

Rodrigo's *Concierto de Aranjuez* through the Writings of Regino Sainz de la Maza

BY LEOPOLDO NERI

Translated by Eric Johns

*This guitar has good sails, good rigging,
and a good pilot.*

– Joaquín Rodrigo

WITH THIS MARITIME METAPHOR, Joaquín Rodrigo bade farewell to the guitarist Regino Sainz de la Maza, as the latter was about to embark on his 1947 concert tour of Argentina. It was on this tour that the guitarist gave the Buenos Aires premiere of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*. Rodrigo compares the concerto to “good sails,” Sainz de la Maza’s “swift fingers” to “good rigging,” and the guitarist himself, to whom he had dedicated the work, to a “good pilot.”¹ These beautiful words, apart from showing Rodrigo’s confidence in his own music and in Sainz de la Maza’s interpretation, underscore the importance of contemporary narratives for reinterpreting historical events.² While there have been numerous studies on the *Concierto de Aranjuez*,³ the

- 1 Joaquín Rodrigo quoted in “Regino Sainz de la Maza: Camino de América,” 1947, private collection of Gonzalo Sainz de la Maza. We have not been able to identify the publication source of this quote.
- 2 See the following bibliography: Gerardo Diego, Joaquín Rodrigo, and Federico Sopena, *Diez años de música en España* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1949); Antonio Fernández-Cid, *La Orquesta Nacional de España: Introducción, tema, variaciones y coda* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Dirección General de Bellas Artes, Comisaría de la Música, 1953); Antonio Fernández-Cid, *La década musical de los cuarenta* (Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1980); Federico Sopena, *Historia de la música contemporánea española* (Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 1958); José Subirá, *Historia de la música española e hispanoamericana* (Barcelona: Salvat, 1953).
- 3 See Máximo Delle Cese, “Il *Concierto de Aranjuez*: Considerazioni sull’esecuzione e l’interpretazione,” *Guitart Minus Collection*, no. 1 (1999): 12–15; José Antonio Donis, “The Musicologist Behind the Composer: The Impact of Historical Studies upon the Creative Life in Joaquín Rodrigo’s Guitar Compositions” (master’s thesis, University of Florida, 2005); Antonio Gallego, *El arte de Joaquín Rodrigo* (Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 2003); Angelo Gilardino, “Dal *Concierto de Aranjuez* alla *Fantasia para un gentilhombre*, ovvero da Sainz de la Maza a Segovia,” *Guitart Minus Collection*, no. 1 (1999): 3–8; Josep María

current paper approaches it “from the inside”: that is to say, we begin with an analysis of what one of the protagonists — Sainz de la Maza — expressed in his own writings, treating the ideas not in isolation but in the context of a period in Spanish history when ideology was strongly to the fore.⁴ This article has three sections: the first, a historical section, delves into the reasons for the success of the piece and considers its relationship to the “Spanish school”; a technical section explores the musical language applied to the guitar and other instrumental matters; the last section discusses the work’s unique aesthetic qualities. In this way, we hope to gain fuller insight into what Joaquín Rodrigo’s *Concierto de Aranjuez* meant to Sainz de la Maza.

Toward a Historical Approach

The success and impact of Rodrigo’s work in the forties exceeded Sainz de la Maza’s expectations. Sainz de la Maza made a series of claims that we must examine to discover their origin and evaluate their impact on the recent history of Spanish music and the guitar renaissance of the twentieth century.

Sainz de la Maza recalled that it took a long time to convince Rodrigo that composing a concerto for guitar and orchestra would be viable.⁵ The guitarist may have been aware of Andrés Segovia’s communications with Manuel Ponce from 1926 on

Mangado, “*Concierto de Aranjuez*: Prima esecuzione; Barcelona, 9 novembre 1940,” *Il Fronimo*, part 1, no. 127 (July 2004): 13–28; part 2, no. 128 (October 2004): 13–22; part 3, no. 129 (January 2005): 24–32; Larry Newcomb, *The Six Works for Guitar (or Guitars) and Orchestra by Joaquín Rodrigo* (PhD dissertation, University of Florida, 1998); Federico Sopena Ibáñez, *Joaquín Rodrigo* (Madrid: EPESA, 1946); Javier Suárez-Pajares, “El encuentro de Rodrigo con la guitarra,” in *Centenario Joaquín Rodrigo: El hombre, el músico, el maestro*, ed. Javier Suárez-Pajares, Catalogue of the Exposición del Centenario (Madrid: Sinsentido, 2001), 39–49; Javier Suárez-Pajares, “Los virtuosismos de la guitarra española: Del alhambriismo de Tárrega al neoclasicismo de Rodrigo,” in *La musique entre France et Espagne: Interactions stylistiques 1870–1939*, ed. Louis Jambou (Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2004), 231–52; Graham Wade, *Joaquín Rodrigo: Concierto de Aranjuez*, Mayflower Study Guides 9 (Horsforth: Mayflower Enterprises, 1985); Graham Wade, *Joaquín Rodrigo: A Life in Music* (Leeds: GRM Publications, 2006).

- 4 See the work of Gemma Pérez Zalduondo, including *La música en España durante el franquismo a través de la legislación (1936–1951)* (PhD dissertation, Universidad de Granada, 2002); “La continuidad intelectual con el pasado en el pensamiento artístico español en la primera posguerra,” in *Tiempos de silencio: Actas del IV Encuentro de Investigadores del Franquismo* (Valencia: Fundació d’Estudis i Iniciatives Sociolaborals (FEIS), 1999), 589–93; “La música en el contexto del pensamiento artístico durante el franquismo (1936–1951),” in *Actas del Congreso “Dos décadas de cultura artística en el franquismo (1936–1956)”* (Granada: Henares, 2001); “El nacionalismo como eje de la política musical del primer gobierno regular de Franco (30 de enero de 1938–8 de agosto de 1939),” *Revista de Musicología* 18, no. 1–2 (1995): 247–73.
- 5 Agustín Navarro, dir., *Grandes músicos: Regino Sainz de la Maza* (RTVE, 1981); Joaquín Soler, dir., “La guitarra, cosmos sonoro: Regino Sainz de la Maza,” *A fondo*, directed by Joaquín Soler (RTVE, 1976).

or with Torroba and Turina in the thirties.⁶ But “one day, while passing through the Grao de Valencia on his way to America,”⁷ Sainz de la Maza reached a verbal agreement with the composer. This meeting likely took place in February 1934.⁸ Rodrigo remembers their meeting, writing:

These were rather sad circumstances for me, and my feelings were rather affected. I don't know if you remember, but when the steamboat was lifting anchor and you were on your way, you shouted to me “goodbye, Joaquín” from a distance two or three times. Your goodbyes produced a strange effect on me, a penetrating emotion.⁹

Rodrigo was undergoing a difficult period in his personal life. A month earlier, he had temporarily separated from his wife, who had returned home to Paris.¹⁰ Despite a period of otherwise scarce compositional production, however, he had recently finished (in August 1933) the Toccata for guitar, a display of instrumental virtuosity. This was the first work written at Sainz de la Maza's request, and it allowed the two musicians to forge a deep and sincere friendship. Although it went beyond the capabilities of guitarists at that time,¹¹ it likely convinced Sainz de la Maza of Rodrigo's compositional talent while simultaneously convincing the composer of the guitar's mechanical limitations. These difficulties may be one reason that the planned concerto, agreed to verbally, began to stall—not to mention the lack of any recent model that Rodrigo could refer to. As time went by, Rodrigo only dared to promise Sainz de la Maza another piece for guitar, *En los trigales* (1938). “*Un abrazo fuerte* (A warm embrace),” wrote Rodrigo in May of 1936. “You have my word that when you return from America, you will find a guitar piece by me, or I will cut off my ponytail. After all, the toccata was an enormous and unparalleled fiasco. . . .”¹²

6 Andrés Segovia, *The Segovia-Ponce Letters*, ed. Miguel Alcázar and Peter Segal (Columbus, OH: Orphée, 1989), 47, 146. We base this hypothesis on Sainz de la Maza's involvement in developing a new compositional repertoire with contributions from the Grupo de los Ocho. Still, no written sources from the 1920s or early '30s show an explicit interest in the concerto genre on the part of Sainz de la Maza.

7 Regino Sainz de la Maza, “El Concierto de Aranjuez,” *Leonardo*, April 1945, 145.

8 The guitarist tells of this encounter with slight variations in the *Leonardo* article, the interview for *A fondo*, and Agustín Navarro's 1981 documentary. The guitarist could not have met Rodrigo on his next American tour, which began in 1936, because the composer was already in Paris.

9 Letter from Joaquín Rodrigo to Regino Sainz de la Maza, May 22, 1936. See Joaquín Rodrigo, *Escritos de Joaquín Rodrigo*, ed. Antonio Iglesias (Madrid: Alpuerto, 1999), 243–44.

10 Victoria Kamhi de Rodrigo, *De la mano de Joaquín Rodrigo: Historia de nuestra vida* (Madrid: Ediciones Joaquín Rodrigo, 1995), 102.

11 This work was not published or premiered in Rodrigo's lifetime. I discovered this manuscript in 2006. See Leopoldo Neri, “Joaquín Rodrigo e la *Tocata para guitarra*,” *Il Fronimo*, 2006: 9–18.

12 Letter from Rodrigo to Sainz de la Maza, May 22, 1936. See Rodrigo, *Escritos*, 244.

The guitarist's insistence and the "overflowing friendship and tenderness" that Rodrigo harbored toward Sainz de la Maza meant that by the end of the summer of 1938, the project of composing a concerto was definitively confirmed.¹³ This took place at the famous meal with the Marquis of Bolarque at the restaurant El Rompeolas in San Sebastián on September 29. Sainz de la Maza recalled, "I was returning from America, while Rodrigo had just returned from Germany. We found ourselves as refugees in San Sebastián. There, at the end of a meal in front of the Bay of Biscay, he reiterated his promise, already in the process of being fulfilled."¹⁴ Rodrigo recalled that at that lunch, Sainz de la Maza said that the concerto was his "life's dream" and, as though delivering an encomium, that Rodrigo was "the one called to do it, something like the *chosen one*."¹⁵

After Rodrigo left for Paris and settled in his apartment on rue St. Jacques, Sainz de la Maza recalled that the composer was soon "sending him drafts of the concerto."¹⁶ But an August 1939 letter from Sainz de la Maza to Rodrigo leads us to believe this may have taken place after August of that year: "I suppose you are finishing the music for the *Colón* and completing my concerto. Send it soon because I want to perform it at the beginning of the season in Madrid and then tour the world playing it with the best orchestras. You'll see."¹⁷ At the time, the guitarist was tremendously excited about the project, and the composer even considered the possibility of dedicating the work to Bolarque: "I dream of the 'concertino,'" Sainz de la Maza writes, "and I am very excited about it. I will tell Bolarque about your idea of dedicating it to him. He will be very flattered and will thank you for it."¹⁸ That year, having completed the concerto, Rodrigo found it challenging to arrange its premiere.¹⁹ There is evidence that there may have been contact with the conductor Arámbarri, who at the time was the conductor of the Orquesta Municipal de Bilbao. "Let me know if you want to go down to Bilbao to see Arámbarri and see if it's possible to do a rehearsal of the

- 13 Letter from Joaquín Rodrigo to Andrés Segovia, November 22, 1950, Andrés Segovia Foundation.
- 14 Sainz de la Maza, "El Concierto de Aranjuez," 145. The guitarist agrees with Rodrigo that it was lunch and not dinner, as Kahmi wrote in her memoirs (for the source, see note 15).
- 15 Joaquín Rodrigo, "El porqué y cómo se hizo el *Concierto de Aranjuez*: Recuerdos y vagas apostillas a la obra," October 11, 1943. See Rodrigo, *Escritos*, 282.
- 16 Soler, dir., "La guitarra: Cosmos sonoro"; Navarro, dir., *Grandes músicos: Regino Sainz de la Maza*. The private collections of Sainz de la Maza's heirs contain a draft of the guitar part from the first movement, an incomplete draft of the guitar part for all three movements, a clean copy of the reduction for guitar and piano, and the orchestral manuscript of the work.
- 17 Letter from Regino Sainz de la Maza to Joaquín Rodrigo, August 10, 1939, Victoria and Joaquín Rodrigo Foundation.
- 18 Letter from Regino Sainz de la Maza to Joaquín Rodrigo, March 11, 1939, Victoria and Joaquín Rodrigo Foundation.
- 19 The only documented evidence of rejection is from the Sociedad Filarmónica de Bilbao. Letter from Sociedad Filarmónica de Bilbao to Joaquín Rodrigo, March 21, 1942. See Eduardo Moyano, *Concierto de una vida: Memorias del maestro Rodrigo* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1999), 118–19.

concerto,” Sainz de la Maza writes to Rodrigo. “In any case, ask him if he is willing to do it even when you are not there and on what date to send him the score.”²⁰ And yet it would be César de Mendoza Lassalle, the new conductor of the Orquesta Filarmónica de Barcelona and a musician with whom Rodrigo had already worked,²¹ who jumped at the opportunity:

When Rodrigo approached me with an offer to give the premiere of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*, I am sure he had already offered it to other musical institutions in Madrid—certainly the Orquesta Nacional de España—without success. Given the quality that I saw in the work, however, I did not hesitate for a moment to include it on the programs of the Orquesta Filarmónica de Barcelona—so called because the authorities of the time refused to grant me permission to keep the name of “Orquesta Pau Casals.”²²

Sainz de la Maza had already worked with Mendoza Lassalle in a concert by the Orquesta Filarmónica, held at the Teatro Guimerá in Santa Cruz de Tenerife on May 10,²³ but it was not until the end of July 1940 that the conductor wrote to him to request his participation in the work’s premiere:

- 20 Letter from Regino Sainz de la Maza to Joaquín Rodrigo, August 1940, Victoria and Joaquín Rodrigo Foundation. This letter indicates that there were perhaps parallel negotiations for the work’s premiere between Arambarri and the Orquesta Municipal de Bilbao and Mendoza Lassalle of the Barcelona Philharmonic (see also notes 24 and 27). In the end, the latter was the one to premiere the work.
- 21 In September 1939, Mendoza Lassalle requested a ballet by Rodrigo for the company he planned to form with the dancer Vicente Escudero. There is no record of this project coming to fruition, but Mendoza Lassalle premiered the second version of *Homenaje a la Tempada* a few months later at the Teatro Argensola in Zaragoza with the Orquesta Sinfónica-Patriótica on November 3, 1939. See letter from César de Mendoza Lassalle to Joaquín Rodrigo, November 15, 1939, Victoria and Joaquín Rodrigo Foundation.
- 22 Letter from César de Mendoza Lassalle to Adolfo Marsillach, September 7, 1989, collection of Jean Alexandre de Mendoza (Universidad de Valladolid). Pau Casals maintained a political position in favor of the Second Republic and, after the Spanish Civil War, he went into exile to Puerto Rico. In the 1940s, the Franco dictatorship would not have allowed a major Spanish cultural institution to bear the name of an artist opposed to the regime.
- 23 The program was as follows: Part 1, Beethoven’s *Symphony* no. 7; part 2, Boccherini’s Third Quintet (with the participation of Sainz de la Maza); part 3, Sor’s *Variations on a theme by Mozart*, Albéniz’s *Preludio español*, Tárrega’s *Réverie* (all performed by Sainz de la Maza), and Turina’s *Sinfonía sevillana*. See Malvido’s articles “Segundo concierto y despedida de la Orquesta Filarmónica de Barcelona,” *La Tarde*, May 11, 1940, and “La temporada de ópera: Juicio y elogio,” *La Tarde*, May 14, 1940. This concert allows for several relatively important interpretations of how the concerto’s premiere by the Barcelona Philharmonic came about. The first would be that after a possible agreement between Rodrigo and Mendoza Lassalle, the latter decided to hire Sainz de la Maza for the Santa Cruz de Tenerife concert and continue forming opinions about the work. The second version would be that this concert was one of the factors that made the existence of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* known to Mendoza Lassalle, thanks to the guitarist. At present, unfortunately, no documentation confirms either hypothesis.

Figure 1 César de Mendoza Lassalle in front of the Orquesta Filarmónica de Barcelona, ca. 1940. Collection of Jean Alexandre de Mendoza, University of Valladolid.



I write concerning your possible participation in one of our concerts in Barcelona with the Orquesta Filarmónica, when the Rodrigo concerto will receive its premiere. These concerts will be scheduled for this November, God willing. Once I have your acceptance, we will discuss the definitive date and your appearance fee.²⁴

These encouraging negotiations led Mendoza Lassalle to plan a premiere of a work by Turina that same season, albeit without success.²⁵ In August 1940, Sainz de la Maza committed to offering the first performance of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* in

- 24 Letter from César de Mendoza Lassalle to Regino Sainz de la Maza, San Sebastián, July 31, 1940, collection of Jean Alexandre de Mendoza (Universidad de Valladolid). See the complete copy in appendix 1.
- 25 Mendoza Lassalle wrote the following letter to Turina: "I am sending you this letter because I would like to know if you have any news about one of my concerts in Barcelona next November. I would be very interested in giving one of your premieres. If this is not possible, I would be grateful if you could let me know about the possibility of obtaining the score for *Castillo de Almodóvar*. I will restrict myself to the hope of being able to give a new performance of this work in the next few days." Letter from César de Mendoza Lassalle to Joaquín Turina, July 31, 1940, collection of Jean Alexandre de Mendoza (Universidad de Valladolid); Turina replied: "My distinguished friend, I have just received your letter with some delay as I have been on a trip. But I can certainly confirm that I have nothing new to offer you for the orchestra. As for the score and material of *El Castillo de Almodóvar*, they are at the Unión Musical, and you will have to get in touch with them." Letter from Joaquín Turina to César de Mendoza Lassalle, August 17, 1940, collection of Jean Alexandre de Mendoza (Universidad de Valladolid).



Figure 2 Regino Sainz de la Maza and César de Mendoza Lassalle. Caricature by Romero Escacena (*ABC*, February 13, 1941, 10). *ABC* Collection.

Barcelona,²⁶ but not before warning Mendoza Lassalle of the challenge ahead:

You know that you have my support for playing Rodrigo's concerto and for further collaborations. I believe that the concerto will require special attention, but if we get it right, as I hope, it will be sensational. You will see.²⁷

From that moment, Sainz de la Maza entered a frantic study period that was accompanied by health problems, as Josefina de la Maza recalls:

The fact is that he has arrived from Madrid in terrible shape, and I am the only one who objects to his working and being on the move so much. I want him to save his energy precisely for the greater glory of the Concerto. And he cannot go on like this, because his thinness and sick look are alarming. . . . He is crazy about the Concerto, and despite my objections, he studies it more than he should.²⁸

Due to financial difficulties, Mendoza Lassalle found it challenging to maintain a stable relationship with the musicians of the Orquesta Filarmónica de Barcelona, writing to Sainz de la Maza, "At this moment, I don't know if I still have an orchestra."²⁹ Because the orchestra lacked municipal subsidies to promote a regular concert season, the compensation offered to Sainz de la Maza was also lower than what he had initially agreed to:

- 26 Alberto López Poveda maintains, without evidence, that Rodrigo "offered the concerto's premiere to Segovia," but Segovia refused because the composer wished neither to delay the premiere nor to modify the first movement's "excessive number of high-pitched notes." *Andrés Segovia: Vida y obra* (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2009), 1:305–6. This claim appears to be refuted by Rodrigo, who recalls in his writings that he had barely any contact with Segovia during those years. "I don't believe, I have never believed, that he was hurt. He realizes that, because we did not speak much, as indeed we didn't, in 1938 and '39—separated as we were by oceans, wars, and a series of things such as the World War, no less—it would have been impossible for this concerto to be for him." [Interview with Joaquín Rodrigo], *SP*, March 2, 1959; in Rodrigo, *Escritos*, 45.
- 27 Letter from Regino Sainz de la Maza to César de Mendoza Lassalle, August 3, 1940, collection of Jean Alexandre de Mendoza (Universidad de Valladolid). The complete letter is given in appendix 1.
- 28 Letter from Josefina de la Maza to Joaquín Rodrigo, August 1940, Victoria and Joaquín Rodrigo Foundation.
- 29 Letter from César de Mendoza Lassalle to Regino Sainz de la Maza, September 17, 1940, collection of Jean Alexandre de Mendoza (Universidad de Valladolid). The complete letter is given in appendix 1.

I can book you for one of the first four concerts that will take place on the dates I have indicated above, and the fee I can offer you is 1,200 pts., the same that I pay Benedetti, Viñes, etc.³⁰

And yet the guitarist accepted the financial conditions, knowing that this was a unique opportunity in these turbulent post-war years.³¹ In addition, it allowed him to join in the expansion of the repertoire that Segovia had initiated the previous year with the Italian composer Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco.³² The premiere of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*, held at the Palau de la Música de Barcelona on December 9, 1940,³³ was more successful musically than economically.³⁴ The mayor of Barcelona, Miguel Mateu,³⁵ wrote as much to Mendoza Lassalle at the end of the 1940/41 season:

I know that its artistic success, as was to be expected, has been magnificent. For this reason, it is regrettable that the financial outcome, as mentioned earlier, has not been as prosperous as planned. I hope and wish that the next season this excellent Philharmonic Orchestra will be crowned with the fortune to which it is entitled.³⁶

Despite these difficulties, Mendoza Lassalle managed to organize a concert of Rodrigo's work on February 12, 1941, in Madrid, as we learn from Mendoza Lassalle's correspondence: "Later, I took it to Madrid for a concert supported by my own means, without the slightest financial help from the musical authorities of my country."³⁷ Between the two performances organized by Mendoza Lassalle, Sainz de la Maza gave other performances with Jesús Arámbarri, including the Madrid premiere of the work.³⁸ But the reunion between Sainz de la Maza and Mendoza Lassalle was very successful, not only for the development of the conductor's interpretative

30 Letter from Mendoza Lassalle to Sainz de la Maza, September 17, 1940.

31 Letter from Regino Sainz de la Maza to César de Mendoza Lassalle, November 19, 1940, collection of Jean Alexandre de Mendoza (Universidad de Valladolid). See the complete letter in appendix 1.

32 Andrés Segovia performed Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Concierto for guitar and orchestra*, op. 99, with the Orquesta de la Radio under the direction of Lamberto Baldi on November 28, 1939, in Montevideo.

33 Mangado, "Concierto de Aranjuez," parts 1–3.

34 "The artistic success of this premiere was the complete opposite of its economic success." Mendoza Lassalle to Marsillach, September 7, 1989.

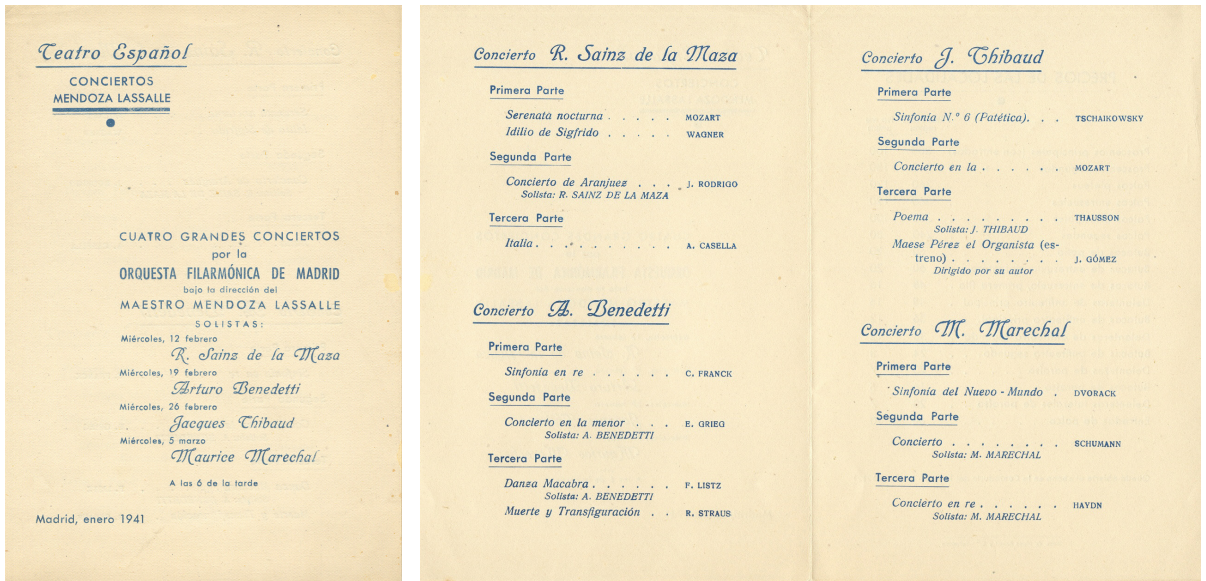
35 Miguel Mateu (1898–1972), a Spanish financier, businessman, and politician, entered Barcelona with Franco's troops on January 26, 1939. The following day he was appointed mayor of the city, a position he held until April 18, 1945.

36 Letter from Miguel Mateu to César de Mendoza Lassalle, November 25, 1941, collection of Jean Alexandre de Mendoza (Universidad de Valladolid).

37 Mendoza Lassalle to Marsillach, September 7, 1989.

38 The first performance occurred at the Teatro Arriaga with the Orquesta Municipal de Bilbao on November 16, 1940, in Bilbao. The second was at the Teatro Español in Madrid with the Orquesta Nacional of Spain on December 11, 1940, and the third at the Victoria Eugenia Theater in San Sebastián with the Orquesta Municipal de Bilbao on January 29, 1941.

Figure 3 Program for the concert at the Teatro Español on February 12, 1941. Private collection of Marta Sainz de la Maza.



framework, but also for his deepened knowledge of Rodrigo’s piece. As Sainz de la Maza reported in a self-critique published in *ABC*,

Lassalle is in a moment of developing his talent. It’s easy to see the young conductor’s growth since his concerts last season. Even the most reluctant to admit this young conductor’s undoubted gifts could see a more mature standard and a more secure technique in yesterday’s concert. These gifts include, among others, his delight in beautiful sonorities and the desire for clarity that he pursues — qualities that I was able to confirm when playing with him Rodrigo’s *Concierto*, that work of astonishing inspiration, whose lightness and grace must flow from the orchestra with the utmost precision of nuance, if its spell is not to be broken. I did what I could to transmit some of that spell to the audience. I do not know if I succeeded. If not, I alone am at fault. The orchestra served me to my entire satisfaction, closely matching the voice of my guitar at every moment.³⁹

The two musicians collaborated again at the end of the year, reviving the magic of the premiere on October 26 at the Teatro Coliseum in Barcelona.⁴⁰ In addition to its national dissemination, the *Concierto de Aranjuez* had international premieres, although it was limited exclusively to countries in the Francoist milieu of the time:

39 Regino Sainz de la Maza, “El maestro Mendoza Lassalle y la Orquesta Filarmónica,” *ABC*, February 13, 1941.

40 “Los conciertos del domingo,” *La Vanguardia*, December 28, 1941.

in Hitler's Germany, at the Bad-Elster Festival in 1941;⁴¹ in Salazar's Portugal, during the Estado Novo period, with the first performance of the Orquesta Nacional conducted by Ernesto Halffter in 1943;⁴² and in the Argentina of Juan Domingo Perón in 1947.⁴³ This unprecedented diffusion of a symphonic work in post-war times led Sainz de la Maza—carried away by the enthusiasm of the moment—to declare it the most performed in the history of Spanish music,⁴⁴ although this idea is best understood as a metaphor for the remarkable reception of the work: “When these words appear in print,” he wrote, “the *Concierto de Aranjuez* will have reached its thirtieth performance.⁴⁵ A *record* number that, as far as we can remember, no other Spanish symphonic work has ever achieved before.”⁴⁶ Faced with such a positive media response, Sainz de la Maza reflected on the reasons for the concerto's success, which he summarized with the following points:

The triumph of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* is doubly significant. First, it confirms the vitality of Spanish music, the possibility of continuing Falla's work by following the path he traced, one that endows this music with universal value. Second, it connects the guitar to a higher purpose.⁴⁷

With his first point, Sainz de la Maza invokes the “vitality of Spanish music” in the forties. The guitarist had firsthand knowledge of Madrid's musical life as he worked as a music critic for the newspaper *ABC* between 1939 and 1952.⁴⁸ Certainly, the orchestral

- 41 This concert's program is reproduced in Juan González-Castelao, *Ataúlfo Argenta: Claves de un mito de la dirección de orquesta*, Música Hispana: Textos, Biografías 18 (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2008), 52.
- 42 Yolanda Acker, “Ernesto Halffter (1905–1989): Músico en dos Españas,” in *Ernesto Halffter (1905–1989): Músico en dos tiempos*, ed. Javier Suárez-Pajares and Yolanda Acker (Madrid: Residencia de Estudiantes, 1997), 73.
- 43 The Argentine premiere took place at the Teatro Municipal de Buenos Aires with the Orquesta Sinfónica Municipal conducted by Ernesto Mehlich on July 26, 1947.
- 44 It is possible that Manuel de Falla's symphonic works, especially *Noches en los jardines de España* and the suite from *El sombrero de tres picos*, surpassed the *Concierto de Aranjuez* in the number of performances during those years. However, currently there are no statistical studies on the performances of this repertoire as far as the 1940s. I am grateful for Elena Torres's comments on this point.
- 45 The guitarist had just performed the work with the Orquesta Sinfónica Provincial de la Obra Sindical de Educación y Descanso de Asturias, playing at the Sociedades Filarmónicas de Oviedo, Avilés y Gijón on March 20, 21, and 23, 1945.
- 46 Sainz de la Maza, “El *Concierto de Aranjuez*,” 143. In 1946, Federico Sopena wrote that it had “reached the staggering number of ten performances per year,” specifying later that “in four years, more than forty times.” Sopena, *Joaquín Rodrigo*, 42 and 84. A list of the first performances can be found in Wade, *Joaquín Rodrigo*, 2006, 500–502.
- 47 Sainz de la Maza, “El *Concierto de Aranjuez*,” 143.
- 48 See Leopoldo Neri, “Regino Sainz de la Maza: Crítico musical en ABC (1939–1952),” in *Joaquín Rodrigo y la música española de los años cuarenta*, ed. Javier Suárez-Pajares (Valladolid: SITEM-Glares, 2005), 213–73.

production of those years is extraordinary: apart from Rodrigo's concertante works,⁴⁹ it includes compositions such as *Rapsodia portuguesa* (1937–40) by Ernesto Halffter, *Castilla* (1938) by Jesús Arámbarri, *Diez melodías vascas* (1941) and *Sinfonía pirenaica* (1946) by Jesús Guridi, and the *Cinco canciones negras* (1949) by Xavier Montsalvatge. Focusing on Rodrigo's work, Sainz de la Maza wrote a review for the 1948 premiere of the *Concierto heroico* for piano and orchestra, writing that it possessed a "vigorous spontaneity, its themes springing from the living fountain of emotion. The inner impulse that governs its development makes it a true concertante poem, animated by epic lyricism."⁵⁰ A year later, Rodrigo's *Concierto de estío* for violin and orchestra was born. We now know that the first half of this piece is an orchestration of the 1933 Toccata for guitar. Sainz de la Maza described it as "spiritual, expressive, joyful music, which aspires to clarity and conciseness." In its second movement, "Siciliana," he singled out a passage "before the cadenza, in which the theme of the first movement suddenly comes to the violin and is tied to the siciliano played by the orchestra. The encounter is fortuitous: perhaps it was not even foreseen by the author, but such a find is a gift that the muses grant to those who know how to invoke them."⁵¹ In his thinking, Sainz de la Maza commits to revaluing the Spanish music of this period based on its compositional richness,⁵² qualitatively and quantitatively—a standard that does not exclude Spanish composers living in exile after the Civil War.⁵³ Yet, at the same time, he recognizes that the aesthetic isolation endured by Spain during these years impedes the free exchange of ideas so necessary if the art of music is to evolve.⁵⁴

Another reason for the success of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*, according to Sainz de la Maza, is that it was considered an extension of Falla's legacy. Throughout the first Franco regime, musicians and intellectuals began reclaiming Manuel de Falla,⁵⁵ a process that involved both sublimation and rereading of his creative work, now taken as an example of nationalist music; at the same time, they linked it to Falangist rhetoric that glorified the imperial past of Spain's Golden Age. Sainz de la Maza played a role in this process by writing about Falla's music as though it lacked any traces of the modernity so important in Falla's compositions. Instead, he favored the

49 *Concierto heroico* (1942) for piano and orchestra, *Concierto de estío* (1943) for violin and orchestra, *Concierto galante* (1949) for cello and orchestra.

50 Regino Sainz de la Maza, "Pérez Casas y la Orquesta Nacional: Estreno del *Concierto heroico* de Joaquín Rodrigo," *ABC*, May 4, 1943.

51 Regino Sainz de la Maza, "Orquesta Nacional: Estreno del *Concierto de estío* de Joaquín Rodrigo," *ABC*, May 8, 1944.

52 Recent scholarship equates the musical quality of the forties, at least in the symphonic field, with the years of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship. Javier Suárez-Pajares, "Joaquín Rodrigo en la vida musical y la cultura española de los años cuarenta: Ficciones, realidades, verdades y mentiras de un tiempo extraño," in *Joaquín Rodrigo y la creación musical en los años cincuenta*, ed. Javier Suárez-Pajares, *Música y Pensamiento* (Valladolid: Glares, 2008), 15–56.

53 On this point, Sainz de la Maza mentions Gerhard, Pahissa, Bacarisse, Casal Chapí, Pittaluga, Bautista, Rodolfo Halffter, and Elizalde. See Regino Sainz de la Maza, "La música sinfónica e instrumental desde 1900," *ABC*, January 1, 1950.

54 Regino Sainz de la Maza, "El año musical en Madrid," *ABC*, January 2, 1945.

55 Pérez Zaldondo, "El nacionalismo," 247–73.

ideological guidelines of the new state and highlighted Falla's Catholicism, asceticism, nationalism, and Castilian references:

An explorer of Spain's musical routes, Falla expresses the genius of the Spanish race in all its varied attributes, with the character found in the creations of Victoria, of San Juan de la Cruz, of Cervantes. With the same greatness, the same austerity, the same expressive force. . . . Castile is already calling for him. Castile had been keeping its musical secret in a four-century-old slumber. It had to be awakened; its sonorous soul had to be deciphered. . . . The destiny that our great sixteenth-century polyphonists of church and court imprinted on Spanish music is fulfilled in this work, continuing this glorious tradition without interruption. From now on, Falla aspires to heaven. He dresses his muse in sackcloth, stripped of everything superfluous, of everything accidental, and gives us the Harpsichord Concerto—the naked and pure image of Castile, its ancestral, austere, and mystical resonance.⁵⁶

Beyond this partial view of Falla's work, what underlies Sainz de la Maza's thoughts on Falla is his concern for the continuity of the "Spanish school." Sainz de la Maza did not develop these ideas on his own; rather, he drew on the thinking of the music critic and composer Adolfo Salazar. Sainz de la Maza was the guitarist of this generation most closely aligned with the ideology of the Spanish musical avant-garde, thanks above all to the repertoire composed for the guitar by the Grupo de los Ocho (Group of Eight) with which Salazar was associated.⁵⁷ Like Salazar, Sainz de la Maza points to Felipe Pedrell as the founder of the modern Spanish school, which continued with Manuel de Falla's *Retablo de Maese Pedro* and Harpsichord Concerto and Ernesto Halffter's *Sinfonietta*.⁵⁸ As we can see, Rodrigo does not appear in this evolutionary timeline of the Spanish school, as Salazar never looked favorably on Rodrigo's first Parisian successes.⁵⁹ Furthermore, Salazar reserved the continuity of Falla's legacy for his protégé, Ernesto Halffter. In this sense, while Sainz de la Maza supported Salazar's general thesis in his writings, he disagreed with his scant appreciation of Rodrigo's compositions, especially after he came into contact with Rodrigo in the 1920s⁶⁰ and

56 Regino Sainz de la Maza, "Manuel de Falla," *Vértice*, April 1939. The same article was printed in *Hispana*, Buenos Aires, November 1939, as well as in *Radio Nacional*, August 31, 1941.

57 While every member of the Group of Eight wrote a piece for Sainz de la Maza, the guitarist published only *Homenaje a Mateo Albéniz* (1933) and *Elegía: Homenaje a Murnau* (1933) by Gustavo Pittaluga; *Preludio y danza* (1929–1930) by Julian Bautista; and *Española* (1933) by Rosa García Ascot. See Leopoldo Neri, "El repertorio inédito para guitarra del Grupo de los Ocho de la Generación del 27," *Roseta*, no. 0 (2007): 96–103.

58 "Pedrell, the founder of the modern Spanish school that gave us our current musical renaissance, was one of the first to prophesy the future of the guitar when he said that it was one of music's most precious and expressive agents." Antonio Fernández-Cid, "Músicos españoles: Regino Sainz de la Maza," *La Estafeta Literaria*, January 30, 1945, 11. The guitarist also quotes Barbieri: see Sainz de la Maza, "La música sinfónica."

59 Adolfo Salazar, "Paisaje de la actual música Española," *Gaceta Musical*, May 1, 1928, sec. 9–10.

60 Joaquín Rodrigo, "Mi vieja y fraternal amistad con Regino Sainz de la Maza," *Ritmo*, January 1982, 20.

Figure 4 Victoria Kamhi, Cecilia Rodrigo, Joaquín Rodrigo, and Regino Sainz de la Maza on the terrace of the apartment on Villalar Street, Madrid, 1942. The Victoria and Joaquín Rodrigo Foundation, Madrid.



was able to appreciate his extraordinary ability to recreate the musical past in his first composition for the guitar, *Zarabanda lejana* (1926):⁶¹ “I understood immediately that he could revive the spirit of that admirable music and the instrument that had produced it four hundred years earlier. Indeed, he was destined to establish the sound of its six strings as a part of universal music.”⁶²

Sainz de la Maza backed up this personal conviction, which countered Salazar’s, in practice: he added *Zarabanda lejana* to his recital repertoire and encouraged Rodrigo to compose two more pieces for guitar solo (*Toccata* in 1933 and *En los trigales* in 1938); these activities culminated in the composition of *Concierto de Aranjuez*. In light of these extraordinary compositional results and in keeping with our line of argument, Sainz de la Maza was able to influence the historian Federico Sopena’s reinterpretation of recent Spanish music, published in the 1940s. Sopena explains

61 Miguel Llobet shared this same astuteness about Rodrigo: “You understand the guitar intuitively and must continue writing for it. I predict great success for you in it.” Joaquín Rodrigo, “El vuelo de la guitarra,” *Ya*, July 9, 1961.

62 Sainz de la Maza, “El Concierto de Aranjuez,” 143.

that the guitarist was responsible for convincing him of the need to include Rodrigo in the emerging timeline of Spanish music:

There is no profound critique without a *new man* to discover—I have told myself that since the autumn of 1939. But, to accompany the delightfully quotidian work of Joaquín Turina, comfortably caught in unreserved admiration, I needed to excite my pen with a dialogue that was more problematic, more full of unknowns. Regino immediately told me that the musician of our time was already among us... and that his masterpiece was a concerto for guitar and orchestra.⁶³

Thus, Sopena identified the last link in his account of the Spanish school, as outlined in *Dos años de música en Europa*: Albéniz and Turina, the Falla of *El retablo de Maese Pedro*, and to end, the forking pathways of Halffter's *Sinfonietta* and Rodrigo's *Concierto de Aranjuez*.⁶⁴ As one might expect, Sainz de la Maza agreed more with the end of this evolution than with its roots (Albéniz and Turina). Moreover, throughout the forties, the Halffter-Rodrigo duality was experienced by the guitarist firsthand: even as Rodrigo was gradually becoming established in Spanish musical life, Halffter fell into a deep creative crisis. While Sainz de la Maza was reaping success with the *Concierto de Aranjuez* wherever he performed it, Halffter delayed his projected *Fantasia* for guitar and orchestra, with no exact date for its completion or first performance.⁶⁵ In this way, Sainz de la Maza arrived at a general understanding of recent Spanish music history that largely followed Salazar's framework; but it was through his influence that Rodrigo came to be acknowledged as an inheritor of Falla's legacy beyond the figure of Halffter. All of this helped dispel one of Sainz de la Maza's principal fears: how to transcend Spanish musical nationalism without losing its genuine essence? Once again taking up one of Adolfo Salazar's main concerns about the future of Spanish music, Sainz de la Maza wrote:

If, on the one hand, the attraction of folklore makes it difficult for our musicians to integrate into universal currents, limiting their musical and aesthetic horizon to the picturesque, on the other hand, the adoption of foreign models reduces our art to a simple cultural reflection that blocks the manifestation of original features. In both cases, the result is the same: an impoverishment and denaturalization of the national essence.⁶⁶

63 Sopena, *Joaquín Rodrigo*, 13–14.

64 Federico Sopena, *Dos años de música en Europa* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1942).

65 Halffter's concerto project was completed in the 1960s and premiered by Narciso Yepes with the Orquesta Sinfónica de RTVE, conducted by Igor Markevitch, at Madrid's Teatro Real on December 13, 1969. See Leopoldo Neri, "En torno al estreno del *Concierto para guitarra y orquesta* de Fernando Remacha," in *Joaquín Rodrigo y la creación musical en los años cincuenta*, ed. Javier Suárez-Pajares, *Música y Pensamiento* (Valladolid: Glares, 2008), 239–57.

