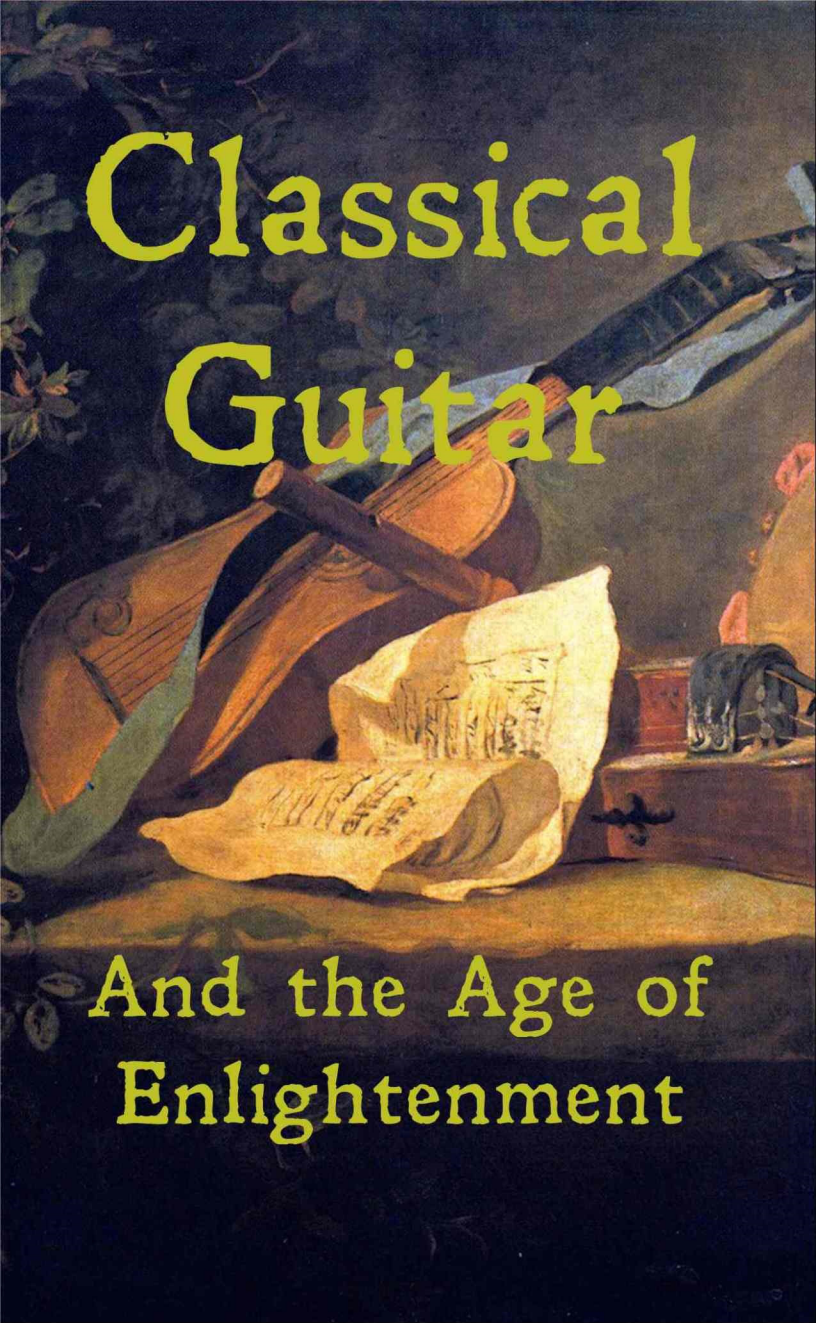
Classical Guitar



And the Age of Enlightenment

CLASSICAL GUITAR AND THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

by

Peter Dunbaugh Smith

front cover: detail from "Musical Instruments and a Basket of Fruit" (1732) by Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin (1699-1779)

back cover: detail from "Still Life with Musical Instruments" (17th C.) by Bartolomeo Bettera (1639-c.1688)

Uncaptioned images are sourced from Fernando Sor's *"Methode pour la Guitare,"* 1830.

Classical Guitar
and the Age of Enlightenment

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* Special Online Edition *

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"Was ist Aufklarung?" [1]
by Immanuel Kant (1784)

Enlightenment is mankind's emergence from its own self-inflicted immaturity. Immaturity is the inability to understand without guidance from someone else. It is self-inflicted when caused, not by a lack of understanding, but by an absence of resolve and courage to use that understanding without guidance from another. The motto of the Enlightenment is therefore:

Sapere aude! Dare to know!

Possess the courage to use your own personal understanding.

---

1 "What is Enlightenment?"

Foreword:
The Legacy of Printed Music

It's impossible to discuss music history before Edison, or to address any topic at all concerning Early Modern Europe without stumbling over a few printing presses. Traditional music communities are destined to follow an incessantly shifting *habitus*, but printed texts persist immutably. They present the fixed frame of a visual culture, one that enables ephemeral performance to survive from one generation into the next.

On the surface, these music books may appear to be the obsolete artifacts of a pioneering mass production industry, but they still function as they were originally intended to. Because of this, they retain their unique power to delight and to enrich.

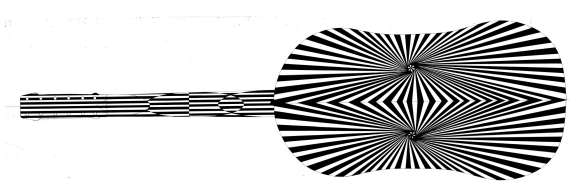
This technology, this technique, this transcription of meaningful sounds into printed visual images and then back again, has been encouraging musicians to engage in long and deep conversations with their illustrious predecessors for well over five hundred years now. Living, breathing initiates must transform silent symbols into sound by embodying music, by re-enacting it, by relating it to and through themselves in a rite of reverence that evokes a sacred resurrection ritual. Scripture is thus made manifest.

This ongoing proposition of translation, preservation, and transformation can never be flawless. However, it continues to open a beautiful window into the musical world of humankind's not-too-distant past, a world where nights

were lit only by fire and music was enveloped in silence.

The book you hold in your hand is an effort to plug the many holes left at the center of an earlier sojourn. Penitential revisions, additions, and excisions aspire to rectify this retelling of a fascinating story.

P. D. Smith,
April 2023



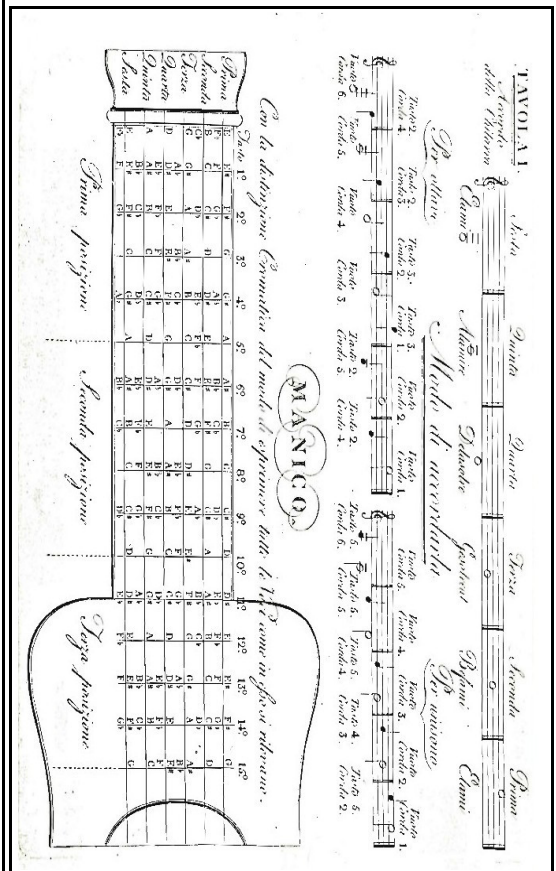


Illustration from Federico Moretti's *"Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis órdenes"* 1798

Classical Guitar and the Age of Enlightenment

It was a transformative epoch in the history of Western civilization, and scholars continue to characterize the Enlightenment by means of its more familiar, yet descriptive nickname: "The Age of Reason." It was an era when the methods of science provided an effective language for communicating humankind's experience of a shared material reality. It was an age that witnessed the establishment of, not just the physical sciences, but the social sciences, liberal humanism, and the world's first modern democracies. It was also the historical moment that gave birth to the musical instrument that we now recognize as, the CLASSICAL GUITAR.

Foundational changes influenced almost every aspect of European society and culture. Music, too, was subject to its own radical transformations. New concepts germinated fertile seeds that blossomed during those tumultuous early decades of the eighteenth century, ideas that soon would bear nutritious fruit, as the years moved forward.

Ancient doctrines and practices of a nominally unified Renaissance Christian Church had already been vigorously, and even violently challenged by Protestant reformers. One consequence was the widespread loss of financial support for composers of liturgical music.

