

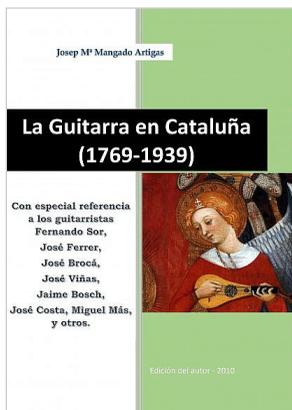
## The Catalan Guitar, Part 2

Two New E-books by Josep María Mangado

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Josep María Mangado Artigas

*La guitarra en Cataluña, 1769–1939: Con especial referencia a los guitarristas José Ferrer (1835–1916), Sor, Brocá, Viñas, Bosch, Costa, Más, y otros*, version 2.0  
Sant Feliu de Llobregat, Barcelona: Self-published, Tecla, 2010, PDF<sup>1</sup>



CATALONIA IS A REGION of northeastern Spain and the home of the Catalan language—a Romance language closely related to Occitan (the *langue d’oc* of the medieval troubadours, still spoken in Provence). In spite of periodic attempts to suppress it in favor of Castilian Spanish, Catalan is still spoken from Roussillon (France) down the Mediterranean coast as far as Valencia, and also in Mallorca and the Balearic Islands.

Barcelona, the principal city of Catalonia, is today a thriving cosmopolitan seaport and tourist destination. It was the first city on the Iberian Peninsula to industrialize when, in the early nineteenth century, raw cotton was imported from the Americas and manufactured into finished cloth in factories in the area of its old port and the Barri gòtic (the Old Quarter).<sup>2</sup> The city became wealthy and by the end of the century had expanded beyond its old medieval walls, well into what is now called the Eixample (Enlargement)—a vast planned residential development with

1 Distributed by Tecla: <https://tecla.com/shop/books-and-music-scores/mangado/josep-maria-mangado-la-guitarra-en-cataluna/>.

2 In his 1845 *Hand-book for Travellers in Spain*, Richard Ford described Barcelona as Spain’s Manchester—that is, the center of Spain’s manufacturing industry—an often-repeated comparison. New edition, vol. 2 (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1966), 690.

broad tree-lined boulevards and magnificent architecture. The city seemed more connected to Europe than to the rest of the Iberian peninsula, both by new railroads and by culture. The second half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century are often referred to as the Catalan *Renaixença*, as Barcelona and its newly prosperous middle class experienced a literary and cultural revival. The city became home to architects and artists (Antoni Gaudí, Salvador Dalí, Joan Miró) and musicians (Albéniz, Granados, Casals). It also boasted many small clubs and music venues, a busy new opera house (the Gran Teatre del Liceu), and the celebrated Palau de la Música Catalana. With plentiful concert venues, publishers, printers, and ticket-buying aficionados, all the ideal circumstances for a revival of the guitar proliferated in Barcelona. At the same time, the city became home to many of the most influential figures in the modern history of the guitar.

The first edition of Josep Maria Mangado's *La guitarra en Catalunya, 1769–1939* appeared in 1998,<sup>3</sup> and made a significant contribution to our understanding of the history of the guitar in Barcelona and the region of Catalonia during the transitional decades between Fernando Sor and Francisco Tárrega. It accomplished this by presenting a series of biographical studies of ten guitarists active in Catalonia whose lives and careers contributed to the popularity and reputation of the guitar as a concert instrument. These guitarists were certainly not the only ones active in Spain in those years, nor were they the most important historically. Sor, who was the inspiration for generations of Catalan guitarists, was discussed by Mangado but not included here among the ten subjects; neither was Tárrega (born in Vilarreal, near Valencia) or Miguel Llobet.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the chosen subjects formed a unique circle, closely tied to the place and times in which they lived, and each making a contribution as performer, composer, pedagogue, or journalist and critic.

- 3 Much of the new version 2.0, reviewed here, seems unchanged from the 1998 version, so my comments refer to both editions unless otherwise indicated. However, the cover of version 2.0 displays a modified subtitle, reordering the names and adding forenames: *La guitarra en Catalunya, 1769–1939: Con especial referencia a los guitarristas Fernando Sor, José Ferrer, José Brocá, José Viñas, Jaime Bosch, José Costa, Miguel Más, y otros*. This is probably an editing oversight, because the title on the title page of version 2.0 reads the same as the cover and the title page of the first version. And the version 2.0 PDF is 232 pages longer than the printed first edition.
- 4 Since the dates in Mangado's title reach 1939, one might expect to read about Francisco Tárrega (1852–1909), who was born in Villareal, near Valencia, Miquel Llobet i Solés (Spanish: Miguel Llobet Soles; 1878–1938), and Emili (Spanish: Emilio) Pujol Vilarrubí (1886–1980). But any of these would have made the book much longer, and all have been the subject of biographies in recent years. Others curiously left off the list of ten include Buenaventura Bassols, Joaquín Casanovas, Felip Pedrell, Domingo Prat, Graciano Tarragó, and Daniel Fortea, among others. In Mangado's defense, his scholarly activities have included contributions to Francisco Herrera's *Enciclopedia de la guitarra* and the monograph *Miguel Llobet: La forza del talento*, trans. Angelo Gilardino (Milan: Curci, 2018). This book is the Italian translation of Mangado's *Miguel Llobet: Del romanticismo a la modernidad; Claves para una biografía* (La Posada, 2016), which I have not seen.