66 Sainz de la Maza, "La música sinfónica," 46.

The final conclusion that Sainz de la Maza makes about the success of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* relates to the way in which it “connects the guitar to much higher [compositional] purposes.” This subject is directly linked to the guitar renaissance over the first decades of the twentieth century, which allowed the guitar to achieve acceptance as a concert instrument. A decisive factor in this process was the creation of a new repertoire of pieces that complemented the historical repertoire (transcriptions of Renaissance and Baroque music for vihuela and lute) and works written for the guitar by non-guitarist composers.

Sainz de la Maza published an article that reveals his historiographic shortcomings and ignorance of the repertoire of earlier centuries, resulting in a historical discourse — one shared by many guitarists of the time — that largely ignored the guitar of the nineteenth century. This discourse treated Francisco Tárrega as the only redeeming figure of that century while also seeking to disassociate the classical guitar from the popular guitar: “I regard all that picturesqueness associated with transient gypsies and brothel-oriented flamenco as a symptom of its decline, distorting the purest essences that the genius of a race has infused into it.”⁶⁷

In this context, Sainz de la Maza’s contribution to the contemporary repertoire has two ingredients: non-guitarist composers writing for the guitar and the assimilation of the European aesthetic currents of the time (neoclassicism and impressionism). Moreover, the *Música Nueva* (new music) composed for him in the 1930s⁶⁸ by members of the Group de los Ocho in particular,⁶⁹ is a part of that “essential nationalism” that, according to Salazar, sought “a music of universal character by its universal direction and point of departure.”⁷⁰ This new musical composition overcame Sainz de la Maza’s fear of technical and stylistic stagnation: “A tenaciously held prejudice has made people long believe that the guitar could not meet the new instrumental demands of today’s musicians.”⁷¹ What Sainz de la Maza could not foresee is that this *Música Nueva* would not find the unanimous praise that Manuel de Falla’s *Homenaje a Debussy* — the real detonator of the later repertoire — had achieved and stimulated.⁷²

Rodrigo was aware of this transcendental instrumental development, writing that “the flight of the guitar has already taken off without us. Our friends, those in love with it, have been fully aware of it. We have thus experienced something extraordinary, something rarely seen: an instrument’s emergence, growth, and development.”⁷³ The

67 Regino Sainz de la Maza, “Los artistas y su arte: La guitarra española,” *Imparcial*, March 21, 1933. This article was later renamed “Renacimiento de la guitarra” and published in *Ritmo*, December 1934.

68 Neri, “El repertorio inédito.”

69 Apart from Rodrigo, the guitarist also had contact with composers outside of Madrid, such as Antonio José Martínez Palacios and Rafael Rodríguez Albert.

70 Adolfo Salazar, “El nuevo arte de la guitarra y Andrés Segovia...,” *El Sol*, December 20, 1923.

71 Sainz de la Maza, “Los artistas.”

72 Leopoldo Neri, “La guitarra en el ideario musical de Adolfo Salazar (1915–1939),” in *Música y cultura en la Edad de Plata, 1915–1939*, ed. María Nagore, Leticia Sánchez de Andrés, and Elena Torres (Madrid: Residencia de Estudiantes, 2009), 297–314.

73 Rodrigo, “El vuelo de la guitarra.”

composer actively participated in this process by composing four pieces: *Preludio al atardecer* (1926), *Zarabanda lejana* (1926), *Toccata* (1933), and *En los trigales* (1938). Although each is stylistically different, from a technical point of view, as we shall see, they allowed Rodrigo to deepen his knowledge of the language and resources of the guitar.

In this sense, the composer was greatly indebted to the advice of one of his teachers, the sage Paul Dukas. Like Manuel de Falla, Dukas insisted on the study of instrumentation manuals to write according to the peculiarities of each instrument. And then, from the 1920s, Sainz de la Maza became almost the sole guitarist to perform Rodrigo's works. He thus served as the composer's guide, helping him to resolve the most practical problems of writing for the guitar. When Rodrigo came to tackle the composition of the concerto, the guitar—according to Sainz de la Maza—"was already ripe for the attempt."⁷⁴ The resulting work marked the culmination of the definitive standardization of the instrument, "the current apotheosis of the guitar,"⁷⁵ coinciding with the premiere of other concerto projects.⁷⁶ Sainz de la Maza, then, attributes the success of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* to two converging lines: the historical process of the guitar's renaissance and Rodrigo's continuing study of the language and resources of the guitar.

Matters of Technique

For Sainz de la Maza, performing Rodrigo's magnum opus meant realizing one of his "greatest dreams."⁷⁷ What follows is an analysis of the mechanical difficulties that Sainz de la Maza might have faced. This analysis will allow us to move on to other matters that have been constantly debated since the Barcelona premiere. These include instrumental virtuosity, the balance between soloist and orchestra, and the tempi of different movements.

We cannot understand the guitaristic language of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* without studying how Rodrigo developed his approach to the technique and resources of the instrument in some of his first works: *Zarabanda lejana* (1926), *Toccata* (1933), and *En los trigales* (1938).⁷⁸ Rodrigo composed the *Zarabanda lejana* within a pianistic language (square phrases, four-voice homophonic texture, limited use of dissonance) that largely lacked any instrumental resources derived from the guitar. The *Toccata* is a step forward in its use of a purely virtuosic violinistic language of contrapuntal texture in two and three voices, a refined unfolding of the harmony, with chords and

74 Sainz de la Maza, "El *Concierto de Aranjuez*," 144.

75 Regino Sainz de la Maza, "La guitarra en la música europea," *Sí*, November 7, 1943, weekly supplement to *Arriba*. This article also appeared in the newspaper *Albacete*, April 11, 1944.

76 We are referring to the concertos for guitar and orchestra by Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Ponce.

77 Sainz de la Maza, "El *Concierto de Aranjuez*," 146.

78 See Suárez-Pajares, "El encuentro de Rodrigo con la guitarra," 39–49; Graham Wade, *Distant Sarabandes: The Solo Guitar Music of Joaquín Rodrigo* (Leeds: GRM, 1996).

key changes being unfurled over time. But it is the language of *En los trigales* that is so ideally suited for the guitar, with its accompanied melody, closed voicings, adaptation to the register of the instrument, and numerous scalar passages. These three pieces before the concerto outline Rodrigo's understanding of the guitar.

In what way, then, did Sainz de la Maza influence the development of Rodrigo's guitar language? Perhaps we can find some guidance in a comparative study of the manuscript sources of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*: the draft of the guitar part (GD),⁷⁹ the guitar and piano reduction (RGP),⁸⁰ and the published score (PS).⁸¹ Appendix 2 describes the discrepancies between the handwritten sources (GD and RGP) and PS. In GD, perhaps the first draft that Rodrigo and Sainz de la Maza worked on, we find significant differences that allow us to orient ourselves, with some caution, around the composer's original ideas and his later compositional elaborations. In the first movement, for instance, the guitar part is notated in one voice, recalling, in a sense, the violinistic language of the Toccata. A similar approach is found in RGP: not until PS does Rodrigo adopt clearer, more guitaristic two-voice notation. In the introduction of GD, we see a figuration of thirty-second notes (**figure 5**)—simplified to sixteenth notes in the other sources (**figure 6**)—and differences in the chords in mm. 2 and 3.

In contrast, the rhythmic motif of theme A's main melody in GD (**figure 7**) has a simple presentation, as in the oboe and first violins (mm. 44–46), which Rodrigo dots in PS (**figure 8**).

Rodrigo replaces the unified compound duple meter of GD and RGP (**figure 9**) with a hemiola (alternating duple and triple in PS) (**figure 10**). This suggests that the composer considered this modification only when the work's compositional process was quite advanced.⁸²

We also find elements of reorchestration. For example, at the beginning of the development, a passage in GD (**figure 11**) is moved to the flute and replaced in the guitar part by a harmonic E with a dotted half-note duration in RGP and PS.

The famous main melody (mm. 7–11) of the second movement has no substantial differences in GD compared to other sources.⁸³ But in the phrase answering the main theme, the composer developed the musical idea of GD (**figure 12**) in PS (**figure 13**), giving it greater expressiveness and instrumental clarity. Sixty-fourth note figurations replace the dotted eighth notes (mm. 17–18), which give it a *cante jondo* character while strengthening the guitar's weak melodic sonority. Finally, there is rhythmic compression (mm. 19–20) from thirty-second notes to sixty-fourth notes and thirty-second-note sextuplets. There is also an expressive intensification (m. 20) with the repetition of the note B, while a scale played in thirty-second-note triplets replaces the quiet character (mm. 21–22) at the end of the passage in GD. Thus, Rodrigo's

Click on the gold text to go to the musical example

79 Private collection of Gonzalo Sainz de la Maza.

80 Private collection of Paloma Sainz de la Maza.

81 Joaquín Rodrigo, *Concierto de Aranjuez para guitarra y orquesta*, fingered by Renata Tarragó (Madrid: Gráficos Ageno, 1979).

82 One should remember that the first movement was the last to be finalized.

83 See appendix 2.

Click on the gold label to go to the first mention of the musical example in the main text

Figure 5 GD, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, 1st movement, mm. 1–3.



Figure 6 RGP-PS, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, 1st movement, mm. 1–3.



Figure 7 GD, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, 1st movement, mm. 64–65.



Figure 8 PS, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, 1st movement, mm. 64–65.



Figure 9 GD-RGP, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, 1st movement, mm. 75–77.



Figure 10 PS, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, 1st movement, mm. 75–77.



Figure 11 GD, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, 1st movement, mm. 118–19.



Figure 12 G D, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, 2nd movement, mm. 17–22.



Figure 13 P S, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, 2nd movement, mm. 17–22.



Figure 14 G D, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, 2nd movement, mm. 53–57.



Figure 15 P S-RGP, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, 2nd movement, mm. 53–56.



Figure 16 GD, *Concierto de Aranjuez*, 2nd movement, mm. 65–69.

The image displays five staves of musical notation for the second movement of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* in G major, measures 65–69. The music is written in 3/4 time. The first staff shows a melodic line with eighth-note patterns. The second staff features a more complex texture with sixteenth-note runs and triplets. The third staff continues with similar rhythmic complexity. The fourth staff is dominated by a series of triplets of sixteenth notes, creating a dense, virtuosic texture. The fifth staff concludes the passage with a few final notes and rests.

motivic development generated a great rhythmic variety, providing the passage with tremendous verve, expressiveness, and virtuosity.

Crossed-out passages are another noteworthy feature of the second movement of GD. These must have been Rodrigo's first compositional elaborations, immediately discarded. For example, let us take the measures before the beginning of the cadenza. In GD (figure 14), melodic triplet turns played by the string section ending in the bassoon (mm. 54–56) are restated as successive progressions of thirty-second notes. Unlike the examples previously discussed, this instrumental showmanship is replaced in PS and RGP by triplets of sixteenth notes (mm. 53–54) and two measures of silence (figure 15). Rodrigo may have made this drastic simplification to improve clarity and effect in approaching the cadenza.

The cadenza in GD is longer than in PS and RGP.⁸⁴ But the second section (mm. 65–69), crossed out in GD, is based on a mordent-like motive in thirty-second notes, continuing with a series of thirds in triplet thirty-second notes (figure 16). In PS and RGP, this passage is replaced by an extended series of arpeggios that reach a climax with *rasgueados* of chords in thirty-second notes in the instrument's high register.

The third movement in GD has a different version of the main theme from the rondo.⁸⁵ We can intuit—with many reservations, since there are no other sources to confirm this hypothesis—that Rodrigo may have initially written the theme

84 In GP there are 69 bars of music and 20 bars of rest, while in PS and RGP there are 26 bars of music and 11 of rest.

85 Only 63 bars of this movement remain in GD.

melodically and added the counterpoint only later.⁸⁶ Unlike the first movement, the passage in GD already has the rhythmic alternation of 2/4 and 3/4.

From the analysis of these manuscript sources, we can conclude that Rodrigo had consolidated and developed his guitar writing by the time he approached the composition of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*, since the modifications introduced are more for compositional reasons than for instrumental difficulties. In this sense, the influence of Sainz de la Maza may have been only slight: instead of asking the composer to adapt his musical language to his own idiosyncrasies and mechanical limitations, the guitarist prioritized imagination and creativity.

For further insight into Sainz de la Maza's compositional preferences, one might also consider the advice he gave to Fernando Remacha, when the latter was composing his own guitar concerto. In this collaboration, Sainz de la Maza recommended the minimal use of successive block chords, which gives a static feeling and is characteristic of Rodrigo's *Zarabanda lejana*. Instead, the guitarist suggested more melodic or arpeggiated approaches to the guitar.⁸⁷ To some degree, these same observations could apply to Rodrigo. This change in the harmonic vision of the instrument, from vertical to horizontal, entailed limiting passages of three voices that exceed three octaves, as had occurred in the Toccata, and replacing them with two-voice textures, as in *En los trigales* and the *Concierto de Aranjuez*. Additionally, Sainz de la Maza advised using open bass strings, because they facilitated the left-hand fingering and improved the general legato of a passage. Rodrigo made use of them both in complex melodic lines and in chords and accompaniments. Indeed, arpeggiated decuplets with all the strings may be found in both the Toccata and the *Concierto de Aranjuez* and recur frequently in later works.⁸⁸ At the same time, Rodrigo could easily indulge Sainz de la Maza's fondness for scalar movement over the instrument's entire range, since these passages were becoming more and more prominent in his works.

That Sainz de la Maza was loath to make many modifications to composers' original manuscripts (preferring to stay closer to the original idea of each author)⁸⁹ is borne out, to some extent, by the manuscript sources of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*. The guitarist compared the musical writing of this work to what "one hand of the piano"⁹⁰ can play. Yet it is not exempt from that distinctive feature of Rodrigo's compositional style, already apparent in his first creative stage, as in the Preludio of

86 A detailed study of the source reveals that the subject in the main voice seems to have had downward stems since, despite the erasure, the marks are still preserved on the paper. The second voice, in many cases, is superimposed on the erased marks, which leads us to suppose that it may have been added after the fact.