Meanwhile, the decentralized warrior kingdoms of Medieval Europe had coalesced into

absolute national monarchies, situating irresistible political power in the divine right of hereditary kings to rule their far-flung subjects. Music increasingly became an essential element in the ritual celebration of this new sense of royal prestige.

Even the foundational concepts upon which human knowledge had previously been based were rapidly transforming, as intellectuals progressively turned away from uncritical acceptance of inherited teachings from traditional authorities. New generations of scholars sought to establish their understanding of the world through objective logic,

"Nothing is more beautiful than a guitar, save perhaps two"
...Frédéric Chopin

human rationality, and evidence derived from observed experience. These, and other optimistic (or some might argue, hubristic) perspectives encouraged novelty and creativity in the musical practices of this new era. Increasingly composers became intrepid explorers, mapping out unknown territories, seeking out fresh combinations of sounds, and adopting influential new formal structures, all while reinventing the art of musical expression.

Important musical innovations had already emerged during the Early Modern period, just preceding the Enlightenment. Baroque techniques such as the development of MONODY (a single dominant melody with supporting secondary accompaniment), resu-

lted in entirely new genres of musical expression. The most influential of these was OPERA. As early as the 1630s, the opening of Venice's first public opera house indicated music's slowly emerging financial independence from exclusive patronage by the Church or the Royal courts, and began to outline the rudimentary foundations of economic support for music as a more populist form of cultural expression.

A novel system of tuning, known as EQUAL TEMPERAMENT, helped expand the harmonic vocabulary of composers by empowering them to create musical works that could be founded upon any tonal center, or key.

The traditional practice of COUNTERPOINT, the art of combining multiple melodic subjects into

a single coherent unified musical expression, had reached a significant pinnacle of achievement during this early period. Evidence can be found in the lasting prestige enjoyed by a highly structured formal design known as the FUGUE.

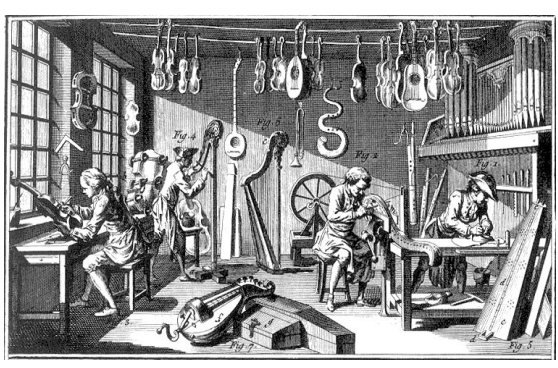
This was also a time when the art of purely instrumental music was just beginning to flower, and instrumentalists were increasingly liberated from their secondary role as subordinate accompanists to the human voice. Development of the musical genre known as the CONCERTO displayed this new language of tonality to great effect. These works featured a solo instrumental virtuoso (or a small group of instrumentalists, as in the CONCERTO GROSSO form) whose performances

were contrasted with those of the full instrumental ensemble (the *tutti),* to create a sophisticated conversation among the various instruments. Compositions by the Italian violinist, **Antonio Vivaldi** (1678-1741) include a charming concerto for LUTE, which remains among the most widely performed works in today's classical repertoire (although it's surpassed in popularity by the same composer's own, even more famous, "Four Seasons" concerti for violin and string orchestra).

Innovative experiments in musical instrument design resulted in extraordinarily high levels of craftsmanship during this era. This was best characterized in the development of the modern violin by luthiers from the Cremona region of Italy, and

embodied in the pioneering work of the Amati, Guarnari, and Stradivari families. I would certainly be remiss here, if I neglected to mention the fact that **Antonio Stradivari** (1644-1737) of Cremona constructed some of the most exquisite examples of the BAROQUE GUITAR ever made, alongside the prized violins for which his workshop is still so renowned.

As musical istruments, guitars of this era still reflect many



"Luthier's Workshop," from Diderot and D'Alembert's *"Encyclopedie"*

"Stringed Musical Instruments," engraving from *"l'Encyclopedie"*

of the characteristics they inherited from their numerous ancestors. During the earlier Medieval and Renaissance periods, the LUTE had been adapted from the UD, a plucked instrument popular in Arabic-speaking regions of the Iberian Peninsula. The addition of frets to the fingerboard was the most notable innovation during this stage of its development.

As music of the Renaissance gave way to baroque styles of the Early Modern era, fretted stringed instruments evolved into a variety of different designs, including many widely adopted instruments such as the popular VIHUELA, the CITTERN, and the Italian GUITARRA BATTENTE. The latter is seen as a direct predecessor to the baroque guitar.

Robert de Visée (c.1660-1732) was a gifted composer and performer who was an effective advocate for the instrument that would, only later, be named with the adjective "baroque" as a prefix. In his own time, it was referred to simply as a guitar (or more specifically, one of its regional variants, such as *guitarra*, *guitarre*, *chitarra*, etc.). At this stage, the instrument could be recognized by its five courses of double strings, as opposed to the six individual strings of its modern successor. These strings were fabricated out of "catgut" derived from animal intestines (primarily from sheep). This practice continued until the invention of nylon strings in the mid-twentieth century.

Historically, de Visée first appears as a member of the

French court at Versailles in service to the illustrious Bourbon king, Louis XIV. As such, de Visée found himself at the center of an incredibly dynamic cultural milieu, one that provided Europe with a widely emulated model of artistic celebration in service of aristocratic splendor.

Louis had founded the *Académie des Sciences* in 1666. As one of Europe's earliest learned academies, this institution positioned the French court at the forefront of developments in scientific thought and practice, and provided one of the nurseries that would nurture the emerging ideologies of the Enlightenment. Three years later, the king established the *Académie Royal de Musique* (often referred to as the *Opéra*), which oversaw the sump-

tuous musical events held at the palace of Versailles.

The baroque guitar had long played a central role in entertainments at Louis' court. **Jean-Baptiste Lully** (1632-1687), the king's Italian-born Royal Composer and second director of his music academy, played the guitar. **Francesco Corbetta** (c. 1615-1681), another Italian, was also an influential guitarist during those early years. Corbetta was prized as a distinguished ornament to the French court, and later served as guitar teacher to Princess Anne of England (prior to her coronation as Queen Anne, ruler of Great Britain.

Although there is no direct documentation, de Visée was ru-

Engraving from *"Essai sur la Musique"* by Jean-Benjamin de la Borde (1780)

mored to have been Corbetta's student. Of particular note concerning our topic at hand is the fact that, among the powerful "Sun King's" numerous and varied interests, Louis XIV was also an enthusiastic amateur guitarist.

> ***"The guitar is a wonderful instrument, which is understood by few."***
>
> **...Franz Schubert**

Initially employed as a chamber singer, de Visée's position was soon re-designated to that of instrumentalist. As a chamber musician, he would have been responsible for music during the royal family's more private moments, in addition to contributing to the gala public spectacles at court. He was eventually appointed *Maitre de Guitarre du Roi* (King's

Guitar Master) in 1719 by fourteen year-old King Louis XV (Louis XIV's great-grandson). It's revealing to consider that, along with de Visée's numerous other responsibilities, he also served as music teacher for the royal children. Just a few years earlier, the teenaged *dauphin* who had recently been crowned King of France could have been found among de Visée's young music students.

The following passages are translated from de Visée's second book of guitar compositions, published in 1686. These provide important insights into the relationship between musicians of this early period and their royal patrons.

Sire,

The generosity with which Your Majesty received my first

book for the Guitar, which I had the honor of presenting him, has encouraged me to work diligently on the composition of these pieces. I hope Your Majesty favors them with his patronage, since my intention is only, if I can, to increase his happiness by entertaining him during those moments when the incessant occupation with the good and the tranquility of your subjects releases its hold. But Sire, the perfect knowledge you have of all things gives me reason to be concerned that if I haven't been responsive to the delicacy of your taste, I can never be completely happy with the success of my design; yet I will at least have had the advantage of demonstrating my profound honor and respect. Sire To Your Majesty, the

very humble, very obedient, and very faithful servant and subject,
R. de Visée

After the swooning compliments of his introductory panegyric to the king, the composer soon gets down to the serious business of teaching his audience (presumably Louis XIV himself) how best to interpret the musical works contained therein.

We must stroke down with the fingers of the right hand and soften the thumb ending the strumming, making it last as long as the note is required, to maintain the harmony when there are distinct melodies at various points, as you see. Do not touch the strings directly on the places that are marked so, and you will also find at the end of most of

these parts I have written in music with treble and bass to satisfy those who want to use this book for other instruments.

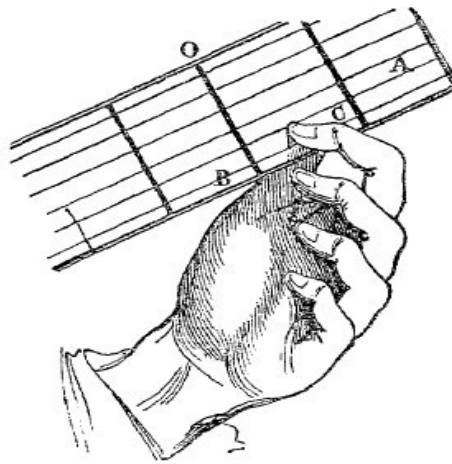


FIG. 10.

