University of Miami

THE INFLUENCE OF MIGUEL LLOBET ON THE PEDAGOGY, REPERTOIRE, AND STATURE OF THE GUITAR IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

By

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The Influence of Miguel Llobet
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The influence of the early twentieth-century classical guitarist, Miguel Llobet, was examined by evaluating existing evidence of his teaching and performing activities in light of how the classical guitar changed during his lifetime and since. The few articles that have been written about Llobet are discussed and assessed in an historical context, along with his relationship with other important figures in the guitar world. His technical approach is considered, and his role in the propagation of the accepted school of guitar pedagogy is traced. His career is examined with a focus on precedents that he may have set. An analysis of his music is conducted in relation to the classical music scene of his day as well as the prevailing style of composition for classical guitar at that time.

This doctoral essay is dedicated to Elena Phillips.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Llobet's Significance

Miguel Llobet (1878-1938), a guitarist from the Catalan region of Spain who is recognized as the principal student of Francisco Tárrega, is largely responsible for the propagation of the school of pedagogy generally attributed to his teacher. He had a profound influence on some of the most important guitarists of the twentieth century and left a small body of little-appreciated guitar works. These works are rarely programmed and are unfamiliar to most guitarists. Although Llobet is often depicted as a minor figure, his contribution to the guitar as it is known today may have been profound.

The information available on Llobet raises certain salient questions:

1. Questions regarding his biography:
    A. Where did Llobet reside from 1905 through 1910?
    B. Did he, then, return to Paris in 1910, or did he go to Buenos Aires?
    C. Where did Llobet live during World War I?
    D. Do these dates and places reveal any influences on Llobet as a young musician?
    E. Based on these dates and places, can Llobet's influence on other guitarists be traced?

2. How did Llobet's approach to repertory programming differ from guitarists who preceded him, and how might it have influenced those who followed?
3. How much of Llobet's approach to pedagogy was learned from Tárrega?
4. When did Llobet teach Segovia, and how extensive were these studies? Are Segovia's claims to being primarily self-taught valid, or should Llobet be considered a major influence?
5. When were Llobet's first recordings made? Are there any copies in existence today? Can the dates and labels of his recordings from 1925 through 1929 or 1930 be clarified?

Llobet's impact on the modern classical guitar may well prove to be significant. His legacy includes a body of compositions that moved the guitar from the harmonically naive miniatures favored by his Spanish contemporaries to the more sophisticated harmonies heard in Paris in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The influence of Chopin, clearly discernable in Llobet's early works, later opened up to include that of his contemporaries, Ravel, de Falla, and Debussy. Llobet also expanded the repertoire by transcribing works of major composers not generally associated with the guitar.

He is known to have inspired Manuel de Falla to write his only guitar composition, *Omaggio pour le Tombeau de Debussy*. Jaime Pahissa, in his book on de Falla (Pahissa 1947) asserts that Llobet on several occasions asked de Falla to compose for the guitar. *Omaggio pour le Tombeau de Debussy* was first published in the *Revue Musicale's* memorial issue to the great composer in 1920. A second edition appeared in *La Guitarra, su Historia Fomento y Cultura* in July, 1923, and bears the inscription "Esta obra fué compuesta y escrita para guitarra por el ilustre maestro español, y

especialmente para el gran artista de la guitarra Miguel Llobet, cuya primera audición le fue reservada" [1] (de Falla 1989, 5).

There are also some reports that Debussy may have written a piece for Llobet after having heard him perform in Paris. According to Bruno Tonazzi in his short book *Miguel Llobet, Chitarrista dell' Impressionismo*[2], Andrés Segovia claimed to have been told by Emma Debussy that Llobet discouraged Debussy from writing a piece for him. Tonazzi admits to doubting the truth of this story. While he finds the chance of a Debussy guitar work intriguing, he finds it difficult to fathom why Llobet would have so rejected Debussy, whom he was known to have admired. In fact, Janie Villiers-Wardell, in her book *Spain of the Spanish,* refers to a concert of Debussy's music in which Llobet sat next to Madame Debussy, and they discussed a Debussy guitar work (Purcell 2000). It is likely that Debussy considered writing such a piece for Llobet and must have known the guitarist; Llobet spent time in Paris and was a good friend of the noted Debussy interpreter Richard Viñes. It is thus unlikely that Llobet would have discouraged Debussy, in view of his eagerness to perform works by other major composers. His transcriptions of formidable works by Bach, Beethoven, Bizet, Brahms, Chopin, Grieg, Mendelssohn, Mozart, Schumann, and Wagner, and his years of asking de Falla for an original guitar composition are well documented.

His contributions to moving the harmonic language and the repertoire of the guitar toward a more sophisticated aesthetic would be sufficient to mark his pivotal role in the establishment of a modern school of classical guitar, but Llobet was an important

[1] "This work was composed and written for guitar for the eminent Spanish master, and specially for the great artist of the guitar Miguel Llobet, for whose first hearing it was reserved."
[2] *Miguel Llobet, Guitarist of the Impressionism*

teacher as well. Although Francisco Tárrega is often credited as being the father of the modern school of guitar pedagogy, his work has more recently been reexamined. Noted guitar scholar Matanya Ophee has made some astute observations in this area (Ophee 1981).

Credit for today's pedagogy may rightly belong to Llobet. Ophee indicates that Llobet may have held his former teacher in less than the highest esteem. Yet, according to Ophee, he admitted this only to his colleagues Emilio Pujol and Domingo Prat. If this is true Pujol admitted it to no one. Pujol's closest associate and most important pupil, Hector Garcia, insists that Llobet had the greatest admiration for Tárrega. However, no other Tárrega students are known to have performed in the international concert arena, and only Llobet is known to have practiced the pedagogical principles attributed to Tárrega. Llobet may have developed these principles, and it had been hoped that empirical evidence would surface to support this, but thus far there is none. There are also some small but important differences between what we believe to have been Tárrega's approach and the approach used by Llobet, and the Llobet approach is more consistent with modern practice. This is discussed further in Chapter Five.

That Llobet was mentor to María Luisa Anido, José Rey de la Torre, and Andrés Segovia, three of the most important guitarists of the first half of the twentieth century, must be considered relevant. Through his years in Argentina and his association there with Domingo Prat, Llobet completely revolutionized the way that the guitar was played in South America. Regardless of who is responsible for developing the Tárrega school of pedagogy Llobet played a key role in its propogation.

Llobet was no less significant as a performer. As documented by both Ronald Purcell (Miguel Llobet 1989, vol. 1) and Bruno Tonazzi (Tonazzi 1996), during the first decades of the twentieth century Llobet performed in Paris, Brussels, Munich, Leipzig, Dresden, Berlin, Cologne, Stuttgart, Vienna, Budapest, Bologna, Hamburg, and London. He also toured North and South America three times between 1906 and 1925. No other guitarist is known to have toured so extensively or reached as wide an audience, although most credit Llobet's most famous pupil, Andrés Segovia, with being the first guitarist to reach a wide international audience. Clearly Llobet's significance as a performer has been underestimated.

Llobet exerted a crucial influence on the direction that the guitar was to take in the twentieth century. Evidence supporting this hypothesis is examined in this paper. As reflected in the bibliography of the present essay, the life, music, and sphere of influence of Miguel Llobet have been documented, although neither exhaustively nor conclusively. Indeed, some of the articles are inadequate or apocryphal, and only one book on Llobet exists, a work merely sixty pages in length. Clearly, more work can be done to properly document the life, works, and influence of one of the most important guitar figures in the twentieth century.

Method

This paper uses three principal means of study to argue the importance of Llobet's contribution: (1) A survey and analysis of the existing literature on Llobet; (2) A musical analysis of selected representative compositions; and (3) An examination of the available unpublished documents and primary sources. The next thee chapters of this paper

explore respectively each of these areas, and synthesizes the findings into a cohesive evaluation of the role that Llobet played.

Existing Literature

A semester-long search of databases, indexes, and bibliographies has turned up twenty-four articles and one book about Llobet. Some of the articles are less than scholarly. These are mentioned and summarized in this essay, but their limitations are noted. Although they are included in the Reference List, they are not considered in the concluding chapter. Writings that are useful include articles about the impact of his transcriptions, pedagogical concepts, and musicianship on the next generation of players to follow him. There are a number of articles on his relationship with the important composers of his time, particularly Manuel de Falla, whose only solo guitar composition was written for Llobet. A number of articles discuss Llobet's role in the use of impressionistic writing for the guitar, a subject that Chapter Three examines closely in the analysis of his music.

Of particular interest are articles by Llobet himself and by his pupil Rey de la Torre. Although neither of these represents rigorous scholarship by any means, they must be valued as primary sources. The article by Llobet, a eulogy for Francisco Tárrega, is thrown into relief by a frank discussion of the article by Matanya Ophee disputing Llobet's public admiration for Tárrega.

Finally, Bruno Tonazzi's 1966 book *Miguel Llobet, Chitarrista dell 'Impressionismo* is discussed at length. This short study, although far from exhaustive, presents a well-thought-out discussion of Llobet's music set in a historical perspective. It also reveals more biographical details of Llobet than have previously been published.

Reviews and programs referenced by Tonazzi, as well as some reproduced in the preface to the Chanterelle edition of Llobet's guitar works, are examined and discussed as they pertain to the subject of Llobet's influence. These are compared with today's norms in programming and the norms of nineteenth-century guitarists to reveal that his approach to repertoire has made a lasting impact. Programs of other nineteenth- and early twentieth-century performers are also examined to determine the sources of Llobet's thinking in this area. Reviews of Llobet's performances by critics who admit to being surprised at the guitar's capabilities support the argument that Llobet also made an impact on the position of the guitar within the music world. All of Llobet's reviews and programs are reported to be contained in an important archive in Barcelona. These reviews and programs would also support theories on Llobet's movements and probable places of residence, details which are presently disputed by his two principal biographers, Purcell and Tonazzi. Unfortunately, at the time of this writing, this archive is not available for examination. This is discussed further in Chapter Four.

These articles and this book are examined and discussed in order to indicate what consensus exists among scholars regarding Llobet's influence on pedagogy, repertoire, and the guitar's position in the world of music. The small number of writings available demand that additional evidence be found to support the hypothesis that his influence has been more significant than has been previously realized. His biography is discussed in order to determine what facts in his life lend support for these arguments. Evidence of his teaching activities supports the argument for his pedagogical influence. A thorough examination of his travels, and an evaluation of various schools of pedagogy that have

arisen in Spain and South America will reveal that today's prevailing schools of pedagogy can, in fact, be traced to Llobet.

Compositions

Llobet's folk-song arrangements are generally considered by guitarists to be something less than significant as new contributions to the guitar repertoire; they are often viewed as little more than harmonizations. An analysis of these works supports the argument that they are indeed original compositions based on existing folk songs, because they maintain an integrity of style and originality distinctly characteristic of Llobet's music. The analyses of Chapter Three contrast the arrangements with the original folk songs to demonstrate Llobet's creativity and to show how these compositions contribute to the expansion of the harmonic language found in the works of Spain's principal guitarist/composers. The analyses also demonstrate ways in which Llobet expanded the technical possibilities of the guitar. They support Lavignac's statement that *El Mestre* (one of the folk songs) "marks a point of departure towards new territories containing within itself the seeds of later coloristic effects on the instrument. Thanks to Llobet the guitar displayed a new aesthetic term [*sic*]: it awoke to colour and polyphony" (Jones 1998, 24).

The chapter places the folk songs and the original compositions into a biographical context to allow a clear view of Llobet's growth in harmonic vocabulary and his compositional approach. The analyses of these works also appear within a larger historical context. Questions addressed include how these works compare with those of other composers, which other composers seem to have influenced Llobet, and in what

ways. Specific works by other composers are also examined for their relevance to this topic. Of particular interest are works by Chopin, and Debussy.

Unpublished Documents and Primary Sources

For decades, scholars have searched for a Llobet archive that was believed to be in the possession of a private collector in Barcelona. According to Italian guitar scholar Angelo Gilardino, "From [*sic*] many years a sort of legend of a man who owns all the Llobet's [*sic*] papers in Barcelona circulated among guitarists and publishers, but so far nobody has seen these documents" (Gilardino 2000). A year of research has, however, resulted in the discovery of the name and address of such a collector, Fernando Alonzo. This information was ultimately furnished by Eva Matamoros, Servei d'Accés i Obtenció de Documents at the Biblioteca de Catalunya. It had been the author's wish to examine this archive in hopes of finding documents to support the thesis put forth herein. To date this archive has not been made available for examination.

It was the stated opinion of Matanya Ophee (to this writer at a conference in October, 2000) that many of Llobet's papers remain in South America, and are currently stored in Montevideo. It was the opinion of Carlos Barbosa-Lima, who studied with Llobet's pupil Isaias Savio (1902-1977) as well as with Abel Carlevaro, that Carlevaro would be the best possible contact in that city. Contacts made with sources in Montevideo, (Carlevaro passed away as this paper was being written) in order to ascertain whether such documents are indeed there, have failed prove fruitful. The author's opinion is that there is no collection in Montevideo, and that all of Llobet's papers are in the Alonzo archive. Barbosa-Lima was interviewed in order to learn what Savio may have related to him regarding Llobet.

Finally, interviews and letters from Hector Garcia, Pujol's associate, are discussed. Garcia is able to clarify some important details in the relationship between Llobet and Andrés Segovia. The importance of this relationship as it applies to the central argument of this paper cannot be overstated.

Biography

The reported details of Llobet's biography are confused and contradictory. Miguel Llobet Soles was born October 18, 1878, in Barcelona. He was the son of a wood sculptor and was himself trained as an artist, revealing a talent for painting. He continued to paint throughout his life, and a large, well-executed self portrait in oil is part of the archive in Alonzo's possession. His earliest musical training was on the violin and the piano. Later he received a guitar as a gift from an uncle. In 1889, Llobet heard Antonio Jiménez Manjón (1866-1919) give a guitar recital in Barcelona and was inspired to seek instruction on the guitar from Magin Alegre.

Llobet first met and played for guitar pedagogue Francisco Tárrega in October, 1892. Two years later he began to study with him at the Municipal Conservatory of Music in Barcelona. By his own account, his studies with Tárrega seem to have been based on no particular methodology. Rather, Llobet would observe Tárrega play and then experiment with his techniques at home. "Così, più che impararla, io sperimentavo la mia tecnica sull chitarra"[3] (Tonazzi 1996, 13-14).

He began giving private concerts in 1898 for intimate gatherings. In 1900, he met Concepción Jacoby, Tárrega's patron, who also became his patron, helping him to launch an international career. Llobet's first public concert took place in 1901 at the

[3] "In this way, more than by learning it, I experimented with my guitar technique."

Conservatory of Valencia. During that same year, he also performed at conservatories in Seville and Malaga and, in the latter conservatory, was awarded the title of Professor Honoris Causa. He also played at the Teatro de la Comedia in 1902 and before the Spanish Royal Family in Madrid in 1903.

Llobet's first concert outside Spain was in Paris, in 1904, presented by Ricardo Viñes, the noted pianist and interpreter of Debussy's piano works. It was at this time that he first came into contact with the *avant-garde*. Paris was apparently kind to Llobet, as he returned to live there in 1905, performing at such prestigious venues as the *Schola Cantorum*, *La Trompette,* and the *Société Nationale de Musique*. According to Ronald Purcell (Llobet 1989, 1: iii), he resided there until 1910. In the biographical sketch given by Bruno Tonazzi (Tonazzi 1966, 12), Llobet returned to Paris in 1910.

As suggested by Purcell, Llobet most likely relocated to Buenos Aires in 1910 as an interim home. While there, he continued to perform throughout South and Central America and the Caribbean. This series of tours was largely arranged by Domingo Prat, author of the *Diccionario de Guitarristas* (1933), Juan Anido (whose daughter, María Luisa, was to become a pupil of Llobet's and a celebrated guitarist in her own right) and Ruiz Romero of the publishing house Romero y Fernandez. In 1912, Llobet gave his first concerts in the United States, performing in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. He then returned to Paris. In the following years, he continued to concertize throughout Europe, particularly in Belgium and Holland.

During the years 1913 and 1914, Llobet performed throughout Germany. According to Purcell, "At the outbreak of World War I, Llobet returned to Buenos Aires," and continued to make trips throughout the Americas (Llobet 1989, 1: iv). This stands in

stark contradiction to Tonazzi's statement that "Allo scoppio della prima guerra mondiale torna in patria..."[4] (Tonazzi 1966, 12). Llobet's concert itinerary seems to have been dominated by performances in the Americas at that time, lending some support to Purcell's claims. However, it should be noted that Purcell also implies that it was at about 1915 that Llobet was in Spain, where he taught his most important pupil, Andrés Segovia.

Segovia's status as a pupil is a matter of debate among guitarists. The Segovia autobiography, written for mass consumption at the height of his career, depicts him as being self-taught. There are admissions of his seeking out Llobet's advice only for a short time, but Segovia is quite clear about the lack of any real influence on his playing. Although at the age of 22, Segovia may well have been much more than a neophyte, he was still youthful enough to have received valuable instruction, and to have been significantly influenced by it. Indeed, Purcell points out that "Segovia, whose performance style and technique reveals [*sic*] the principles of Tárrega, was basically influenced by Llobet....This stylistic influence can be heard when comparing Llobet's Parlophone Electric recordings (*Chanterelle Historical Recordings* CHR 001) with Segovia's Angel recordings, ZB 3896" (Llobet 1989, 1: ii).