87 Letter from Regino Sainz de la Maza to Fernando Remacha, "Correspondencia Regino Sainz de la Maza – Remacha," March 5, 1955, Folder 4, BI-7, Conservatorio Pablo Sarasate de Pamplona; reproduced in Margarita Remacha, *Fernando Remacha: Una vida en armonía* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1996), 64.

88 Clear examples can be found in the Passacaglia from *Tres piezas españolas* (1954) and in *Invocación y danza* (1962).

89 This can be verified by comparing Sainz de la Maza's manuscripts and published editions of works such as *Preludio y danza* (1929–30) by Julián Bautista or *Española* (1933) by Rosa García Ascot.

90 Remacha, *Fernando Remacha*, 64.

the Piano Suite (1923) or *Preludio al gallo mañanero* (1926): instrumental virtuosity. As Suárez-Pajares has pointed out, the guitaristic virtuosity in *Aranjuez* comes from the composer's idealized conception of the instrument and his Parisian contact with the guitarist Matilde Cuervas.⁹¹ Notwithstanding the technical limitations of the instrument that the Toccata had brought to the fore, Rodrigo remained faithful to his aesthetic principles and gave free rein to his "new guitar."

As Rodrigo wrote in the program notes of the work, "the same growth spurt has been asked of the guitar, and this sudden development has posed a series of unusual technical problems that Sainz de la Maza has had, not to solve, but to tame."⁹² In short, the instrumental virtuosity of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*, to quote Sopeña, could embody "ingenuity and adventure"⁹³—the creative ingenuity of Rodrigo and the technical adventure of Sainz de la Maza.

A related issue is that of the tempi indicated for each of the concerto's movements (figure 17). The preserved musical sources reveal distinct variations between them. The orchestral manuscript (OM)⁹⁴ differs from RGP in the third movement. Rodrigo himself changed the "Allegro con spirito" [*sic*] to "gentile," which Sainz de la Maza wrote in the RGP. The difference between PS and the other musical sources is that the markings used for the first movement (*Allegro con spirito* replacing *Allegro, ma non troppo*) come from the first idea written in the OM for the third movement.

Before the piece's publication in 1949, moreover, the tempo designations were modified numerous times in concert programs throughout the decade (figure 18). At its premiere, the second movement was indicated as *Largo*. Still, after the concert conducted by José María Franco with the Orquesta Clásica de Madrid at the Teatro Calderón in Madrid on June 11, 1942, it was renamed *Adagio*. The *Allegro gentile* of the third movement began its career with the extraordinary concert in homage to Manuel de Falla held at the Teatro Español in Madrid on January 1, 1945.⁹⁵ It was, however, replaced several times by *Allegro*. Finally, the first movement alternated between *Allegro ma non troppo*, as given at the premiere, and the simple *Allegro*, and even the occasional *Allegretto*. All this highlights how difficult it is to clarify the exact names of each movement and how much work was involved in refining the work after its premiere. When Sainz de la Maza performed the score with the Orquesta Filarmónica de Barcelona, conducted by Louis de Fromet at the Palacio de la Música Catalana on July 2, 1951, he adopted the tempo markings that would later appear in the published score fingered by Renata Tarragó.

One of the most significant challenges for the guitarist was the balance between the soloist and the orchestra. Sainz de la Maza had performed chamber music with

91 Cuervas knew how to assimilate the flamenco and classical schools of the guitar. Suárez-Pajares, "Los virtuosismos de la guitarra," 250–52.

92 Joaquín Rodrigo, "Concierto de Aranjuez: Program notes," November 9, 1940. See Rodrigo, *Escritos*, 179.

93 Sopeña, *Historia de la música*, 232.

94 Private collection Gonzalo Sainz de la Maza. Another orchestral manuscript is held at the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.

95 It is likely that RGP could have been made on this date, being considered the first clean copy.

Figure 17 *Concierto de Aranjuez*: tempo markings in different sources.

	I	II	III
Orchestral ms. (OM)	Allegro, ma non troppo	Adagio	Allegro con spirito [sic] (gentile)
Guitar draft (GD)	[no marking]	Adagio	Allegro
Guitar & piano reduction (RGP)	Allegro, ma non troppo	Adagio	Allegro gentile
Published score (PS)	Allegro con spirito	Adagio	Allegro gentile

Figure 18 *Concierto de Aranjuez*: tempo markings in programs of performances by Regino Sainz de la Maza, 1940–1951.

Date	City	Orchestra/Conductor	I	II	III
Nov. 9, 1940	Barcelona	Orquesta Filarmónica de Barcelona / César de Mendolza Lassalle	Allegro ma non troppo	Largo	Allegro
June 11, 1942	Madrid	Orquesta Clásica de Madrid / José María Franco	Allegretto	Adagio	Allegro
April 4, 1943	Lisbon	Orquesta Nacional de Madrid / Ernesto Halffter	Allegro	Adagio	Allegro
Feb. 22, 1944	Barcelona	Orquesta Filarmónica de Barcelona / José Sabater	Allegro ma non troppo	Adagio	Allegro con spirito
Sept. 15, 1944	Bilbao	Orquesta Municipal de Bilbao / Jesús Arambarri	Allegro ma non troppo	Largo	Allegro
Sept. 17, 1944	Barcelona	Orquesta Municipal de Barcelona / Eduardo Toldrá	Allegro ma non troppo	Adagio	Allegretto con spirito
Dec. 13, 1944	Seville	Orquesta Bética de Cámara / Enrique Jordá	Allegro	Adagio	Allegretto con spiritu [sic]
Jan. 1, 1945	Madrid	Orchestra of soloists of the Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid / Enrique Jordá	Allegro	Adagio	Allegro gentile
April 23, 1945	Gijón	Orquesta Provincial de Asturias / Ángel Muñiz Toca	Allegro ma non troppo	Largo	Allegro
Aug. 17, 1945	Gijón	Orquesta Sinfónica Provincial / Ángel Muñiz Toca	Allegro ma non troppo	Adagio	Allegro gentile
Feb. 2, 1946	Madrid	Orquesta Nacional / Ataúlfo Argenta	Allegro	Adagio	Allegro
Aug. 26, 1947	Buenos Aires	Orquesta Sinfónica del Teatro Municipal / Ernesto Mehlich	Allegro ma non troppo	Largo	Allegro
July 2, 1951	Barcelona	Orquesta Filarmónica de Barcelona / Louis de Froment	Allegro con spirito	Adagio	Allegro gentile

Figure 19 Premiere of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* in the Dominican Republic. Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional, Auditorium of the Palacio del Partido Dominicano, Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic), May 31, 1950. Private collection of Gonzalo Sainz de la Maza.



the guitar,⁹⁶ but the challenge of including the instrument in the concerto form deeply worried him. In this regard, the famous anecdote by Rodrigo's wife, Victoria Kamhi, about her husband and Sainz de la Maza's train trip to Barcelona a few days before the premiere is worth mentioning:

In the early hours before dawn, Regino, who was travelling with Joaquín in the same compartment of the sleeping car, woke him with these words: "I'm obsessed with an idea that won't let me sleep. What if tomorrow, in the rehearsal, the guitar can't be heard over the orchestra?"⁹⁷

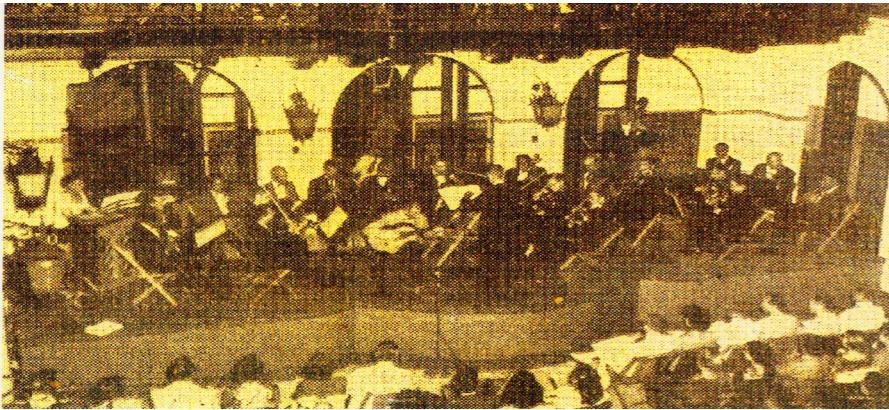
According to Sainz de la Maza, Rodrigo based his solution on the interrelation of two aspects: a deep knowledge of the instrument's resources and a smart orchestration that highlighted the main qualities of the solo guitar:

The great difficulty in writing this concerto was overcoming the natural imbalance of sonority between the guitar and the orchestra. If reconciling the needs of the solo instrument with the demands of the orchestra is always a delicate problem, in

96 In the same year as the concerto's premiere, Sainz de la Maza performed Luigi Boccherini's *Quintet* no. 3 with the soloists of the Orquesta Filarmónica de Barcelona. See Malvido, "Segundo concierto y despedida," 3.

97 Victoria Kamhi de Rodrigo, *Hand in Hand with Joaquín Rodrigo: My Life at the Maestro's Side*, transl. Ellen Wilkerson (Pittsburgh: Latin American Literary Reviews Press, 1992), 113. For the original Spanish, see Kamhi de Rodrigo, *De la mano de Joaquín Rodrigo*, 141–42. This anecdote also appears in Rodrigo, "Mi vieja y fraternal amistad," 20.

Figure 20 Premiere of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* in Puerto Rico. Orquesta Amigos de la Música de Cámara, Casa de España, San Juan (Puerto Rico), April 12, 1950. Private collection of Gonzalo Sainz de la Maza.



this case, it seemed unfeasible. Rodrigo found the solution. Without sacrificing music to virtuosity, he exploits with extreme wisdom and the surest instinct the possibilities of the instrument, its timbre, and expressive character.⁹⁸

For his part, Rodrigo was quite reluctant to accept any kind of amplification. “I have never thought about amplification when composing [for guitar]. I am not opposed to it if it is done well, which is difficult to achieve.”⁹⁹ Even so, Sainz de la Maza ended up using it for American performances of the Concerto in the 1950s.¹⁰⁰ This experience eventually settled his view:

I believe that it is indispensable . . . indispensable, because otherwise the guitar comes across as being powerless. The guitar has its particular charm, which is irreplaceable . . . mixed in with the orchestra, it loses much of its worth.¹⁰¹

Because of all this, Sainz de la Maza became somewhat skeptical about guitar concertos at the end of his life. As a result, his vision was more inclined to incorporate the instrument into chamber music, so that the guitar’s timbre could be better appreciated and matched with the rest of the instruments:

To me, it seems like you are making a bet . . . forcing the nature of the instrument too much. The guitar isn’t made to have exchanges with an orchestra. It is very well-suited to be combined with a few instruments. . . flute, viola, cello. . . in small

98 Sainz de la Maza, “El *Concierto de Aranjuez*,” 143–46.

99 José Guerrero, “Pensamientos de J. Rodrigo,” *El Ideal Gallego*, August 11, 1986. See Rodrigo, *Escritos*, 73.

100 The same solution was used at the premiere of the Guitar Concerto by Fernando Remacha at the Teatro Principal de Alicante in 1956. See Neri, “En torno al estreno,” 239–57.

101 Adams, “Interview: Regino Sainz de la Maza,” 14.

Figure 21 Yokohama Orchestra, Kanagawa Hall, Yokohama (Japan), November 24, 1967. Private collection of Paloma Sainz de la Maza.



ensembles in chamber music. There it can participate, lending the guitar's particular timbre to the instrumental combination with real worth.¹⁰²

The inclusion of the guitar as a concert instrument in the twentieth century led to the use of a traditional orchestra in the first concertos for guitar and orchestra (Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Ponce, Rodrigo). But from the extant photographic documentation, we can observe that over time, Sainz de la Maza was increasingly often accompanied by a chamber orchestra, especially from the fifties onwards. This tendency toward smaller ensembles leads us to suppose that in some cases this was because of limited means available in the places where he performed or, perhaps, because the guitarist found it to give a better balance between soloist and orchestra.

Another element that must be taken into account is the guitar on which Sainz de la Maza played the Concerto: "La Rubia," built by the Madrid luthier Santos Hernández.¹⁰³ The guitarist described its soundboard as "admirable" and "very old."¹⁰⁴ Moreover, the curly maple back, sides, and neck gave the instrument an external appearance close to that of a flamenco guitar. As we have seen above, one

¹⁰² Adams, 14.

¹⁰³ Leopoldo Neri, "Guitarra de Santos Hernández, 'La Rubia' (1934)," *Roseta*, 2009, 124–29.

¹⁰⁴ Navarro, dir., "Grandes músicos: Regino Sainz de la Maza."

of the sources of the virtuosity of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* was the composer's contact with the flamenco guitarist Matilde Cuervas. It is likely that this *jondo* root, implicit in the work, was one of the reasons Sainz de la Maza chose to use this type of guitar, together with a criterion based not on the greater or lesser sonority but on the *cantabile* character of the instrument. The guitarist preferred guitars of "quality and that sing, that sing. . ."¹⁰⁵

Matters of Aesthetics

Manuel de Falla's understanding of Spanish musical nationalism was a determining factor in the musical evolution of composers of later generations, including Joaquín Rodrigo. This musical reference underpins the aesthetic notes provided by Sainz de la Maza for each of the movements of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*. According to Sainz de la Maza, the opening *Allegro con spirito* stands out for its perfect combination of different musical influences within a strict musical form. The national essences of Spanish folklore, following the lineage of Falla's *Siete canciones populares españolas* (1914), merge with the natural Mediterranean elements of the Valencian composer (a concept that we will analyze later), and are translated musically through a clarity of melody and harmony:

The first movement describes the classical "sonata" form. It begins with a theme of rhythmic character, stated first in the guitar and then in the orchestra, reversing the classical procedure. Another theme follows, now melodic in nature. Rodrigo develops the first theme with a masterful ingenuity and clarity, bringing timbres of opposing values and ideologies into a satisfying and clear agreement. The accents of Spanish folk music, the rhythms of the *bulerías*, and the syncopations of "[El] paño moruno" [from Falla's *Siete canciones populares españolas*] are mixed with echoes of the composer's childhood, conjured up under the process of the strictest form without losing any of their spontaneous grace.¹⁰⁶

The guitarist always had a special affection for the second movement, *Adagio*, as being "superior to all in poetry and depth";¹⁰⁷ the theme played by the English horn counts as one of the "most thrilling in Spanish music."¹⁰⁸ For Sainz de la Maza, the melismas and arabesques of the famous main melody had a "*jondo* resonance"¹⁰⁹—

105 Soler, dir., "La Guitarra, Cosmos Sonoro."

106 In this section, all quotations from Sainz de la Maza are taken from his article, "El *Concierto de Aranjuez*," 146–7.