Although one of De Vise's intentions in these passages is to clarify the mechanics of guitar performance, it's revealing to note that his language defers to more aesthetic concerns rather than simply to brute technique.

The human attributes of happiness, entertainment, and satisfaction are the implied ends of his efforts, rather than to establish a musical technique that is derived strictly from the laws of nature, as we'll see outlined in method books by a later generation of guitarists.

De Visée's best remembered compositions were structured using a formal design he had inherited from Lully and Corbetta, known as the BAROQUE DANCE SUITE. This form was popular in the French court, perhaps because it allowed for extended instrumental compositions to be built from smaller, more familiar binary patterns. These were collections of numerous short sections, (or MOVEMENTS), each one based upon a particular dance

rhythm. Frequently. composers of suites would feature a series of dances taken from various national traditions, which together, represent a musical tour of Europe. The *Allemande* was a German dance, the *Gigue* (or Jig) was from the British Isles, the *Bourrée* and the *Minuet* were from France, the *Sarabande* from Spain, and so on. These dance movements were unified stylistically or thematically, and were often tied together through a freely composed introductory movement known as a PRELUDE.

Another influential composer for baroque guitar was the Spanish musician, **Santiago de Murcia** (1673-1739). At the turn of the eighteenth century, we find him serving the court of King Filippe V (the first Bourbon king

of Spain and grandson to Louis XIV of France) as *"Maestro de Guitarra"* and instrument-maker for Maria Luisa of Savoy, the Queen of Spain. An expression of de Murcia's broad historical perspective for choosing appropriate guitar repertoire is evident in his published collections for the instrument, which juxtapose pieces from different periods alongside compositions of varied stylistic character. The suite's foregrounding of international variety enabled de Murcia to express his own scholarly interest in the history of plucked stringed instruments as well, exhibited through the eclecticism of his transcriptions and published compositions. Two among de Murcia's few surviving baroque guitar manuscript collections were dis-

covered in Mexico, and another one was recently found in Chile (although it's unlikely that the guitarist ever visited either continent).

In his introduction to the collection, *"Resumen de a Compañar la Parte Con la Guitarra"* ("Summary of Accompaniment with the Guitar"), Murcia exhibits a posture of humble demeanor that would certainly have been appropriate when addressing august personages, such as his royal audience:

Santiago de Murcia, Master of the Guitar to the Queen, Our Lady, Doña María Luisa Gabriela of Savoy, Whom may God keep. In the year 1714.

Dear Reader, The prologue is as necessary in any book which

is printed as is the address in any letter which is written; these have to say to whom they are sent, and I have to explain for whom my work is intended. Assuming such unavoidable circumstances, I will go on to say that in having laid open these pages, I have as my sole end my wish to encourage the taste of aficionados of the guitar, giving them, with novelty, the most appropriate incentive for application. To those of this persuasion, the book which now sees the light of day is offered. And in case I do not achieve in it that which may merit their esteem, it will be well that they understand that I bestow some merit on it with the knowledge of my shortcomings; and that it is not my fault that those who favor me have judged it with their own

partiality. At their request, my modest labors are today brought out for public judgment. I assume that those who know me will believe without compulsion that I set about this task intending to please, not craving applause...

Later, de Murcia articulates his creative intention to discover new and untrodden musical ground, in an effort to fill stylistic vacuums not already occupied by competing composers for the instrument. He notes, in particular, that he defers to the work of others who specialize in a form known as the PASSACAGLIA (or passacaille), in which the melodic content is varied over a repeated bass line.

...In the second treatise, which is written out in tabula-

ture, the skill of the aficionado, and the pleasure of the listener will find a variety of pieces, following the present fashion, including French dances and contradances, different minuets and canciones, and for those who may be advanced, several difficult works of some originality. I have not included any passacailles, because of the many that there are written on them with great skill by well-known composers. Nor have I detained myself in explaining the ornaments which are executed in playing, which are the salt of that which is played...

In an approach similar to that of de Visée, de Murcia demonstrates a deference to the aesthetic effects of his technical choices, rather than a strict impo-

sition of technique over style. Notably, he encourages the true "aficionado" of the guitar to seek inspiration for melodic ornamentation (trills, mordents, etc.) by listening to the works of other respected composers. Here, he may have been referring to one of a number of sophisticated compositions by the Spanish baroque guitarist **Gaspar Sanz** (1640-1710), professor of Music at the University of Salamanca and guitar instructor to Don Juan of Austria.

> *"The guitar is the instrument most complete and richest in its harmonic and polyphonic possibilities.*
>
> **...Manuel de Falla**

German musician, **Johann Sebastian Bach** (1685-1750) was certainly one of the defining

composers of this era (or of any era, in the esteem of his many ardent admirers), but he never composed works that were specifically designated for baroque guitar. However, early in his career while he was in the service of music-loving amateur cellist, Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Köthen, Bach composed a number of characteristic solo suites and sonatas for cello, violin, flute, and lute. Many of these have been made available to subsequent generations of guitarists through excellent transcriptions, and over the years, these pieces have earned a central position in the performance literature for classical guitar. A brilliant interpretation of the *Chaconne* movement from Bach's second violin partita recorded by the twentieth-century

master, **Andrés Segovia** (1893-1987) represents a notable high-water mark among virtuoso guitar performances.

Similarly, Bach's second-oldest son, **Carl Phillippe Emmanuel Bach** (1714-1788) left posterity with no compositions specifically written for the guitar, but his works for keyboard broke free from the highly-structured formality of his father's mature style, and reflected a more passionate and ornamental mode of expression, illustrated through the descriptive term, *style galant.* C. P. E. Bach's teaching and innovations inspired a younger generation of musicians, most notably **Franz Joseph Haydn** (1732-1809) and **Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart** (1756-1791), to usher in a distinctive new age in music.

"There's nothing remarkable about it. All one has to do is hit the right note at the right time and the instrument plays itself."
—J. S. Bach

When academic musicologists use the term CLASSICAL in reference to a particular musical era, they are referring specifically to this period (roughly between the deaths of J. S. Bach in 1750 and Ludwig van Beethoven in 1827). The term BAROQUE is used to define the predominant European musical practices prior to this period and the word ROMANTIC helps us characterize music of the era that would soon follow, instantly recognizable by its ever-increasing tonal experimentation in pursuit of ever-more sublime emotional expressions.

The six-string CLASSICAL GUITAR completed the final stages of its development during the last decades of the eighteenth century. By the late 1790s, it was well on its way to becoming one of the most widely adopted fretted instruments in Western Europe, as indicated by its frequent presence in cosmopolitan concert halls and fashionable salons.

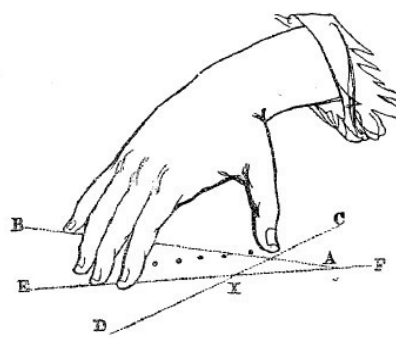


FIG. 9.

Somewhere between 1776 and 1779 in the Italian city of Naples, a luthier named **Gaetano Vinaccia** (1759-c.1831) built what

is perhaps the earliest extant example of a six-string guitar. In 1792, just a few years later, another Neapolitan, **Federico Moretti** (1769-1839) published the guitar's first six-string method book, "*Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis órdenes*" ("Principles for Playing the Six String Guitar"). Moretti had solved the problem of the new instrument's increased range by adopting a single FIVE-LINE STAFF, with additional ledger lines for higher and lower pitches to notate his lessons. Prior to this innovation, guitar music had primarily been notated analogically, through TABULATURE, with horizontal lines representing strings, and numbers positioned to represent frets. Since Moretti, guitar music has been inscribed using essentially

the same system of symbolic notation used by other orchestral instruments (often alongside the older tabulature system).

In addition to the A, D, G, B, and E courses of strings that characterized its immediate predecessors, a bass E string was included to extend the lower range. Double courses of strings were replaced with single strings, and the modern instrument was finally realized. Interestingly, there are numerous extant examples of older five-course instruments that had been modified to accommodate the new trend.

Fig. 6.