Mangado begins with a discussion of the guitar in Catalonia in the eighteenth century, with sources that include the diary of a local nobleman, Rafael de Amat y de Cortada y Sentjust, 5th Baron of Maldá (1746–1819), whose son played guitar. Fernando Sor, who received his musical training at the nearby monastery of Montserrat, became a local celebrity as early as the 1790s. In 1813, Sor left Spain for Paris, never having established a school of Spanish disciples there as his friend Aguado had in Madrid. Nevertheless, Sor continued to be held in great esteem in Catalonia throughout the next century, and most Catalan guitar concert programs included at least one of his compositions.

Guitar activity continued in Barcelona in the decades after Sor's departure, including a Carulli guitar concerto performed with orchestra in 1819 by an Italian guitarist, Luigia Fissetti.<sup>5</sup> A certain Jaume Bruno Berenguer performed local concerts in the next decades, and Buenaventura Bassols (1812–68) trained several influential students and played duets with visiting guitarists Luigi Legnani (1842) and A. Trinidad Huerta (1849), a Spaniard from Alicante.<sup>6</sup> A major new opera venue, the Gran Teatre del Liceu, opened in 1847 and hosted several guitar concerts by Huerta.

The decades after 1840 also saw both the growing popularity of the guitar and the emergence of a loosely affiliated group of Catalan guitarists who are the principal focus of Mangado's research. Mangado's selection of these ten guitarists seems arbitrary in a few cases, but the subjects are all worthy and his research is impressive. His biographical studies of José Ferrer y Esteve (or José Ferrer y Esteve, Pujadas y Vilar, 1835–1916), José Brocá y Codina (1805–82), and José Viñas y Díaz (1823–88) get the most attention and the most pages. There are shorter chapters on Jaime Bosch y Renard (1826–95), José Costa y Hugas (1827–81), Miguel Más y Bargalló (1846–1923), Juan Nogués y Pon (1875–1930), Antonio Alba (1873–1940), Alfredo Romea y Catalina

5 Mangado guesses that Fissetti played Carulli's Concerto, op. 8a (1809), but she also might have played the much-revised concerto published without opus number in Vienna in 1817. She also may have somehow obtained a prepublication version of Carulli's *Petit concerto de société*, op. 140 (1820). I wonder which was more rare in those days: a guitar concerto with an actual orchestra or a woman as featured performer? Very few female guitarists are mentioned in this book, even as students, possibly reflecting Spain's conservative culture, and a very different situation from the first golden age of the guitar, c. 1790–1840, in Vienna, Paris, and London. There also seem to have been fewer Spanish guitar duets (Sor and Ferrer were exceptions) and less guitar in chamber music.

6 Bassols (1812–68) seems to have been as significant to the history of the guitar in Catalonia as many of Mangado's ten subjects. He personally taught at least three of them (Viñas, Bosch, and Costa) and left at least one composition that was the equal of anything they wrote. See his *2a Fantasia*, op. 12, in Javier Suárez-Pájaros, ed., *Antología de guitarra*, vol. 1, *Piezas de concierto, 1788–1850* (Madrid: ICCMU, 2008), 125–34. Mangado may have excluded him here because, as was the case with Llobet, he had already written about him elsewhere. See his entry in Francisco Herrera, ed., *Enciclopedia de guitarra* (Valencia: Piles, 2006). Mangado also contributed an entry on Narciso Bassols, Buenaventura's younger brother. On Huerta's concerts in Barcelona also see Javier Suárez-Pájaros and Robert Coldwell, *A. T. Huerta (1800–74): Life and Works* (n.p.: DGA Editions, 2006), 27f.

(1883–1955), and José Sirera Prats (1884–1931). The shortest essay in the book, on Sirera, consists of two pages of text and five pages of illustrations.

**José Brocá** was the elder of the group, born in 1805, the same year as Sor's famous French pupil Napoléon Coste.<sup>7</sup> Like the Frenchman, Brocá was an enthusiast of the works of both Sor and Aguado, who were both still very much alive when he was learning to play guitar in Reus, in the Catalan region of Tarragona. Brocá served in the army of Isabel II in the first Carlist War (1833–40). After a hiatus in 1841–43, which he spent performing and teaching guitar in Barcelona (his pupils included Ferrer and Domingo Bonet y Espasa), he resumed his military life, eventually serving over twenty-two years and retiring at the age of fifty-one. He lived in Barcelona from 1857 until his death in 1882. He composed six fantasies for guitar as well as many minor works, mostly waltzes and mazurkas in the fashion of the day.

**José Viñas** and **Jaime** [Catalan: Jaume] **Bosch** were both born in Barcelona and took advantage of the excellent music education available in the city. Viñas was a versatile musician, an accomplished “orchestra director, singer, pianist, violinist, guitarist, and professor of music,” who made two successful European concert tours in 1844 and 1849. Extant concert programs include music by Sor as well as his own compositions (twenty-three pieces were published). Following in Sor's footsteps in 1852, Bosch moved to Paris, where he became famous as a concert artist, composer, and teacher. He, too, toured abroad (to the German states and the Low Countries) and published a guitar method (in 1890). **José Costa y Hugas** was born in the same year as Bosch (1827), and in the same village as his lifelong friend Ferrer (Torroella de Montgrí in the province of Girona). He studied guitar with Bassols and lived for a time in Paris before settling in Madrid. Eight of his compositions were published but others have survived in manuscripts.<sup>8</sup>

Mangado's chapter on **José Ferrer** is by far the longest (more than 150 pages in the second edition) and most detailed. This may be in part because his life is better documented than the others'—important collections of his papers survive in Barcelona, Madrid, and London—but the emphasis is also justified by his contributions over his long international career. Mangado provides detailed genealogical research into his ancestry, plus photocopies of documents and many family signatures in the second edition. Ferrer studied guitar with his father and with Costa, who was a neighbor in Torroella de Montgrí. In 1860, Ferrer moved to Gràcia, then a suburb of Barcelona (later incorporated into the expanding city). He studied for several years with Brocá, and soon became a regular participant in the city's guitar scene; during his two extended stays in Paris (1885–98, 1901–5) he frequently traveled back to Barcelona.