Purcell later states, "At the age of twenty-two he (Segovia) pursued what he considered the only direct contact to Tárrega, Llobet, for refinement of his technique and especially for the music that both he and Tárrega had written and transcribed for the guitar..." (ibid.). The accuracy of this date (Segovia would have been twenty-two in 1915) seems to be somewhat questionable. A photograph taken at the exhumation of

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[4] "At the outbreak of the First World War he returned to his native land..."

Tárrega in 1915, clearly shows Segovia at the foot of the coffin, but Llobet does not appear in the photo, and would likely have been present had he, in fact, been in Spain at the time. It may well have been another two years before Segovia began to work with Llobet and there seems to be nothing that would contradict this 1917 date.

Between 1912 and 1917, Llobet is reported to have made at least one attempt at recording. It is known that he toured the East Coast of the United States in 1912, 1914, and again in 1917. The prominent guitarist Vahdah Olcott-Bickford, who was living in New York between 1912 and 1923, writes that "he tried to make a recording at the Bell Lab in Brunswick, New Jersey, but was dissatisfied with the sound" (Purcell 1993, 5). This gives little support to either theory regarding his wartime residence, but does suggest an early interest in recording. Pending the discovery of any documentary evidence, one can only hypothesize that Llobet resided in Buenos Aires during the war years.

It is known that it was in this city, in 1923, that he began to teach María Luisa Anido (1907-1997). Anido was the daughter of Juan Anido, one of the patrons who had first introduced Llobet to South America. By 1925, Llobet was performing duets with María Luisa and, according to Purcell, about 1930 they "recorded some of Llobet's duet arrangements on the Odeon-Parlophone label distributed by Decca. These recordings followed the solo series recorded by Llobet on the Parlophon/Electric series out of Barcelona" (Llobet 1989, 1: iv). These were the first electric recordings of the classic guitar.

These recordings have been reproduced on CD, but the brief recording history given in the liner notes (Purcell 1993) does little to shed light on Llobet's recording career. The solo recordings, for example, are supposed to have been recorded around

1925, but are from two different sources: the Argentina/Odeon recording and the earlier Barcelona/ Parlaphon recording. Even the most casual listening reveals a difference in recording technology that makes their issue in the same year difficult to accept. In response to an inquiry Purcell stated that "Llobet did not care for the acoustic recording results in 1915 and only recorded electronically.... His recordings were recorded in 1925 and later with Maria Anido" (Purcell 2001).

In 1920-1921, Llobet played in Spain and toured throughout Germany, performing in Munich, Leipzig, Dresden, Cologne, and Stuttgart. In 1924, he again toured throughout Germany and Austria, and he concertized in the Americas in 1925. He returned again to the Americas in 1930 to perform for the Spanish Arts Festival, under the auspices of the Library of Congress. The violinist Antonio Bossa had recommended him, and he was contracted to play six solos, and to arrange and perform Manuel de Falla's *Siete Canciones Españoles* with soprano Nina Kochitz.

Llobet toured Europe again in 1930-1931, performing in London, Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, Vienna, Budapest, and Bologna among others. On hearing him perform in Berlin in 1930, Paul Hindemith declared an intent to compose for the guitar. He did not follow through with this, however. Hindemith's only work for guitar was the *Rondo for Three Guitars*, that had been written in 1925, prior to his first documented contact with Llobet.

From1932 to1934, Llobet taught the young Cuban virtuoso José Rey de la Torre at his home in Barcelona. He does not appear to have performed much at this time, but maintained his artistic contacts. Rey writes, "At the time I arrived in Barcelona in

1932, he had almost retired from the concert stage. During the three years that I spent there he left town only once for a month's tour of Scandinavia" (Rey 1985, 24). Llobet seems to have enjoyed a somewhat reclusive retirement from the concert stage, meeting with a few influential artists at his large apartment at Via Layetana No. 46 in Barcelona. Manuel de Falla is known to have visited there whenever in that city and Emilio Pujol was a frequent guest. Rey de la Torre who, as Llobet's pupil, may well have been his most frequent visitor, writes that "Llobet did not have many visitors..." (ibid). He did seem to go out to concerts frequently, walking with his wife, to the Palau close to his home.

The statement by Philip J. Bone in *The Guitar and Mandolin* that Llobet "was killed in 1937, in an air raid in Barcelona during the Spanish Civil War" (Bone 1954) has been tacitly contradicted by all reliable sources. However, the emotional devastation over the siege of Barcelona may have begun his downward spiral of health. On February 22, 1938, Llobet died of pleurisy in Barcelona.

Summary

Llobet's legacy was threefold. Through a clear, consistent biography, as well as establishing the pedagogical, musical, and career precedents he set for the guitar, the following facts are established by this paper.

1. Miguel Llobet played a pivotal role in the establishment of a viable school of pedagogy for the classical guitar. He left the guitar world with a more widespread understanding of the pedagogical precepts essential to the high level of artistry required of a virtuoso. He may even have developed that pedagogical approach.

Tracing the spread of the Tárrega school reveals a path that clearly parallels his movements throughout the early twentieth century.

2. Llobet made lasting and significant contributions to the creation of a major repertoire for the guitar. His compositions, arrangements, and transcriptions, examined in the light of other guitar composers' works, demonstrate that he advanced the repertoire and established standards that are still considered valid today. In so doing he also demonstrated that the guitar was capable of expressing the musical complexities that are found in most major composers' music, thereby encouraging such composers to write for the guitar.
3. It was through his efforts as a performer of international stature that the position of the guitar shifted from that of a quaint parlor instrument to the esteem in which it is presently held. An examination of his itinerary, recordings, and reviews reveals that Llobet was pivotal in advancing the guitar's position in the music world.

Chapter 2

EXISTING LITERATURE

Introduction

Miguel Llobet has been the subject of several articles and a short book. In addition, the introductions to each of the five volumes that comprise the most complete collection of his musical legacy to date provide a wealth of reliable information. Although many of these sources focus on the same few topics, Llobet's influence on de Falla's only guitar composition and his arrangements of Catalan folk songs, for example, each provide a different perspective, and add details that illuminate the life and work of this important figure.

In this chapter the principal sources will be examined in depth, first individually, and then in summary. Their strengths and weaknesses will be discussed, and the accuracy of their information evaluated. The implications of these sources regarding the subject of this paper will also be discussed in the summary.

Sources that relate to Llobet in only an indirect way will not be included, although they do appear in the reference list. These writings, in general, have provided support material for parts of this paper, but have provided no substantial information relating to the topic being addressed. Materials discussed in this chapter are also limited to those either originally written in English, or those that the author is able to translate.

Translated excerpts are quoted in the original language whenever the statement might be considered controversial or bold in light of conventional thought. The reader may compare the author's footnoted translations with the original.

Wilfrid M. Appleby's "Guitar Music. The Artistry of Miguel Llobet (1878-1938)"

This brief look at the life and music of Llobet written by Wilfrid M. Appleby, editor of Guitar News, the journal of the International Guitar Association, adds a few bits of information to the guitarist's biography. Appleby acknowledges Tárrega's influence in Llobet's training, and adds an assertion that he also studied under Casals. It may be inferred that Llobet could have taken some music courses with Casals at some time, since Casals did teach at the Municipal Conservatory of Music in Barcelona, beginning in 1896, where Llobet studied with Tárrega. However, nowhere else in the writings on Llobet is this statement repeated, and it remains to be seen if it can be verified.

Llobet's artistic approach to transcribing and arranging for guitar is contrasted to Tárrega's, but not in the detail one might wish for. The author states, "He had a more modern and advanced conception of the guitar than Tárrega.... Thus his arrangements are more artistically satisfying to the discerning ear, though they are more difficult to play" (Appleby 1962, 14). It is interesting that in this article, published nineteen years before Matanya Ophee's extensive deconstruction of Tárrega's contribution, Appleby should take the trouble to so characterize Llobet's work. It is unfortunate that he fails to give Llobet credit for his original compositions and their bold use of harmonies steeped in dissonances previously eschewed by guitar composers. He does, however, hint at this originality in referring to "his enchanting arrangements of simple Catalan melodies such as the well-known 'El Testamen [*sic*] de n'Amelia'" (id. 14). It should be noted that, the

misspelling of "Testament" notwithstanding, this is one of the few sources that give the correct title.[5]

Appleby also discusses some of the particulars of Llobet's concert itinerary. These details have, for the most part, been discussed in Chapter One of this paper. However, one possibly significant event not found in other sources is mentioned here. In London in 1930, in addition to two recitals, Llobet made a radio broadcast. Although it would be speculative to infer that this was a first (for a guitarist), one would be hard pressed to name many guitarists who are likely to have preceded Llobet in being broadcast. It is safe to say that Llobet was among the first guitarists to have been presented in this manner.

Appleby concludes with a revealing quote from Janie Villiers-Wardell's book *Spain of the Spanish*, (1909). "I had never thought of associating the guitar with serious music, but in the hands of Miguel Llobet it gave us Bach, Mendelssohn, Chopin and Beethoven." If nothing else, this is an indication of the general lack of awareness of the classical guitar. Llobet's biography illustrates the extent to which he was responsible for altering this situation.

Walter Spalding's "Falla's 'Homenaje pour le tombeau de Claude Debussy.' A master lesson with Rey de la Torre"

This short interview with Llobet's most important acknowledged pupil gives some valuable insights regarding de Falla's only guitar work. The piece was written in response to a request from *Revue Musicale* to de Falla and six or seven other composers

[5] The published version uses the title "El Testament de 'Amelia". Rey de la Torre, with whom I studied this piece in 1975, added the "n" to title in my score (which is still in my possession) and informed me that this was the correct title.

for music to be included in an issue in memory of Debussy. According to Rey, Llobet suggested the guitar to de Falla.

Of even more importance to the discussion of Llobet's contributions is the extent of his input to de Falla who, as Rey observes, "knew the guitar well, but for some of the idiomatic things he consulted Llobet" (Spalding 1977, 37). The chronology involving the creation of the *Homenaje* can be found in the correspondence between Llobet and de Falla, which Rey says is in the possession of de Falla's sister. When the piece was nearly completed there was some collaboration in the home of Federico Garcia Lorca in Granada, as related to Rey by Francisco Garcia Lorca, the author Lorca's brother.

Rey goes on to clarify Llobet's role. "As far as the 'guitarization', (I mean to render it into truly guitar music,) this was done with the help of Llobet" (id. 39). He points to unison doublings, which are probably Llobet's suggestion, and glissandi. "There was in the beginning, hesitation on the part of Falla, who was aware of the excessive use of glissandi in Tárrega and early Llobet; according to reports of conversations, and in the correspondence, there are mentions in the reference [*sic*] to that, pro and con. I think that Llobet finally made it clear that it was to be done a certain way, and Falla accepted it as being an integral part of the piece."

José Rey de la Torre's "Miguel Llobet El Mestre"

José Rey de la Torre here presents a valuable memoir of his years as Llobet's pupil. A number of features in this article make it valuable. At the time that Rey began to study the guitar under the guidance of a former Llobet pupil, Severino Lopez, in Havana in 1928, the guitar was little known to classical audiences throughout the world.

Perhaps more surprising is that, according to Rey, the classical guitar was equally ignored throughout the Spanish-speaking world, except in Barcelona and Buenos Aires.

Rey's article takes the form of a personal memoir, and affords great insight into Llobet's personality. He mentions that Llobet saw few visitors, but that Manuel de Falla visited whenever he was in Barcelona. Some of the facts surrounding the creation of de Falla's *Homenaje* are mentioned, but the interview with Walter Spalding discussed above gives far more detail.

Although the exact nature of the lessons is not discussed, the program of study is, and Llobet seems to have had a very formal approach. He began by giving Rey strict orders to stop playing all repertory pieces, works that he had been performing publicly since he was ten years old, and to focus exclusively on didactic works until further notice. This presents a stark contrast to Llobet's account of his studies with Tárrega (discussed later, on page twenty-seven).

The author relates a number of anecdotes that flesh out his observations regarding Llobet's personality. Llobet seems to have been a bit protective of his young student, and to have been adept at deflecting uncomfortable situations with a pointed sense of humor. These recollections comprise a good portion of the article, but have no real relevance to this paper.

Rey also dwells on the quality of Llobet's transcriptions and his folk song arrangements. He refers to the transcriptions as "archetypal and pioneering works" (Rey 1985, 28) and quotes de Falla as preferring Llobet's transcription of *Canción del Fuego Fatuo* to his own original scoring. Given that this was related to Rey by Llobet, it may well be overstated.

The author continues with a defense of the originality of Llobet's folk song arrangements. He asserts that they are "classified by most people as being 'harmonized' by Llobet.... the implication is that they were not 'compositions.' Even the Spanish publishers, in classifying the works of Llobet, make a separate list of the 'arrangements' or 'transcriptions' of Llobet and another of the 'original' compositions.... [I]f these are 'transcriptions,' so are the popular Mexican songs by Manuel M. Ponce together with thousands of others" (ibid. 29). To this list of composers who worked with folk songs Rey also adds de Falla and Stravinsky. One might also add Grieg.

Bruno Tonazzi's "Miguel Llobet Chitarrista dell'Impressionismo"

Tonazzi's booklet on Llobet, although quite informative, presents some problems. The foremost problem is the title, which raises questions about Llobet's place in music history, and may mislead the unwary into believing that he was an impressionist composer. One may find elements of the impressionist style in certain of his later works, and an argument could be made for considering "*Respuesta*" and the Prelude in E Major impressionist works, but these two works do not argue convincingly for classifying the composer with Debussy. Indeed, Christopher Palmer in his book *Impressionism in Music* (1974), seems reluctant to label as "impressionist" any composer other than Debussy, ascribing to Ravel no more than a brief impressionistic period. Palmer discusses Ravel in his chapter on "post-impressionists".

Debussy's rejection of the label "impressionist" is beside the point. This label has become a convenient way to describe a style of music whose sound is recognized by certain harmonic and melodic characteristics. What is relevant is whether Llobet's music meets the aural expectations that lead the listener to categorize it with Debussy's music.

What may be the most important feature of Impressionist music is the liberation of dissonance. In these works, dissonances no longer serve a harmonic function; their resolutions are no longer necessary, because "tonal organization in such compositions does not depend upon key feeling and key relationships, but on the balance and interaction of independent sonorous effects" (Mueller 1954, 142). This is not far removed from Llobet's use of voice leading, in which the harmonic function is superseded by step and half-step movements of the voices, and may well contribute to the confusion. However, only in the Prelude in E major does dissonance appear to lose its harmonic function. The analysis of this work in the next chapter will include a discussion of how this piece fits with the description of Impressionism.

Weighing this description of Impressionism against Llobet's compositions leads to the conclusion that he was not an impressionist. However, descriptions aside, and use of similar sonorities notwithstanding, Llobet's music simply does not sound like Impressionist music. This stands in stark contradiction to Tonazzi's statement "*...nella letteratura della chitarra costituisce il primo esempio impressionistico*"[6] (Tonazzi 1966, 33). The analysis of *El Mestre* should correct this misconception. Tonazzi does, however, get it right when he refers to the "impressionistic harmonizations" (*armonizzazione impressionistiche*) of the Catalan folk song arrangements (id. 31). The use of *avant-garde* sonorities by Llobet is, of course, important for what it says for his efforts to move the harmonic language of the guitar into the twentieth century. This will be discussed further in the next chapter.

[6] "...in the literature of the guitar it (*El Mestre*) constitutes the first impressionist example."

Tonazzi's book, however, is not without merit, and goes further than any previous writings in the analysis of Llobet's career, artistry, and compositions. He begins with a brief biographical timeline, which presents some interesting facts regarding Llobet's career, many of which are surprising in their contradiction of the conventional thought on the history of the modern concert guitar. No other single discussion of Llobet gives as much detail regarding his itinerary, and one is surprised to discover a guitarist prior to Segovia with as active an international career as Llobet had.

The performances throughout Spain in 1901 and 1902, discussed in Chapter One under "Biography", would not be surprising, were it not for Rey de la Torre's assertion that the classical guitar was "generally ignored in Spain..." (Rey 1985, 23). But Llobet's subsequent years in Paris, beginning in 1904, are an indication of the beginnings of a global career that is unprecedented.

Tonazzi puts Llobet's years in Paris into an artistic and historic perspective by listing the artists who were active in that city. These included the great visual artists Matisse, Picasso, Rousseau, Braque, Léger, Modigliani, and Chagall. The musical scene in Paris was no less remarkable, and such musicians as Debussy, Ravel, Dukas, Stravinsky, Albéniz, Granados, de Falla, Turina, and Viñes were all active there. This was the world into which Llobet successfully inserted himself. Thus, Llobet could not help but be influenced. It is remarkable that the young guitarist was able to achieve enough renown among this artistic elite to have received offers of compositions from two of the most important composers at the time, Debussy and de Falla.