107 Signo, "Regino Sainz de la Maza ensayó ayer con la Orquesta de Cámara," *El Pueblo Gallego*, October 29, 1960.

108 This and the following quotations from Sainz de la Maza in this section are all taken from his article "El *Concierto de Aranjuez*," 145–6.

109 [There is a play on words here: *jondo* has the sense of both the flamenco *cante jondo* and its everyday meaning "deep."—Ed.]

another reference to Falla and his revaluation of flamenco art in Hispanic culture.¹¹⁰ He compares the theme with “certain lentos by Bach” for its solemnity: “One would say a Bach soaked with Andalusian essences.” Bach was a favorite of Sainz de la Maza, who was one of the first guitarists to transcribe the Chaconne from the Partita BWV 1004 for violin, a work that may have influenced the composition of Rodrigo’s Toccata. Sainz de la Maza notes an influence of Bach in the concerto, especially in the construction of the orchestral framework, in the “austere contrapuntal texture developed with Bach-like severity in the orchestra.”

It is in the third movement that Sainz de la Maza finds the fullest recreation of Rodrigo’s original concept for this work—namely, the atmosphere of the royal courts of Charles IV, Ferdinand VII and Isabella II; the stylized atmosphere of *majas* and bullfighters;¹¹¹ and a perfect symbiosis between the sacred and the popular, as sung through a solo instrument that also invokes the traditions of the Latin and Moorish guitar:

The third movement, *Allegro gentil*, develops a cheerful and resolute theme that combines ternary and binary rhythms in a play of sonorities and modulations. All the resources of the “box of sonorities” [*caja de resonancia*], as Gerardo Diego calls the guitar, are used in all their magical expressive power, together creating the poetic atmosphere that the author meant to suggest in the title: laughter and games among the foliage of royal gardens mingle with the distant sounds of a passacaglia brought by the breeze. The courtly and the popular merge in marvelous synthesis in this work, describing each time charms hitherto unknown, and realizing one of my most cherished dreams.

One of the most suggestive features of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*—according to Sainz de la Maza—is its Mediterranean character: “a Mediterranean clarity sings in the crystalline sharpness of its lines and rhythms.” The blind light of Rodrigo’s Mediterranean is an indispensable source of inspiration that is recreated directly or indirectly in his compositional work. His passion for the Mediterranean Sea led him to cite it as one of the most important natural elements of the traditional Valencian landscape, considering it the voice of music in its purest state.¹¹² But at the same time, the Mediterranean as a notion entails a Latin aspect, opposite in discourse to terms such as “German” or “Teutonic.” Thus north and south Europe and their respective claims to hegemony come into intellectual conflict: “The Germans claim that it is a

110 Manuel de Falla, *Escritos sobre música y músicos* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1950).

111 [*Maja* is the feminine form of *majo*, which the Real Academia Española’s dictionary at <https://dle.rae.es> defines as follows: “In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a person of lower class who, in their bearing, actions, and clothes, expressed freedom and handsomeness.”—Ed.]

112 “Do you like the Mediterranean?” “Yes, very much. I bathe in it a bit, and even try to swim in it.” “What does the voice of the sea sound like?” “Well, it’s music.” Faustino F. Álvarez, “Joaquín Rodrigo: Mientras el piano duerme,” *ABC*, July 9, 1989, 76.

kind of metaphysics . . . I am Latin. It does not mean that I dislike the Germanic but that I keep the clarity of inspiration, line, and expression.”¹¹³

This notion of Latinity¹¹⁴ or Mediterraneity implicit in the *Concierto de Aranjuez* connects, by extension, with the cultural tradition of other countries bathed by the Mare Nostrum — especially France and Italy. Enriched by Hellenic antiquity and Arab splendor, this tradition generates a unique identity or (to follow the thought of Louis Jambou) a certain “universality” that governs the lines of western music.¹¹⁵

Conclusion

Regino Sainz de Maza summed up his reflections on Joaquín Rodrigo in a lecture-recital that the two offered jointly at the Ateneo de Madrid in December 1942:

What Joaquín Rodrigo brings to music is the promise of a beauty pierced by the invisible vibration of being, without any involvement of a psychological sort with which conventional rhetoric is wont to falsify the purest musical substance in the service of a false sentimentalism.¹¹⁶

Here, the guitarist highlights the deep, authentic, and spontaneous beauty of Rodrigo’s compositions, to which we should add their Mediterranean, Latin, and virtuosic characteristics. All these means seek to be, as Sopena has pointed out, a symbol of joy¹¹⁷—of the jubilation and rejoicing that permeates and drives the *Concierto de Aranjuez* from beginning to end, distinguishing the work as a fine example of the extraordinary revival of the symphonic genre after the Civil War. In turn, Sainz de la Maza found sufficient evidence to situate the composer as a continuator, along with Ernesto Halffter, of the vital legacy of Falla, and to place him in his personal lineage of recent Spanish composers, a lineage that strikes a compromise between the thinking of Salazar and Sopena. Meanwhile, Rodrigo’s musical contributions to the guitar repertoire leading up to the composition of the *Concierto de Aranjuez* show how he was able to make use of his advancing knowledge of the instrument’s resources without losing his characteristic style.

For Sainz de la Maza, incorporating the guitar into the concerto form amounted to completing the process of legitimizing the guitar as a concert instrument. This step was not free of technical complications, such as the balance between soloist

113 Joaquín Rodrigo, “Entrevista a Joaquín Rodrigo,” interview by Manuel Gómez, 1961. See Rodrigo, *Escritos*, 52.

114 See Andrea Musk, “Regionalism, *Latinité* and the French Musical Tradition: Déodat de Séverac’s *Héliogabale*,” in *Nineteenth-Century Music: Selected Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference* (Bristol: Ashgate, 2002).

115 Louis Jambou, ed., *Manuel de Falla: Latinité et universalité* (Paris: Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999), 25.

116 Regino Sainz de la Maza, “Conferencia-concierto Sainz de la Maza-Joaquín Rodrigo,” *ABC*, December 30, 1942, 15.

117 Sopena, *Joaquín Rodrigo*, 32.

and orchestra. As a result, the guitarist came to prefer chamber music repertoire to symphonic, as this is where the guitar best fits and where its timbral qualities are heard to best advantage. Nonetheless, the guitarist did not doubt the transcendence of the composition, which combines the well-defined form, the contrapuntal wisdom, and the aesthetic implications of Manuel de Falla's music. In short, the *Concierto de Aranjuez* became the vital heart of Sainz de la Maza's musical career, the reflection of his guitar dream.



“Rodrigo’s *Concierto de Aranjuez* through the Writings of Regino Sainz de la Maza” was first published in Spanish as “El *Concierto de Aranjuez* a través de los escritos de Regino Sainz de la Maza,” in *Nombres propios de la guitarra: Joaquín Rodrigo*, ed. Javier Suárez-Pajares (Córdoba: IMAE Gran Teatro-Ayuntamiento de Córdoba, 2010), 61–102. We are grateful to the author for his generous help in preparing this translation.

1 César de Mendoza Lasalle

[July 31, 1940]

Don Regino Sainz de la Maza

Goya 103

Madrid

Dear Regino,

I hope my letter has found you in Madrid and I trust I will receive a quick response.

I write in regard to your possible invitation to perform at one of our concerts in Barcelona with the Orquesta Filarmónica, in which the Rodrigo concerto will receive its premiere.

The dates for these concerts will be during next November, God willing.

Once I have your acceptance, we will discuss the definitive date and your appearance fee.

With my respects to your wife and kind regards from your friend.

t/c. Zumalacárregui 1, San Sebastián.

7/31/[19]40

2 Regino Sainz de la Maza

Madrid, August 3, 1940

Dear César!

By chance, I found your letter in Madrid. I leave for the mountains of Santander tomorrow. There, I will spend the month of August and part of September.

You know you can count on my support for playing Rodrigo's concerto with you, as well as for further collaborations. I believe that the concerto will require special attention, but if we get it right, as I hope, it will be sensational. You will see.

Please don't hesitate to contact me if you can arrange something else for me next season. I'm worried because I had a North American tour organized, and I'm afraid I'll be foiled.

Have a lovely summer. My best regards to your wife. I've had my wife and kids in town with me for twenty days. Write to me there.

With warm greetings from your unconditional friend.

Sainz de la Maza [signature]

Address:

Cabezón de la Sal

Mazcuerras

Santander

3 César de Mendoza Lassalle

San Sebastian September 17, [19]40
Mr. Regino Sainz de la Maza
Madrid

Dear Regino,

I apologize for the delay in responding to your kind letter of August 3, but I couldn't make up my mind about your concert in Barcelona with me next fall.

The musicians, whether from Madrid or wherever, always do their own thing, and this time I don't know if I still have an orchestra. As soon as I refused to let them swindle me as they had been doing before, all the facilities disappeared, and the inconveniences began.

However, I am ready to give concerts on Saturdays, October 26, November 2, 9, and 16—if not with last year's musicians, then others; but the concerts will take place. I have firmly contracted Thibaud, Arthur Honegger with Elsa Scherz and Franz Josef Hirt, Benedetti, Quiroga, Viñes, and Maurice Marchal.

I can book you for one of the first four concerts that will take place on the dates I have indicated above, and the fee I can offer you is 1,200 pts., the same that I pay Benedetti, Viñes, etc.

If in the end, I can't give the concerts with the orchestra, which I am sure I will arrange as soon as I arrive in Barcelona in the first few days of the month, your concert would take place as a recital because I would open a subscription for the same dates for four recitals. But, of course, if it is with orchestra and you accept that fee, we will do the Rodrigo concerto.

I apologize for not being able to offer you more money, but so far, I have no subsidy for my concerts, so I cannot increase the budget in any way.

I am leaving for France next Friday, and I will thank you for writing me in Pau. Villa Lacroix. I will be there until the end of the month, and I must know your decision.

With regards to your wife and the sincere affection of your good friend.

4 Regino Sainz de la Maza

Madrid Thursday 19 [September 19, 1940?]

Dear César!

I am sorry that the musicians are being so bad to you and disturbing your plans. But, as I do not want to add any concern on my part, I relieve you of your original offer and accept the new *cachet* that you propose to me *without setting a precedent*. I refused the same *cachet* last season to those of the Cultural.

Now, I think you should include me in that first recital subscription and then do the Rodrigo concerto if, as I hope, the musicians listen to reason and do not make a fool of themselves.

I arrived four days ago from the mountains, but I still have no news of what will happen here this year. I only know that Herrera will no longer hold the Teatro Español. It seems that it has been granted to Felipe Lluch and Tomás Borrás.

My respects to your wife and kind regards from your invariable friend.

Regino [signature].

APPENDIX 2 Variances between manuscript sources and the published edition of the *Concierto de Aranjuez*

- GD** Draft of the guitar part. In the private collection of Gonzalo Sainz de la Maza.
RGP Reduction for guitar and piano. In the private collection of Paloma Sainz de la Maza.
PS Published score, fingered by Renata Tarragó, Madrid: Gráficas Agenjo, D. L. 1979.

All variants are described with the published score (PS) as the starting reference. For example, in the first entry, “the two 16th-notes” refers to the 16th-notes in PS.

When notes are mentioned, accidentals are usually omitted.

Table 1: Variants in Movement I (beats refer to 8th-notes)

m.