7 Not to be confused with the Catalan guitarist José Costa y Hugas or the Italian guitarist Onorato Costa.

8 For a modern collection of Costa's works (to which Mangado contributed), see *José Costa y Hugas: The Complete Works*, ed. Rafael Catalá, vol. 4 of *Música Ibérica: Spanish Guitar Music of the 19th Century* (Vienna: Doblinger, 2010). Brocá and Ferrer are also represented in this Doblinger series. See also *José Viñas: Collected Guitar Works*, ed. Detlev Bork (Heidelberg: Chanterelle Verlag, 2011), and *J. Bosch (1826–1895): Works for Guitar*, ed. Brian Jeffrey (London: Tecla, 1995).

He seems to have performed often in duo with Domingo Bonet Espasa (1841–1931), a Catalan from Lleida to whom he dedicated his duet *Sérénade espagnole*, op. 34.

Paris remained a favorite destination for guitarists for the same reasons that it had been a favorite in the era of Carulli, Sor, and Aguado: the opportunities to perform, to publish, and to teach. Also, the French of that age loved Spanish music and are often said to have composed more of it than did the Spanish. The French also appreciated Spanish performers, and many of these were Catalans. The pianists Isaac Albéniz, Enríc (Enrique) Granados, Ricard Viñes, and Joaquín Nin all lived or worked for a time in Paris. Ferrer's and Bosch's circles of friends in Paris included the composers Jules Massenet and Charles Gounod and the painter and guitar aficionado Édouard Manet. In 1898 Ferrer was lured back to Barcelona to teach guitar at the Conservatorio del Liceu. He returned to Paris in 1901–5, supposedly to find a publisher for his 268-page method, but it must have proved too voluminous and expensive, since it never was published.<sup>9</sup> Ferrer spent the last decade of his life in Barcelona.

Ferrer deserves the prominence he enjoys in this book. He maintained warm relations with locals Brocá, Nogués, Viñas, and Domingo Prat, as well as the young Francisco Tárrega (who moved to Barcelona in 1884), and also important non-Catalan guitarists, including Antonio Cano and his son Federico, and the brothers Julián and Manuel Arcas. Ferrer published a number of his later works with the new Madrid-based Biblioteca Fortea, a project of his friend Daniel Fortea, who was also one of Tárrega's closest friends and most influential disciples. Ferrer's works (sixty-three numbered and ten without opus) range from sentimental romanticism (*Recuerdos de Montgrí*, op. 1) to charming salon pieces, and often include nationalistic gestures.<sup>10</sup> He also arranged three songs by Sebastián de Iradier y Salaverri (1809–65) for voice and guitar.<sup>11</sup>

**Miguel Más** was born in Reus in 1846. He moved to Barcelona to study piano with Joan Bautista Pujol—the teacher of Albéniz, Granados, Viñes, and Malats—but was drawn to the popular ensembles of plucked stringed instruments that proliferated in the last half of the century. Más played and taught guitar but his specialty was the *bandurria*, an instrument with metal strings played with a plectrum. He founded and directed several quartets and quintets, and also larger ensembles that paired plucked and bowed strings. His few published works for guitar consisted of some original dances and transcriptions (of Bach, Beethoven, and Chopin). A number of guitar concert programs from the early twentieth century, especially those of Alfredo

9 Bosch's method (116 pages) had been published in Paris in 1890, where he was still a well-known figure. By 1900, Ferrer had long since retired from performing except in intimate gatherings, and was less known than Bosch. There is a manuscript of Ferrer's method in the Robert Spencer collection at the Royal Academy of Music in London.

10 The "characteristically Spanish" music would have been approved by his contemporary, the celebrated musicologist Felip Pedrell Sabaté (1841–1922), a Catalan from Tortosa who studied guitar with Brocá in 1870s, and influenced Albéniz, Granados, and Falla.

11 Sebastián de Iradier (or Yradier) was best known as a composer of habaneras, including *La paloma* and the song *El arreglito*, which Bizet adapted as the famous Habanera from *Carmen*.

Romea, feature Más's *Málaga*; unfortunately, no extant copy is listed in Mangado's catalogue of Más's works in Appendix F.

The remaining Catalan guitarists featured in Mangado's book were born at least a generation later—that is, more than three generations after Brocá and Bassols. **Joan Nogués** was a prodigy, a pupil of Más who gained fame as a performer, teacher, music critic, and historian in the first decades of the twentieth century. **Antonio Alba** was the pseudonym of Joan Antoni Hava i Ferré, the son of a stonecutter in Reus who emigrated to South America when he was seventeen years old. After some travels he settled in Valparaiso, Chile, where he taught music and worked as a choir director. In 1902–3 he returned to Reus briefly and traveled to several western European capitals, visiting their conservatories. He then returned to Chile, where he taught guitar, wrote a book on music theory, and composed prolifically (over a hundred numbered *obras*) for publishing houses in Valparaiso, Barcelona, Madrid, and Paris.

**José Sirera Prats** is included by Mangado as a representative of a growing group of young guitarists who played both classical and flamenco guitar. Sirera was born in Barcelona and studied flamenco there, and then studied classical guitar with Llobet from 1905. Except for a visit to Buenos Aires in 1911, he seems to have lived his relatively short life in Barcelona (he died in 1931 at the age of forty-six). He had twenty works published, including several in the *estilo andaluz*.