More remarkable, particularly in view of the time, is the extent of Llobet's travels. Tonazzi's timeline shows that from 1910 to 1920 Llobet played in Paris, the U.S. (at least

twice in that decade), Central America, Belgium, Holland, Germany, and South America. Tonazzi also credits Llobet's 1913-1914 tour of Germany as contributing to the "resurgence of the prestige of the guitar in that country" (Tonazzi 1966, 12). In the following decade Llobet returned to Spain, to Germany on two occasions, and to the Americas, as well as performing concerts in Austria, and, in 1930 through 1931, England, Czechoslovakia and again in Germany.

Review excerpts and concert programs are included in Tonazzi's discussion of Llobet's performing career. Several reviews are quoted, all praising Llobet's virtuosity. The sources of these reviews are *Der Gitarrefreund*, the daily *Hamburg*, *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, and *La Guitarra*, as well as Fritz Buek, author of *Die Gitarre und ihre Meister*, and Giovanni Murtula, president of the Italian Guitar Association. The reviews quoted by Tonazzi are unanimous in praising Llobet's virtuosity.

He also quotes a review of a concert in Monaco in 1914 at which more than two hundred people were turned away, despite the fact that additional listeners had to be accommodated on the stage. The program for this recital, as noted by Tonazzi, consisted of standard guitar repertoire by Fernando Sor, Tárrega, and Napoléon Coste as well as one of Llobet's own works (the *Variations on a Theme of Sor*) and his own transcriptions of Anton Rubenstein's *Romanza*, a *Bourrée* by J.S. Bach, and Albéniz's *Sevilla*.

In the ensuing years, Llobet revised his program, eliminating works that, according to Tonazzi, were "shoddy" (id. 17). His concert season of 1930-1931 included the Suite in D minor by Baroque guitarist Robert de Visée, as well as a greater concentration of works by contemporary composers, including Pedrell, Tórroba, Ponce, de Falla, and Villa-Lobos. A 1931 program quoted by Tonazzi is as follows:

Fernando Sor	Minuetto
	Estudio
Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	Andante (from "Don Giovanni")
Johann Sebastian Bach	Prelude
Francisco Tárrega	Rêve
Alfonso Broqua	Ecos de Paisaje
Rogelio Villar	Chanson de Leon
Federico Moreno Tórroba	Nocturno
Isaaz Albéniz	Torre Bermeja (trans. Llobet)
Enrique Granados	Danza (trans. Llobet)
Felix Mendelssohn	Barcarolle (trans. Llobet)
Manuel de Falla	Chanson gitane
Miguel Llobet	Jota

It should be noted that the practice of performing large multi-movement works, as is often encountered today, does not seem to have been considered by Llobet. Indeed, the Bach and the Broqua are single movements taken from larger works. This practice was to be continued by Segovia and other guitarists until the last quarter of the twentieth century.

Tonazzi helps to strengthen the argument that Llobet shaped the modern guitar in his discussion of Llobet's relationship with Tárrega. While not going as far as Matanya Ophee, whose article deconstructing Tárrega's contribution to the modern school of guitar pedagogy will be discussed later in this chapter, he opens up the possibility that Tárrega did less than has been previously believed. For example, he states:

> *Llobet considerò l'arte di Tárrega (che egli venerava ed ammirava profondamente) come una ambita méta da ragiungere ma, animato da una incontenibile passione e consapevole del proprio talento, si sentì spinto ad arrivare a quella méta con le proprie forze, cioè senza sottostare passivamente e completamente ai pur preziosi insegnamenti del maestro.... Llobet non solo raggiungesse quella méta ma la surpasse*[7] (id. 13).

Tonazzi goes on to quote a description by Llobet of his own experience while studying with Tárrega. Unfortunately, he fails to cite the source of the quotation. According to the quote, Llobet would observe Tárrega playing an assigned exercise, and then would go home and practice it. To the mind of this writer, this description raises the question whether or not Llobet learned the so-called "Tárrega school" from Tárrega. Observation and emulation, while a useful tool in conjunction with clear instruction, can hardly be considered good pedagogical practice. Indeed, as shall be seen later, Tárrega's students were not in complete agreement on the details of what constituted the Tárrega school. It is the version of the Tárrega school that Llobet practiced and taught that is today's standard. (See pages 103 and 106 for a discussion of the use of nails and of free stroke.) Whether or not one gives him full credit for developing the guitar pedagogy generally attributed to Tárrega, one must be struck by Llobet's efforts to bring these developments to light internationally. Tonazzi, following the prevailing thought on the matter, credits Llobet with the propagation of the Tárrega technique throughout the Americas, particularly in Argentina through, Domingo Prat. Nevertheless, it should be observed that in the quote above Tonazzi does point out that Llobet reached his goal "by

[7] "Llobet considered the art of Tárrega (which he venerated and admired profoundly) as an ambitious goal to be reached but, animated by an uncontainable passion and aware of his true talent, he felt himself driven to reach that goal by his own forces, that is without adhering passively and completely to the precious teachings of the master...Llobet not only reached that goal but he surpassed it."

his own forces, that is without adhering passively and completely to the precious teachings of the master."

Tonazzi's strongest affirmation of Llobet's contribution is in his discussion of his approach to scoring for the guitar. He refers to Tárrega as having "concluded a period of guitarism" while the "initiation of a new one was determined by the work of Miguel Llobet..." (id. 30). The "guitarism" to which Tonazzi refers is the attempt to "annul the timbral diversity of the six strings of the guitar to obtain a sonic homogeneity..." Llobet, on the other hand, "valued the natural characteristic of each string..." (ibid.). Hence, Llobet's compositions, arrangements, and transcriptions tend to be characterized by an attempt to keep important melodic lines on one string. The subsequent shifting of one line to another string may be regarded as a technique of orchestration; the practice imparts a new timbre to the melody, and more often than not allows for a reharmonization, as well as a shift in the position of the melodic notes within their respective chords. A line that first “floated” above the chords now may be a prominent inner voice.

Angelo Gilardino’s “La rinascita della chitarra”

Angelo Gilardino gives a well-reasoned account of the rediscovery of the guitar in the twentieth century. Rather than arguing that the guitar was of no consequence in earlier ages, an argument that is not supported by the body of work left for the instrument by Mauro Giuliani, Fernando Sor, Matteo Carcassi, Niccolo Paganini, Napoleon Coste and numerous others, he views the guitar as having suffered a decline from which it was saved by its rediscovery in the early part of the century by a handful of players, including, most importantly for the purpose pursued here, Miguel Llobet.

To his credit, Gilardino refuses to accept the notion that Segovia was the principal engineer of this new movement. "*Finora, il fenomeno è superficialmente attribuito alla comparsa di un grande virtuoso della chitarra, qual è stato Andrés Segovia. Tale attribuzione è un tipico esempio di capovolgimento dei rapporti di causa ed effetto, per cui un fenomeno riflesso viene indicato come un fenomeno riflettente*"[8] (Gilardino 1972, 10).

Gilardino continues by observing that until the end of the nineteenth century the guitar's position in the music world was peripheral. He goes on to discuss Tárrega's significance. Although, as will be seen below, he is quite a bit kinder to Tárrega's legacy than is Matanya Ophee, he nevertheless points out that Tárrega represented an "introduction to the rediscovery that was to begin after him" (id. 10).

It is in his paragraph on Llobet that Gilardino is most revealing. He refers to the Catalan folk songs as pointing out the "exact way" of the future of the guitar (id. 11). In the same sentence he also corrects the stylistic misconception perpetuated by Tonazzi by saying that these pieces are "improperly defined as 'impressionism'".

Gilardino says that only through the sensibilities of a composer could the rebirth of the guitar have come to fruition. He perhaps overstates his case in saying that Debussy's having entertained the idea of writing for the guitar is indicative of a completion of the process of the evolution of the guitar's rediscovery. This may well have been an important point in the process, but can hardly be thought of as its acme. Indeed, since this time many important composers have actually followed through on their intent to write for the guitar.

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[8] Up until know the phenomenon is generally and superficially attributed to the appearance of one great virtuoso, Andrés Segovia. Such attribution is a typical example of overturning the relationship of cause

Angleo Gilardino's "La musica per chitarra nel secolo XX ix i chitarristi – compositori"

This part of a series on twentieth-century guitar by Angelo Gilardino focuses on the guitarist - composers. The short section on Llobet refers to him as "one of the greatest exponents of the 'lost generation' that prepared, from the years 1900 to 1920, the rediscovery of the guitar" (Gilardino 1984, 31). The term "lost generation" is in English and Gilardino does not explain what he means by it. He incorrectly identifies Llobet's compositions as impressionistic, but does mention his "elaborate harmonies" and "confident chromaticism." He discusses the Catalan folk song arrangements, but, curiously, ignores Llobet's original compositions which would have supported his statement that Llobet crossed the "threshold that is truly called 'the suspension of tonality.'"

Matanya Ophee's "The Promotion of Francisco Tárrega - A Case History"

In this two-part article Matanya Ophee sets out to debunk the myth that Francisco Tárrega (1852-1909) is the father of the modern school of guitar pedagogy. He argues convincingly that Tárrega's disciples created this misconception in a misguided attempt to deify a rather unworthy artist. Ophee makes a number of points that may prove useful in supporting the hypothesis that Llobet was instrumental in the creation of the school that he so effectively propagated throughout the Americas.

A number of names recur with great regularity throughout Ophee's article. Not the least of these is Julio Sagreras, whose method and *estudios* are a staple to the advanced instruction of guitarists throughout the world. Ophee summarizes Sagreras'

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and effect, in which a rellected phenomenon is pointed out as a reflecting phenomenon."

description of the Tárrega School as follows: (1) Right-hand technique, ie. *appoyando*[9]; (2) Perpendicular position of the right hand; (3) The angle at which the guitar is held; and (4) Expanded use of the right-hand ring finger.

Ophee rounds out this summary with a quote from Harvey Turnbull's book in which the support of the instrument on the left leg is credited to Tárrega. Turnbull attributes this technical development to the advances made by Antonio Torres (1817-1892), the luthier whose design for the guitar has been universally adopted as the standard for classical guitar construction. This larger instrument can be more easily supported on the left leg than the older, smaller instruments.

Ophee points out that the rest stroke (*appoyando*) was not invented by Tárrega, but was described much earlier by Federico Moretti (1763-1838), Dionisio Aguado (1784-1849), and Fernando Sor (1778-1839). He further observes that these same writers reveal significant details regarding the use of the right-hand ring finger. Finally, he asserts that the placement of the instrument on the left leg was used in Italy by Ferdinando Carulli (1770-1841), Francesco Molino (1768-1847) and Matteo Carcassi (1792-1853).

While it would seem that no single detail of the so-called Tárrega School can be said to have originated any later than the mid-nineteenth century, there is no indication that the synthesis of these techniques precedes Tárrega. Ophee, who seems intent on discrediting Tárrega, makes no attempt to trace the history of this synthesis, a synthesis that is, in fact, the modern school of guitar pedagogy. Either the conventional thinking is correct and Tárrega is indeed the source of this synthesis, or some other source must be credited.

[9] A particular stroke for playing accented notes. The guitarist leans the finger into the string, coming to rest against the adjacent string.

Ophee's article makes a good case for rethinking the source of this modern school. To begin with, Ophee states, "Perhaps one of the most important propagandists of the image of Tárrega as the 'Father of Modern Guitar Technique' was his student and disciple, Emilio Pujol, who passed away on November 15th, 1980" (Ophee 1981 part one, 154). Pujol published a well-known book, *Escuela Razonada de la Guitarra basada en los principios de la técnica de Tárrega*[10], which is the principal written method and primary source to actually name Tárrega as the founder of this school. However, an article by Theodorus M. Hofmeester, Jr. in *Guitar Review*, 1, no.1, (1946) is also cited by Ophee, who states, "The Hofmeester article and, in fact, a considerable amount of writings in guitar publications since the death of Tárrega in 1909, reflect the fact that there was a continuing debate among Tárrega's own students, and among guitar scholars in general, regarding the precise nature of that agglomeration of teachings which the Spanish master is supposed to have left behind" (Ophee 1981 part one, 155). Ophee further observes that Domingo Prat, who was a pupil of Llobet, wrote in his *Diccionario* that there could be no School of Tárrega because Tárrega left no written method or rules for playing.

Allan Clive Jones' "Pujol's article in Lavignac's *Encyclopédie*"

Allan Clive Jones' article begins with a brief foreword in which he points out that the Pujol article is primarily of importance because of what it says regarding Llobet and Segovia. Pujol was personally well acquainted with both guitarists. Jones then proceeds to quote a lengthy extract from the article entitled "The present-day guitar" in an English translation. Credit is neither given, nor taken, for the translation.

Pujol begins by listing some of the facts of Llobet's extraordinary concert career. He points out that "His association with [Albéniz, Ravel, and Debussy] and the refined

[10] School of Reason of the Guitar based on the principles of the technique of Tárrega

artistic world he inhabited, were a decisive influence on his intellect" (Jones 1998, 24). Pujol continues with a mention of Llobet's early successes in performing at the *Societe Nationale de Musique, La Trompette,* the *Schola Cantorum*. He points out that "these groups conferred eligibility on the formerly plebian instrument, now ennobled at a stroke" (ibid.). One must be struck by the assertion by Pujol, as an accomplished player and disciple of Tárrega, that the guitar was once provincial, and had now, in Llobet's hands, become accepted in higher artistic circles.

Pujol observes that Llobet's harmonic language ushers in a new aesthetic in guitar composition, and that it is because of him that modern composers have written works that take full advantage of the guitar. In subsequent paragraphs, Pujol also credits Segovia with influencing composers, but his influence is that of the interpreter only. Segovia left no body of music that would demonstrate what the guitar could do.

The only mention of pedagogy is in a footnote. Pujol writes, "Domingo Prat, pupil of Miguel Llobet, and Josefina Robledo, pupil of Tárrega, were the first to spread the modern Spanish school in South America" (id. 26).

Rino Trasi's "La chitarra de Llobet"

Although entitled "The Guitar of Llobet", this article actually is a discussion of the music of Llobet. Had the author chosen to discuss the guitar of Llobet, one would expect him to have addressed pedagogical concepts. The author, Rino Trasi, makes some valuable observations regarding the nature of Llobet's original compositions. For example, he rightly points out that the favored forms are ABA and A-A1, and that in this

Llobet is a *"figlio dei suoi predecessori e non si dá certo da fare per superare ... che per i chitarristi è una autentica gabbia"*[11] (Trasi 1994, 21).

It must be assumed that Trasi refers to the folksong arrangements when he states that, in contrast to Tárrega, Llobet is "*schiavo del pensiero melodico*"[12] (ibid.). He proceeds then to describe Llobet's inventive use of harmony. He observes that Llobet creates a spacious harmonic style by utilizing augmented triads and diminished seventh chords, secondary dominants, fragments of whole tone scales, altered chords, etc., often obscuring the tonality. This final point, however, is highly questionable, and this author is hard pressed to find a single example in any of Llobet's music in which the tonic is not clearly discernable. Llobet's most arcane harmonic structures are to be found in his Prelude in E major, and the key is never in question.

Nevertheless, Trasi does not permit himself to fall into the trap of calling Llobet's music "impressionistic", and goes to some lengths to correct Tonazzi's error in so naming it. Trasi points to the suspension of harmonic movement as impressionism's most salient feature.

Trasi's pithy discussion of the harmonic workings of the Estudio in E major sums the work up efficiently. He observes that the work hinges on the tonal possibilities implied in the augmented triad, but once again points out that the work is still little more than dominant-to-tonic movement. Indeed this immature work (1899), although not without merit, is among Llobet's less interesting pieces.

Trasi continues with a brief discussion of the *Estudio-Capricho.* He points out the use of the pentatonic scale and its tonal possibilities. He makes much of Llobet's

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[11] "son of his predecessors and does not surpass ... what for guitarists is a genuine cage."
[12] "slave to the melodic thought"

remarkable ability to evade cadential resolution, and although this was hardly a new development in the early years of the twentieth century, it may be thought of as a recent addition to the tonal palette of guitarists at the time. Trasi makes a good point in observing that this technique was later put to good use in the guitar music of Manuel Ponce, particularly in his *Sonata III* and the *Tema varie et finale.*

Trasi devotes a few paragraphs to placing Llobet in a historical perspective. He notes that Llobet was active at a time when styles were quite diverse. Composers mentioned include Richard Strauss, Webern, Satie, Stravinsky, Bartòk, Berg, Schoenberg, Ravel, Hindemith, de Falla, and Puccini. Trasi states that Llobet "had a Parisian ear" (id. 24).

Some of Trasi's most valuable observations may be found in the section on "guitaristic idiom". Almost at the outset he states *"io credo che l'aspetto più significativo della sua opera non sia il linguaggio in senso astratto, puanto piuttosto il colore strumentale, vera base del suo idioma chitarristico"*[13] (ibid.). Precisely what this means may be unclear at first, but Trasi goes to some lengths to clarify and make a convincing case for his statement.

He discusses effects that are singularly pianistic in contrast to those that are guitaristic. He is quite clear in pointing out that idiomatic writing is not unique to Llobet, but that his approach is quite new. In Trasi's view, and he is quite right, the use of timbre and voicing is the defining characteristic of Llobet's music. As he states, *"Altro aspetto assolutamente nuovo della sua scrittura è la continua ricerca di timbre diversi..."*[14] (id.