1	GD	On beats 2 and 5, the two 16th notes appear as four 32nd notes
	RGP	The passage is written as in PS
2	GD	The third chord contains G instead of A
	RGP	The chords appear as in GD , but with accents
3	GD	Beat 2 has four 32nd notes instead of 16th notes, and the last chord contains G instead of A
	RGP	The chords appear as in GD , but beat 2 has 16th notes
4	GD	As in m. 1
	RGP	As in m. 1
5	GD	As in m. 2
	RGP	As in m. 2
6	GD	As in m. 3
	RGP	As in m. 3
7	GD	The first chord contains one more note (A); beat 2 has 32nd notes
	RGP	The chords appear as in PS
8	GD	The first chord contains A
	RGP	The chords appear as in PS , but with accents
9	GD	The first chord contains A; beat 2 has 32nd notes
	RGP	The chords appear as in PS
10	GD	As in m. 7
	RGP	As in m. 7
11	GD	As in m. 8
	RGP	As in m. 8
12	GD	As in m. 9
	RGP	As in m. 9
13	GD	The chords contain A; no A in the bass; 32nd notes on beats 2 and 5
	RGP	The chords appear as in PS
14	GD	The chords contain A; no A in the bass
	RGP	The chords appear as in PS , but with accents
15	GD	The chords contain A; no A in the bass; 32nd notes on beat 2

Variants in Movement I

16	GD	The chords contain A; 32nd notes on beats 2 and 5
	RGP	The chords appear as in PS
17	GD	As in m. 8
	RGP	As in m. 8
18	GD	As in m. 16
	RGP	As in m. 16
19–24	GD	Passage of 8th notes without staccato marking
	RGP	As in GD
55–56	GD	Passage of 8th notes in octaves is missing
	RGP	As in PS
57–58	GD	Passage of 8th notes in octaves is absent
	RGP	Passage of 8th notes appears as in PS
63	GD	Beat 4, 8th-note A in the bass
	RGP	Quarter-note A in the bass
64	GD	Beats 1–3 of the melody are written with a quarter and an 8th note
	RGP	As in PS
65	GD	8th-note A at beat 4 in the bass
	RGP	Quarter-note A appears in the bass
66	GD	The melody has upper mordents before the trill; the chords contain E#
	RGP	Melody as in GD ; chords as in PS
67	GD	The 8th notes are written in one voice
	RGP	As in GD
68	GD	As in m. 66
	RGP	As in m. 66
69–70	GD	As in m. 67
	RGP	As in GD , except that the third 8th note, D, is written an octave higher
72–74	GD	As in m. 67
	RGP	As in m. 67
75	GD	The 8th notes are written in a single voice in triple meter; the passage appears without staccato accents
	RGP	The passage appears as in GD , except without the first low F
77	GD	As in m. 75
	RGP	As in GD
79	GD	The G in the chords is absent
	RGP	As in PS
80	GD	As in m. 67 but 3 + 3
	RGP	As in GD , but in two voices
81	GD	As in m. 79
	RGP	As in PS
82	GD	As in m. 67 but 3 + 3
	RGP	As in m. 80

- 83 **GD** The third 8th note lacks a chord, the A of the bass is an 8th note, and the last 8th note of the measure lacks a G
RGP As in **PS** except for the final 8th note, which is written as a G
- 84 **GD** The D in the bass does not appear, the third 8th note is F, and the last 8th note is a chord (C, D, B)
RGP The dissonances of the 16th notes do not appear, the third 8th note is an F, and the last 8th note is doubled in the lower octave
- 85 **GD** The first chord is written as a quarter note, and the last 8th note appears as an A two octaves lower
RGP The chord on the third 8th note is extended to the next beat
- 86 **GD** Written in a single voice; bass D is absent; a chord appears on the last quarter note (C, D); bass F is written an octave lower
RGP The third note is a harmonic A; the dissonances in the 16th notes are absent; beat 1 has an upper mordent and is written an octave higher; the last quarter note is written as a D
- 87 **GD** Main melody as in **PS**, but an octave lower, the first quarter note appears without ornamentation, and an A quarter note is added; the accompaniment is written in 8th notes
RGP As in **PS**
- 88 **GD** The main melody is written an octave lower, but the fingering indicates that it was played an octave higher; the C♯ of the accompaniment has a high B♭ added
RGP As in **PS**
- 89 **GD** The third 16th note, C♯, has a high B♭ added
- 90 **GD** Written in a single voice
RGP As in **GD**
- 91 **GD** The 8th notes are grouped in threes, without the dotted note, and the first note without ornamentation
RGP As in **GD**, but with the ornamentation of the first 8th note
- 92 **GD** Natural signs are missing from F and C
- 93 **GD** The 8th-notes are grouped in threes and lack staccato marks
RGP As in **GD**
- 94 **GD** Natural signs are missing from F and C
- 95 **GD** F♯ is absent
- 96 **GD** The 8th notes are written in a single voice in groups of 3 with no F♯ or dotted bass line
RGP Only the bass line is grouped in threes, accentuating the fourth 8th note
- 97 **GD** The third and fifth 8th notes do not have a chord
RGP The bass (C♯) is written in dotted quarter notes
- 98 **GD** The first bass note, F♯, is absent; at the third 8th note there is an A; the dissonances are written an octave lower, and the last 8th note has dissonance is written an octave lower
RGP As in **PS**, except that the last 8th note has added an F

Variants in Movement I

- 99 **GD** The accompaniment lacks the chord on the third 8th note, the fourth 8th note is a D, and the last 8th note is written as a C
RGP The bass line has no chords and has the following rhythm: quarter, 8th note, quarter (without a dot)
- 100 **GD** The bass lacks an F quarter note; the third 8th note is beamed with the top voice; the dissonances are written an octave lower; and an accent on the first 16th note is absent. The last 8th note includes a dissonance (E/F) in parentheses
RGP The c♯ on the third 8th note is joined with the main voice; the last 8th note of the bass is an F
- 101 **GD** Main melody as in **PS**, but one octave lower; the first 8th note is without ornamentation; the second voice is written in 8th notes in the higher register (G♭–D♭–A♭–B♭–B♭)
RGP Same passage as in **GD**, but with an ornamentation on the first 8th note of the main voice
- 102 **GD** The main voice of **PS** is not written; the second voice is written an octave higher, adding a B♭ to the second 8th note
- 103 **GD** There is a D♭ in the third 16th note; the F♯ is absent
- 104 **GD** The passage is written in one voice; the G is sharp
RGP As in **GD**, but the G is natural
- 105 **GD** The 8th notes are grouped 3 + 3 without staccato markings
RGP As in **GD**
- 107 **GD** As in m. 105
RGP As in m. 105
- 108 **GD** The 8th notes are grouped 3 + 3 with a B in the last 8th note
RGP As in **PS**, but grouped 3 + 3
- 109 **GD** The upper voice of the chords have descending trills that resolve on the third of each beat
RGP As in **GD**, but without trills
- 110 **GD**¹¹⁸ The 16th-note C lacks the natural
RGP The seventh 16th note has an accent
- 113 **GD** The c♯ of the 16th-note triplet is absent
- 118 **GD** A descending melody in 16th notes appears
- 119 **GD** An E 8th note appears
RGP As in **PS**
- 121 **GD** As in m. 118
- 122 **GD** As in m. 119
RGP As in m. 119
- 123 **GD** An 8th-note chord A, D, G, B, E appears on beats 1 and 4

118 The measure written after 109 does not appear in either **RGP** or **PS**. Both measures have a repeat sign.

Variants in Movement I

- 124 **GD** A half-note chord (A, E, G, C)
RGP Nothing is written
- 125 **GD** A quarter-note chord is written (A, D, G, B, E)
- 132 **GD** As in m. 130
RGP As in **PS**
- 134 **GD** The last 16th note is written an octave lower
RGP As in **PS**
- 135 **GD** The main voice is written as in **PS**, but the bass is in 6/8 (dotted quarters)
RGP The main voice appears in simple triple meter, but the bass is as in **PS**
- 137 **GD** The main voice and the bass are in 6/8
RGP As in **PS**
- 144 **GD** The first chord lacks an A \flat
RGP As in **GD**, but the first chord lacks the E \flat
- 145 **GD** C is natural
RGP C is flat
- 146 **GD** The third triplet is written with E \sharp in 16th notes; the fourth triplet is written with F \sharp in 16th notes
RGP As in **PS**
- 147 **GD** The first chord lacks the high B; beat 2 has a different chord: B, G, B, E, A, C \sharp
RGP As in **PS**
- 150 **GD** The first chord lacks an F \sharp and a D; there is a chord on beat 5
RGP The first chord lacks an F \sharp and a D
- 151 **GD** Beats 4–6 consist of five 16th notes without high D (the last 16th note should presumably be an 8th note)
RGP Beat 6 is an 8th-note B
- 153 **RGP** The last 16th note is a C
- 156 **GD**¹¹⁹ A chord A, D, G, B, E is written as an acciaccatura on both dotted quarter notes; the main chords are written without accents and with a B
- 157 **GD** The second beat consists of four 16th notes (G–F–E–F) and one 8th note (B)
RGP As in **GD**
- 158 **GD** As in m. 156
- 159 **GD** The second beat consists of four 16th notes (G–F–E–F) and one 8th note (D)
RGP As in m. 157
- 160 **GD** Acciaccatura chord (C \sharp , F, B \flat , G) on both dotted quarter notes; in the main chords, high G is missing, as are the accents and the F's natural sign
- 161 **GD** The second half of the measure consists of four 16th notes (B \flat –A–G–F) and one 8th note (E)
RGP As in **GD**
- 162 **GD** The chords are written with a natural A, and the accents are absent

119 There is an extra bar before 156 that is the same as 157.

Variants in Movement I

- 163 **GD** Is written in one voice
RGP As in **GD**
- 172 **GD**¹²⁰ The first and third 16th notes are written an octave higher and the second and fourth an octave lower
- 173 **GD** As in m. 68
RGP As in m. 68
- 174 **GD** As in m. 69
RGP As in m. 69
- 175 **GD** As in m. 70
RGP As in m. 70
- 180 **GD** Grouped 3 + 3
RGP As in **GD**
- 182 **GD** As in m. 180
RGP As in m. 180
- 184 **GD** The chords lack F# and accent signs
RGP As in **GD**
- 185 **GD** Grouped 3+ 3; the chords lack the F# and the accents
RGP As in **GD**
- 187 **GD** As in m. 185
RGP As in m. 185
- 188 **RGP** Beat 4 is accented
- 191 **GD** Beats 5–6, A–B
- 192 **GD** The last 8th notes are written an octave higher
- 194 **RGP** The last beat has only an 8th-note A
- 196 **GD** 3 + 3 with no staccato marks
RGP As in **GD**
- 198 **GD** As in m. 195
RGP As in m. 195
- 200 **GD**¹²¹ A D is added to the chord, and the accents are absent
RGP The chord lacks the note G
- 201 **GD** The passage is written in 6/8; in beats 2 and 4, the bass is doubled at the octave, and the accents are absent
RGP As in **GD**
- 202 **GD** In the first chord, there is an F# in the bass; on the third 8th note, the chord is absent; on the fourth 8th note, there is a Bb; in the fifth 8th note, the chord is absent
RGP The third 8th note is accented, and the fifth 8th note lacks a G
- 203 **GD** The passage is written in one voice; on beat 1, a Bb is absent in the bass, on the third 8th note a D is written, and on the last beat a chord is written; on the last

120 Between mm. 165–66 there is an extra measure, as in m. 165.

121 Between mm. 199–200 of GD there are two extra measures, the same as mm. 200–1.

beat of the main voice there is a D 8th note

RGP A D is written on the third 8th note

204 **GD** The main melody is accompanied by a countermelody (E–C–E) in the first half of the measure; a B \flat appears on beat 4, and a chord is absent on the following beat

RGP The bass consists of C \sharp and G dotted quarter notes

205 **GD** The main voice of the first half of the measure has a countermelody in 8th notes (D \flat –B–D \flat), and the last 8th note is written an octave lower and with a chord

RGP The third 8th note of the bass is written with a D

206 **GD** The main melody includes ornamentation and is written in a lower octave, and has a countermelody in 8th notes (B \sharp –F–C–D–F–D)

207 **GD** The notes D \sharp and F are written on the main voice's first and fourth 8th notes

208 **GD** The third 16th note has an added F \sharp

RGP The passage is written as in **PS**, but an octave higher

209 **GD** The passage is written in two voices; the third 8th note is written an octave higher

RGP As in **GD**, except that the third 8th note is written an octave lower

210 **GD** Grouped 3 + 3 with no staccato marks

RGP As in **GD**

211 **GD** An F appears without the natural

212 **GD** As in m. 210

RGP As in m. 210

213 **GD** Grouped 3 + 3 with no staccato marks; the last 8th note is E

RGP As in **PS**, but without the staccato accents

214 **GD** The chords, without accents, have trills that resolve to a G on beat 3

215 **GD**¹²² The first chord lacks the low E and the accent; the melody in the 16th notes in the second half of the measure is different (A–B \flat –A–G–A–B \flat)

RGP The first chord lacks E \sharp , the accent, and has an 8th-note duration

216 **GD** As in m. 215

RGP¹²³ As in bar 215

217 **GD** The first chord's high E and F \sharp are absent

218 **GD** The F \sharp is absent

232 **GD** There is a low D and a high A in the first chord; there is a low D in the second chord

233 **GD** As in m. 232

234 **GD** As in m. 232

RGP The second 8th note does not have a chord

235 **GD** As in m. 232

RGP As in m. 234

¹²² There are three extra bars between mm. 214–15

¹²³ Measures 217 to 223 are missing in **RGP**

Variants in Movement I

- 236 **GD** The first 8th note has an ornamentation and lacks the staccato markings
RGP As in **GD**
- 237 **GD** No staccato accents
RGP As in **GD**
- 238 **GD** As in m. 236
RGP As in m. 236
- 239 **GD** As in m. 237
RGP As in m. 237
- 242 **GD** As in m. 3
RGP Beats 1 and 4 are accented
- 243 **RGP** The chord is accented

Table 2: Variants in Movement II

- m.
- 2 **GD** The fourth chord contains low E; there is no high E
RGP The fourth chord contains high F#
- 4 **GD** The repeated chord is different from **PS**: E, B, E, G, B, E
RGP The chord is as in **GD**, but without E
- 6 **GD** The same chord is repeated: B, F, B, D, F
RGP As in **GD**
- 7 **GD** The first note has a chord (B, D, B); there is a 16th-note triplet on beat 2
RGP The first note has no chord; there is a 16th-note triplet on beat 2
- 8 **GD** The first note has a chord (B, D, B); beat 2 has no grace note
- 9 **GD** The first chord contains E; beat 2 consists of six 32nd notes (E–E–F–E–D–E) tied to a 16th-note E; the first half of beat 3 has no grace note
RGP As in **GD**
- 10 **GD** The first beat consists of a dotted 8th note and triplet 32nd notes
RGP As in **GD**
- 11 **GD** In beat 1, the second 16th note is not tied to the following 8th note
RGP As in **GD**
- 12 **GD** On beat 3, the chord contains G and D and does not double D or B; the chord on beat 4 also does not double D and includes a G
- 13 **GD** The chord on beat 1 contains no C; the chord on beat 3 includes a C
- 15 **GD** B is not duplicated in the chords on the first and second beats
- 16 **GD** The same chord is written for all four beats (B, F, B, D, F, B)
RGP As in **PS**, except that each chord has a high B
- 17 **GD** On beat 1, there is a dotted 8th-note B; on beat 2, there is a grupetto slurred to a dotted 16th-note B, a 32nd-note A, and a 16th-note B; on beat 3, there are three 16th notes (B–B–C); on beat 4 there is a 16th-note triplet with the note D, followed by two 16th notes (D–C)
RGP As in **PS**