**Alfredo Romea y Catalina** was a journalist and guitarist. He was born in Madrid, but his family moved to Barcelona when he was six years old. He attended the Conservatorio Superior Municipal de Música and studied guitar with Miguel Más and music theory with the father of the musicologist Felip Pedrell. Romea was one of the few guitarists invited to perform in the new Palau de la Música Catalana. As a guitarist and respected music critic, he was in a position to promote the solo concert guitar and Catalan guitar composers (Sor, Brocá, Más, Nogués, Tárrega, and others) in a variety of ways, including recitals, lectures, and articles.

The ten biographies are followed by a series of useful appendices. The first group (appendices A through I) consists of lists or catalogs of the works of the “ten” (except Nogués and Romea). The other appendices include obituaries of Brocá and Costa, announcements of works for guitar published in the *Gazeta de Barcelona* (1792–1806), letters of Bosch to Pedrell, and articles written by Ferrer and Romea.

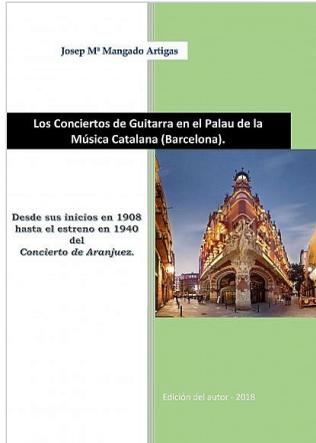
It is unfortunate that *La guitarra en Catalunya* is available only in PDF format, but as with Mangado's Sor *trilogía*, there are obvious financial reasons for this. Mangado has made some corrections and many additions to the text, notably in the chapter on Antonio Alba. The illustrations—which include images from manuscripts, photos, sheet-music covers, copies of legal documents, and more—are far more numerous (over two hundred pages more!), the quality of the reproductions is much improved (many are in color), and the search function works well. In sum, this second edition of *La guitarra en Catalunya* is a big (535 pages), well-researched, well-written study of an important episode in the history of the modern concert guitar.

Josep María Mangado Artigas

*Los conciertos de guitarra en el Palau de la Música Catalana (Barcelona):*

*Desde sus inicios en 1908 hasta el estreno en 1940 del Concierto de Aranjuez*

Sant Feliu de Llobregat, Barcelona: Self-published, Tecla, 2018 [2019?], PDF<sup>12</sup>



BY THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, the intellectual and political ferment in Barcelona had long since come to involve music and musicians. The wealthy bourgeoisie favored the Italian operas that were popular in Madrid, so they were often programmed at the Gran Teatre del Liceu. The educated elites and professionals expressed their Catalan regionalism by preferring Germanic works—by Beethoven or Wagner, for example—but they joined the lower classes in their taste for *cançó popular*, that is, folk songs with Catalan lyrics. The influential composer and musicologist Felip Pedrell advocated a pan-Spanish nationalism to his

increasingly influential disciples (who included Albéniz and Granados). Pedrell and his followers promoted the exotic musical traditions of Andalusia and also encouraged the study of the Spanish music of the more distant past. Concerts by choral societies were enormously popular, especially for those who could not afford tickets to the Liceu. One of these societies was the Orfeó Català, which was chartered in 1891 and staged its first recital the following year. Its success was remarkable: from 1891 to 1895, the Orfeó Català spawned 145 new choral societies throughout Catalonia; in 1905, it employed 185 singers and was subsidized by 1,358 contributors.<sup>13</sup>

In 1908, the new home of the prosperous Orfeó was the Palau de la Música Catalana (Palace of Catalan Music), designed in the *modernismo* style that was appearing all over the city. The Palau was the extravagant masterpiece of local architect Lluís Domènech i Montaner (1850–1923), a quasi-Gothic-Revival fantasy of stained glass, tile, *trencadis* (broken tiles), murals, and sculptures with allegories of *cançó popular*. Domènech was one of the few architects to rival the great Antoni Gaudí, but the building's original acoustics were poor; sound-proofing against street noise proved impossible with the stained-glass windows, and performances were often marred by the “balcony roosters of Barcelona,” that crowed “day and night.”<sup>14</sup>

12 Distributed by Tecla: <https://tecla.com/shop/books-and-music-scores/mangado/josep-maria-mangado-los-conciertos-de-guitarra-en-el-palau-ebook/>.

13 Robert Hughes, *Barcelona* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 449–52.

14 According to the Catalan journalist and author Josep Pla i Casadevall (1897–1981), quoted in Hughes, *Barcelona*, 463. Mangado also cites Pla and some contemporaneous writers at length. Segovia quipped that the acoustics at the Palau were so good that the sounds from outside the hall could be heard just as well as those from inside. Andrés Segovia, *Segovia: An Autobiography of the Years 1893–1920*, trans. W. F. O'Brien (New York: MacMillan, 1976), 120.

Although Mangado's *Guitarra en Cataluña, 1769–1939* didn't actually take the guitar to 1939, this newer book, *Los conciertos de guitarra en el Palau de la Música Catalana*, covers the years 1910–40 and thus serves as a sort of sequel, providing fascinating details about the “missing decades.” It is an extended essay that was originally intended to be the guide to an exhibit, “La guitarra al Palau (1910–40),” organized by the Centre de Documentació de l'Orfeó Català (CEDOC) and shown at the Palau from October 2019 to January 2020.

