

Andrés Segovia and Federico Moreno Torroba's Danza castellana

JULIO GIMENO

Translated by Eric Johns

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY marked a period of crucial significance for the guitar. New winds blew for the music that has come to be described as “classical,” and at a certain point, the gaze of the public, critics, and composers came to focus on an instrument that at the time occupied a relatively marginal space. Hitherto, guitar music had been written by those who played it—in effect, by *amateurs*; now, however, the *professionals*, composers of symphonic works, were ready to apply their imagination to an instrument that, in the words of Manuel de Falla, was especially suited to modern music.¹ It was Manuel de Falla (1876–1946), after all, who authored the most emblematic guitar work of that period: his *Homenaje a Debussy*, composed in 1920.

Andrés Segovia (1893–1987), the most famous guitarist of the twentieth century (and thus of all time), always claimed that the first work written for the instrument by a non-guitarist composer was Federico Moreno Torroba's *Danza castellana* (Castilian Dance)² and that it was this piece that encouraged “Manuel de Falla to compose his beautiful *Homenaje* and Joaquín Turina his splendid *Sevillana*.”³

In the following pages, we intend to demonstrate the inaccuracy of Segovia's chronology, while attempting to clarify the details and circumstances of the composition of *Danza castellana*.

- 1 A friend of Falla's, the English musicologist John Brande Trend (1887–1958), put these words in Falla's mouth. See John B. Trend, *Manuel de Falla and Spanish Music* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1929), 39.
- 2 Later Moreno Torroba would compose two more pieces and rename the three *Suite castellana*, one work structured in three movements: “Fandanguillo,” “Arada,” and “Danza.”
- 3 Andrés Segovia, *Mi mundo, la guitarra y yo*. A Spanish text that served as the basis for Segovia's autobiography was published in English. We will discuss this document later in this paper. The work by Joaquín Turina (1882–1949), *Sevillana*, was composed in 1923.

Andrés Segovia and the New Guitar Repertoire

The unexpected prominence of the guitar in the twentieth century meant that performers found themselves suddenly responsible for navigating this renewed interest in their instrument. Often they worked closely with composers, helping them to effectively tailor their abstract musical ideas to the guitar's capabilities. This collaboration with non-guitarist composers is especially important as the guitar has little tolerance for unidiomatic writing—a fact that Hector Berlioz (1803–69) had pointed out decades earlier.⁴

Andrés Segovia worked actively with those composers who embraced the six-stringed instrument, advising them on fingerings and similar aspects of arrangement and composition. But he usually limited his efforts to a small number of composers—those whose works best suited his musical and aesthetic ideology. These select few are sometimes known as *compositores segovianos* (Segovian composers)—Federico Moreno Torroba, Manuel M. Ponce, Joaquín Turina, Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Alexandre Tansman, and to a lesser extent, Heitor Villa-Lobos and Joaquín Rodrigo.

The contribution of these composers to the guitar's musical heritage took the form of a sizeable number of works that were added to what came to be called “the new guitar repertoire.” Segovia would later characterize this process as a kind of master plan, conceived, according to him, at the beginning of his career.

From my youth, I dreamed of elevating the guitar from the low artistic position in which it found itself. Initially, my ideas were vague and imprecise, but as I grew older, and my interest became more intense and fervent, my resolve became firmer and my intentions clearer.

Since then, I have dedicated my life to four essential tasks:

- a. To separate the guitar from the casual [*descuidado*] folkloric type of entertainment. . . .
- b. To endow it with a repertoire of fine works of intrinsic musical value, coming from the pen of composers accustomed to writing for orchestra, piano, violin, etc. . . .
- c. To make the beauty of the guitar known among classical audiences all over the world. . . .
- d. To influence the heads of conservatories, academies, and universities to include the guitar in their programs of study at the same level as the violin, cello, piano, etc. . . .⁵

Segovia described this plan in similar terms on other occasions (sometimes adding an extra point), but as I have written elsewhere, “it would be interesting to study these proposals more deeply . . . to try to find out which considerations he made *a posteriori*

4 “The majority of the composers who use it (referring to the guitar) are unfamiliar with the instrument and give it excessively difficult things to play, without sonority and effect.” Hector Berlioz, *Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes* (Paris: Schonenberger, [1843]), 83.