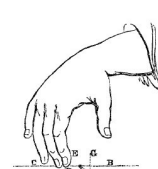
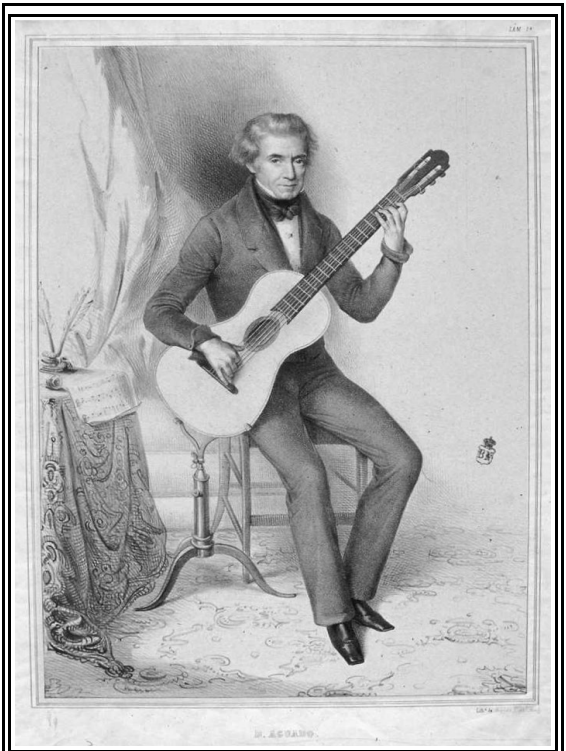


Fig. 7.



Portrait of guitarist Dionysio Aguado,
from his *"Escuela de Guitarra"* 1825
(note his use of a guitar brace)

Guitars at this stage remained somewhat small and retained a thin-waisted outline. The standard classical guitar profile, the one that is so familiar today, would not appear until the early 1850s when, out of his small workshop in Seville, the Spanish luthier **Antonio de Torres Jurado** (1817-1892) introduced larger-bodied instruments with fan-braced tops that allowed for greater sound volume.

Six-string innovations began primarily in Italy, Spain, and France, then were soon embraced by England and Germany. Perhaps the earliest of the new instruments to cross the Atlantic Ocean was acquired in Paris by Thomas Jefferson, one of the central figures of the American Enlightenment movement, while

he served as ambassador to France. He purchased the guitar in 1788 for his daughter Maria, and brought it back to Monticello when they returned home to the United States. Evidence supporting the fact that this was a six stringed instrument can be found in an autograph manuscript, which features an outlined tuning schematic, along with a few brief musical examples. Between 1776 and 1816, Jefferson's personal accounts often noted the purchase of guitar strings, along with various other fretted musical instruments.

Yet another pioneering guitarist from the musically fertile Italian city of Naples, was **Ferdinando Carulli** (1770-1841). He had been a student of the cello before discovering the six-string guitar

at the age of twenty. Self-taught, he concertized a path throughout Italy and Europe before settling down in Paris in the Spring of 1808. Carulli went on to compose and publish over four hundred works for guitar, and served as a much sought-after teacher in the "city of light."

Portrait of Ferdinando Carulli by Julien Léopold Boilly, from his *"Methode"*

During those early days of the Industrial Revolution, revenue from the sale of printed sheet music was increasingly becoming an important part of a professional musician's income. Many ambitious young Italians discovered that they needed to leave their homes on the peninsula in order to achieve financial success elsewhere. Guitarist and composer **Filippo Gragnani** (1768–1820), a friend of Carulli's from a family of celebrated luthiers in Livorno, settled in Paris sometime around 1810. Two future rivals, **Matteo Carcassi** (1796–1853) from Florence, arrived in 1815, then **Francesco Molino** (1768–1847) from Ivrea (near Turin), became a permanent resident of Paris just a few years later. Similar patterns of

migration would play out over and over again, as one after another, accomplished guitarists left Italy for cities with thriving publishing industries, cosmopolitan places like Paris, London, and Vienna.

Carulli adopted a formal design known as the GUITAR SONATA to structure many of his solo guitar compositions. Like the baroque suite, these compositions were initially conceived as substantial multi-movement instrumental works. The sonata was an extremely flexible musical form, and, throughout the nineteenth century, it would evolve into a wide variety of complex and idiosyncratic designs.

The Italian term *sonata* had been widely used since the early baroque period, and it simply

meant "sounding" (as opposed to *cantata*, "singing"). Soon after his arrival in Paris, we discover Carulli using both a two movement sonata structure (slow/fast) and a three part design (fast/slow /fast). Interestingly, Carulli seldom included an additional MINUET AND TRIO movement, despite the four movement sonata structure that was so popular in Vienna at the time.

In the sonata form, melodic themes could be introduced in exposition, developed through variation (often in contrasting keys), and then recapitulated to create a pattern of harmonic tension and release. Consonance and dissonance, temporized through repetition and variation, enabled composers to design a subconscious musical experience that

modeled an emotional journey outward, and then a return home.

Despite this, Carulli's earliest creative efforts still maintained the aesthetic of PURE MUSIC, as practiced by prior generations of instrumental music composers. The beauty of a piece should be revealed only through the proportionality of its parts to the whole, like a dense and transparent jewel, carved not in stone, but in sound and time. A piece of music's virtues should derive solely from the unfolding logic of its melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic structures, and from those internal relationships that constitute the composition itself. This definition of beauty wasn't expressed through the telling of a musical story or in the painting of a sonic picture, but simply

through a composition's architecture, through the thing itself.

Carulli's preface to the 1822 supplement to his popular method book exhibits a number of core Enlightenment values. His basic methodological approach is derived from the theme of privileging observed experience over inherited tradition, and we can see him applying the concept of incremental change to the improvement of his own instructional content. Indeed, this parallels the progressive lessons that he proposes for his students.

...I take advantage of the occasion for the third time, to make the changes and additions that experience tells me are necessary to benefit the study of the guitar. In this new edition of my Method, I took great care to

present the student, and with great difficulty propose, to show the proper execution with as many examples as possible. I may have finally achieved the purpose which I have always proposed to myself, and hope I deserve the approval of lovers of an instrument, which does not yield to any other when it is understood with the art to obtain the effects of which it is uniquely susceptible.

Despite growing competition, Carulli would remain one of Paris' most pre-eminent guitarists over the course of his long career. He was fortunate, early on, to have secured reliable patrons, which insured that he continued to enjoy an active calendar as a performer and teacher. His reputation helped maintain the city's centrality in the devel-

opment of, what soon became, a rapidly growing international guitar culture.

Fig. 12.

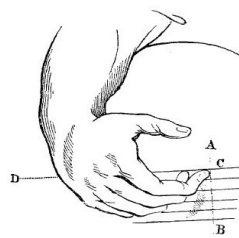


Fig. 13.

In those years, the Italian city of Naples was occupied and ruled by the Kingdom of Spain. Federico Moretti would become *Capitan degli Esercite delle Reales Guardias Walonas*, and served as an officer under the Spanish crown. In 1798, he rededicated the second edition of *"Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis órdenes,"* to the Queen of Spain, Maria Luisa. Soon, the

cover sheet of the London publication of his third opus would describe him as, "Brigadier General Frederick Moretti, Colonel of the Foreign Legion in the Service of His Catholic Majesty, Ferdinand 7th, Member of the Philharmonic Academy of Bologna, and of the Royal Music Conservatories of Naples, etc., etc."

Moretti's military service took him to Spain where a young guitarist from Barcelona by the name of **Fernando Sor** (1779-1839) first heard Moretti's innovative Neapolitan approach to the instrument, through the friend of a friend. Years later, in the introduction to his own method, Sor remembered, *"I heard one of his accompaniments performed by a friend of his. The progression of the bass, as well as the parts of*

the harmony which I distinguished, gave me a high idea of his merit. I consider him the flambeau that illuminates the wandering steps of guitarists."

Sor was an ardent supporter of Napoleon and fought in the army of Joseph Bonaparte, who had become king of Spain. After the fall of the Napoleonic regimes, Sor fled Spain to find a new home in Paris, where support for his music led to extensive concert tours throughout the cultural centers of Europe. After visits to Moscow and a prolonged stay in England, he returned to Paris, which remained his home until his death. Although he composed for a variety of vocal and instrumental ensembles, it is through his numerous solo com-

positions for the six-string guitar that he is best remembered.

Portrait of Fernando Sor, engraving from his *"Methode pour la Guitare"*

Sor's career, like that of Carulli, straddled the opaque boundary between the classical era and the romantic period. His most memorable guitar composi-

tions were characterized by an orchestral conception that enabled him to exploit the expanded harmonic palette of romanticism, always in the service of greater emotional expression. It's clear that we have to acknowledge Sor's "proto-romantic" tendencies, while simultaneously recognizing his deep classical *bona fides.*

If Moretti was the "flambeau," then Sor had become the fuel. Virtuoso performances by the expatriate Spaniard continued to stoke the fires of this growing cultural movement. Years later, the Parisian guitarist, **Charles de Marescot** (1790-1842) would call the phenomenon, *"Guitaromania."* After each concert, Sor left behind excited communities of aspiring musicians, all

eager to take up the six-string guitar. He almost single-handedly effected its widespread adoption throughout Great Britain.

As we have seen, the progressive arc of personal and musical development for Sor and his immediate contemporaries occurred against the background of a series of significant historical events. Together, these triggered a complete realignment of political, social, and cultural norms, upending ingrained patterns of behavior that had, for centuries, supported the basic ideological foundations of European civilization.