In the years 1910–40, there were only thirty-seven performances involving the guitar. Most were classical concerts, although a notable few were jazz or flamenco, such as Django Reinhardt and the Hot Club of France in 1936 and Sabicas in 1937. The concerts were performed by eight featured classical guitarists. All but two were Spanish, and most were Catalan, but even the non-Catalans—Andrés Segovia from Linares and Regino Sainz de la Maza from Burgos—programmed some Catalan composers for their Palau appearances. All but one of the performers were male.<sup>15</sup> The emphasis on local talent cannot be entirely attributed to problems with public transportation; several of the performers had international careers that took them far beyond the Pyrenees.

Mangado's book discusses the concert programs and quotes at length the observations of the critics. One might assume that eighty-seven pages of concert reviews are not gripping reading, but in fact the history of the classical guitar in the twentieth century emerges from these concert programs in fascinating ways, like the unfurling plot of a complex drama with side plots and backstories. The most obvious theme is the guitar's concert repertory, which underwent an enormous transformation in the decades in question. Mangado's earlier book on the Catalan guitarists of 1769–1939 revealed that there were numerous concert-worthy pieces in their repertoires. Nevertheless, the earliest guitar concerts at the Palau demonstrate that Spanish guitarists, including Catalans, had all but abandoned the music of nineteenth-century guitarist-composers (such as Carulli, Giuliani, or Mertz), with the sole exceptions of Sor (who was still revered) and his friends Aguado and Coste.<sup>16</sup> The new guitar repertoire of c. 1910 was instead a medley of piano miniatures by the

15 They were, in order: Alfredo Romea (six appearances, 1910–40), Andrés Segovia (eight times, 1916–35), Miguel Llobet (six times, 1918–27), Emili Pujol (twice, 1922 and 1927), Regino Sainz de la Maza (seven times, 1927–40), Joan Nogués (once, 1929), Rosa Rodés (once, 1936), and Antoni Francesc Serra (twice, 1937).

16 The availability of the old scores was certainly a factor. Many of the earlier guitar works had simply gone out of print by the turn of the twentieth century, especially those that the composers had self-published. The Meissonnier editions of Sor's opp. 1–20 were an exception; they remained in print after Heugel & Cie took over the earlier firm, and were still available when I first visited the Heugel shop at the Palais Royal in 1966. In his *Méthode* (Paris: Schöenberg, 1851), Coste included twenty-six Sor studies, many from the later opus numbers, and these remained popular for decades, as did his own 25 *Études*, op. 38 (Paris: Richault, 1872). Aguado's *Method* (many editions) was probably the most popular pedagogical work in the Spanish-speaking world. See Pompeyo Pérez Díaz, *Dionisio Aguado y la guitarra clásico-romántica* (Madrid: Sociedad española de musicología / Alpuerto, 2003), 262ff. It is ironic that Spanish guitarists of the 1920s had eliminated their nineteenth-century precursors from their concert programs at the moment when the music of Arcas, Brocá, and Viñas was being discovered in

famous Romantic composers that were fitted (often by Procrustean procedures) to the guitar. Tárrega's transcriptions were particularly successful and therefore the most popular. The concerts sometimes also included original pieces by the performer or by one of his contemporaries.

Alfredo Romea presented the first guitar concert at the Palau in October of 1910, over two years after the hall opened. This concert did not take place in the main hall but rather in a smaller room known as the *salón de audiciones íntimas*. Romea played one of his own pieces, two transcriptions each by Nogués and Tárrega, and Miguel Más's *Málaga*. Although the reviews quoted by Mangado were positive, it would be more than five years before the Palau hosted another guitar concert.

In early 1916, the twenty-two-year-old phenomenon Andrés Segovia was booked to perform two concerts in the Palau. By that year, Barcelona's own Miguel Llobet was universally acclaimed as the foremost heir of Tárrega (who had died in 1909). Llobet had already performed throughout Europe, in both South and North America, and had lived for a time in Paris, Berlin, and Buenos Aires. Segovia had briefly met him in Valencia and had received a generous invitation to visit him when he next came to Barcelona. Conveniently, Llobet was between concerts in New York and visiting his family in Barcelona when Segovia arrived in the city to play his concerts. Young, ambitious, and always looking for new repertory, Segovia asked Llobet if he would share with him the scores of several of his brilliant arrangements—the Catalan song *El mestre* and several of Granados's Spanish dances. Llobet had no written copies but offered to teach the pieces to Segovia “phrase by phrase,” a traditional Spanish practice. Llobet's wife was furious because Miguel had not yet performed these pieces in Barcelona, where he considered the halls too large for the guitar.

On February 17, 1916, the young Andrés Segovia played a members-only concert for the Friends of Music, a group of local aficionados. He was not pleased that the concert was assigned to the small room rather than the main hall. The eventual program would have pleased the great Pedrell. It included a substantial piece by Sor (an unnamed sonata), followed by a cluster of character pieces evoking the guitarist's native Andalusia: Tárrega's *Capricho árabe*, two transcriptions by Tárrega of piano compositions by Albéniz (*Granada* and *Sevilla*), and three transcriptions by Llobet of Granados (two *danzas españolas* and *La maja de Goya*).<sup>17</sup> According to the

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northern Europe. See, for example, Erwin Schwarz-Reiflingen, ed., *Spanische Gitarrenmusik* (Leipzig: Leuckart, 1926), 2 vols.