[13]"I believe that the most significant aspect of his work is not the language in the abstract sense as much as perhaps the instrumental color, the true basis of his guitaristic idiom."
[14] "Another absolutely new aspect of his writing is the continuous search for different timbres..."

25). Trasi cites examples from *El Mestre*, *Canço del Lladre*, and *Respuesta.* He describes the shifting of melodic lines to inner voices or to other strings, which on the guitar creates new timbral effects, the combined use of harmonics and natural sounding notes, the subtle altering of figurations in the accompaniment, and the changes in harmony as techniques that Llobet uses.

Many of these techniques will be examined more closely in the analyses of selected works in Chapter Three of this essay.

Miguel Llobet Guitar Works

The five volumes that comprise the Chanterelle edition of Llobet's original music and transcriptions contain in their introductions a wealth of information that is not to be found anywhere else. These introductions, written by Ronald Purcell, give a more accurate and complete picture of Llobet's life and work than anything previously published. Each volume contributes something unique and, accordingly, will be examined individually.

Volume 1, 11 Original Compositions

Much of what is contained in this introduction has already been addressed in the first chapter, under the subheading "Biography." There is much more of value that may be found in this volume. Purcell begins with a discussion of Llobet's relationship with his most famous teacher and his most famous, if somewhat contested, pupil. As observed in Chapter One, Segovia claimed to be self-taught, and underplayed his debt to Llobet. However, Purcell goes out of his way to mention "Andrés Segovia, whom [sic] by his very tactful avoidance of answering certain questions about his relationship to Llobet peaked my curiosity and desire to learn more about this artiste" (Llobet 1989 1: v).

Llobet's indebtedness to Tárrega is not directly discussed, but his reaction to his teacher's death in a published tribute is quoted in a translation by J. Rowies, a Parisian music editor and publisher:

> It is for me a profoundly grateful duty toward him who was my never-to-be-forgotten master, the wonderful Francisco Tárrega, whose premature death has cast me into deepest mourning, to dedicate a thought to his glorious memory.
>
> In speaking of Tárrega it is not sufficient to say that he was the foremost guitarist of an epoch, for one must go farther back than that to find the masters of his genius, such as Sor and Aguado and even these would have been the first to recognize the superiority of Tárrega, by reason of the degree of perfection to which he was able to raise the instrument that he adored and which, by his demise, has lost the most eminent, most imposing figure of all times.
>
> Tárrega, in fact, besides his marvelous and unique execution which allowed no criticism nor admitted of any rivalry, was for the guitar the creator of a new school which opened up new horizons, both on account of the harmonious series of sounds and the effect of the sound qualities which he could obtain and which he alone made the most of in a manner both simple and sublime.
>
> It cannot be denied that his natural gift, his exceptional faculties, his admirable artistic temperament and his superior musical knowledge combined to make him the eminent, refined and subtle artist which Art has just lost; his compositions which were veritable gems, bearing the stamp of grandeur, delicacy and sublime harmony, will remain the crowning work of everything that has been done in the history of the guitar; his Preludes, to cite only the last pages of his works, comprise the most beautiful pages of contemporary music.
>
> But the most beautiful pearls of his musical treasures, those to which he owes the greatest laurels of his glory, were the imposing arrangements that he made of the works of the Great Masters. One might say that he had specialized in this work, and he had such ingeniousness that thanks to the admirable manner in which he was able to analyze and interpret the thoughts of the composers, his arrangements seem to be personal creations exclusively inspired for the instrument for which he intended them.
>
> If only the Masters who thus furnished him with the canvas for his work could have seen the relief, the light and the new life that he made scintillate in their works when he executed them with his incomparable mastery, what joy they would have felt!

It is important to observe here that this may not have been an entirely honest tribute. Domingo Prat "identifies [an] unknown author as a pupil of Tárrega and a famous concert guitarist in his own right. Then he confides to us, in a somewhat roundabout manner, that the author of the article, which contained a eulogy of Tárrega,

'boastfully admitted' to him that his real opinion of Tárrega was quite different from that which he expressed in the eulogy.... It is apparent that in his references to his eulogy, Prat is hinting at some dark secret which, according to him, possessed Llobet to write of Tárrega in language full of praise, while not actually having such lofty opinions of his teacher" (Ophee 1981, part one 156-157). This assertion is starkly refuted by Hector Garcia (see page 87).

Purcell's most pithy observations may be found in his discussion of Llobet's contributions to the expansion of the guitar repertoire. Of his approximately one hundred publications, twenty-five are original compositions. Purcell notes the influence of Chopin on Llobet's early works, and of Wagner and the impressionists on his mature style. He notes that Llobet was a travelling companion of both de Falla and Richard Strauss. Purcell discusses Llobet's use of coloristic effects such as pizzicato, harmonics, and right-hand placement near the bridge (*sul ponticello*) or over the upper fingerboard (*sul tasto*), as well as his use of the diverse timbres of each of the six strings to create orchestral effects. Most importantly, Purcell summarizes, "Through the performance of these works on concert tours Llobet shed new light on the guitar as a viable musical instrument demanding to be part of the mainstream of contemporary music" (Llobet 1989, 1: iv).

Purcell gives brief discussions of a few of the works in this volume. He discusses the "bariolage," which is a rapid shifting back and forth between two or more strings, with the lower pitched strings producing the higher tones. He also makes some observations regarding Llobet's harmonic evolution from the Chopinesque *Romanza* (1896) to the Wagnerian tonal shifts and Impressionistic modalities of the *Prelude*

Originale (c.1912), and finally to the *Preludio, en mi major* (1935) with its pandiatonic leanings.

Finally, Purcell is the first to articulate the points on which this paper is based.

> To Miguel Llobet Soles is given the credit for bringing the classic guitar into the modern musical world of international concert tours, for contributing new works to the repertoire, both original as well as transcribed; for presenting to the public in performance the new works of such composers as de Falla, Villa-Lobos, Ponce and others; for teaching the pedagogical principles of Tárrega; and, of utmost importance, for having made the first electric recordings of the classic guitar (id. v).[15]

In the pages that follow Purcell's notes one finds several interesting photographs, concert and recital programs, articles, and reviews. One extract from *"Le Courrier"* of Paris is of particular interest. It refers to Llobet's performances in Paris at the *Schola Cantorum* and the *Trompette-Societe Nationale de Musique*, observing, "He is the only Guitarist [*sic*] who has been asked to play within those well informed and critical musical circles" (id. xi). The article goes on to say that "Upon this instrument he has done wonders in music, on this instrument, the Guitar, [*sic*] which once we thought and so wrongly was destined only for the rendering 'of some Serenade of Love [sic] under a starry sky.'" The programs will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Volume 2, 16 Folksong Settings

In the introduction to this volume, Purcell begins with a summary of the relationship of Llobet to both Tárrega and Segovia, and of the biographical information found in volume one. To this section, Purcell adds several excerpts from reviews of Llobet's public performances. These reviews marvel at the beauty of his sound, his transcriptions, and the vigorous quality of his interpretations, comparing him to Paganini

[15] This author would go considerably further in the assessment of Llobet's pedagogical contribution.

and referring to him as the "Casals of the guitar" (Llobet 1989, 2: iii).

The remainder of the introduction is a discussion of a few of the folk songs themselves, particularly *El Mestre.* Purcell provides a monophonic transcription of the original folksong with the words and a translation. These will be reproduced in this paper in the analysis of *El Mestre*, as will his observations regarding some of its expressive devices. Purcell also notes the unusual indication of the harmonics in *Leonesa*, and the simple modal setting of *El Noi de la Mare.*

Volume 3, Ten Famous Transcriptions

This volume begins with a reiteration of the background information as it appears in volume two. Purcell then goes on to discuss the transcriptions. The transcriptions contained in this volume are *Cadiz, Serenata No. 4 de la Suite Española; Oriental, de Cantos de España, op. 232, no. 2; Sevilla, Sevillanas de la Suite Española;* and *Torre Bermeja, Serenata, op. 92, no. 2* by Isaac Albéniz, *Danzas Españolas nos. 5, 7, and 10 op. 37; Dedicatoria, Cuentos de la Juventud, op.1;* and *La Maja de Goya, Tonadilla* by Enrique Granados, and *Clavelitos, Zambra Gitana* by Joaquin Valverde.

Purcell keeps his comments on the music brief. He observes that Llobet's transcriptions were masterful, and have not to this day been equaled. In particular, he notes that the Albéniz *Torre Bermeja* is a "model of arranging a keyboard work for guitar solo. Granados' *La Maja de Goya* is carefully orchestrated and should be compared to the orchestral version for the colour effects Llobet has sought in his arrangements" (Llobet 1989, 3: iii).

Volume 4, 12 Famous Guitar Duos

The composers represented in this volume include Louis Claude Daquin, Isaac Albéniz, Enrique Granados, Eduardo Chavarri-Lopez, Mendelssohn, Mozart, and Tchaikovsky. Purcell makes some brief comments regarding a few of the compositions, but more information would have been welcomed. Particularly conspicuous by its absence is the failure to discuss the professional relationship between Llobet and Maria Luisa Anido. It was this partnership that inspired Llobet to create these arrangements.

Volume 5, Homenaje pour le Tombeau de Claude Debussy

In his introduction to this volume Purcell successfully clarifies why a work originally written for guitar by Manuel de Falla should be included in a series devoted to the music of Miguel Llobet. Certainly anyone familiar with the history of this composition would be aware of Llobet's hand in the creation of the piece, but the fact of providing inspiration and technical guidance may at first glance seem insufficient grounds for the inclusion of this work.

But it is the history of this piece that followed its initial publication in *La Revue Musicale* in 1920 that justifies its inclusion. In 1923 *Homenaje* was again printed, this time in the debut issue of *La Guitarra, su Historia, Fomento y Cultura.* In this printing the piece contained important editorial markings, which were provided by Llobet. Finally, in 1926, the London publishing house of J. & W. Chester, Ltd., published what is now considered the definitive edition, again edited and fingered by Llobet.

Walter Spalding's "Reminiscences of Llobet. A conversational fragment with Rey de la Torre"

This brief illumination of the professional environment into which Llobet thrust himself shows what a rarity the classical guitar was. Rey states, "Llobet, at the time, when he started, was really doing pioneer work. Classical guitar was almost a dirty word. Nobody would pay attention, no musicians, or very few, would think seriously of it" (Spalding 1977, 44). Rey goes on to discuss some of Llobet's personal habits regarding practicing and performing, observing that although he concertized a great deal, he was not driven to perform.

Carl van Vechten's "A Critic's View of Llobet"

In this short excerpt on the guitar music of Spain, Carl van Vechten displays an ignorance of the differences between classical and flamenco guitar occasionally seen today. Judging by Rey de la Torre's comments in the article discussed above, it would be fair to assume that this ignorance was widespread. Indeed, the author quotes Richard Ford (no publication is cited) as saying "The performers seldom are very scientific musicians; they content themselves with striking chords, sweeping the whole hand over the strings, or flourishing, and tapping the board with the thumb...the guitar responds coldly to Italian words and elaborate melody, which never come home to Spanish ears or hearts" (Van Vechten 1977, 42).

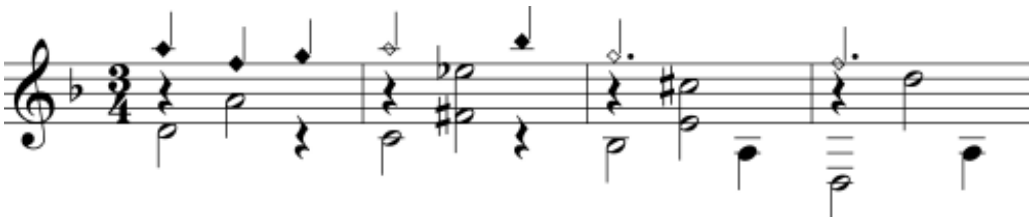
Van Vechten then describes the single exception, Llobet. "I first heard him play at Pitts Sanborn's concert at the Punch and Judy Theatre (April 17, 1916)...and he made a deep impression on me. In one of the numbers, the Spanish Fantasy of Tárrega, he astounded and thrilled me. He seemed at all times to exceed the capacity of his instrument, obtaining a variety of colour which was truly amazing" (ibid.). It is clear that

until his exposure to Llobet van Vechten was completely unfamiliar with the classical guitar. It would seem that even after having heard Llobet, van Vechten did not have a clear idea of the classical guitar and its history and aesthetic. The writer whom he quotes, Richard Ford, seemed to share van Vechten's ignorance.

Summary

The extent of Miguel Llobet's influence may be seen by an evaluation of the changes and advances in the guitar's repertoire, pedagogy and reputation that can be traced to him. Changes in how the guitar was played, for example, are abundantly evident in the articles discussed in this chapter. Two types of innovations may be seen. The first is an innovation in the way the guitar is orchestrated: in its use of timbral effects and string voicings. Purcell, Tonazzi and Trasi refer to Llobet's exploitation of the different timbres of each string to create orchestral effects. This is sharply contrasted with the efforts of the previous generation of guitarists to negate these differences. Trasi also points out that Llobet explored the use of new timbral effects, combining artificial and natural harmonics with natural sounding notes. An excellent example may be seen in this excerpt from *El Testament d'Amelia*.

Example 2.1: El Testament d'Amelia, Llobet.



The second innovation, as Purcell mentions, is Llobet's exploration of novel coloristic effects such as pizzicato and right-hand placement. These techniques have provided guitarists and composers with a rich new palette of sounds with which to expand the artistic capabilities of the instrument, and are considered a normal part of modern guitar composition and interpretation.

A new, although quite supportable, interpretation of the history of the guitar credits Llobet with having developed the school of pedagogy that was attributed to Tárrega. Ironically, the present basis for this argument has its origins in Matanya Ophee's article, in which he argues that the components of the Tárrega school were all in place prior to the mid-nineteenth century. Although Ophee's argument would also imply that Llobet could no more be given credit than could Tárrega, it is understood that the components of a school of pedagogy need not be entirely new. Rather, it is the synthesis of disparate pedagogical tenets by one person that constitutes a true school. However, in the process of debunking the myth of Tárrega, Ophee succeeds in drawing attention to certain facts that make it difficult to attribute the origins of this school to Tárrega with any degree of authority. Not the least of these facts is that Tárrega's own students were not in agreement as to the precise nature of these teachings.

This, of course, raises the question regarding to whom this school may be traced. Pujol, who was responsible for the earliest published source to credit Tárrega, was well enough acquainted with Llobet to have known his technique. Given that he was, in Ophee's opinion, a pro-Tárrega propagandist it would not be unreasonable to surmise that he mistakenly attributed Llobet's technique to Tárrega. This is, of course, speculative, and does nothing to actually prove that Llobet was responsible for creating this school of

pedagogy. But taken with additional bits of evidence it lends support to the theory and helps to explain the error.

The so-called Tárrega school has important parallels to what is sometimes called the "Segovia Technique." Segovia certainly did not receive it directly from Tárrega. The discussion of Segovia's relationship with Llobet is discussed in Chapter One in the subheading, "Biography." Add to this Segovia's reluctance to discuss Llobet with Purcell, and his desire to portray himself as self-taught, and one is easily led to believe that Segovia could have received his knowledge of technique from none other than Llobet. Evidence of Segovia's study with Llobet is discussed in Chapter Four, and differences between Llobet's approach and Tárega's are discussed in Chapter Five.

Llobet's tutelage of Rey de la Torre was well thought out, and organized around clearer pedagogical precepts than was his own under Tárrega, as quoted by Tonazzi (see page twenty-seven). Rey most assuredly used, and taught, the so-called Tárrega technique, and this author studied it under him. Ophee argues that there is no such school of pedagogy, but that the approach used today goes back to the classical period. Once again, it should be pointed out that the school should rightly be recognized as an amalgam of disparate techniques that had been in use for a century. The origins of this school can be traced to Llobet, but given the apparent weakness of his instruction by Tárrega, and the disagreement among guitar scholars and Tárrega's own pupils as to what exactly it was that Tárrega taught, it would appear that the path backwards from Llobet is vague. In discussions that this writer had with Josep Mangado, author of the voluminous "*La Guitarra en Catalunya*", and Fernando Alonso, the collector who has been in possession of the Llobet archive since the mid nineteen-eighties, they indicated that they

support the hypothesis that Llobet contributed more to today's school of pedagogy than did Tárrega. It would seem that Llobet is the only one to whom credit may be given for its development with any assuredness whatsoever.

Llobet's contributions to the guitar repertoire are much more easily evaluated. Llobet contributed to the expansion of the repertoire in three ways. First, he transcribed and arranged. In and of itself this was nothing new, but his transcriptions brought the guitar to a new level of sophistication. Appleby points out how much more satisfying his arrangements were than those of Tárrega and, one might add, anyone else who came before. Purcell's comments on transcriptions support this. His folk song arrangements, as Rey de la Torre observes, break new ground for the guitar. Pujol praises his harmonic language, and Purcell's comments on special techniques say as much about Llobet's musical contributions as they do about his technical innovations.