5 Carlos Usillos, *Andrés Segovia* (Bilbao: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1973), 109–10.

and which were real projects.”⁶ What is certain is that Segovia’s determination and commitment to the guitar is visible as early as 1917, when he states in an interview that “it is necessary to give honor to the guitar, in whose strings sleep all harmonies. I am evangelizing it, raising it to the height of true art. In this sense, I am a fighter.”⁷ The second of Segovia’s four “proposals” is the one that concerns us here. We find its antecedent still in an embryonic state in an article by Rogelio del Villar in 1917. “[Segovia] intends to increase his vast repertoire with works by contemporary Spanish composers and some of his own compositions, which he has not yet decided to make known, due to a certain modesty.”⁸ Despite the journalist’s description of Segovia’s repertoire at that time as “vast,” we will see that it soon proved insufficient, so that Segovia’s search for a new repertoire was also prompted by practical considerations. At certain moments, this practical aspect surely outweighed the “evangelizing” task mentioned by the guitarist. Before dealing with this matter, however, let us open a brief parenthesis to devote a few paragraphs to Segovia’s autobiographical texts, which provide crucial context for this study.

Segovia’s Autobiography

Between 1947 and 1961, Segovia published seven parts of an autobiographical text in the US magazine *Guitar Review*, under the title “The Guitar and Myself.” The series begins with his birth and ends with an episode in Madrid in 1913.⁹ On January 20, 1956, Segovia signed a contract with the American publisher Harcourt, Brace and Company to publish the English translation of his autobiography. The book would include a prologue by Salvador de Madariaga (1886–1978),¹⁰ with de Madariaga’s daughter Nieves Matthews (1917–2003) making the translation.¹¹ Segovia drafted the text very slowly, and on June 12, 1969, thirteen years after signing the contract, he

6 Julio Gimeno, “Un viaje sin destino: Andrés Segovia hacia el Concierto de Aranjuez,” in Joaquín Rodrigo, ed. Javier Suárez-Pajares, *Nombres propios de la guitarra 8* (Córdoba: La Posada, 2010), 130.

7 M. Callejón Navas, “Andrés Segovia,” *El Regional* (Málaga), May 17, 1917, 1.

8 Rogelio del Villar, “Artistas españoles: Andrés Segovia,” *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, March 15, 1917, 156.

9 The first installment appeared in *Guitar Review*, no. 4 (New York, 1947). The same magazine published chapters 2 to 5 between 1948 and 1949. Chapters 6 and 7 followed in 1952 and 1961, respectively. The first issues were printed bilingually in Spanish and English, while the last chapter was printed solely in English under the title “The Guitar and Myself.” Eithne Golden (1919–2010) translated Segovia’s Spanish texts to English, except chapter 3, which was translated by Rose L. Augustine (1920–2003). Between 1953 and 1954, *Paisaje*, a magazine from Jaen, printed updated versions in Spanish, including revisions and additions of the first four *Guitar Review* entries.

10 Miguel Fernández, “Andrés Segovia en su casa de la Herradura: Salvador de Madariaga prologará las memorias del guitarrista universal,” *Eco de Canarias*, November 2, 1967.

