazar demonstrates their interest in disseminating the compositions of the Spanish vihuela school,<sup>25</sup> as do articles by Salazar publicising their work around the same time.<sup>26</sup>

On occasion it is possible to trace a conscious parallelism between this newly rediscovered repertory, the guitar, and contemporary visual and literary styles. Sainz de la Maza played in some of the events arranged by the *Sociedad de Independientes* (in which both Lorca and the painter Vázquez Díaz participated, among others linked with the current *ultraísmo*). He was encouraged by Lorca to perform music by the 16<sup>th</sup>-century vihuelists: “you only play *primitive* music, so I believe it has more character when played alongside the paintings of Barradas.”<sup>27</sup> In 1923 Ramón Gómez de la Serna wrote in the journal *Alfar* about a new guitar, related both to the cubist aesthetic and an austere vision of Castile (a region identified with constructions of Neoclassicism in Spain).<sup>28</sup> In the same year, several related articles appeared by Gómez de la Serna: one presented the music of Ernesto Halffter as an example of the new classicism, while another used the art of Juan Gris as a parallel example of classicist cubism or the return to order. The guitar’s association with simplicity and multiple layers of Spanish history accorded with the new values of universalism expressed through the aesthetic of neoclassicism, which in turn coincided with Picasso, Gris and Braque’s cubist guitars, created from lines and planes.

<sup>23</sup> MARTINEZ TORNER, Eduardo: *Colección de vihuelistas españoles del siglo XVI*. Madrid, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1923.

<sup>24</sup> *Revue de Musicologie*, (November 1924), pp. 193-194.

<sup>25</sup> MARTINEZ TORNER, Eduardo: Letter to Adolfo Salazar, 12 February 1924, cited in CASARES RODICIO, Emilio (ed.): *La música en la Generación del 27. Homenaje a Lorca (1915-1939)*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1987, p. 164.

<sup>26</sup> SALAZAR, Adolfo: “Dos cancioneros españoles: Joaquín Nin. Eduardo Martínez Torner”, *El Sol*, 4 January 1925.

<sup>27</sup> GARCIA LORCA, Federico: *Epistolario Completo*, Madrid, Cátedra, 1997 (ed. Christopher Maurer y Andrew A. Anderson), p. 96. In this Spanish context *música primitiva* often refers to pre-Classical music.

<sup>28</sup> GÓMEZ DE LA SERNA, Ramón: “La guitarra”, *Alfar*, 7 (1923), p. 203.

<sup>19</sup> Neoclassical influences are also evident in Lorca’s sketches of guitarists (reminiscent of Picasso’s Harlequin and guitar).

<sup>20</sup> To further these perceptions, at times tango musicians donned the attire of the (musically unrelated) gaucho in performances in Europe and the US. In terms of the classical guitar this current was most closely associated with the Paraguayan guitarist and composer, Agustín Barrios, who at times performed in Guaraní tribal clothing.

<sup>21</sup> SALAZAR, Adolfo: “Sainz de la Maza”, *El Sol*, 11 March 1920.

<sup>22</sup> Emilio Pujol’s concert for the Associació d’amics de la música, 28 March 1922, cited in the *Revista Catalana de Música*, 19 (April-June 1922).

When Andrés Segovia performed Falla's *Homenaje a Debussy* in 1923, Salazar claimed that the revival of the guitar as a high art instrument encapsulated the new Hispanic construction of universalist nationalism. Salazar would write an article on "The new art of the guitar and Andrés Segovia" in which he commented that Segovia's repertory contained "the music of Spanish composers of the past, the present and the future."<sup>29</sup> This mix, along with the transcription of works by Bach (and to a lesser extent Scarlatti and other Baroque composers) formed the core of the 1920s guitar repertory.

Adolfo Salazar and some members of Madrid's *Grupo de los Ocho* [Group of Eight] composed works inspired by the vihuela and by 17<sup>th</sup>- and 18<sup>th</sup>-century guitar and keyboard sources, many of which were premiered by Sainz de la Maza. Critics highlighted the modernity, clarity of line, allusions to the past, and serenity and equilibrium of these works,<sup>30</sup> which included *Pavana* by Salvador Bacarisse,<sup>31</sup> the *Preludio y Danza* by Julián Bautista, *Atardecer* by Juan José Mantecón and Rodolfo Halffter's *Giga*. Other Spanish composers to write guitar works in a neoclassical vein in the 1920s include Joaquín Rodrigo and Federico Moreno Torroba.

The 1920s also saw the international dissemination of this Neoclassical construction of the guitar, principally through the tours of Andrés Segovia outside the Hispanic world in the latter half of the decade. While critics, and to some extent Segovia, focused more on Bach in these concerts (in line with the broader contemporaneous Neoclassical fascination with the composer), they echoed many of the references to the guitar's linear transparency, historical allusions to the Renaissance and the lute. In comparing the guitar with the harpsichord, some critics pointed to the instrument's greater aptness for contemporary music because of its modernity and expressive range.<sup>32</sup> Segovia's early commissions of new repertory also consolidated this Neoclassical bias in the repertory, with works by Albert Roussel, Frank Martin and Heitor Villa-Lobos and Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco.

In Paris, London and New York, Segovia's tours came in the wake of the critical reception of Hispanic Neoclassicism in the visual arts, through the works of Picasso, Gris and their compatriots. This imagery of the guitar was also reinforced through its visual presence as the sempiternal marker of Spanishness in

a plethora of modernist Spanish dance productions that flourished in Europe and the United States in 1920s in the wake of *The Three-Cornered Hat*. Picasso's theatrical modernism set the stage for many such works by the Ballets Suedois, La Argentina's Ballets Espagnols and the Ida Rubinstein Ballet. The scores that accompanied these productions often evoked the guitar in a modern orchestral context (even at times with Neoclassical overtones, as was the case in Ernesto Halffter's *Sonatina*). However, the most extended critical commentary and understanding of Hispanic musical modernism and Neoclassicism prior to Segovia's tours had come about through performances of Falla's *El amor brujo*, *El retablo de Maese Pedro* and the *Concerto*, all works that had drawn extensively on evocations of the guitar in various historical contexts. This critical undercurrent, shaped by manifestations of modernism associated with Spain in music and the visual arts, was integral to the classical guitar's "revival" and projection as a modern concert instrument in the 1920s.

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