17 Tárrega created magisterial guitar arrangements of piano works by his friend Albéniz that became ubiquitous in guitar concerts for the next century: *Granada*, *Sevilla*, *Cádiz*, and the *Pavana-Capricho*. He transcribed *Granada* as early as 1900 according to Adrián Rius, *Francisco Tárrega 1852–2002: Biografía oficial* (Villarreal: Ayuntamiento de Vila-real, 2002), 247; English translation (Valencia: Piles, 2006), 284. Llobet added to the list *Torre bermeja*, *Oriental*, and *Córdoba*. Llobet also transcribed the music of his friend Enric Granados: three *Danzas españolas*, the tonadilla *La maja de Goya*, and the *Dedicatoria*, op. 11, no. 1. Segovia himself would transcribe *Mallorca*, *Zambra granadina*, and the *Tango in D*; he first performed *Granada* in 1909 and *Sevilla* in 1913, according to Alberto López Poveda, *Andrés Segovia: Vida y obra* (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2009), [vol. 2], 1070. Apparently it was Severino García Fortea (1854–1931), a disciple of Tárrega, who was the first to transcribe *Asturias/Leyenda*. Angelo Gilardino, *La chitarra* (Milan: Curci, 2010), 13–14.

reviews, Segovia also played *El mestre*, although it was not on the printed program. (Perhaps an encore?) Thus, about half of Segovia's program was music he had only recently acquired from Llobet! The Friends of Music failed to show up in numbers, so Segovia played not only in a tiny hall, but a half-empty one. Nevertheless, the press praised his performance.

Segovia objected to being relegated to the smaller room and wished to play in the grand hall, where celebrated virtuosos expected to perform for audiences of two thousand or more. With another concert booked for March 12 at the Palau, he requested and—after some experimentation and an “audition”—was granted permission to play his March concert in the main hall. A month later in the grand hall of the Palau, Segovia played most of these same pieces to a larger audience, adding some obligatory transcriptions (Bach, Haydn, Chopin, Mendelssohn, Tchaikovsky). The concert received rave reviews from the critics, who were pleased by the number of Catalan composers on his program. So Segovia, in 1916, expanded both his reputation and the guitar's repertory, opened the grand hall of the Palau to the guitar, gained a friend and mentor in Llobet...and an enemy in Llobet's wife.<sup>18</sup>

The next guitar concert at the Palau featured Miguel Llobet, who shared the concert with a Belgian baritone (accompanied by a pianist) in April 1918. Llobet played some Sor and Tárrega pieces, a Coste study, a Mozart transcription, four of his own arrangements of Catalan folk songs, and a Spanish dance by Granados. On February 29, 1920, he returned for a solo concert, which included many of the pieces he had played two years earlier, plus a Federico Bufeletti mazurka, Rubinstein's *Romanza*, Tárrega's *Sueño*, and Albéniz's *Torre bermeja*. Segovia returned a month later and then again twice in 1921.

Segovia and Llobet were not the only guitarists competing for audiences in those decades. Another was Emíli (Emilio) Pujol, a Catalan who had studied with Tárrega and who was no stranger to Barcelona audiences. In 1922, Pujol became the fourth guitarist to perform in the Palau, with a program that included Sor, Bach, Tárrega, two of Llobet's Catalan songs and his *Variaciones sobre un tema de Corelli (Folías?)*, the performer's own *Guajiras gitana*, Falla's *Hommage à Debussy*, and a Falla dance from *El amor brujo*. According to one reviewer, “the triumph of Pujol was absolute.” Again, a backstory emerges from these concert programs and press reports, and it suggests a competition—an intense competition, perhaps—to present audiences with new guitar music.

Manuel de Falla had become synonymous with Spanish music in the previous years, and Llobet was persistently asking him for an original guitar piece. Henri Prunières, editor of the *Revue musicale*, wanted Falla to write an article on Debussy and Spain for an issue dedicated to the late French composer. Falla decided to link the two requests and composed his brilliant *Homenaje pour le tombeau de Claude Debussy* for guitar to accompany his article. The music was published with limited editing in the *Revue musicale* in 1920. In 1921, Llobet premiered the piece in Burgos, and Segovia performed it in Madrid in 1922, just ahead of Pujol in Paris. Pujol also

<sup>18</sup> Segovia, *Autobiography*, 104ff., 121.

played it in his first concert at the Palau on March 25, 1922. Although Falla had written the piece for Llobet, it was January 1923 before Llobet finally performed it in the Palau, presumably in the version he had recently edited for *La Guitarra* of Buenos Aires. The concert program proclaimed that the *Homenaje* was “written expressly for Miguel Llobet.”<sup>19</sup>

The competition for new guitar music intensified throughout the 1920s and '30s. The German firm Schott agreed to publish a series of guitar pieces selected and edited by Segovia, and Pujol had a similar arrangement with Max Eschig of Paris. Segovia recruited to the cause Moreno Torroba, Ponce, Turina, and Tansman, composers who would transform the guitar's repertoire in the next decades.<sup>20</sup> Many of their new works were premiered at the Palau—though when Torroba's *Sonatina* was first played there in 1924, it was Llobet, not Segovia, who was the performer.

Pujol's concerts and his press reviews at the Palau affirm that he was an accomplished virtuoso, but he was also a dedicated and admired pedagogue and a serious scholar of the guitar and its predecessors. Pujol's 1927 concert at the Palau reflected his early musicological discoveries, dedicating a section of the program to transcriptions of the vihuela music of Luis Milán and of Baroque guitar composers Corbetta, Sanz, and Visée. Such works had the potential to change the reputation of the guitar completely, from a lowly folk instrument to an aristocratic and courtly instrument with five centuries of history and a vast, unexplored pre-Classical repertory. Thus, this much older music became a crucial part of the guitar's emerging concert repertoire.<sup>21</sup>

Also new to the Palau audience were works by the Uruguayan nationalist composer Alfonso Broqua (a Pujol discovery), Raymond Petit (1893–1976),<sup>22</sup> and Pujol himself (*Guajira* and *Sevilla*). Joan Nogués's only Palau concert in 1929 was an exception