11 Segovia and Madariaga exchanged letters on this topic between 1956 and 1959. I would like to thank Leopoldo Neri de Caso for this information.

canceled it.¹² In 1973, another publisher, Macmillan in New York, became interested in the autobiography.¹³ The publisher proposed Josefina Castan (1923–2010) as the book’s translator, but in the end, W.F. O’Brien was put in charge of the task. The first volume of the autobiography was published in 1976 and covers the guitarist’s first twenty-seven years, from his birth in 1893 to 1920. Segovia planned to publish three more volumes,¹⁴ but only the first saw the light of day: it appeared in three editions, two in English (in 1976 and 1977) and one in Japanese (in 1978).¹⁵

After publishing the first volume of his autobiography, Segovia began preparing for a second volume, again with Macmillan as publisher. The person tasked with editing the first volume, Tana de Gámez (1920–2003),¹⁶ would now be the translator of this second installment. However, neither this project nor the following one with William Morrow and Company came to fruition. Finally, thanks to the intervention of Graham Wade, the English publisher Allison & Busby became interested in publishing the second volume, with the publisher suggesting Wade as translator in a letter to Segovia on April 28, 1986.¹⁷ In the summer of 1985, Wade received fifty-five pages of text from Segovia.¹⁸ A year passed; then in June 1986, Segovia, having sent the first ten chapters of a second volume of memoirs to the ACER Literary Agency, hired it to

12 A few years earlier, in 1961, the Harcourt publishing house had even come to an agreement with the London-based publishing house Hollis and Carter to publish Segovia’s autobiography in England. Segovia’s correspondence with the American publisher is preserved in the Fundación Andrés Segovia de Linares (Linares, in Jaén, is the hometown of the guitarist). I want to thank Alberto López Viñau and Leopoldo Neri de Caso for giving me access to this documentation.

13 Macmillan drew up the publishing contract on February 15, 1974. Alberto López Poveda, *Andrés Segovia: Vida y obra* (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2009), 956.

14 Segovia wrote in the prologue (which he titled *Umbral* [threshold]) of his original memoirs in Spanish, titled *Mi mundo, la guitarra y yo*: “I will describe the road I have traveled since my childhood in four books, more voluminous than luminous.” This memoir is kept at the Fundación Andrés Segovia de Linares, Spain. See also Juan Antonio Pérez-Bustamante de Monasterio, *Tras la huella de Andrés Segovia* (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1990), 188–89.

15 López Poveda, *Andrés Segovia*, 956.

16 Translator, writer, guitarist, and singer, Olga Acosta y Taracido was born in Havana, Cuba, on September 9, 1914. When she was fifteen years of age, her family moved to New York. She acquired US citizenship on March 8, 1940, at which point she changed her name to Cielo Alba de Gámez; in Segovia’s autobiography and other writings she used Tana de Gámez. In 1940, she married the guitarist Vicente Gómez (1911–2001), divorcing him two years later. She died on February 5, 2003.

Details of Gámez’s biography are hard to ascertain, in part because she herself gave contradictory information about her life on different occasions. For her place and date of birth, I rely on several sources, including the following: (1) her declaration of intention to become a US citizen, no. 2839, November 2, 1936, available at <https://ancestry.com>; (2) her petition for naturalization, no. 67764, August 28, 1939; (3) a notice in the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 25, 1933, which refers to her as “Miss Olga Acosta, [aged] 18.” For Gámez’s association with Vicente Gómez, see Robert Ferguson, “Vicente Gómez: Spanish-American Guitarist, 1911–2001,” part 2, *Soundboard* 48 no. 2: 34–35, and part 3, *Soundboard* 48, no. 3: 33–34 (this includes Gómez’s own declaration of intention, which gives his wife’s birth city as Santiago, Cuba).

17 The letter is held at the Fundación Andrés Segovia in Linares.

18 Graham Wade and Gerard Garno, *A New Look at Segovia*, vol. 1 (Pacific, MO: Mel Bay, 1997), 43.

manage the contract with Allison & Busby and other publishers in Germany, France, and Spain. To the end of his life, Segovia pursued the project of publishing his memoirs in Spanish. Starting in March 1952, Segovia and Salvador de Madariaga began exchanging letters about the possibility of publishing with Editorial Sudamericana, directed by Antonio López Llausás (1888–1979).¹⁹ In the mid-1970s, Segovia was also in contact with Euros in Barcelona and Grijalbo and Espasa-Calpe in Madrid. The agents at ACER sent Segovia a signed contract from Espasa-Calpe on December 5, 1986. Segovia annotated the letter by writing, “answered on February 18, 1987.” But a few months later, in June 1987, in Madrid, Segovia passed away.