- 18 **GD** On beat 1, there is a dotted 8th-note A; on beat 2, there is an 8th-note A with an acciaccatura G, and in the second half of the beat, a turn (B–A–G) slurred to an 8th-note A; on beat 3,¹²⁴ there is a series of seven 32nd notes (C–C–B–B–A–A–G); on beat 4, there is a series of eight 32nd notes (G–A–A–B–B–C–C–B)
RGP¹²⁵ The first 32nd note has no upper acciaccatura; the second half of beat 1 consists of four 32nd notes (A–B–A–G); beat 2 has four 32nd notes (A–B–A–G) and an 8th note (A); beat 3 has a grace note tied to an 8th-note A that, in turn, is tied to four 16th notes (A–C–C–B); beat 4 as in **PS**
- 19 **GD**¹²⁶ The first beat has eight 32nd notes (B–A–B–C–B–A–B–C); beat 2 has four 32nd notes (G–F–G–A) and an 8th note (G); beat 3 has four 16th notes (G–F–E–D); beat 4 has four 16th notes (E–D–E–F)
- 20 **GD** The first beat consists of a triplet (G–F–E) and a quintuplet (E–D–E–F–G); beat 2 is as in **PS**; beat 3 consists of four 8th notes (B–B–C–D); beat 4 consists of one 8th note (E) and two 16th notes (D–C)
- 22 **GD**¹²⁷ The first beat is as in **PS**; the first half of beat 2 is as in **PS**, but there is a 16th-note triplet in the second half of the beat (two rests and D); beat 3 consists of a 16th-note triplet (E–D–E) joined to an 8th-note E; beat 4 consists of a quarter-note rest
- 23 **GD** The first beat consists of an 8th-note rest and a 16th-note triplet (two rests and an E); there is a 16th-note triplet on beat 2 (F–E–F) tied to an 8th-note F; on beat 3 there is an 8th-note rest and a 16th-note triplet (two rests and an A); on beat 4 there is a 16th-note triplet (B–A–B) tied to an 8th-note B.
- 25 **GD** The quarter-note chords are absent
- 26 **GD** The last 8th note of the main voice (F) is tied to the next measure; the bass repeats the same chord (B, F, A) in quarter notes
- 27 **GD** The first 16th note is tied over from the previous measure; on the last beat, eight 16ths appear (F–G–F–E–F–G–F–E)
RGP The first 16th note is tied over from the previous measure, but the rest is as in **PS**
- 28 **GD** On beat 1, there is an F dotted 8th note, which is completed with four 64th notes (E–F–E–D[♯]); on beat 2, there is a chord (E, G, B, E), and on the rest of the beats there are quarter rests
RGP In beat 1, there is a quarter note chord in the high register (E, G[♯], E); the rest of the beats are rests
- 29 **GD** The fourth 32nd note of beat 1 in the main melody (D) is tied to the following 8th note; the 8th note of beat 4 (F) is tied to the next measure, and the

124 There is a mistake in **PS**, as there is an 8th note tied to four 64th notes. These 64th notes should be 32nd notes to complete the third beat.

125 Measures 19 to 26 do not appear in this manuscript

126 The numerous rewritings of this measure make it difficult to suggest which is the definitive version.

127 Measure 21 is missing in **GD**

same chord is repeated in the bass (A, E, G) in quarter notes

RGP As in **PS**, but without the chordal accompaniment

30 **GD** The first 32nd note is held over from the previous measure; on the last beat, there are eight 32nd notes (E-F-E-D-E-F-E-D)

RGP The first 32nd note is held over from the previous measure, but the rest of the measure is as in **PS**

31 **GD** Beat 1 begins with a dotted 8th-note E, which is completed with four 64th notes (D-E-D-C); on beat 2, there is a chord (D, F, A, D), and the rest of the measure is rests

RGP On beat 1, there is a quarter-note chord (D, D, F, D), and the rest of the measure is rests

32 **GD** The chord on beat 1 has three notes (D-A-C \sharp); the accompaniment of the third and fourth beats consists of four 8th notes (C-A-F-D)

RGP The chord on beat 1 is as in **PS**, but the rest of the measure is as in **GD**

33 **GD** The B \flat and C \sharp are absent from the main voice; in beat 1, there is an A 8th note and 8th-note rest in the accompaniment; the rest of the measure consists of rests

RGP The passage is written without accompaniment

34 **GD** The accompaniment of the third and fourth beats consists of four 8th notes (F-D-B-G)

RGP The passage is written without accompaniment

35 **GD** In the main voice, C, E and F lack accidentals; there is a D 8th note and 8th-note rest in beat 1 of the accompaniment; the remainder of the measure consists of rests

RGP In the main voice, F lacks a natural sign; there is a quarter-note F in beat 1 of the accompaniment; the rest of the measure is rests

37 **GD** The first beat of the bass voice appears with a dotted 8th note tied to the quarter note of the next beat; on beat 4, the fourth 32nd note is accented; the chord of the second half of beat 4 lacks the natural sign for the C, and there is also a G and a low B

RGP In the accompaniment of beat 4, there are two chords (C \sharp , E; F \sharp , C, E)

38 **GD** On beat 1 of the bass voice, there is a dotted 8th note tied to the quarter of the next beat; on the second and third beats, there are chords (E, G, B, E) as accompaniment

39 **GD** The first 16th note of beat 1 lacks the acciaccatura, and the C \sharp accidental on the second 16th note; on beat 2, there are four 16th notes (B-A-G-A); on beat 3 there are two 16th notes (A-B), a triplet of 16th notes (G-G-F) and in the chord, C lacks the natural.

RGP The first 16th note of beat 1 lacks the acciaccatura; the chord of beat 3 is absent

40 **GD** The chord on beat 2 lacks a natural next to the C and includes a low E; the chord on beat 3 lacks a low F

RGP The chords on the second and third beat lack a low F

- 41 **GD** On beat 1 of the bass voice, the second 8th note is tied to a quarter note on the next beat; on beat 4, the C lacks a natural sign; the chords of the second and third beats are E, G, B, E
RGP On the bass voice's first beat, the second 8th note is tied to a quarter note on the next beat
- 42 **GD** On beat 1 of the bass voice, the dotted 8th note is tied to the quarter note of the next beat, where C lacks a natural sign; the chord on beat 3 is written as G, C, E
RGP The chords of the second and third beats are written as E, B, E, G, C, E
- 43 **GD** The first beat of the bass voice lacks a natural next to C, and the dotted 8th note is tied to the quarter note of the next beat; the chords on the second and third beats lack a high E
RGP The chords of the second and third beats lack a high E
- 44 **GD** In the first half, the C lacks a natural
RGP Each note of beat 3 triplet is marked tenuto
- 45 **GD** The chord on beat 2 is written as E, B, F, B, D, E; the chord of beat 4 is written E, C^b, D[#], and E
RGP The chord on beat 2 is as in **GD**, and an E and a low B are added on beat 4
- 46 **GD** A B is added to the chord on beat 2, and the D[#] is absent
RGP The chord on beat 2 is as in **GD**
- 47 **RGP** The quarter note is accented
- 48 **GD** On beats 3 and 4, the 32nd-note Cs lack natural signs
- 49 **RGP** The quarter note of beat 2 is marked with a fermata
- 50 **GD** Written as a measure of silence
- 52 **GD** The first beat lacks a natural next to C; on beat 2, there is an 8th note (D) and four 16th notes (C–D–C–B)
RGP The quarter note of the second half of the measure is marked with a fermata
- 53 **GD** An 8th-note rest and four 32nd notes (F–G–E–F) are written on beat 2
- 64 **GD** The first half of beat 4 consists of two 32nd notes (G–F) and an 8th note (G); the second half of the beat is written the same but an octave lower
- 65–94 **GD** This passage is crossed out, and the last twenty measures are rests
- 65 **RGP** In beat 1, there are two 32nd notes (G–F) and a dotted 8th note (G); the previous motive appears in beat 2 but is written an octave lower
- 67 **RGP** The first quarter note lacks the fermata; beat 2 has four 32nd notes (E–E–F–G)
- 74 **RGP** The first beat appears with four 16th notes (B–D–G–C)
- 76 **RGP** The second half of beat 1 lacks a sextuplet; the fourth half consists of a nonuplet (without lower E)
- 77–80 **RGP** This passage is written in nonuplets (without lower Es)
- 81–83 **RGP** The second half of beat 4 consists of four 32nd notes
- 84 **RGP** The first beat includes a chord: F, F, G, A,

Variants in Movement II

- 96 **GD** The second half of beat 2 consists of one 16th note (F) and two 32nd notes (D–E); the first half of beat 3 consists of two 32nd notes (F–E) and one 16th note (F); beat 4 consists of three 16th notes (E–D–C) and two 32nd notes (D–E)
RGP Beats 3 and 4 as in **GD**
- 97 **GD** The chord of beat 1 includes a G#
- 98 **GD** The fourth beat consists of an 8th-note rest and four 32nd notes (C–D–E–F); the last of these is tied to the next measure
RGP The fourth beat consists of an 8th note and a 32nd note rest, and three 32nd notes (C–D–E)
- 99 **GD** The fourth beat consists of two 32nd notes (F–G), an 8th note (F), and a 16th note (E)
RGP The F 16th note on beat 4 is marked with a fermata

Table 3: Variants in Movement III

- m.
- 4 **GD** A D# is absent from beat 1
- 11 **GD** The bass voice has a C quarter note in beat 2
RGP As in **GD**
- 15 **GD** As in m. 11
RGP As in m. 11
- 16–19 **GD** The main voice is written an octave lower; beat 3 of m. 17 has an F quarter note
RGP As in **GD**
- 20 **GD** The first beat chord is written B, D#, B
- 41 **GD** The inner voices of the chord on beat 1 are F and A
- 45 **RGP** The first beat lacks the low F
- 49 **GD** The second 8th note of beat 1 includes an F, and the 8th-note F of beat 2 is written an octave lower
RGP As in **GD**
- 50 **GD** The chord on beat 1 is written B, F, G, D, B
RGP The chord on beat 1 is written B, G#, B, D, F, B
- 51 **GD** The chord on beat 1 is written B, F, G, D, A
RGP As in **GD**
- 52 **GD** The chord on beat 1 is written B, F, G, D, G#
RGP As in **GD**
- 53 **GD** The chord on beat 1 is written B, F, G, D, F
RGP As in **GD**, but the first 8th note of beat 2 is accented
- 60 **GD** The first 8th-note chord of beat 3 lacks the G#, and an F# is absent from the chord on the second 8th note of the beat
RGP The last 8th note of beat 3 lacks an F#

61	GD ¹²⁸	The chord on beat 1 lacks an A
	RGP	As in GD
65	RGP	The second 8th note of beat 2 is written with a c
66	RGP	The chord of beat 1 is written with an A and lacks a c
67	RGP	As in m. 66
68	RGP	The chord on beat 1 includes an A
69	RGP	The chord on beat 1 includes a c
70–85	RGP	This passage lacks the staccato markings
98	RGP	The chord on beat 1 lacks the G# and E; the chord on beat 2 lacks the c; the third chord lacks the D#
102	RGP	The chord on beat 3 lacks the E \flat
103	RGP	The chord on beat 1 lacks the F \sharp
108	RGP	An E quarter note is written in the bass voice of beat 1
109	RGP	As in m. 108
110	RGP	The main voice in beat 2 is written with an F
111	RGP	The chord on beat 1 lacks an F and a D
121	RGP	The chord on beat 1 lacks an F
129	RGP	The chord on beat 1 lacks a G# and a B
160	RGP	The second beat consists of four 16th notes (A, B, E, and D as a chord, and a B), and beat 3 consists of four 8th notes (F–B–E–B) and an 8th note (E) in the bass
161	RGP	All of the measure's 16th notes are different: F–A–E–A–G–E–F–C–E–A–D#–F
173	RGP	The second beat of the bass voice consists of two 8th notes (D–F)
192	RGP	The first beat of the bass consists of an 8th-note rest and a G; beat 2 is two 8th notes, G–C
197	RGP	The first beat of the bass consists of an 8th-note rest and an F; beat 2 is two 8th notes, B–D
229–37	RGP	The accent on beat 1 is absent from these measures
248–56	RGP	The accent on beat 1 is absent from these measures
267	RGP	The chord on beat 1 lacks an accent; the second half of beat 2 includes a c
268	RGP	The chord on beat 1 lacks an accent
269	RGP	The chord on beat 1 lacks an accent and a D
270	RGP	The chord on beat 1 lacks an accent, and the notes are D and A
271	RGP	As in m. 267
272	RGP	As in m. 268
273	RGP	As in m. 269
274	RGP	The 8th-note As in the bass are absent
275	RGP	As in m. 267
276–79	RGP	These measures have no accent on beat 1
286	RGP	The last four 16th notes of beat 1 sextuplet are written D–C–G–D; the last five 16th notes of beat 2 sextuplet are written C–G–D–A–E

¹²⁸ The remainder of the GD manuscript is lost.

- 287 **RGP** In beat 1, the last four 16th notes of the sextuplet are written A–D–A–E; on beat 2, the last three 16th notes of the sextuplet are written D–A–E
- 319–21 **RGP** The first-beat quarter notes lack the staccato markings

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About the Author

LEOPOLDO NERI holds a PhD in Musicology from the University of Valladolid. The Barcelona Conservatory has awarded him its Premio Extraordinario Fin de Carrera (Extraordinary End of Career Award), specializing in guitar. While his work has followed several lines of research in twentieth-century Spanish music, he devotes special attention to the history of the guitar. He has been a visiting researcher at the City University of New York and has been awarded both the Chitarra d’Oro at the Convegno Internazionale de Chitarra de Milán and the Medal of the Andrés Segovia Foundation. He directs the collection Nueva Biblioteca de Música para Guitarra “Regino Sainz de la Maza” and is codirector of the scientific organ of the Sociedad Española de la Guitarra, the journal *Roseta*. Last year he published the biography of the guitarist Regino Sainz de la Maza, *De ideales y melancolías* (Piles, 2023).

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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