Llobet's second approach to expanding the repertoire was to compose. There is some overlapping between composing and arranging when one discusses the folk song arrangements. Details regarding these will be discussed in the next chapter through musical analysis. Gilardino discusses Llobet's suspension of tonality and his extensive use of chromaticism. He is joined in his view of Llobet's harmonic language by Pujol, who also credits Llobet's harmonic language with showing modern composers how to take full advantage of the guitar. Trasi supports this observation with examples by Manuel Ponce.

Llobet's third form of repertoire expansion, the encouragement of other composers to write for the guitar, although not fruitful in quantity, was certainly fecund in quality. The only known work to result from this was the de Falla *Homenaje.* This

work is considered a miniature masterpiece, and is the first modern work for the classical guitar, as well as one of the earliest solo works (perhaps the first) to be written for the guitar by a major composer. It is regrettable that neither Debussy nor Hindemith followed through on their stated intentions to compose for Llobet. This encouragement of composers by Llobet, however small in its scope, did have the effect of stimulating later guitarists to commission composers to write for the guitar. Guitarists who have commissioned new works include Segovia, Julian Bream, John Williams, Sharon Isbin, and David Starobin. Composers who have written solo guitar works have included Britten, Carter, Berio, Ponce, Rodrigo, Martin, Walton, and Ginastera. Composers who have included the guitar in ensembles have included Schoenberg, Webern, Stravinsky, Boulez, and Crumb.

Llobet's most significant contribution to the guitar in the twentieth century is his success in elevating its status among other musicians, critics and audiences. As Rey de la Torre points out, the classical guitar was not known outside of Barcelona and Buenos Aires, a statement which is reinforced by the quote from Janie Villiers-Wardell cited by Appleby, by the admission in *Le Courrier* to having misjudged the guitar, and the opinions found in the view by van Vechten.

Llobet's success in elevating the classical guitar's status was in no small part the result of his efforts to create a viable school of pedagogy and to expand the repertoire. Conversely, the elevation of its status has encouraged the expansion of its repertoire, as composers are more willing to write for an instrument that has an audience. No instrument can be taken seriously without a well-developed pedagogy and a repertoire consisting of major works.

The remaining obstacle was to actually perform throughout the world in important venues, and to attract audiences and critics. It was not, as many believe, Segovia who first cleared this hurdle. Tonazzi expresses surprise at finding a concert career as busy as Llobet's was prior to Segovia, and Gilardino pointedly states that to attribute the rebirth of the guitar to Segovia is to reverse the cause and its effect. In other words, Segovia's fame did not spur this rebirth, but was actually one of its results. It should be noted that Gilardino discusses the rebirth of the guitar following a decline and in doing so implies that it had a greater reputation at one time. Although this is true, it is also a fact that the guitar has at no time prior to ours been so widely accepted throughout the world.

The vindication of the guitar's reputation at Llobet's hands began in 1905 with his performances in Paris at the *Schola Cantorum*, "*La Trompette*," and the "*Société Nationale de Musique*. Acceptance by these groups, as Pujol points out in Lavignac's *Encylopédie*, conferred a status not previously enjoyed by the guitar, and *Le Courrier*, as cited by Purcell in his introduction to volume one of the Llobet series, reveals how unique these performances were. Tonazzi's review excerpts from *Der Gitarrefreund*, the daily *Hamburg, Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, and *La Guitarra*, as well as Fritz Buek, author of *Die Gitarre un ihre Meister*, and Giovanni Murtula, president of the Italian Guitaristic Association praising Llobet's virtuosity, are indicative of Llobet's ultimate success in this endeavor. The review of a concert in 1914 in which more than two hundred people were turned away reveals the extent to which audiences responded favorably to the classical guitar. However, the ultimate proof of the success of Llobet's efforts to elevate the status of the guitar may well be in the fact that we no longer find critics astonished at the capabilities of the guitar as some were during Llobet's time.

Chapter 3

LLOBET'S COMPOSITIONS:
AN ANALYTIC EXAMINATION OF SELECTED WORKS

Introduction

The compositions of Miguel Llobet reveal an evolution of thought and practice from his early, somewhat reactionary, works to his late works that show the influence of the Parisian *avant-garde*. Analyses of selected works and comparison with works by other composers make clear that Llobet's earliest compositions show a greater sensitivity to harmonic nuance than do those of other guitar composers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The broadening of his harmonic vocabulary takes place in his middle-period works, and finally, his late works embrace the expanded harmonies used by his Impressionist contemporaries and the weakening of functional tonality that goes with them.

The influence of Chopin's music on Llobet's early works has been noted by a number of the sources cited in this essay. This leads one to the question of Llobet's guitaristic influences. Surely there must have been individuals among the guitar composers of the previous generation whose works were emulated by the youthful Llobet. The figure of Tárrega emerges. Despite previously cited indications that Llobet's private opinion of Tárrega may have differed considerably from his public opinion, one

must make a few mitigating observations. The low esteem that Llobet is purported to have admitted to having had for his teacher would, if it existed, most likely have been a mature opinion. It is extremely unlikely that Llobet would have sought Tárrega out as a teacher had he had this opinion as a youth. Therefore, it is reasonable to look for Tárrega's influence in Llobet's youthful works.

For example, although Llobet's earliest published composition, *Romanza* (1896), is, as Purcell points out, Chopinesque in its harmonies, it follows one of Tárrega's favored formal plans quite closely. The *Romanza* begins with an A section in the key of C minor which is repeated. There follows a slightly longer B section, whose theme is an outgrowth of the A section theme, in the parallel major. This is similar to the scheme Tárrega used in two of his most important compositions, *Capricho árabe* and *Recuerdos de la Alhambra*. In both of those works, Tárrega follows the B section with a *da capo*. *Capricho árabe* is in an A-A-B-B-A form, with B being in the parallel major of A. *Recuerdos de la Alhambra* is in A-A-B-B-A-B form, also with B being in the parallel major of A.

The published edition of *Romanza* has a repeat of the B section, but no *da capo*, hence an A-A-B-B form. In this piece, as in the examples from Tárrega, B is in the parallel major of A. It is this writer's opinion, however, that Llobet intended a *da capo* rather than a repeat. The evidence is in the music itself in the first ending of the B section. This ending is the third measure of a return to the minor. Such a return makes sense in the context of the second ending. Llobet wanted to end the piece in the same mode in which he began, but in the context of a repeat of the B section, this three-measure return to the original mode seems rather forced, and is puzzling in its brevity.

The lack of a repeat mark at the beginning of the B section is also to be noted. The substitution of a *da capo* for the repeat solves the problem. This would have brought the formal structure (A-A-B-A-B) in line with Tárrega's example, particularly that of *Recuerdos de la Alhambra*, which repeats both the A and B sections before ending.

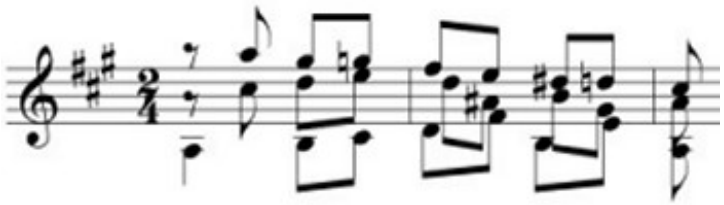
The resemblance to Tárrega goes no further than the modal and structural scheme. In his use of harmony, Llobet uses more chromaticism than his teacher ever did. To find examples of chromaticism in nineteenth-century guitar music one must go to two sources, Giulio Regondi (1822-1872) and Napoléon Coste (1805-1883). There is no evidence that Regondi was a likely influence on Llobet. None of the writings this author has examined have linked the two, and Regondi's music went out of print soon after his death six years before Llobet's birth, only to be rediscovered toward the end of the twentieth century. He was, however, known among guitarists in Paris as early as 1830, the year that Coste went there to study with Fernando Sor.

Coste was without a doubt an important influence on Llobet. His works appear on a number of Llobet's concert programs. The 1914 Monaco program cited by Tonazzi includes two etudes by Coste, and programs from October 29, 1912, in Philadelphia and April 25, 1916, in Boston, reproduced in the introduction to volume one of the Llobet series, include Coste etudes. Llobet also recorded an etude by Coste.

In his description of studies under Llobet, Rey de la Torre mentions having studied all twenty-six of Coste's opus 38 etudes (Rey 1985, 24). Rey also made a point of mentioning the importance of these studies to Llobet, and to himself, when the author was his student in 1975-1976.

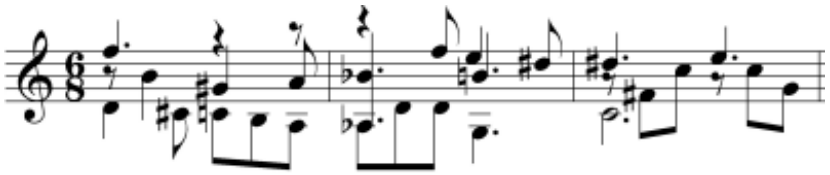
The most harmonically adventurous of Coste's opus 38 etudes is number nineteen. An examination of this work may afford a glimpse into Llobet's approach to chromatic alterations. For example, the piece opens with a progression in A major (example 3.1).

Example 3.1: Etude opus 38, no. 19, Coste.



The chromatic descent from A to C# is almost unbroken. The only whole step in the upper voice is the seventh of a secondary dominant. The third of this chord is itself a chromatic alteration. In fact, all of Coste's chromatic alterations serve to create secondary dominants. Compare this with the following excerpt from Llobet's *Romanza* (example 3.2).

Example 3.2: Romanza, Llobet.



The lower voice descends chromatically, with an ascending chromatic line in the inner voice beginning on the G# up to C. The chromatic alterations either create secondary

dominant functions or are traditional non-chordal tones, such as the upper-voice D# in the last measure, which is a suspension from the previous augmented triad.

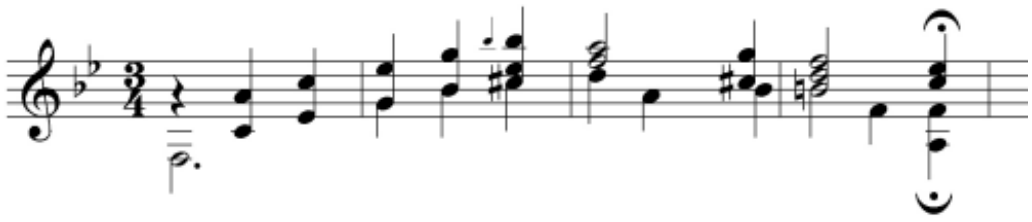
The first beat of the second measure of this example creates a somewhat dissonant clash between the A♭ and the B♭. The A♭ is the seventh in a third-inversion seven chord ($B^{\circ 7}$), which resolves to an augmented five chord. The B♭ in the melody is a chromatic passing tone going from the A to the B♮. This kind of chromaticism goes beyond Coste's secondary dominant function. So while Llobet may well have been influenced by the more advanced harmonies of Coste, he seemed acutely aware that the guitar was suffering from a diatonic stagnation.

Mazurka (1901)

Written when Llobet was twenty-three years of age, this minor work points toward some important trends in his style of composition. While his earlier music shows a nascent fertility in Llobet's harmonic sensibilities, this is the first to use such bold (for a guitarist at the turn of the century) chromaticism. It is also in this work that intimations of his method of using voice leading to supersede harmonic progression can be seen.

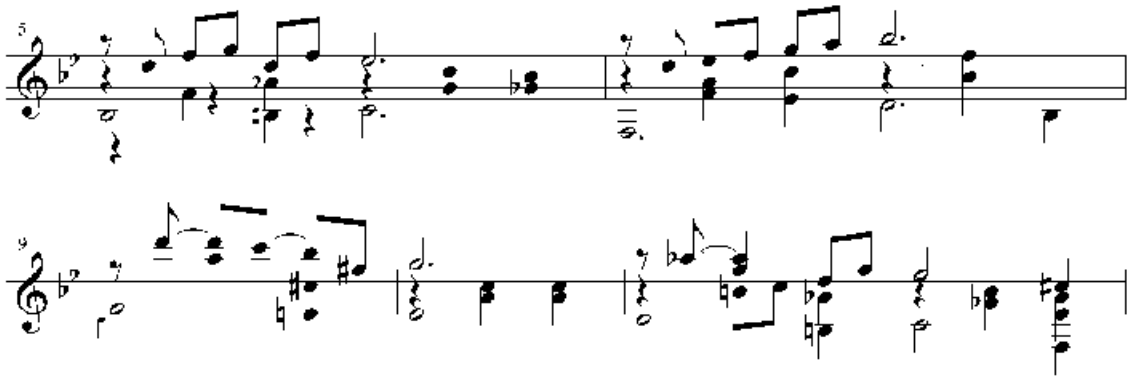
The piece, a five-part rondo, begins with a four-bar introduction over a dominant pedal. This opening (example 3.3) seems to be more like a prolonged anacrusis and, indeed, the final chord, a first-inversion V7 with a fermata, is the true point of the introduction.

Example 3.3: Mazurka, Llobet.



The first phrase to which this leads is in a clearly discernable periodic structure. The two opening phrases, bars five through twelve, constitute a more-or-less orthodox harmonic progression, as follows: I - vii^{o7}/ii | ii - ii$^{\varnothing 7}$ | V | I | followed by | iii – G♭ 6 | vii ½^{o}7 | vii^{o}7/ii | ii- ii$^{\varnothing 7}$ - V+7 | (example 3.4).

Example 3.4: Mazurka, Llobet.



This moves to I in the next phrase. The final chord in measure nine appears to be an inversion of F# minor seventh if the A in the previous chord is thought of as an implied third. Respelled as an augmented sixth, however, the chord and its resolution make perfect sense.

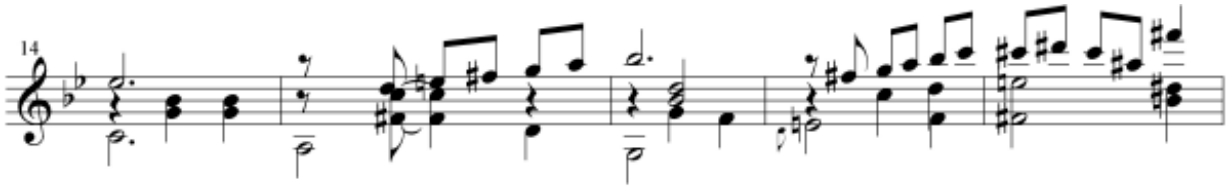
Llobet's fondness for the diminished seventh, and its resolution to an augmented V7, although not really novel, represents a bit of a departure from the harmonically-conservative guitar composers of Spain. It may be thought of as the next step after Coste, and has obvious links to the Parisian piano music of an earlier generation, as exemplified by Chopin.

The second period of the *Mazurka*, commencing in measure thirteen, begins the same

as the first, but by its third bar (measure fifteen) moves toward a cadence in G minor – V7/vi in measure fifteen to vi in measure sixteen (See example 3.5). Measures seventeen and eighteen increase the harmonic tension with a move toward B♮ - an enharmonic Neapolitan, predictably followed by V - I to complete the A section. The movement in measure seventeen, as in measure nine, although functional by nature, is remarkable for its voice leading. The lower voice moves in ascending half steps, E to F in measure seventeen to F# in the next measure. The upper voice moves stepwise (half steps and whole steps) from F# to C#, and the middle voice ascends in whole steps from C to E. Llobet's method of connecting by the smallest possible steps will show up in later works, such as *El Mestre*, and will often overshadow traditional harmonic function.

What is relevant here is the rather unexpected appearance of the Neapolitan in measure eighteen. Although the use of the Neapolitan was not new in Llobet's day, its appearance in guitar music represented a move away from the naive harmonies of Tárrega and Coste.

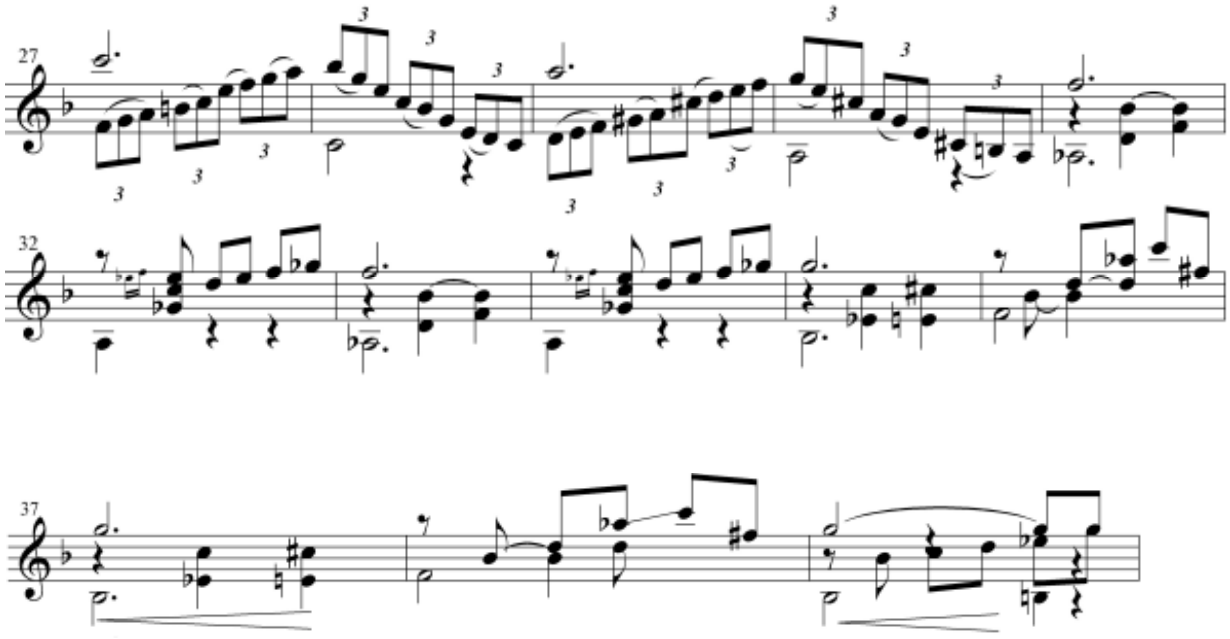
Example 3.5: Mazurka, Llobet.