The Fundación Andrés Segovia in Linares preserves a typescript draft of Segovia’s autobiography in Spanish, titled *Mi mundo, la guitarra y yo* (My World, The Guitar, and I). Its pages seem to belong to distinct versions. Segovia signed the last chapter in Madrid on April 28, 1976, the same date we see in the English version. The prologue, titled “Umbral” (Threshold), states that Segovia will soon turn eighty-two. Thus, it was written shortly before February 21, 1975. The text covers the same period as the published English-language version. The Fundación Andrés Segovia also holds several individual chapters from the second volume.²⁰

Segovia’s First South American Tour

In *Mi mundo, la guitarra y yo*, Segovia tells how the cellist Gaspar Cassadó (1897–1966) introduced him to the impresario Ernesto de Quesada (1886–1972). A few years earlier, Quesada had founded a management company in Madrid with the curious name *Conciertos Daniel*.

Ernesto de Quesada was born in Cuba on November 1, 1886. In 1905, he moved to the United States, where he studied at Harvard, and then, in 1908, traveled to Berlin, where, at the age of twenty-two, he founded the agency *Konzertdirektion H. Daniel*. It seems that Heinrich Daniel, mentioned in the company’s name, was a fictitious character, a fake partner invented by Quesada to gain the trust of his clients, who might be suspicious of such a young entrepreneur.²¹ At the outbreak of World War I in 1914, Quesada settled in Spain, where he established the *Conciertos Daniel* office in Madrid.

To judge by Segovia’s account, his meeting with Quesada must have occurred in 1917 or 1918. Segovia explains that the businessman wanted to sign him to an exclusive contract for several years, but he declined. Even so, from that first meeting until Quesada’s retirement from the business in 1956, the two maintained a

19 Leopoldo Neri de Caso, “Correspondencia entre Andrés Segovia y Salvador de Madariaga” (unpublished manuscript). I want to thank Leopoldo Neri for providing me with a copy of this paper.

20 I am grateful to Alberto López Poveda, who allowed me to consult this documentation.

21 Hispania Clasica, accessed July 19, 2022, https://web.archive.org/web/20070807015048/http://www.hispaniaclassica.com/ClaveDeSol_eng/artistas_eng.htm.

professional relationship that Segovia would describe as a free association.²² Curiously, in December 1919, the Madrid press stated that Ernesto de Quesada had hired Segovia to give a tour of South America in 1920.²³ Quesada partnered with the Uruguayan Cirilo Grassi Díaz (1884–1971) to extend his business to South American countries, founding the concert agency Quesada y Grassi.²⁴

On May 14, 1920, Segovia left for South America, giving his first concert at the Salón La Argentina in Buenos Aires on June 4, 1920.²⁵ The tour lasted for four months, ending in September. Although it was a decisive step in his career, it meant new challenges for Segovia. Indeed, one of Quesada's sons, Ernesto de Quesada Jr., explains that “in those times, artists had to maintain many different programs in both their ‘fingers’ and their memory.”²⁶ The pianist José Iturbi, also represented by Quesada, played 159 different compositions and 33 orchestral works during his Mexican season. In 1920, the pianist Edouard Risler performed Beethoven's 32 sonatas in ten concerts. During their Mexican tour, the London Quartet played the same composer's 16 quartets. . . . And Segovia? The guitarist tells us in his autobiography that for his first tour of South America, Cirilo Grassi, Quesada's partner, demanded that he send eight different programs. “Eight programs! . . . Where am I going to find more than a hundred compositions? The playable repertoire of the guitar is barely enough to cover two recitals.”²⁷