The French Revolution, the rise and fall of Napoleon, and the subsequent re-establishment of the Bourbon kings were more than distracting background

noises for musicians who relied heavily upon the beneficence of royal patronage to earn their livelihood. One unplanned consequence of these events, was an elaborate rearrangement of the function of public music-making within the recently reconstituted institutions of this new social order.

Treatises published by Enlightenment philosophers, including that famous group of writers who inspired the 1751 creation of *l'Encyclopédie*, had helped disseminate radical new ideological perspectives, ones which reconsidered the fundamental aspects of human nature. Voltaire, D'Alembert, Denis Diderot, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau provided the intellectual scaffolding for transformational new political

movements, united through the motto *"Egalité, Liberté, et Fraternité!"* (equality, liberty and brotherhood). Revolutionary ideas surrounding national governance emerged from influential books by John Locke and Charles de Montesquieu. The possibility of new economic relations was investigated by Adam Smith, and more humane concepts of justice were articulated by Cesare Beccaria. Even the traditional nature of relations between humanity and divinity had been profoundly challenged by David Hume, Immanuel Kant, and many others.

"Weary of playing the Spanish lover, and having no guitar, I determined to write to Mademoiselle."

—Jean-Jacques Rousseau

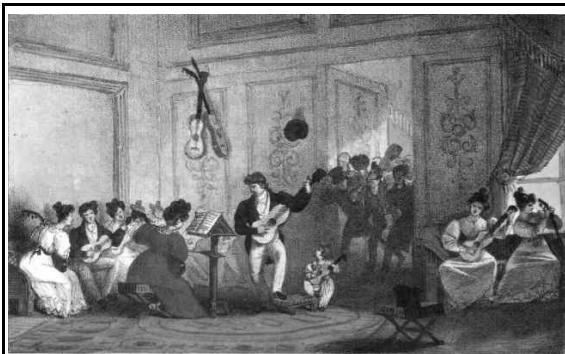
Perhaps the most immediately consequential of these ideas, was the innovative concept of human equality. Its powerful political implications were on display in the revolutions of the late eighteenth century, and in the subsequent adoption of democratic institutions and ideals. Significantly, equality of social condition also implied an egalitarianism of artistic competence. A fundamental question could finally be posed; "Who is better qualified to judge the merits of a musical composition, the aristocratic prince of a realm or the trained musician in his service?" Increasingly, musicians began to assert their newfound aesthetic authority, and to express the unique and singular nature of their individualism.

The status, influence, and even the lives of many of their aristocratic patrons, however, had been shaken to the very core, particularly after an initial revolutionary optimism transformed France, and then found new public expression in bloody political vengeance (with the guillotine providing a painful cæsura, incisively separating the old from the new). Regions of Europe beyond the courtly centers of culture, places which had previously remained unexposed to Enlightenment thoughts and movements, were aggressively introduced to them by Napoleon's post-revolutionary armies. The old system of feudalism, was fading fast.

While there still remained a few "enlightened despots" with the economic resources and artis-

tic inclinations to support large-scale musical ensembles, a new audience, consisting primarily of affluent professionals and merchants, who would constitute an emerging bourgeois class, began to provide financial support for musicians. The opera and the subscription concert became populist alternatives to the courtly *musicale*. Public concert halls and private salons soon hosted small ensembles of musicians and soloists. These were available to anyone who could afford to pay the price of admission (and who owned or could borrow an appropriate outfit of clothing). While the historical origins of classical chamber music still resonate with the echoes of those leisurely moments of aristocratic royal intimacy, we can easily under-

stand why the character of its audiences changed so rapidly, after the revolutions.

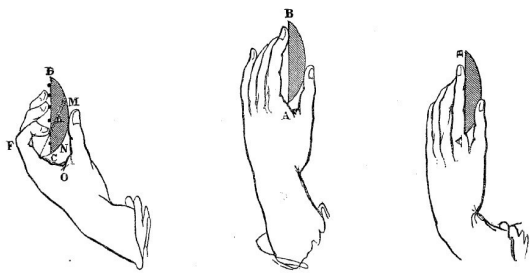


"Guitaromania," illustration from Charles de Marescot's, *"La Guitaromanie"* 1820

A number of Fernando Sor's solo compositions explored the creative possibilities offered by a formal design that had long been popular among solo performers, a form known as THEME AND VARIATIONS. Melodic variation had always been an important method of expanding upon the creative possibilities of a particu-

lar musical idea. The popularity of operatic themes, with their devoted and growing new audience, provided a fertile resource for familiar melodies upon which a composer might build new works. The basic idea of the theme and variation form was that the composition would progressively unfold, beginning with a simple statement of the thematic melody. Then the composer would restate the melody again and again, each time transforming it by using one or more of a variety of techniques. The rhythm of a piece might be modified (perhaps through expansion or diminution of the melody, or accompaniment), or the meter might be changed from 3/4 to 4/4, or some other variation. If the theme was stated first in a major

key, a simple variant might be to repeat it in a minor key. Hypothetically, the possibilities for expanding upon a theme by using this open structure were limited only by a composer's imagination.



One of Sor's most frequently performed compositions is his ninth opus, a set of variations on an interpretation of the theme, *"O Cara Armonia"* from Mozart's 1789 opera *"Die Zauberflöte"* ("The Magic Flute"), published in 1821 in London. An introductory movement functions in the manner of a theatrical overture, which is then followed

by a basic, but charming, expository statement of his nascent theme. Sor then explores a variety of rhythmic and harmonic possibilities, with each movement showcasing a different dimension of the six-string guitar's unique capacity for virtuosity. For those who are truly interested, the work's full structure follows, in brief: Introduction *Andante* ; Theme *Andante* ; Variation I. *Moderato* ("turnaround" ornaments and added scale passages) ; Variation II. *Adagio* (transposition to minor) ; Variation III. *Moderato* ("leaping" arpeggios) ; Variation IV. *Allegretto* (16th note triplet figures preceding "one") ; Variation V. *Allegro* ("cascading" triplet arpeggios) ; Variation VI. *Presto* ("tripletted" harmoniza-

tion, arpeggios and scales, then a big martial coda).

Fernando Sor's 1830 publication, *"Methode pour la Guitare,"* is a remarkable document for a number of reasons. First, it exemplifies one of the hallmarks of Enlightenment thought in its evidence-based approach to technique, and it demonstrates a similar impulse to return to "first principles," which can be seen as the foundation of many Enlightenment treatises of the time. Secondly, it is memorable for the high compositional quality of the ÉTUDES (studies) used to demonstrate the concepts he proposed to teach his followers.

The following illustrative passage from Sor's method, concerning how to use the right-hand

thumb to play several strings at once in 5 or 6-note chords, demonstrates his more scientific approach to the instrument, which is quite distinct from older methods from the baroque era, (translation by A. Merrick: London, 1832).

I know that the blow received by a plane from a solid body falling upon it, is more or less, according to the height from which it falls. This force is called, in statics dynamics, the quantity of motion: and this quantity of motion is the product of the weight of the body, multiplied by the velocity (or the straight line passed over in its direction) in every point wherein the body is found. This multiplication has a much greater product than if I took the gravity of the weight,

and multiplied it by the total height, because the augmentation is more than in arithmetical progression. Hence it follows, that in this process, if I increase only one of the two factors, the quantity of motion will always be augmented. Considering my hand as the heavy body, and the line passed over by the thumb as the velocity, the quantity of motion (or momentum) will be the product of the one by the other. Instead of increasing the weight of the hand by adding the impulse of the arm, I so manage as to prevent that from taking place: I leave the wrist at liberty, and increase the velocity in passing over the line of motion, which I begin at a much greater distance from the sixth string than where I generally hold the thumb.

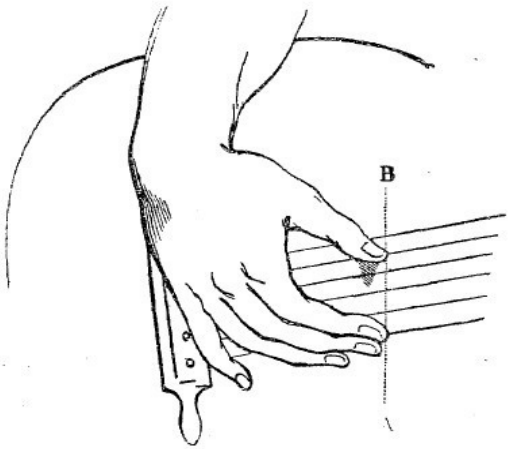


Fig. 2.—Right Hand.

Sor's personal introduction to this influential method book fully describes the didactic intentions of his enterprise, which bear reproducing in some detail. We see his skepticism of dogmatic approaches, his high valuation of evidence, and his embrace of the fundamental concept of consequences as the outcome of cause

and effect. His acknowledgment of the opinion of "harmonists" as among the few authorities worthy of regard is noteworthy, particularly given the harmonic complexities found within his own compositions.