The B section, beginning in measure twenty-one, is in D minor, and has an harmonically straightforward opening: i - iv - V7 - V/V - V7 with a repeat that replaces V/V - V7 with I (See example 3.6). This four-bar phrase is compressed to two, I - V7 played in F,

in measures twenty-seven and twenty-eight, then sequenced in d minor in measures twenty-nine and thirty. A move toward E♭ follows, with a third inversion V7 in E♭ in measure thirty-one moving to the vii°^{7} of V in measure thirty-two. This is reiterated in the following two measures, and finally resolves to E♭, which is slightly mitigated by the C on the second beat. The C# and E♮ on the last beat of measure thirty-five act as chromatic passing tones to the second-inversion dominant in measure thirty-six. These two measures are also repeated and finally resolve to E♭ in measure thirty-nine, where the move toward C minor begins. The somewhat unusual A♭ in measures thirty-one and thirty-three may be thought of as neighbor tones (or leading tones) to the A♮, giving a slight foreshadowing again of what will later become a priority in Llobet's music, i.e., voice leading by short steps.

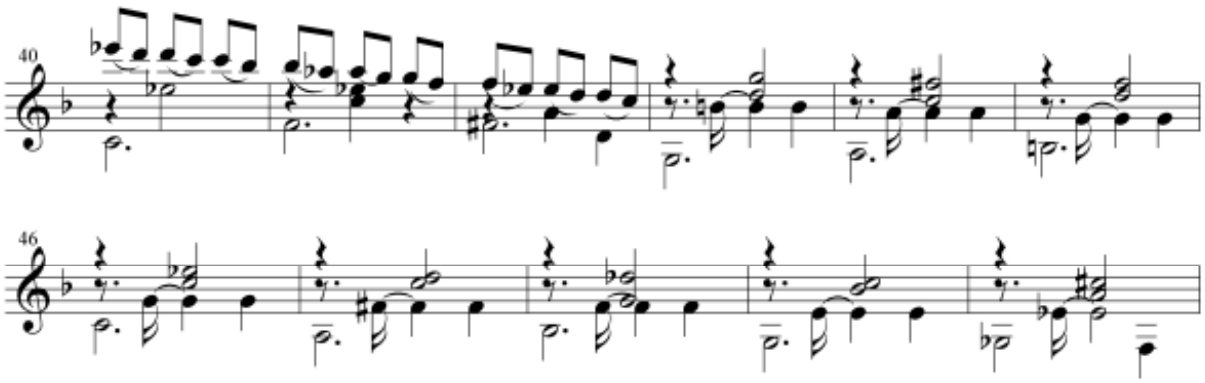
Example 3.6: Mazurka, Llobet.



The closing material, measures forty through fifty, (see example 3.7) is in C minor, moving from i | V7/vii | viiº7/ V | V | V7/V | V7 | I, followed by a second inversion five of five. Measure forty-eight is unstable, with a second inversion G half diminished seven resolving in measure forty-nine to a second inversion secondary dominant. This prepares the sudden modulation for the reprise of the A section that follows. Through an interesting bit of voice leading between bars forty-nine and fifty, an F augmented with a flatted seventh leads to the reprise.

It is interesting that in these final measures of the B section, Llobet could easily have taken the very predictable route of flatting the E in measure forty-nine, creating a two chord in B♭ major. This would have prepared the modulation effectively, and would have made the second inversion D seven chord in measure forty-seven a convincing pivot chord. However, Llobet is giving precedence to the chromatic descent in the inner voice, which begins in measure forty-six.

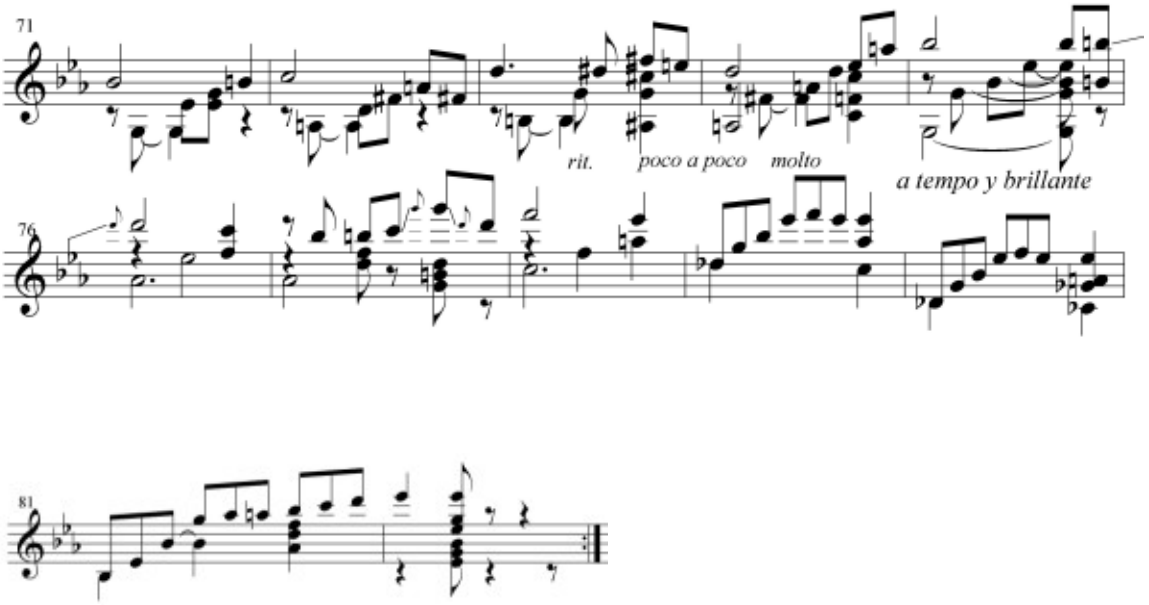
Example 3.7: Mazurka, Llobet.



After an almost unaltered reiteration of the A section, the C section, in the key of E♭ begins in measure sixty-eight. Measure seventy makes effective use of the diminished seventh chord to return to I. The lines again move in half steps to allow the voice leading to dominate the harmonic progression. The bass in measures sixty-nine and seventy moves B♭ - B - C - D♭ - D, resolving to G in bar seventy-one. The upper voice moves E♭ - D - C (the only whole step) - B to B♭ in bar seventy-one. The inner voices maintain a static F - A♭ oscillation.

The second phrase, beginning in measure seventy-one (see example 3.8), leads toward, and through, G major, arriving at its cadence through a viiº7 in measure seventy-three. An effective device appears in measure seventy-four. On the last beat of the measure there is a second inversion F seventh chord, a kind of passing chord between the dominant seventh on the previous beat and the G minor in seventy-five.

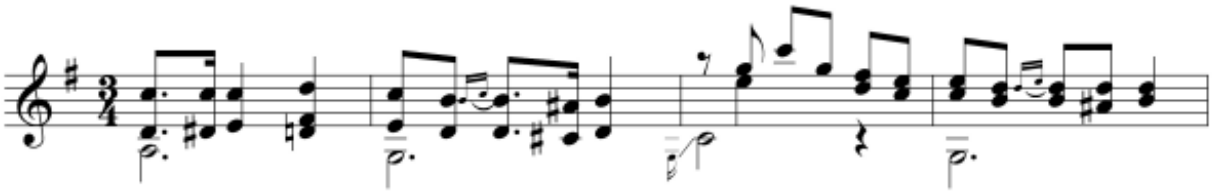
Example 3.8: Mazurka, Llobet.



Measures seventy-five through seventy-eight include (in E♭) the progression I | ii | V/vi | vi sus4 - V7/V. The sus 4 (F) resolves to E♭, which is the seventh of the V7/V. Measure seventy-nine has V/IV to IV, which is restated in measure eighty, an octave lower, but now resolves to a German sixth. The anticipated resolution to B♭ is somewhat deceptive, because when the B♭ arrives, it is as the fifth of the E♭ triad, the one chord. This is a dissonant inversion, a suspension of the notes that form the tonic triad over the root of a dominant chord. Traditionally, it resolves to the dominant, and Llobet does so. This prepares the perfect authentic cadence in measures eighty-one and eighty-two that concludes section C. Section A is then reiterated verbatim.

In the *Mazurka* one may well find Tárrega's influence most overtly manifested. Although there are two mazurkas by Sor, several by Mertz, and a few by Coste, it was Tárrega who "took what was considered to be a 'pianistic' genre and translated it into guitar music" (Ardizzone 1998, 12-13). But Ardizzone also observes that "Tárrega does not approach Chopin's level of harmonic innovation and sophistication..." (ibid. 12). For example, observe the opening measures of Tárrega's *Mazurka en Sol* (example 3.9).

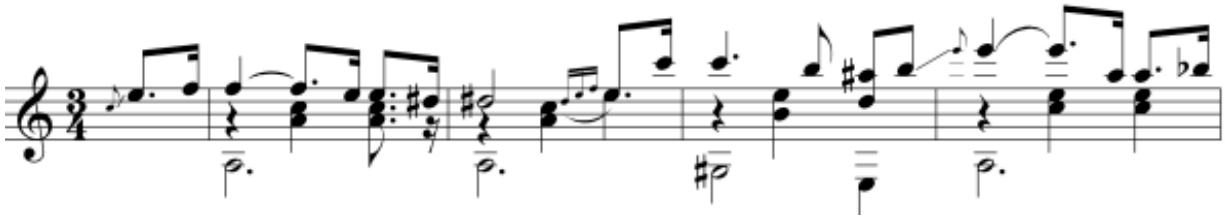
Example 3.9: Mazurka in G, Tárrega.



The use of the second-inversion dominant seventh as an opening sonority is interesting, and the chromatic alteration of its root points the way toward Llobet's use of

voice leading. A chromatic alteration to D# in the second full measure of another Tárrega mazurka, *Marieta!*, alters the root of a second inversion secondary dominant (example 3.10).

Example 3.10: Marieta, Tárrega.



Although this D# behaves as a neighbor to the E, it provides the only hint of harmonic movement in these two measures. Its positioning on a strong beat, and its duration, allow it to be perceived as harmonic.

These examples are about as chromatic as Tárrega ever allows his music to become. Llobet's sole excursion into this genre may be a kind of declaration of the musical influence of his teacher and, to a greater extent, Chopin, but his own compositional voice is already evident. He begins to nudge the mazurka's harmonic vocabulary a bit more towards the Parisian *avant-garde* (although by no means did he reach it) and away from its traditional Polish roots, and, more importantly, toward greater harmonic complexity. Thus, he brings the form to a higher level of sophistication and modernity than had previously existed on the guitar.

Llobet's *Mazurka* was to establish a new standard of harmonic complexity for the guitar. This would be repeated by numerous other composers who were moving in the same musical sphere as Llobet. Although any direct influence may not be supported by existing evidence, it remains that for the first time in the history of the guitar other composers felt free to write for the instrument with a greater degree of sophistication.

Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887-1959) included a mazurka in his *Suite Popular Brazilienne* written between 1908 and 1912. This mazurka imbues the traditional mazurka with Brazilian folkloric elements. It is neither as harmonically advanced as Llobet's mazurka, nor as much so as Villa-Lobos' own mature works for guitar. It is known, however, that Villa-Lobos was "acquainted with the Catalan virtuoso Miguel Llobet, who toured Brazil in 1910 and apparently made the young composer a gift of two guitars" (Yates 1999, 7). It was at that time that Villa-Lobos rewrote his "Valsa Concerto No. 2" for Llobet. [16] It may also have been around that time that Villa-Lobos composed his famous "Choros," which was originally dedicated to Llobet. This version is a bit different from the one that is published, and is familiar to most classical guitarists. It exists only in manuscript form, and the only known copy, (and until now known only to a few), is in the archive that has been held privately by Fernando Alonso. This archive is discussed in Chapter Four.

The Paraguayan guitarist and composer Agustín Barrios (1885-1944) wrote two mazurkas, one of which figured prominently in many of his own concert programs, the *Mazurka Appassionada*. Written in 1919-1920, it is "loaded with Neapolitan chords and harmonies borrowed from other keys" (Ardizzone 1998, 14). Whether or not there was a direct influence, one cannot help but be reminded of Llobet's approach. Clearly Barrios was moving in the same direction nearly twenty years after Llobet's mazurka.

A mazurka for guitar by Alexandre Tansman (1897-1986) was written for Segovia in Paris in 1925. Its sudden shifts in harmony and extensive use of modes make it clearly indebted to the composers whose musical language would also influence Llobet. Tansman would also make use of artificial harmonics and *etouffé*, effects first explored on the guitar by Llobet in his mature works. Also, Manuel Ponce (1882-1948) incorporated a mazurka into

[16] There are some dating problems with this work which are clarified by Yates in his article.

his *Cuatro Piezas*, which he wrote in Paris in 1933. Here again the guitar is used in a way that helps to move the mazurka away from its roots, and toward new influences, both in its use of post-Impressionist harmonies and in its use of Mexican folkloric influences.

El Mestre

Llobet's best-known works are his *Diez Canciones Populares Catalanas* (Ten Catalonian Folk Songs), published by *Union Musicale Española* in 1964. There were, in fact, fourteen Catalonian folk songs that Llobet arranged. *La Pastoreta* was published by U.M.E. in 1969, and *El noi de la Mare*, a very popular Christmas song among Spanish audiences, in 1975. Of the remaining Catalan arrangements, *La Preçó de Lleida* was only published in 1989 by Chanterelle Verlag. *L'emigrant* does not appear to have ever been published. Of all of these, *El Mestre* is without a doubt the best known and most often played.

The title, "The Teacher" is listed in most sources as "***El** Mestre."* This is the title that appears in the original Union Musical edition as well as in the Chanterelle edition. In *Tocatimbal 4*, a collection of Catalonian folk songs, it also appears as "El Mestre," and the lyrics included the words "*El mestre que m'ensenya*" and "*El mestre va a la Guerra*" (*Tocatimbal 4* 1986, 7). However, according to Rey de la Torre, the title used by Llobet was *"**Lo** Mestre."* A facsimile of the title of the copy that the author used when studying with Rey is in Appendix B, plate 1. It can be seen clearly that he has crossed out "El" and substituted "Lo."

The word "El" is the masculine definite article in Catalan as is, it would seem, the word "Lo". Two of the Llobet folksong settings use the word "Lo," *Lo Rossinyol* and *Lo Fill del Rei*. Conversely, three settings use the word "El," *El Mestre, El Testament*

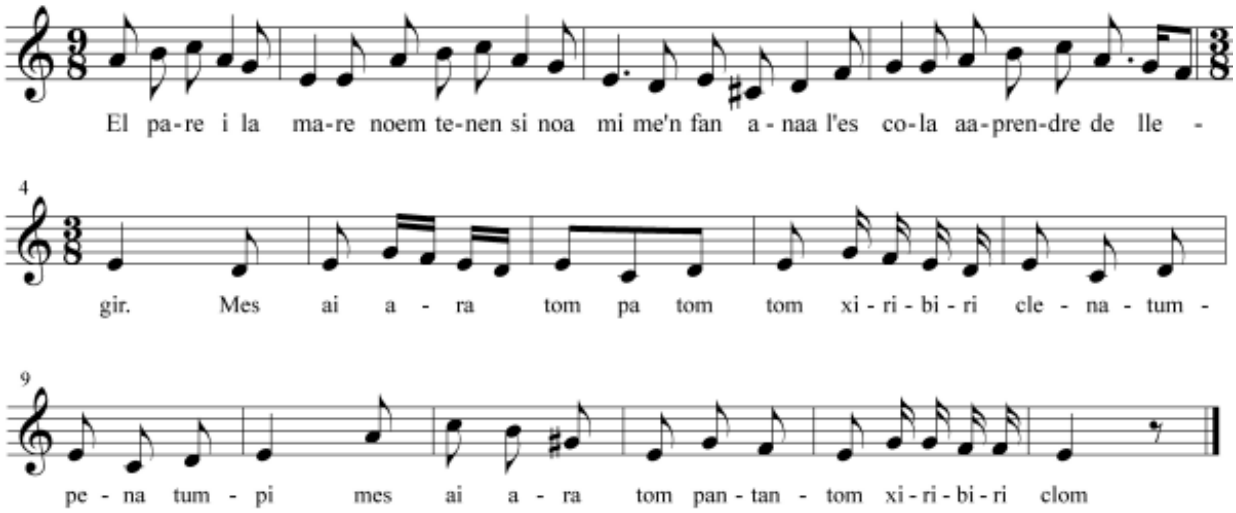
d'Amelia, and *El Noi de la Mare*. It may be surmised that, owing to the nature of folksongs, they are the product of an oral tradition, and minor discrepancies in the titles, lyrics and music may occur.