And in truth, if we examine Segovia's concert programs from the end of 1910 up to this time, we find that his repertoire consisted for the most part of works by Sor and Tárrega, together with the latter's transcriptions of Bach, Malats, Albéniz, and various classical composers. After his meeting with Tárrega's most famous pupil, Miguel Llobet (1878–1938), toward the end of 1915, Segovia began to play Llobet's transcriptions of Granados and arrangements of Catalan songs. It is necessary to wait until Segovia's next South American tour, in the second half of 1921, to find a piece from the “new repertoire” in his concerts: Federico Moreno Torroba's *Danza castellana*.²⁸

22 Segovia, *Mi mundo, la guitarra y yo*.

23 See, for example, *La Correspondencia de España*, December 12, 1919, 5. Earlier, in June of 1918, Alfredo Cazabán had already anticipated that Segovia “would soon leave for America” in the Jaén magazine *Don Lope de Sosa*; see Julio Gimeno, “Andrés Segovia en la prensa,” *Foros de guitarra.artepulsado*, Guitarra Arte Pulsado, March 12, 2008, <http://guitarra.artepulsado.com/foros/showthread.php?9939-Andr%E9s-Segovia-en-la-prensa-diaria>.

24 *Libre Palabra* (Buenos Aires), April 14, 1920; see Gimeno “Andrés Segovia en la prensa.”

25 López Poveda, *Andrés Segovia*, 152.

26 Ernesto de Quesada Jr., “Ernesto de Quesada fundador de los conciertos Daniel,” https://web.archive.org/web/20070808115621/http://www.hispaniaclasica.com/Artists_eng/papa_eng.htm. Archived from the original on August 8, 2007.

27 Andrés Segovia, *Mi mundo, la guitarra y yo*.

28 The dates and programs of these concerts by Segovia can be found in Julio Gimeno, “Los conciertos de Andrés Segovia,” *Foros de guitarra.artepulsado*, Guitarra Arte Pulsado, May 15, 2013, <http://guitarra.artepulsado.com/foros/showthread.php?21031-Los-conciertos-de-Andr%E9s-Segovia>.

Federico Moreno Torroba (1891–1982)²⁹

Segovia likely met Federico Moreno Torroba in 1918. We can infer this from a tale Segovia tells us in his autobiography: “The concertmaster of the Orquesta Sinfónica, Mr. Francés, introduced me to Federico Moreno Torroba with very complimentary words. Moreno Torroba had just successfully premiered a symphonic poem, perhaps *La ajorca de oro* (The Golden Bracelet) if I am not mistaken, performed by the Orquesta Sinfónica directed by Arbós.”³⁰ “Mr. Francés” must refer to Julio Francés Rodríguez (1869–1944), concertmaster of the orchestra of the Teatro Real and the Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid, conducted by Enrique Fernández Arbós (1863–1939). Julio Francés had conducted the Orquesta Sinfónica on June 16, 1913, as part of the same concert cycle in which Segovia had given one of his first performances in Madrid the day before.³¹

As we see, Segovia says that the work performed by the Orquesta Sinfónica might have been *La ajorca de oro*, a symphonic poem composed by Moreno Torroba in 1917 and premiered the following year, on January 13, 1918.³² However, the premiere and the successive interpretations of this work were not by Orquesta Sinfónica, as stated by Segovia, but by the orchestra conducted by Rafael Benedito Vives (1885–1963).

We know Segovia and the composer had already met by 1921 at the latest. Beginning in that year, the guitarist performed the *Danza castellana* in concerts. There are three more orchestral works by Moreno Torroba that predate 1921 and could therefore possibly be the work performed just before the occasion of the two musicians meeting: *Zoraida* (first heard in Madrid on October 26, 1918),³³ *Capricho romántico* (premiered January 5, 1919), and *Cuadros* (premiered December 19, 1919). Of the three, the only work conducted by Arbós with the Orquesta Sinfónica of Madrid, in agreement with Segovia’s account, was *Zoraida*.³⁴ So Segovia and Moreno Torroba probably met in

29 A new biography of Moreno Torroba has been recently published. Walter Aaron Clark and William C. Krause, *Federico Moreno Torroba: A Musical Life in Three Acts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013). Unfortunately, it seems the authors have not taken into account the information available in the Hemeroteca Digital (Digital Newspaper Library) of the Biblioteca Nacional de España. We have prepared this chapter based on our own research in the digitized newspapers from that archive.