- 19 Stefano Picciano, *Miguel Llobet: La biografía*, trans. Inés Giménez Pecci (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2017), 157; Mangado, *Miguel Llobet*, 82; Christopher Nupen et al., *Andrés Segovia, Nombres propios de la guitarra* (Córdoba: F.P.M. Gran Teatro, 2004), 62; *La Guitarra* (Buenos Aires) 1, no. 1 (July 1923); Ronald Purcell, “Introduction,” in *Manuel de Falla, Homenaje pour le tombeau de Claude Debussy*, vol. 5 of *Nueva Colección Llobet* (Heidelberg: Chanterelle Verlag, 1989). See also Falla, *A Triptych*, ed. Stefano Grondona, vol. 8 of *Llobet: Guitar Works* (Heidelberg: Guitar Heritage, 2021).
- 20 Eloisa Perricone and Adriano Sebastiani, *Segovia e il suo repertorio* (Genoa: Graphos, 2002). The list of new compositions offered to Segovia is much longer than previously known, but many of the pieces sent to him were rarely or never performed for a variety of reasons. The Segovia Archive in recent years has yielded many pieces that deserve to be heard, and Angelo Gilardino has curated from them a remarkable series of publications for Bèrben.
- 21 But less so in recent years as performance on original instruments (or modern facsimiles) became *de rigueur* in “Early Music.” Regarding Pujol's many and varied contributions to the guitar see Joan Riera, *Emili Pujol*, trans. James Calder, Catalan/English edition (Lleida: Diputació de Lleida, 2005).
- 22 Petit's *Nocturne* is described in Pujol's 1927 Palau program as a *primera audició*. In editing his series for Bèrben of the music from the Andrés Segovia Archive, Angelo Gilardino discovered a Petit manuscript *Notturmetto*, dated 1925. Segovia had premiered it in 1926 at the Salle Gaveau in Paris under the title *Andantino*, and then never played it again; one reviewer described it as a *sicilienne*. These all proved to be one and the same piece that Pujol had “premiered” at the Palau in December 1927, and which Pujol published in 1928 in his new series for Max Eschig. See Raymond Petit, *Sicilienne pour guitare*, ed. Angelo Gilardino (Ancona: Bèrben, 2004), 5–6.

to the new programming templates. It included music by Sor, Brocá, a premiere of Ferrer's *Three Sketches in the Form of Minuets*, and pieces by Más — an all-Catalan program. This would be the last guitar concert for years to so celebrate the region's *fet diferencial* (exceptionalism). At this moment, Catalonian autonomy was increasingly a source of conflict amid the deteriorating political situation in Spain. The monarchy fell in 1931, and in 1932 Catalonia was reluctantly granted a charter of home rule by the new Republic. The next five guitar concerts at the Palau were performed by either Segovia or Regino Sainz de la Maza (a young virtuoso from Burgos who lived and studied for a time in Barcelona). Catalan composers were still represented on their programs (Albéniz was a reliable concert-ender), but the emphasis was now on new compositions for the guitar, premieres, and works dedicated to the performer.

In January 1932, Sainz de la Maza played music by Gustavo Pittaluga (a member of the Group of Eight), Ponce's Sonata III, Rodrigo's *Zarabanda lejana*, Turina's *Fandanguillo*, and Joan Bautista Plaza's *Prelude and Dance*, all marked "primera vez" (premiere). Catalonia was represented only by Sor's *Grand Sonata* and by Albéniz's *Torre bermeja*. In February, Segovia claimed eight premieres, including the Ponce Sonata, Roussel's *Segovia*, and some pastiches attributed to Alessandro Scarlatti and Sylvius Leopold Weiss that were actually by Ponce. He also played the Turina *Fandanguillo* (premiered weeks earlier by Sainz de la Maza), noting that it had been "dedicada a A. Segovia." In 1933, Segovia premiered Barcelona native Joan Manén's *Fantasia-Sonata* and Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Variazioni a traverso i secoli*. In 1934, Sainz de la Maza played Bach's Chaconne ("1.a vez, transcripción Saiz [sic] de la Maza"), the Sonata of Antonio José,<sup>23</sup> and Ponce's Variations and Fugue on *La Folia*. In 1935, Segovia premiered Castelnuovo-Tedesco's Sonata "Homage to Boccherini," Turina's *Sevillana*, and *Tres peçes en record de Tárrega* by Ponce.<sup>24</sup> This was to be Segovia's last concert at the Palau for many years; from 1936 to 1952 he lived abroad, in New York and Montevideo, playing no concerts in Spain until 1952.

- 23 Segovia announced well in advance his transcription of the Bach Chaconne and its premiere in Paris in 1935, thus enabling Sainz de la Maza to unveil his own transcription at the Palau in 1934. Sainz de la Maza met Antonio José Martínez Palacios in Madrid in about 1924; both were from Burgos. "Antonio José" was the composer's professional name, an affectation much like pop singers or soccer players adopt. His Sonata was written in 1933, and in 1934 Sainz de la Maza played it at the Palau. Two years later Antonio José was murdered by a Falangist firing squad—the same fate suffered by his friend Federico García Lorca. The Sonata was not resurrected or published until 1990.
- 24 Ponce's three pieces were listed as "Mazurka," "Caprici," and "Ritmes." Although the concert program seems to refer to the three-movement *Homenaje a Tárrega* that Ponce wrote in 1932, the Final of this *Homenaje* was the only movement to survive the destruction of Segovia's Barcelona apartment during the Civil War, and the three pieces listed here do not match the extant descriptions of the other movements of the *Homenaje*. This mazurka is probably the same piece that Ponce composed in 1932–33 and Segovia recorded in 1936. It was eventually published by Schott in 1992 as the first of Ponce's *Cuatro piezas*. The "Caprici" and "Ritmes" may have been pieces from this later group of four but with very different titles. *Obra completa para guitarra de Manuel M. Ponce de acuerdo a los manuscritos originales*, ed. Miguel Alcázar ([Mexico]: Conaculta, 2000), 240ff.