In writing a method, I would be understood to speak of that only which my reflections and experience have made me establish to regulate my own play. If certain precepts are in contradiction to the practice heretofore adopted by guitarists who, through blind submission, and a religious respect for their masters, have followed their maxims without examining the foundation of them, it would be wrong to suppose in me a spirit of opposition. I have exalted no maxim into a principle, till after

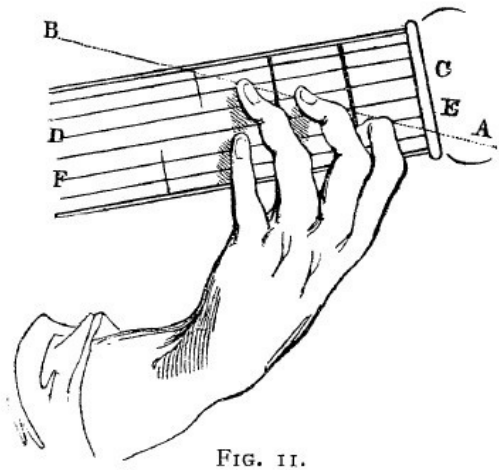


FIG. 11.

a due consideration of the motives for so doing; I establish nothing by authority nor by caprice; and I merely indicate the route which I have followed in order to produce results from the guitar which have obtained for me the approbation of harmonists, people the most difficult to satisfy and to dazzle in regard to music...

In his efforts to derive his conclusions from observed evidence, Sor presents the following anecdotal example documenting the progress of one of his students, a Miss Wainwright, who studied with him during his stay in London. Note how rationality and observation play an important part in his arguments. Interesting too, particularly given the period in which this is written, is his celebration of the "accurate reasoning" and analytical mind of a woman. Remember, many intellectuals of Sor's generation were still discussing Mary Wollstonecraft's 1792 publication, "A Vindication on the Rights of Women," and many had been influenced by her persuasive arguments.

Far from pretending to affect a modesty which might appear liable to suspicion, I confess having been recently convinced by experience that he who should tell me that there are some things which how just soever they may appear in theory, are not so by any means in practice would find this observation disproved by Miss Wainwright, a

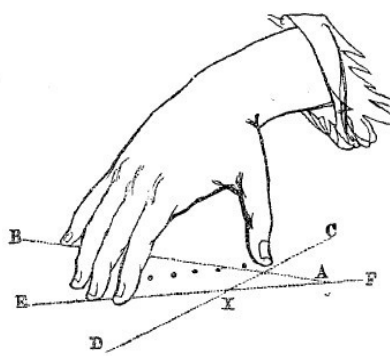


FIG. 9.

young English Lady, whose accurate reasoning, readiness of apprehension, the conviction that

my precepts were the only ones that could enable her to obtain from the guitar the desired effects, and the little application that her other studies and the claims of society allowed her, produced a result so flattering to me, that in twenty-five lessons she played perfectly the six little pieces that I have dedicated to her, and understood all my twenty-four lessons so well as no longer to require any person to enable her to discover the best fingering of all imaginable positions: her figure and her hands are so placed as to serve as a model. It is true that she likes to find reasons for everything she does, and that I have never had a pupil possessing so good a way of studying nor so analytical a mind.

While Sor set high goals for his guitar students, his opinions regarding amateurs prove to be quite interesting. If an amateur has already adopted the foundational intellectual values of the Enlightenment, then he or she will be better able to understand the concepts expressed through his instructional approach. A professional musician (or even a professor) would very probably have learned their art by rote, without taking the trouble to analyze the underlying reasons for each decision. He sends these traditionalists to the library or to *l'Encyclopedie*, so that they might update their thinking to the new method.

Without doubt I shall be told that the reasons which I give for having established my precepts require for their compre-

hension other knowledge than that of music, and that the present work is unsuited to an amateur whose object is not the deep study of an instrument which, according to general opinion, requires a great deal of time and labor. That remark may appear at first view to be just; but on reflection it will be found of no force. An amateur is he who takes up the study of the instrument as a relaxation from his serious occupations. He has therefore learned other things, he must have reasoned; his education has initiated him in the elements of the sciences of which the knowledge was indispensable to him; he should love reason and prefer it to authority; he ought therefore to comprehend me better than he who has employed his

whole time in studying music. As to professors, I do not pretend to give them lessons; and those whomay not be able to comprehend me will never say so; for the Royal Library having its doors open, and the Encyclopedia being at the command of any who wish to consult it, even if my work did not deserve the trouble, they would always take a step interesting to their self-love and from which they would derive real advantage for the future.

F. Sor

In 1945, Sor's influence on posterity would receive yet another boost. Recognizing the timeless compositional merits and the significant pedagogical value of Sor's illustrative études, Andrés Segovia

20th century guitar maestro, Andres Segovia, portrait by Hilda Wiener, 1932

selected and published his own best-selling collection of what he considered to be Sor's most important studies. Sor not only inspired, but

also disciplined subsequent generations of guitarists. He continues to do so to this day.

Mauro Giuliani's (1781-1829) renown as one of the premier guitar virtuosos of this pioneering era is evident in a letter from **Ludwig van Beethoven** (1770-1827) to a fellow Viennese composer, where he asks his correspondent to extend his fond greetings to Giuliani. Vienna was probably near "peak classical" in 1806, when Giuliani left his family in Italy to settle there. It was just fifteen years after Mozart's premature departure, and Haydn and Beethoven were still establishing new standards for musical excellence (not to mention private patronage, concert tickets, and sheet music sales). At the epicenter of one of Europe's busiest

music publishing marketplaces, the imperial capital's discriminating audiences still hungered for new music.

This was the city where Giuliani launched his successful career as a performer and teacher on the six-string guitar. Like many of the most innovative guitarists of every era, he was largely self-taught (although he did study violin and cello during his childhood in Apulia). There was already stiff competition in Vienna, including some of that era's most highly accomplished composers of guitar sonatas.

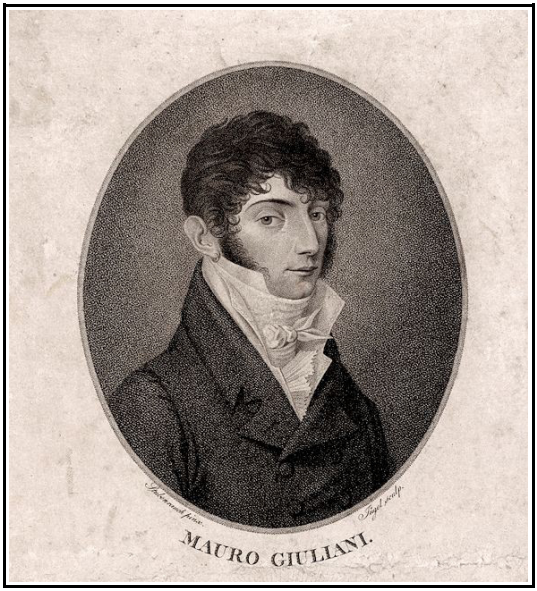
German-born guitarist **Simon Molitor** (1766-1821) arrived in 1798, after music studies in Venice. **Leonard von Call** (1767-1815) from the Italian Tyrol, had been there since 1801 and **Anton**

Diabelli (1781-1858) moved there from Saltzburg in 1803, after studying composition with Franz Joseph Haydn's younger brother, **Michael Haydn** (1737-1806). When Giuliani arrived in Vienna, an exceptional music community welcomed its new member.

He performed in chamber concerts at the Schönbrun Palace Gardens and contributed cello parts for the celebratory debut of Beethoven's "Seventh Symphony" under the composer's direction. Narrative inspirations from Beethoven's "Éroica" symphony are evident in Giuliani's one-movement concert sonatas for solo guitar, and a joyful acknowledgment of **George Frederick Handel**'s (1685-1757) influence can be heard in his popular "Harmonious Blacksmith" variations.

"The guitar is a miniature orchestra in itself." —Ludwig van Beethoven

The prolific composer's published works range from simple, yet charmingly didactic études (such as those found in his Opus one method), to magisterial concert pieces (including his *"Gran Sonata Éroica,"* and the *"Grande Overture"*). Giuliani's extensive use of the "theme and variation" formal structure is particularly noteworthy as an index to the breadth of his creativity. He also composed three concerti for guitar and orchestra, which remain among this period's most significant contributions to the instrument's symphonic concert literature.



Engraving by Friedrich Jügel (after a painting by Phillipp von Stubenrauch)

Giuliani's influential 1812 method, and particularly his "120 Exercises for the Right Hand," exhibit his considered technical analysis of the multitude of possible approaches to harnessing the rhythmic, tonal, and har-

monic capabilities of the six-string guitar. Still today, these brief studies remain an essential element in the foundational development and mastery of classical guitar technique among aspiring performers.