30 Andrés Segovia, *Mi mundo, la guitarra y yo*.

31 *Heraldo de Madrid*, June 13, 1913. Cited in Julio Gimeno, “Andrés Segovia en la prensa.”

32 Moreno Torroba submitted *La ajorca de oro* to a competition organized by the Madrid magazine *Música* on September 1917. The deadline for submitting works was October 1917. That month’s magazine acknowledges that Moreno Torroba submitted the work to the contest.

33 *El Siglo Futuro*, October 28, 1918. This newspaper informs us that the work had its world premiere “in the last summer season, by the same [Orquesta] Sinfónica, in San Sebastián.” I want to thank Josep María Mangado for bringing this article to my attention. Josep María Mangado has kindly sent me an unpublished text of his entitled “El encuentro de Federico Moreno Torroba y Andrés Segovia.”

34 *Capricho romántico* was premiered by Rafael Benedito and the orchestra that bore his name. *Cuadros* was premiered by Bartolomé Pérez Casas conducting the Orquesta Filarmónica of Madrid.

Madrid around October 26, 1918, or perhaps earlier if the guitarist is referring to the premiere in San Sebastián.³⁵

But what interests us now is not when Segovia and Moreno Torroba met but when the latter composed his *Danza castellana*.

Federico Moreno Torroba's *Danza castellana*

During his second tour of South America, Segovia performed Moreno Torroba's *Danza castellana* on June 11, 1921, in a concert at the Teatro Odeón in Buenos Aires. The program designated the performance as a "premiere." Therefore, its date of composition must have been between the second half of 1918, when Moreno Torroba and Segovia likely met, and June of 1921, when the guitarist premiered the work in Buenos Aires. Moreover, Segovia claimed that Torroba composed the *Danza castellana* before Falla's *Homenaje a Debussy* (Falla dated the manuscript of the *Homenaje* "July 25 / August 8, [1]920"), and in his autobiography, he discusses Moreno Torroba's work just before relating how he embarked at Cádiz (on May 14, 1920) for his first South American concert tour. It is not surprising, then, that a recent article by Walter A. Clark and William C. Krause dates the composition of *Danza castellana* to the first months of 1920 or shortly before.³⁶ I disagree with this date, as I will explain below.

Perhaps our doubts about the date of composition of this work would be cleared up if we could consult the original signed manuscript of the *Danza castellana*. Unfortunately, however, the manuscript's whereabouts are unknown. It may have been destroyed when Segovia's Barcelona apartment was raided at the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, or perhaps lost in one of the guitarist's many changes of address. A manuscript in Segovia's handwriting, along with ten other manuscripts by Segovia, is now at Yale University, following the acquisition of numerous scores at auction in 1995. Segovia made this manuscript version shortly before its premiere. Before their sale at auction, the manuscripts were in the possession of the Quiroga family of Barcelona.

Some of the manuscripts in this collection seem to be related to Segovia's second South American tour, which took place between May and September of 1921.³⁷ In the specific case of the *Danza castellana*, the title page of the manuscript reads "B[uenos] Aires June 1921" (recall that Segovia premiered the work in that city on

35 See note 33. In the summer of 1918, Segovia was traveling on vacation in northern Spain (López Poveda, *Andrés Segovia*, 140–1). We cannot, therefore, rule out the possibility that he went to San Sebastián and attended the premiere of *Zoraida*.

36 Walter Aaron Clark and William C. Krause, "Federico Moreno Torroba and Andrés Segovia in the 1920s: A Turning Point in Guitar History," *Soundboard* 38, no. 3 (2012): 9.