El Mestre (or *Lo Mestre*) was written in 1910, when Llobet's artistry was maturing. The harmonies demonstrate an evolution from his early Chopinesque use of slightly extended tonal function to the more linearly-driven voice leading that was to mark his later style. His chord voicing is becoming more interesting and, for the first time, one gets the feeling that Llobet is "orchestrating" the guitar. This piece may be considered to be the first in his new style, a fruition of the techniques with which Llobet was dabbling in his earlier works.

An examination of the original folk tune in its original monophonic style is instructive (see example 3.11). The following is reproduced from the Chanterelle edition of the complete folk song arrangements. It was taken from *Folklore de Catalunya-Cansoner* (p.183) by Joan Amades. The refrain is based on meaningless syllables that were intended to be tambourine-like:

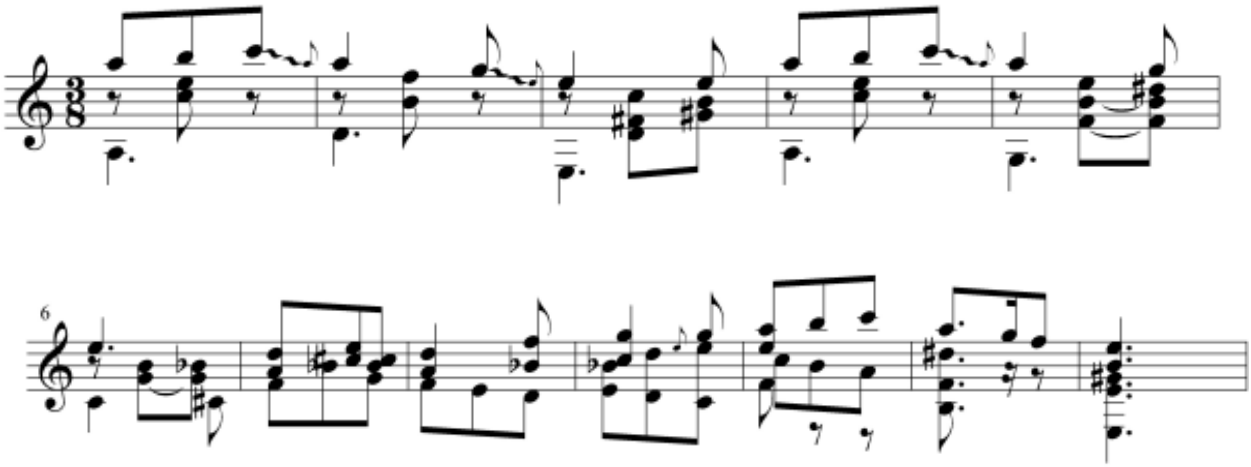
"Mes, ai!, ara tom
pantontom xiribiriclona
tumpena tumpi
Mes, ai!, ara tom
Pantantom xiribiriclom."

Example 3.11: El Mestre.



In dealing with the innate repetitiveness of the folksong, Llobet immediately shows his keen ear for harmony (see example 3.12).

Example 3.12: El Mestre, Llobet.



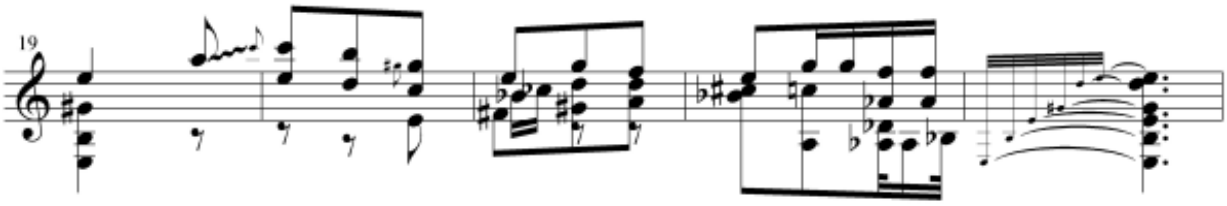
Compare Llobet's opening statement of the three-bar melody to its immediate reiteration in example 3.12. Notice how the A-minor opening measure moves to a

relatively stable ii - V, although the use of the parallel dominant harmony, by way of a raised third in the second chord in measure three, is interesting. The notes imply a set of neighbor notes to those of the V chord, perhaps a sort of "neighbor chord." There is some hint here of bitonality, although not fully realized. However, in measure five a suspended E resolves to a D# to create an augmented seventh chord, a V+7 of C. The sense of repose in its resolution to a C major seventh is brief, and the C and B immediately move inward by half steps to create a C# diminished 7th. The move to the dominant at the end of the first verse is an interesting use of the French sixth in root position resolving as it should.

The refrain is, according to Ronald Purcell (Llobet 1989 Vol. 2, iv) reminiscent of a medieval Moorish lament. These laments formed the basis for what was to become flamenco, and Llobet capitalizes on this in his use of the *rasgueado* (a flamenco strumming technique) in measures fourteen and sixteen. Once again, Rey de la Torre's instruction is useful in the interpretation of this technique. Just as the reference to the lament is subtle, so too should be the use of *rasgueado,* which should be strummed once with the thumb or the back of the middle finger. This is not the violent strumming technique found in the more fervid flamenco pieces.

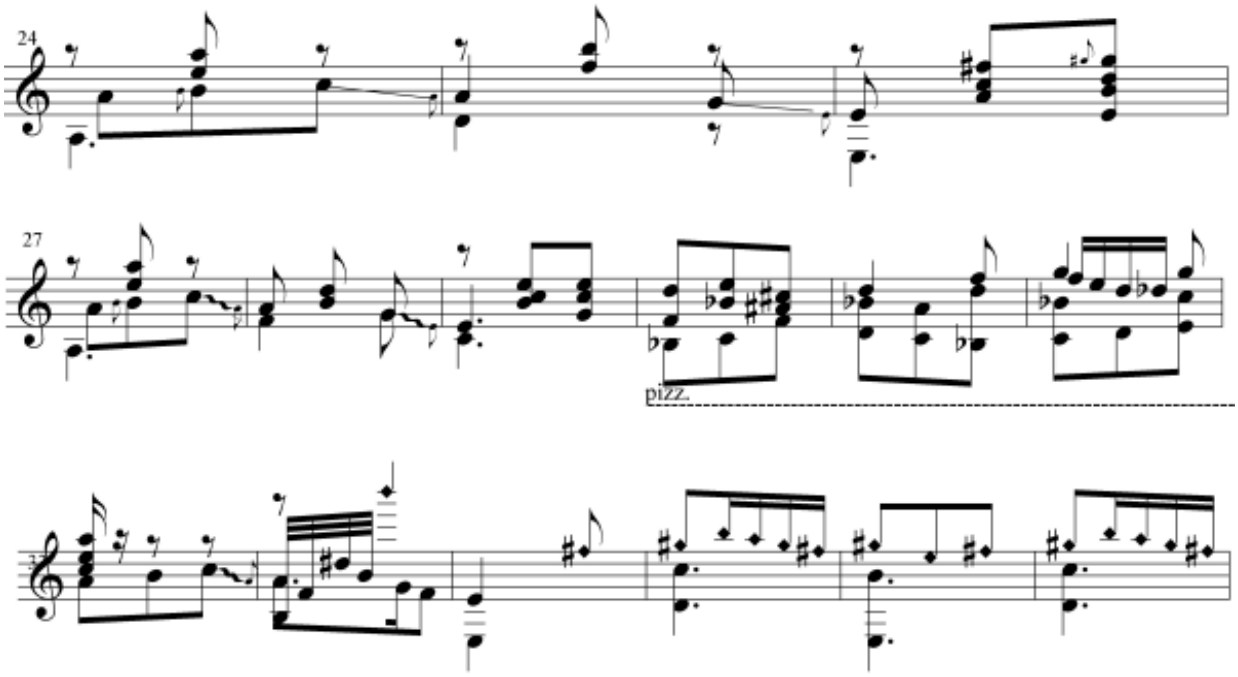
The move to the dominant (example 3.13) is accomplished more by tightly constructed voice leading than by harmonic function, and in this Llobet creates heightened tension and a stark contrast to the dominant half cadence of measures ten through twelve. This is the use of voice leading that will eventually replace functionality in his later works.

Example 3.13: El Mestre, Llobet.



The next statement of the melody, beginning in example 3.14, is moved to the inner voice, and Llobet capitalizes on the rich quality of the fourth string to give the tune a dramatic, and rather masculine, character; this is clearly a tenor solo. The "tenor" is immediately answered by pizzicato strings (achieved through the use of *étouffé*) before completing the verse. This is an excellent example of Llobet's orchestral interpretation of the guitar. It shows his use of a new approach to guitar technique, that of using timbral differences between the strings to create his "orchestrations." Prior to Llobet, guitarists either worked to minimize the guitar's timbral idiosyncrasies, or merely ignored them.

Example 3.14: El Mestre, Llobet.



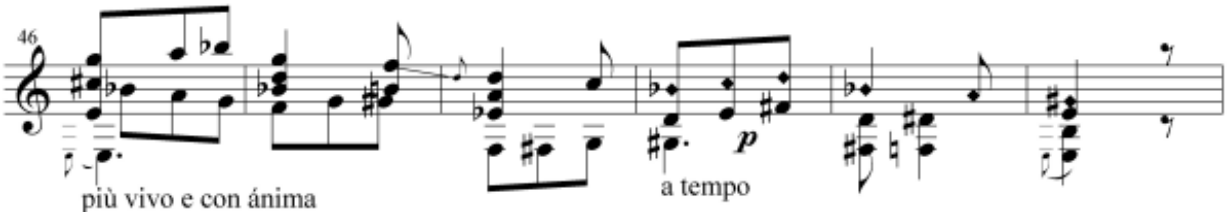
Llobet intensifies the innate drama of his scoring by increasing the rhythmic motion of the inner voice, ultimately accompanying the tenor voice with a thirty-second-note arpeggio and a two-octave leap in measure thirty-four. His departure from the half cadence in measure thirty-five is accomplished with the evocative use of artificial harmonics in the refrain.

In measures forty-six through fifty-one (example 3.15) Llobet creates a bridge to the final verse. These six measures use a combination of voice leading and chord voicing to maintain tension, and move to the dominant half cadence. The harmonies move from first inversion C# diminished seventh to G minor by way of passing tones, in contrary motion, in the inner and upper voice. This moves to G minor seventh (in its four-two inversion) in measure forty-seven, with a passing G bringing it to G# diminished seventh. It resolves to an unstable F dominant seventh with an added sixth in measure forty-eight. These sonorities create a strong pull toward B♭, the Neapolitan of A minor.

Measure forty-nine begins a three bar section built on an E whole tone scale beginning with a pair of neighbor tones over the G# resolving to a second inversion C augmented chord. These two neighbor tones are not really dissonant, and create a kind of root position version of the Italian sixth. However, rather than resolving to the A, the neighbor tones behave as they should, resolving to a C augmented chord. This is an example of Llobet giving the linear movement of the voices priority over the traditional rules of functional harmony. The parallel sixths move in whole tones to the down beat of measure fifty, at which point the whole tone scale is interrupted by chromatic passing tones (chromatic in the sense that they do not fit into the E whole tone scale) in all three voices. These passing tones form an Italian augmented sixth, resolving to E, the

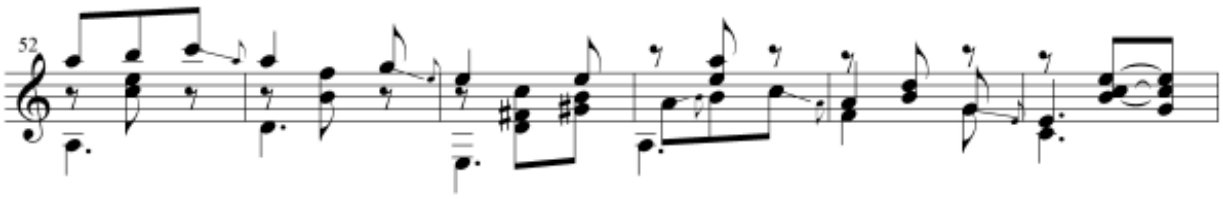
dominant. Between the use of the Neapolitan, which most frequently resolves to some form of the dominant chord, and the use of the E whole tone scale, this six-measure bridge creates an strong move to the dominant in preparation for the return to the opening.

Example 3.15: El Mestre, Llobet.



His return to the theme seems to be verbatim at first, but he continues to exploit the operatic qualities explored in the second strain by turning it into a "duet" between the "soprano" and the "tenor." This can be seen clearly in example 3.16, at which point the theme is stated first in the upper voice in measure fifty-two, then in the inner voice in measure fifty-five.

Example 3.16: El Mestre, Llobet.



According to Ronald Purcell (1989, p. iv), "Since the joyful outcome was popular and common knowledge, this text ends without spelling out the details of the conclusion but leaves it to the creative and delightful imagination of the audience and singers." Llobet perfectly matches that by ending on the dominant.

Respuesta

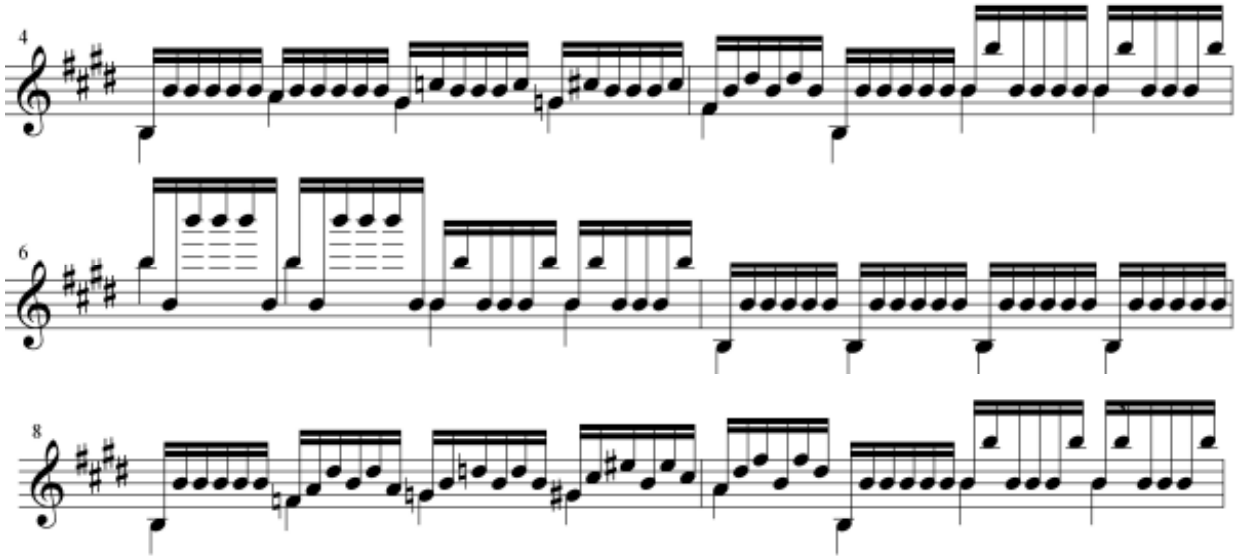
"*Respuesta*" bears the subtitle "Impromtu" which, vague as that designation is, better describes the compositional schema than does the title. The word "respuesta" is a noun which means "answer" or "reply". Since the piece was written in 1922, with a dedication to Maria Louisa Anido, it is more than a little tempting to speculate on the source of the title. Anido was a pupil of Llobet's whose family became a surrogate family for the composer when he was living in Buenos Aires. It has been suggested that the family had hopes of a marital match between Llobet and Maria Louisa, but their relationship appears to have been little more than professional; first as teacher-student, and later as duo partners. It is intriguing to think of the composition as Llobet's answer to the Anido family's (and Maria Louisa's) marital expectations.

The subtitle, therefore, is valuable in setting the expectations of this piece. A somewhat casually conceived work of modest proportions and with little in the way of development can be anticipated. The harmonies are redolent of Chopin, although the influence of Debussy seems strong. Indeed, although Llobet never completely abandons functional harmony, he weakens it through the repeated use of pan-tonal triadic structures.

The work is structured on a ternary form with an extended introduction that serves the important function of establishing the figuration that unifies the entire piece. The

entire introduction is a static B, somewhat akin in its suspension of movement to Wagner's Rhein music, interrupted briefly in measures four and five, and eight and nine (see example 3.17) by sonorities that, though seemingly triadic, are purely the result of voice leading.

Example 3.17: Respuesta, Llobet.