Conspicuous among Giuliani's numerous guitar students was the Hapsburg Archduchess Marie-Louise of Austria, daughter to Francis II, the Holy Roman Emperor. As an interesting reminder of the persistence of the aristocratic system of patronage, the official title she bestowed upon her teacher was *"Maitre des Musique de la Chambre de Salle,"* (Music Master of the Private Chamber). Shortly after the military occupation of Vienna in 1809, and unbeknownst to eighteen year-old

Marie-Louise, diplomatic negotiations between the two empires began, and it was soon announced that she would marry the victorious Emperor Napoleon I of France as his second wife and empress. Within only a few years, and before she could say, "Able was I, ere I saw Elba," Marie-Louise would be bereft of both husband and empire. To her profound disappointment, her own father's troops contributed to Wellington's victory at the Battle of Waterloo.

The touching letter below accompanied a beautifully ornamented guitar, which was originally commissioned by Napoleon himself. Given by Giuliani to a young guitarist, Christopher da Monte in 1815, it was a personal memento that was, perhaps, too

painful for the composer to keep for himself after his Empress's unceremonious dethronement.

Dear friend,

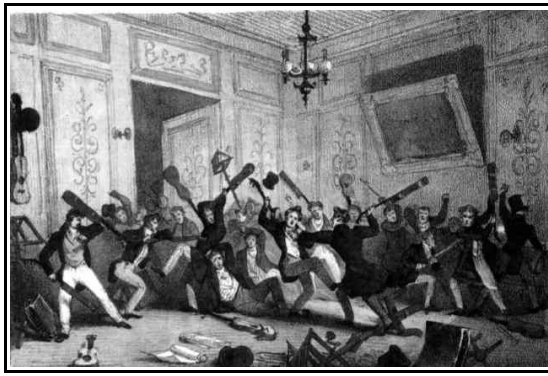
As evidence of my fondness for you, I herewith deprive myself of an instrument which I have valued most highly, all the more so since this guitar belonged to the Empress Marie Louise. In giving it to you as a souvenir of enduring friendship, please accept it from your devoted and sincere Giuliani. Vienna 12 November 1815

Giuliani collaborated on popular concert duets in Vienna with his erstwhile friend, the composer/publisher Anton Diabelli and again later, in Naples, with his daughter **Emilia Giuliani-Gugliemi** (1809-1851), who

grew up to become a widely celebrated guitarist and an accomplished composer in her own right.

> *"I love the guitar for its harmony; it is my constant companion in all my travels."* —Nicolo Paganini

In 1833, Giuliani's enduring popularity inspired a monthly publication out of England, one of the first periodical magazines dedicated entirely to the guitar. The *Giulianiad* was posthumously named in his honor. It provided a popular forum for rhetorical battles between dedicated fans of Fernando Sor and passionate Mauro Giuliani adherents, as well as a source for published examples of their guitar scores.



"A Discussion between the followers of Carulli and followers of Molina," from Marescot's *"Guitaromanie"*

The Enlightenment's progressive ideologies had thoroughly transformed the latter decades of the eighteenth century and, for the most part, had dramatically improved the lives of those impacted by them (former royals excepted, of course). However, as this new belief system continued into the next century, evidence of a reactionary intellectual backlash against its new values began

to reveal itself. The optimistic embrace of cold, calculating reason as the sole key to mankind's ennoblement and salvation, was giving way to a new and unbridled celebration of the emotional dimension of the human character. Suspicious of the link that connected Enlightenment rationality with Dr. Guillotin's famous device, European romantics of the early nineteenth century chose to elevate passion and exoticism over mundane reasoned experience; all in pursuit of a deeper affinity with a more sublime human existence. Nature, nostalgia, national identity and the "heroic" personality were woven into the era's artistic response to the dehumanizing excesses and profound social consequences of post-revolutionary

industrial capitalism. Certainly by the late 1820s, a new period in the history of Western intellectual and artistic expression had already established itself, one for which the term, "the romantic era" functions as a helpful convenience. In a manner similar to their counterparts in painting and sculpture, who prized technical excellence as a hallmark of the Enlightenment's Neo-Classical visual style, early romantic musicians continued to demand similarly high levels of compositional technique, even as they redirected their efforts toward exploring these new themes and values.

> *"One must make of one's fingers well drilled soldiers."* —Fernando Sor

Prior to the nineteenth century, it was relatively rare for

composers to assign specific interpretations to their instrumental works. As discussed earlier, their primary goal was to create "pure music," that, while exciting an emotional response from the listener, it did so by relying upon patterns of tension and release that were created through the formal logic of the musical language itself. For years, the naming schema of musical compositions described only their form, tonality, or tempo, resulting in uninspiring titles like, "the Adagio movement from Guitar Sonata number 23 in F minor." Modeling themselves after Beethoven, many composers started to use even less interesting OPUS NUMBERS to catalog their own bodies of published work. Occasionally, audiences or performers

might bequeath a programmatic title to a piece, such as, "Four Seasons," "Surprise Symphony," or "Moonlight Sonata," but this was often done without the composer's consent. Increasingly though, composers began to harness the emotional momentum they found within their music to tell particular stories, or to represent specific programs. Famed for his powerful orchestrations, the French musician **Hector Berlioz** (1803-1869), composed romantic symphonies that would become exemplars of PROGRAM MUSIC. He even wrote printed guides to influence his audiences' imaginations, as he did for the debut performance of his *"Symphonie Fantastique."* It should also be noted that Berlioz was not primarily a pianist (like most

other symphonic composers), but a guitarist. He claimed this difference freed his personal artistic muse from the "tyranny of the piano."

It's necessary for us to digress, if only for a brief moment, to take note of the steady improvements in technology and design that elevated the piano's status, and eventually made it the preferred instrument for both chamber music accompaniment and solo performances. The range of the delicate *fortepiano* of Mozart's time had already been expanded to a full six octaves (masterfully exploited through Beethoven's solo compositions). Then, between 1820 and 1840, the addition of multiple courses of steel strings and the adoption of a cast-iron frame

increased the instrument's volume substantially. Previously, if composers required an instrument that could execute melodic passages, harmonic textures, and complex counterpoint, they might have chosen between the guitar or the piano. However, the latter's increase in range and dynamic intensity became impossible to ignore. The newly evolved piano established its lasting dominion over the concert stage, and eventually eclipsed the guitar as the prestige vehicle for musical espression that aspired to the level of high art.

Yet another distinguishing characteristic of nineteenth century romanticism was the elevation of virtuoso musicians to celebrity status. As aristocratic reputations surrendered to prole-

tarian accomplishments, the public celebrated the rise of "heroic" musicians in the model of Beethoven, who overcame his disabilities to achieve lasting preeminence in posterity's musical pantheon. Pianist **Franz Liszt** (1811-1886) and violinist **Niccolò Paganini** (1782-1840) exemplified these increasingly athletic performances. Sweat and tears informed their emotion-laden concerts. We must note here that Paganini was also an accomplished guitarist and a prolific composer of solo works for the instrument.

There had long been categories of shorter, less structured forms designed to satisfy an audience's desire for lighter diversions. In fact, the term DIVERTIMENTO was used as a descriptive title by many com-

posers for the guitar, including Carulli, Sor, and Giuliani, who applied it to a number of their gentler emotional excursions. NOCTURNE was occasionally used to designate similar works, particularly ones intended to inspire darker, more reflective moods. The popular CAPRICCIO, as well, was designed to capture more jubilant (dare I say, capricious) feelings, and the FANTAISIE embodied the concept of a fantastic musical voyage into the imagination. One effect of these more open, more improvisational-sounding forms, was that they allowed composers greater flexibility in developing the emotional content of their work. An audience's affective response to a piece of music soon became the primary measure of its composi-

tional success, while its architectural structure was increasingly subordinated, and became simply a means of achieving emotional ends.

We see evidence of a few seeds of this extra-musical programming as early as the first decade of the century. The most ambitious programmatic composition for solo guitar may also have been one of the earliest. In 1808, Antonio Nava (c.1775-1826) from Milan, published a set of four guitar sonatas under the collective title, *"Le Stagioni dell' Anno"* ("The Seasons of the Year"). Each multi-movement sonata was composed to depict one of the seasons, with descriptive titles for individual movements, such as "refreshing little breeze" for his Summer sonata and "the cold

goes away" for Winter. A number of guitarists (including Mauro Giuliani) would compose short works under the title, *"la Chasse"* ("the Hunt"), which invariably included passages featuring harmonies based on fourths and fifths (intervals that emulated the sound of hunters' horns). In case you're wondering, Nava's own example of the "hunt" occurred during the season of Autumn.