37 There is a *Rondino* by Kreisler, transcribed by Segovia on May 3, 1921, six days before he left for South America, the *Danza* by Moreno Torroba, revised during the tour, and two more transcriptions made on the return trip to Spain aboard the ship *Infanta Isabel*, in November of the same year. See John Mangan, "Guitar Manuscripts at Yale: The Segovia Collection, Part I," *Guitar Review*, no. 104 (Winter 1996): 1–14.

June 11, 1921) and also “transcribed and fingered by [Segovia’s signature].” Moreno Torroba’s dedication is on the second page: “To my dear friend A[ndrés] S[egovia].” There is also the indication “fingered by [signature of Andrés Segovia]” on that page.”³⁸

I am struck by the moment Segovia chose to revise Moreno Torroba’s *Danza*—right in the middle of a concert tour. If Segovia had had the score for more than a year, as has been claimed, he could have worked on it more easily during the weeks immediately following his first tour of South America, when he had no performances to give. In that same period, at the end of 1920, Segovia would marry Adelaida Portillo (on December 23), but he also had to prepare the new works that he incorporated into his repertoire and interpreted in his concerts of January 1921 in Granada. In the programs of the five concerts offered in Granada and in later ones in Madrid and Barcelona, there are several works marked “primera audición” (first performance) or “primera vez” (first time), but they are pieces by Sor or transcriptions—none written directly for the guitar by a contemporary composer. It was also in Madrid, on March 8, 1921, that Miguel Llobet performed in concert: his program included Falla’s *Homenaje a Debussy*, heard for the first time in the Spanish capital. Previously, between February 15 and 27, Segovia had given four concerts on the same stage. Writing about these recitals by Segovia, Javier Suárez-Pajares wonders: “Where is the *Danza* that Moreno Torroba wrote for him as an original for guitar and which he claimed to predate Falla’s *Homenaje*? We are shocked that, if it existed, he did not program it in this very clear duel of titans organized by Conciertos Daniel.”³⁹

The most straightforward answer to these questions would be that Moreno Torroba’s work was composed after Falla’s *Homenaje a Debussy*, probably at a date close to that of the premiere of the *Danza castellana* in Buenos Aires, in June 1921.

Note that researchers have relied on Segovia’s autobiography and other writings to date this work, an account that sometimes supports and sometimes contradicts the other protagonist of this story, Federico Moreno Torroba.⁴⁰ However, we can find an alternative explanation to the vicissitudes narrated about the *Danza castellana* if we look to both musicians’ statements.

On February 14, 1920, Segovia gave an interview with Rogelio del Villar and explained to him that

Spanish musicians are interested in the guitar. Esplá, Falla, Turina, and Villar have promised me works. When they fulfill these promises, I will have the pleasure of organizing a Spanish concert in which Sors [*sic*], Albéniz, and Granados will

38 Luigi Attademo, “El repertorio de Andrés Segovia y las novedades de su archivo,” *Roseta* 1 (2008): 91–92.

39 Javier Suárez-Pajares, “Aquellos años plateados: La guitarra en el entorno del 27,” in *La guitarra en la historia*, vol. 8, ed. Eusebio Rioja (Córdoba: La Posada, 1997), 43.

40 Moreno Torroba went so far as to say in an interview that the first work he wrote for Segovia was not the *Danza castellana* “but a Preludio (Prelude) of which I lost the manuscript but which he [Segovia] still remembers.” Griselda Ponce de León, “Incontro con Federico Moreno Torroba di Griselda Ponce de León,” *Il Fronimo*, no. 24 (July 1978): 4.

represent yesterday. Then, it will be necessary to study another guitar tuning to fit the current modalities. The current tuning is based on the canon of consonance. We must widen the guitar tuning to execute the expressive dissonances so abundant in the latest music.⁴¹

We believe that by this time, Segovia and Moreno Torroba had already met, but Segovia says nothing about the latter. Had the guitarist already asked the composer from Madrid for a piece? Not if what Moreno Torroba tells us in a speech given at Segovia's admission ceremony to the Real Academia de Bellas Artes of San Fernando on January 8, 1978, is true:

Many years ago, upon the return from one of his countless tours of Latin America, the artist [Segovia] presented his idea of obtaining works written explicitly for the guitar to Don Ernesto Quesada, director, and owner of the unforgettable organization "Conciertos Daniel." Quesada suggested introducing me to the already brilliant Segovia so that we could begin our collaboration.⁴²

In other words, Segovia and Moreno Torroba may have met in 1918, but if what we read above is true, it was Ernesto de Quesada who suggested to Moreno Torroba that he talk to Segovia to propose writing a new piece, since Segovia was looking for composers to write for guitar. That would happen after the guitarist's first tour of South America. After that tour, we find Segovia again in Madrid at the end of October 1920.⁴³ Later Moreno Torroba would compose the *Danza castellana* and send it to Segovia before he premiered it on his next South American tour. The probable date of composition would then be the first months of 1921 or, at the earliest, the end of 1920.

In short, although the *Homenaje a Debussy* was not the first work for the instrument written by a non-guitarist composer in the twentieth century (others have already addressed this issue),⁴⁴ there is substantial evidence that Falla's *Homenaje* was composed prior to Federico Moreno Torroba's *Danza castellana*. We have already seen that Segovia stated the contrary many times, but there was also an occasion when he made statements that may fit this alternative hypothesis. In an interview published in 1983, the guitarist said that the first composers to respond to his request to write works for him were Moreno Torroba and Turina. This happened "between my first tour of South America and my first visit to Paris"⁴⁵ — that is to say, between the end

41 Rogelio del Villar, "Artistas españoles: Andrés Segovia," *La Esfera*, February 14, 1920, 9.

42 Federico Moreno Torroba, "Discurso de contestación," in *La guitarra y yo* (Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1978), 32.

43 On October 31, 1920, the newspaper *ABC* published a report entitled "Andrés Segovia in Madrid," and in it we read: "Back from his triumphant 'tournée' through South America, the exalted artist [Segovia] is once again among us."

44 For example, Angelo Gilardino, "Andrés Segovia y el repertorio de la guitarra del siglo xx," *Roseta* 1 (2008): 58–67.

45 John Mills, "Segovia," *Guitar* 11, no. 6 (January 1983): 26.

of 1920 and March 1924 (Turina's first work for guitar dates from 1923).⁴⁶ The truth is that there are accounts of the guitarist performing in Paris some years earlier — but that is a story for another day.

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46 Or could it be that Segovia is talking about the beginning of that South American tour, in June 1920?

- . “Un viaje sin destino: Andrés Segovia hacia el Concierto de Aranjuez.” In *Joaquín Rodrigo. Nombres propios de la guitarra 8*, edited by Javier Suárez-Pajares. Córdoba: La Posada, 2010.
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About the Author

JULIO GIMENO GARCÍA was born in Seville and studied guitar at the Conservatory of that city with various teachers, including América Martínez. His articles have appeared in *Soundboard*, *Roseta*, *Scherzo*, *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, *Colección “Nombres propios de la guitarra”* of the Festival de Córdoba, and others. He

has collaborated with the publishers Schott and Bèrben: his work with the latter in 2011 resulted a new edition of Joan Manén's *Fantasia-Sonata*. Together with Leopoldo Neri de Caso, he curated a special issue of the magazine *Roseta* dedicated to Andrés Segovia. In 2012 he was awarded the medal of the Andrés Segovia Foundation of Linares. In January 2022 he retired from his position as guitar teacher at the Conservatorio "Maestro Andrés Segovia" in Dos Hermanas (Seville).

Profile at Academia.edu: <https://educateca.academia.edu/JulioGimenoGarcia>

About the Translator

ERIC JOHNS is a musicologist and education researcher. He is currently a postdoctoral fellow with the University of California, Riverside's XCITE center, where he researches inclusive and embodied pedagogies by approaching the classroom as a performative space. His musicological research interests include epistemology and how nationalism and race inform histories of Latin American popular, traditional, and art music.

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