The Spanish Civil War (1936–39) and the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939 had a devastating effect on the arts and music. Only two guitarists appeared at the Palau during the Civil War. A few days before Christmas, 1936, Rosa Victòria Rodés i Mir (b. 1906, date of death unknown) played three pieces as part of a group concert to benefit refugee children. A pupil of Más and Llobet, “Rosita” played Fortea’s *Andalusia*, op. 22, no. 1, a Sor menuet, and Tárrega’s *Recuerdos de la Alhambra*. A talented fourteen-year old Antoni Francesc Serra (1923–2002) played two recitals a few weeks apart in October 1937, both featuring Tárrega’s *Recuerdos* and Malats’s *Serenata española*.<sup>25</sup>

Sainz de la Maza left Spain in 1937 and spent some months touring the United States, returning in 1938. Those who could not or did not leave Spain had little choice but to make their peace with the new regime of the Generalísimo. In April 1939, a few weeks after the fall of Madrid and Valencia, Sainz de la Maza played his fifth concert at the Palau. This concert and another by Romea in 1940 were belated commemorations of the hundredth anniversary of the death of Fernando Sor. Sainz de la Maza’s concert was in three parts: an “early-music” section, a group of Sor pieces, and a final group of Chopin (a mazurka) plus selections from the new repertoire: Turina’s *Ráfaga*, part of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s *Aranci in fiore*, a premiere of Ángel Barrios’s *Guajira*, the *Villancico y danza* of his brother Eduardo Sainz de la Maza, and *Leyenda* by Albéniz. He also premiered *En los trigales* by Joaquín Rodrigo, whom he had met upon his return the previous year.

Alfredo Romea (the prolific critic who thirty years earlier had been the first guitarist to perform in the Palau) praised Sainz de la Maza’s 1939 concert in his review in *El Noticiero universal* and then returned to the Palau for his own sixth appearance. He played the old-style concert: a mazurka and pavana by Tárrega, an Aguado study, some Sor miniatures — studies, minuets — plus the “Mozart Variations,” the *Morceau de concert*, op. 54, a Llobet *canción* (the title given in Spanish, not Catalan), a Coste bolero, and “excerpts” from Arcas’s *Jota aragonesa*.

In November 1940, Joaquín Rodrigo’s *Concierto de Aranjuez* was premiered at the Palau by Sainz de la Maza (to whom it had been dedicated). It would be heard there often in the following decades,<sup>26</sup> and remains a crown jewel of the guitar repertory as well as a landmark in the history of Spanish music.<sup>27</sup> Mangado provides

25 Serra played miniatures by Sor and Aguado, a Bach prelude and allemande, *Ondines* and some studies by Pujol, some Tárrega (including *Recuerdos de la Alhambra*), *Andaluza* by Regino Sainz de la Maza, and *Serenata española* by Malats.

26 Really often! The last several times I visited Barcelona, a stroll through the *Barri gòtic* would invariably result in being handed advertisements for a concert at the Palau. Several nights a week an ensemble of local musicians plays a concert of Spanish favorites that invariably feature the *Concierto de Aranjuez*. Thus, a tourist can not only visit the venerable building but also experience a concert there — well worth the price of admission, even if the musicians have an off night. These concerts keep the hall (and the musicians) busy throughout the week, and they don’t interfere with the Palau’s weekend concert series of symphonic music and visiting virtuosos.

27 See, for example, Tomás Marco, *Spanish Music in the Twentieth Century*, trans. Cola Franzen (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 121ff, 129ff. A postscript: Segovia returned to Spain in 1952, and in 1953 Rodrigo wrote for him the *Fantasia para un gentilhomme*.

ten pages of announcements and reviews from the concert, by critics that include Xavier Montsalvatge and Alfredo Romea.

*Los conciertos* closes with an amazing collection of illustrations, including rare concert programs, publicity photos, lithographs, and drawings (appendix II, pages 114–42), reminding us that the book is more than an exploration of the guitarists who performed there: it is also an homage to a magnificent edifice. In this fascinating sequel to his earlier study of the Catalan guitarists, Mangado documents the birth of a new twentieth-century guitar repertory and the intense competition in which it was forged.



### *About the Reviewer*

RICHARD M. LONG received his PhD in European History from Florida State University, where he was also active as a musician. He taught at Florida State University, the University of South Florida, and Hillsborough Community College, and was a professor of history and humanities for over three decades, retiring in 2007. He is the author of the textbook *Studying Western Civilization* (2 vols., D. C. Heath, 1995) and has been a frequent contributor to the Consortium on Revolutionary Europe (now the Consortium on the Revolutionary Era, 1750–1850). Beginning in the 1980s, Long switched his principal research interest from European diplomatic history in the Revolutionary era (1789–1815) to the history of the classical guitar in the same period. He has published many articles in the field as well as dozens of CD liner notes for Philips, Naxos, Azica, and other labels. He has also published dozens of critical editions and transcriptions. In 1982 he founded Tuscany Publications, an affiliate of the Theodore Presser Co. He also served as editor of *Soundboard* from 2001 to 2012. In 2010 he was named to the Guitar Foundation of America Hall of Fame. He is the book and score review editor for *Soundboard Scholar*.

### *About Soundboard Scholar*

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