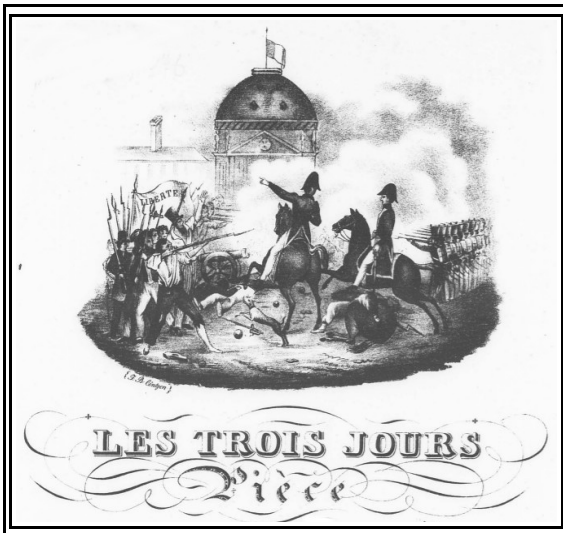
Giuliani's 1812 Opus 46 collection entitled *"Choix de mes Fleur Cheris: ou le Bouquet Emblematique pour Guitare Seul"* ("Selections of my Beloved Flowers: or the Emblematic Bouquet for Solo Guitar"). Here, each brief movement represents a particular species of garden flower. This approach differs slightly from his Opus 50, entitled *"Le*

Papillon" ("The Butterfly"). The entire collection of these short works was intended to convey the general idea of butterflies (without necessarily representing the experience of any one particular butterfly).

Carulli published his Opus 204 around 1823. Titling it, *"Douze Petit Pieces"* ("Twelve Little Pieces"), he composed a single unified fantaisie consisting of twelve movements, each with a programmatic title indicating a particular emotional state. For example, the first movement is named *"l'Amour"* ("Love"), the second *"la Jalousie"* ("Jealousy"), and so on.

By 1830, when we arrive at Carulli's Opus 331, *"Trois Jours"* ("Three Days"), we can see the romantic impulse of program

music applied to exemplifying a full and complete dramatic narrative. This extended work proposes to embody the brief, but successful Revolution of 1830, in which the Bourbon king, Charles X, was overthrown and replaced by his cousin Louis-Philippe (who would, himself, be dethroned by a



Carulli's *Opus 331,* title page

subsequent revolutionary movement in 1848). Carulli titled each section of the score with a detailed description, from the harmonic dissonance of, "despotism causing oppression," to the cascading diminished chords of "disquiet of the people," to the exuberant march, "the people are victorious." Best interpreted within its own specific historical context, Carulli's overarching intention was to represent and convey the narrative experience of a particular and singular revolution through this composition, rather than simply to create a pure musical abstraction.

During the distinguished career of Florentine composer and guitarist **Matteo Carcassi** (1792-1853), the European romantic movement would blossom into

a full flower. While Carcassi drew inspiration for his compositional style from the previous generation of guitarists, he also continued to explore the richer harmonic textures of his immediate musical contemporaries. A distinct shift in the focus of guitar instruction appears to have completed a similar evolution, as well. The introductory passages of Carcassi's method book demonstrate his conscious rejection of Sor's more empirical approach and his focus on an experiential aesthetic exemplify this change.

In composing this method, my intention was not to make a scientific work; I only wanted to make the study of the guitar more easy, to adopt a plan that might in the most clear, most simple, yet most precise manner

Illustration from Matteo Carcassi's *"Methode"* 1831

give an appropriate understanding of all of the resources of the instrument. Music is the art of combining sounds and expressing them. The succession of diverse

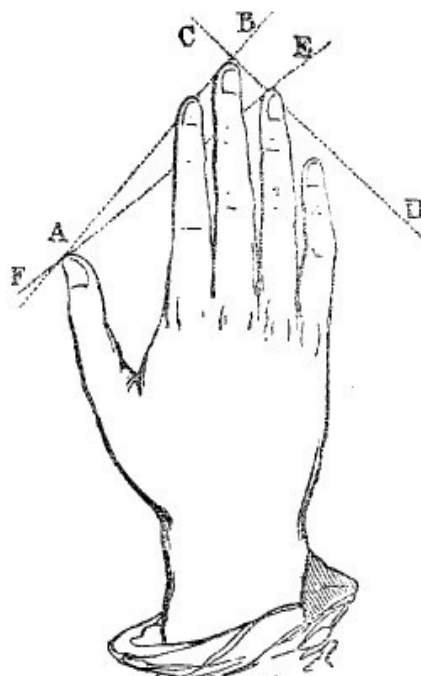
combined sounds in an agreeable manner produces the melody; the sounds combined in a manner in which the ear hears their union simultaneously forms the harmony.

Carcassi's method and its accompanying twenty-five exercises remain extremely popular today. It is perhaps, the most durable among the multitude of guitar method books that were published during the nineteenth century. His simplicity of approach, and the emotional charm of his exercises continue to provide pleasure for ambitious amateurs and developing professionals alike.

Conclusion

Many of the most potent ideas and practices that emerged during the tumultuous era of the Enlightenment remain with us today, and continue to influence our thoughts and actions, both institutionally and individually. Since then, there have been many subsequent disruptive historical events that have led us to question whether the Enlightenment was simply another cluster of ideologies out of the past, which have exhausted their course and will sputter out completely over time, or rather a timeless and dynamic call for human rationality. As long as musicians continue to exercise their free will as individuals, and demonstrate the type of courage that the phrase, "dare to know" demands, then the clas-

sic aesthetic of pure music will continue to be expressed, and the Enlightenment will live on in the present. We can but hope that it will extend its power into the future.



Afterword:
The Tradition Continues

These, and many other creative individuals, would go on to nurture each subsequent generation. Enduring method books written by Carulli, Sor, Giuliani, and Carcassi continue to discipline aspiring young guitarists. **Gustavo Carulli** (1801-1879), Carulli's son (to whom his father dedicated his first book), contributed a guitar method of his own. In Vienna, **Johann Kaspar Mertz** (1806-1856) carried on in the virtuoso tradition of Mauro Giuliani, with Mertz's death marking the end of a long continuity of celebrated guitar composers from that most musical of cities. Spanish guitarist **Dionisio Aguado** (1784-1849) befriended Fernando Sor in Paris, and his later solo

guitar compositions constitute a recognizable continuation of Sor's own musical project. **Napoleon Coste** (1805-1883) studied under Sor, and was instrumental in keeping his stylistic approach alive in France. The career of another Spaniard, **Julián Arcas** (1832-1882) was inspired by Sor. Arcas often chose themes from Sor's guitar compositions to create his own brilliant sets of variations. Arcas' student, **Francisco Tarréga** (1852-1909) represents the full flowering of the guitar's rich potential for romantic expression. As icons of Spanish romanticism, Tarréga's programmatic compositions celebrate the ancient Arabic melodies and architectural monuments of pre-Reconquista Spain, themes that would characterize many of his most influential

works. Still, Sor's music remained a constant presence on Tarréga's recital programs.

It was Tarréga's compositions that first inspired Andrés Segovia. Although the older musician died just prior to their planned studies together, Segovia would develop as a guitarist alongside Tarrega's other pupils, including **Miguel Llobet** (1878-1938) and **Emilio Pujol** (1886-1980). The list of Segovia's own students is as long as it is distinguished.

In the early nineteen-fifties, two guitarists from Venezuela, **Alirio Diaz** (1923-2016) and **Rodrigo Riera** (1923-1999), studied under Segovia at Siena, Italy (with Diaz eventually serving as his official assistant and substitute). Years later, both musicians would present their own students to maestro

Andrés Segovia for instruction. Among these were **William Gonzalez** and **Thomas Geoghegan**.

The last two guitarists named were, respectively, my first and second guitar instructors (outside of family members) and I humbly thank them for enabling me to participate in, and perhaps, to help perpetuate a venerable and durable musical tradition.

Illustration from *"La Methode de Guitare ou Lyre"* by publisher/guitarist Jean Racine Meissonier, Paris 1820

Almanac of Anniversaries

Federico Moretti
(January 22, 1769 - January 17, 1839)

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart
(January 27, 1756 - December 5, 1791)

Ferdinando Maria Meinrado Francesco Pascale Rosario Carulli
(February 9, 1770 - February 17, 1841)

Fernando Sor
(February 14, 1778 - July 10, 1839)

Andrés Segovia Torres
(February 21, 1893 - June 2, 1987)

Georg Friedrich Händel
(February 23, 1685 - April 14, 1759)

Johann Sebastian Bach
(March 21, 1685 - July 28, 1750)

Franz Joseph Haydn
(March 31, 1732 - May 31, 1809)

Dionisio Aguado y García
(April 8, 1784 - December 29, 1849)

Matteo Carcassi
(April 8, 1796 - January 16, 1853)

Emilia Giuliani-Guglielmi
(April 23, 1813 - November 27, 1850)

Francesco Molino
(June 4, 1768 - July 28, 1820)

Antoine Jean Georges Napoléon Coste
(June 27, 1805 - January 14, 1883)

Santiago de Murcia
(July 25, 1673 - April 25, 1739)

Mauro Giuseppe Sergio Pantaleo Giuliani
(July 27, 1781 - May 8, 1829)

Johann Kaspar Mertz
(August 17, 1806 - October 14, 1856)

Filippo Gragnani
(September 3, 1768 - July 28, 1820)

Anton Diabelli
(September 5, 1781 - April 8, 1858)

Anna Magdalena Bach née Wilcke
(September 22, 1701 = February 27, 1760)

Francisco de Asís Tárrega Eixea
(November 21, 1852 - December 15, 1909)

Ludwig van Beethoven
(December 16, 1770 - March 26, 1827)

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