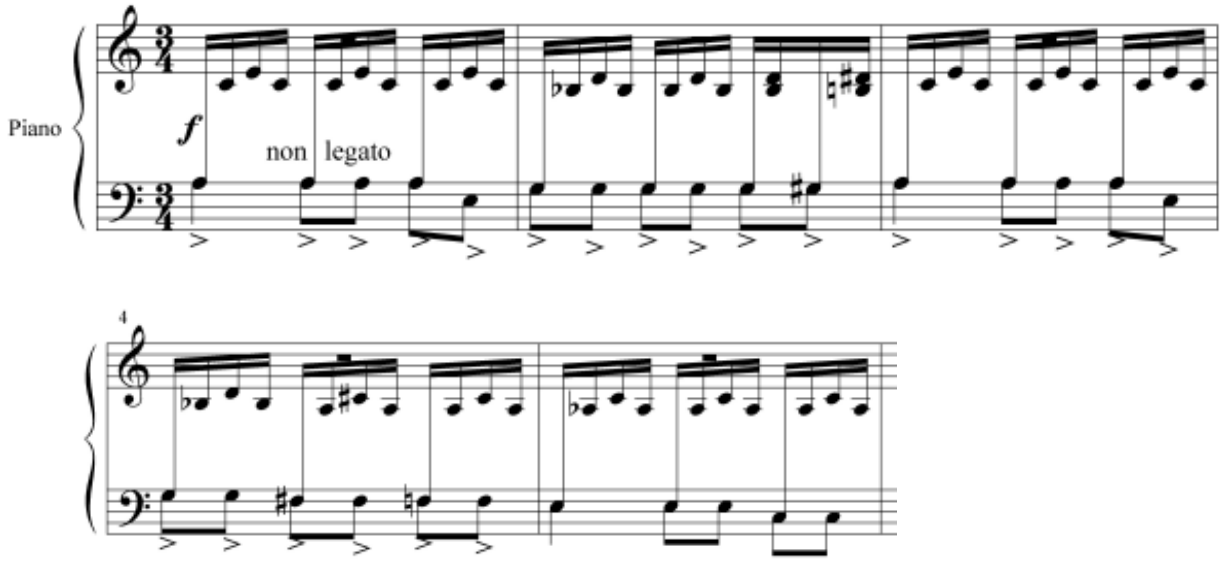


For example, the second beat of measure eight appears to be a French sixth in the key of A, which should resolve to E. This would set up an interesting tonal area by modulating to subdominant. But such traditional tonal relationships are not part of the piece's harmonic grammar. Instead, the triad moves to G♮, which only begins to make sense if taken within the context of voice leading as the moving force. This is to be Llobet's chief device for providing harmonic movement.

This emphasis on voice leading seems to derive from Chopin's e minor prelude opus 28 number 4, but Chopin's harmonies are much more traditionally functional. A

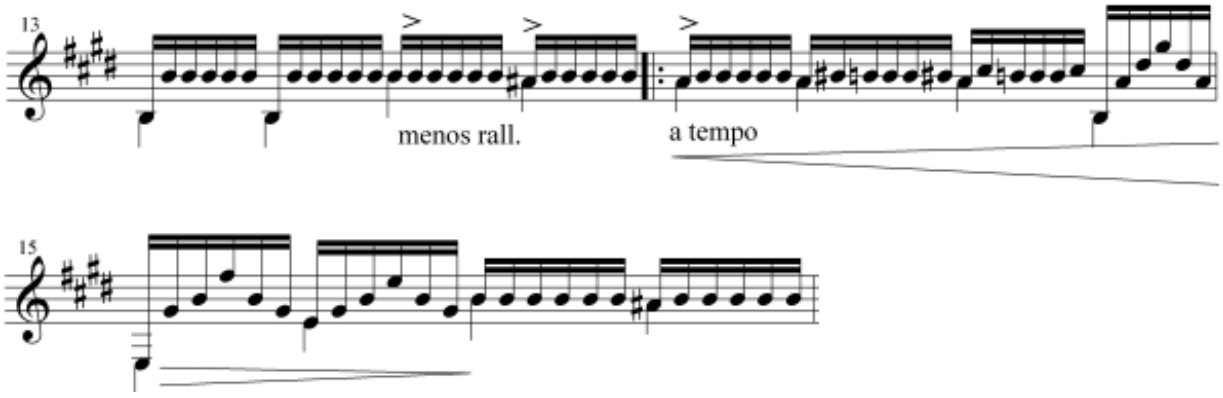
better example may be found in the Prelude from Debussy's *Pour le Piano (1896-1901)*. As can be seen in example 3.18, within the first three measures Debussy appears to establish a tonal hierarchy based on parallel motion in A minor. However, measures four and five establish the supremacy of half-step voice leading (still in parallel motion) that was echoed by Llobet more than twenty years later.

Example 3.18: Pour le Piano, Debussy.



The figuration of the repeated dominant tone spanning three octaves serves as a both an accompaniment and a generative force from which both the A and B motives grow. These motives are characteristic of Mueller's "tonal pillars". This extended statement of the dominant does appear to have a larger structural/harmonic function resolving, although only briefly, on the tonic in the second complete measure of the first A section, in measure fifteen (Example 3.19).

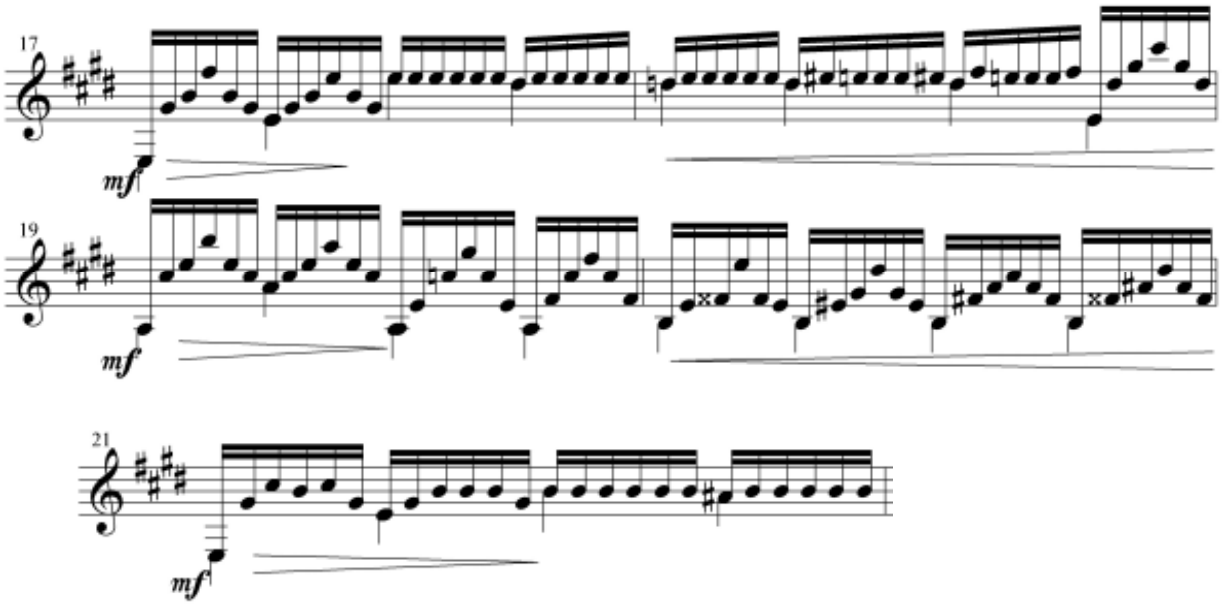
Example 3.19: Respuesta, Llobet.



This is one of the few moments when tonality seems to have any real importance. These moments occur at principal structural points; Llobet seems to recognize that tonality is no longer the main point, but is not yet willing to abandon its most useful constructive attributes. This moment of harmonic repose also provides the last note to the first "pillar", which grows from the repeated B. One of the Bs becomes an independent voice in measure thirteen, moving to A#, then A, creating a springboard for the melodic upper voice to move in measure fifteen from B to B#, to C# and then leaping to G# and returning to F# and finally E.

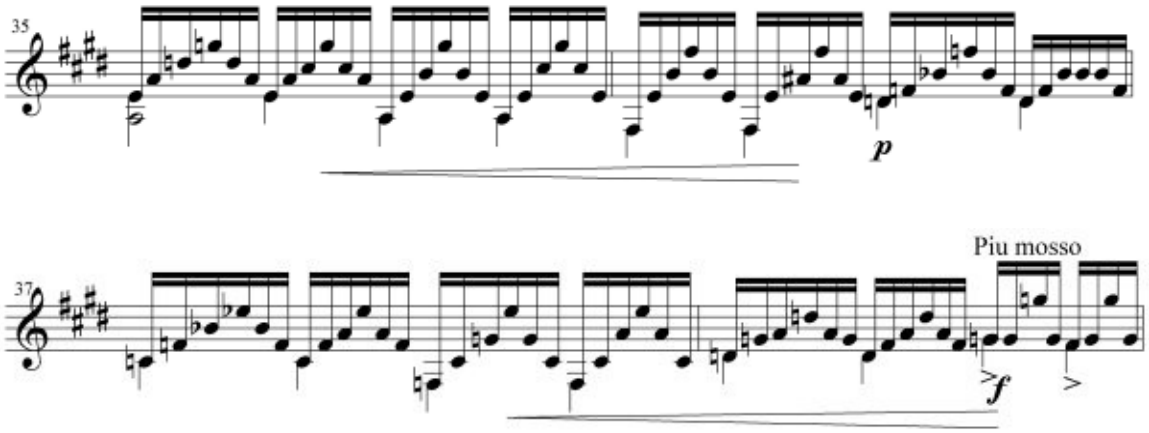
The motive is repeated, but this time the final E (see example 3.20, measure seventeen) is extended into the next phrase, becoming the new repeated tone and completing the period in measure twenty-one. At this point an equivalent period begins, which now moves toward completion of the A section in measure twenty-nine. The widening of the intervallic leap in measures twenty-seven and twenty-eight, along with the first cessation of the sixteenth-note figure in twenty-nine, create a sense of closure to the A section, and allow the shift to a transitional section.

Example 3.20: Respuesta, Llobet.



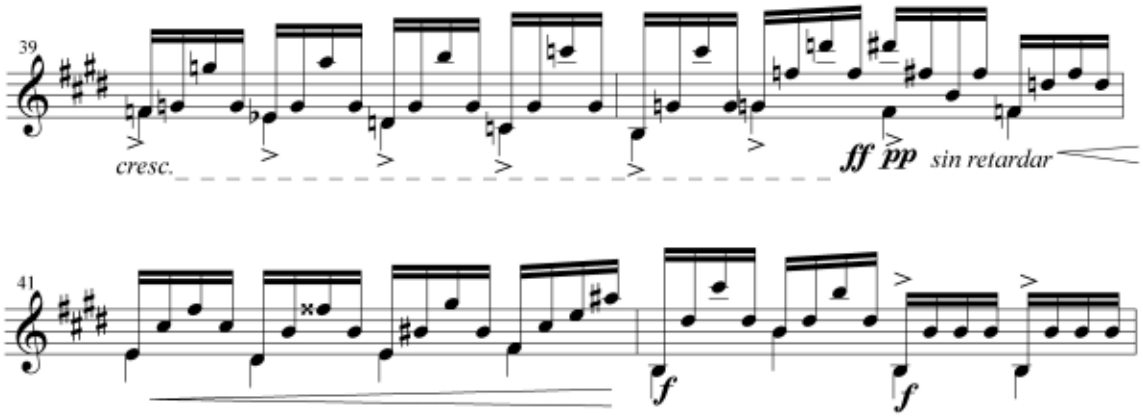
In the transitional section (example 3.21), Llobet moves through the dominant of D major, but never resolves it. The point at which a resolution is expected breaks and moves instead to B♭. The dominant of this new area avoids resolution as well, and finally shifts, in measure thirty-eight, to g minor.

Example 3.21: Respuesta, Llobet.



The B section, marked "Più mosso," introduces a new way of using related materials. The figuration is slowed down from sextuplets to quadruplets and the harmonic rhythm, quickens. The newly tonicized G in this section quickly establishes itself as a new dominant in measure thirty-nine (example 3.22). An ascending C major scale with a C# passing tone in measure forty in the upper voice is heard against a descending c minor scale in the bass, strengthening the new tonal center while creating some ambiguity. Here Llobet's priority seems to be creating movement through linear motion rather than harmonic progression. Nevertheless, harmonic progression is not abandoned, and in measure thirty-nine one finds a dominant in its four-two inversion moving through passing tones to a second inversion five to one. Measure forty begins with a passing C# half diminished seventh, with no third, resolving to the dominant seventh, again with no third.

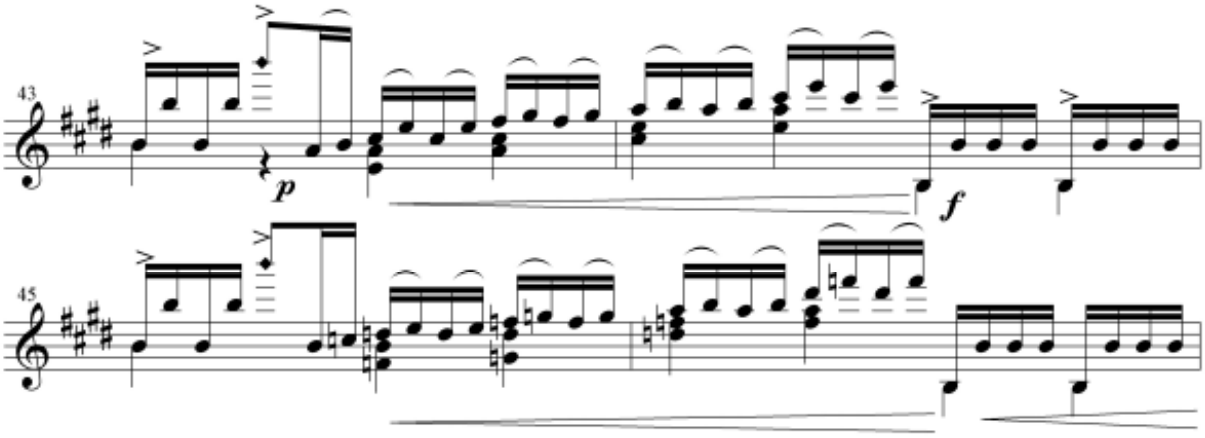
Example 3.22: Respuesta, Llobet.



A break occurs in measure forty, and the new tonal area is B major. From here to the end of the section Llobet goes about the business of strengthening B, first tonicizing

it, and then setting it up as the dominant for the return of the A section. In the process, he introduces a new motive, seen in example 3.23 in measures forty-three and forty-four, and measures forty-five and forty-six. It consists of nothing more than repeated ascending thirds and repeated ascending seconds. The articulations of these notes can be considered a defining part of the texture.

Example 3.23: Respuesta, Llobet.



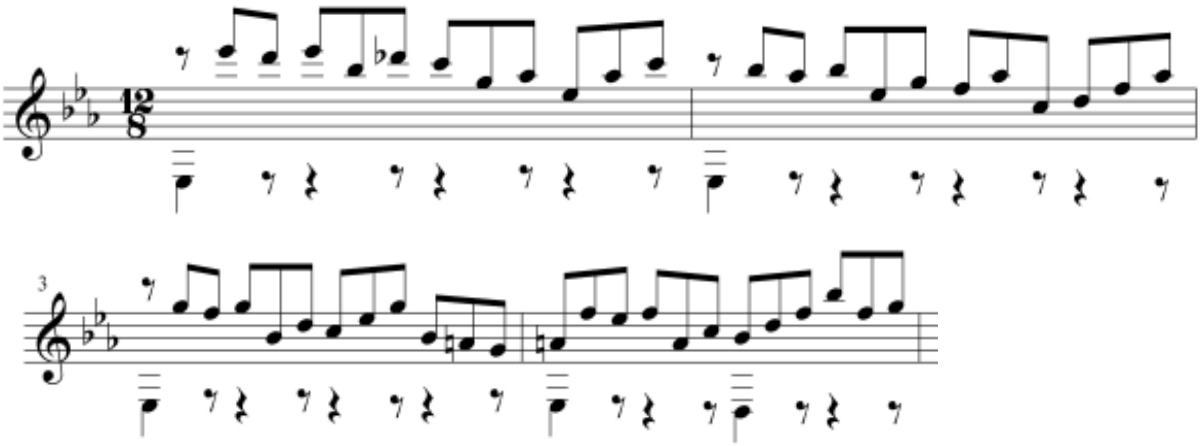
In measure fifty, marked "Tempo primo," there is a return to the A section, which is ultimately closed by a stronger cadence than has been heard in this piece, one that also expands on the rhythmic and textural alteration seen in measure twenty-nine by pausing on three successive quarter notes. A coda follows, based on the sextuplet figuration of the A section and functioning as a dominant prolongation, and a final cadence is based on the B section motive heard in measures forty-three through forty-five.

Prelude in E major

Llobet's last known work, the Prelude in E major, was written in 1935. It is, without question, his most harmonically adventurous and perplexing work. It is the only one of Llobet's works that could be considered "Impressionistic" with any degree of accuracy. The piece sounds "Impressionistic" to the ear, but if one sees the avoidance of harmonic functionality as an important feature, as Mueller and Palmer seem to, it may not fit the description.

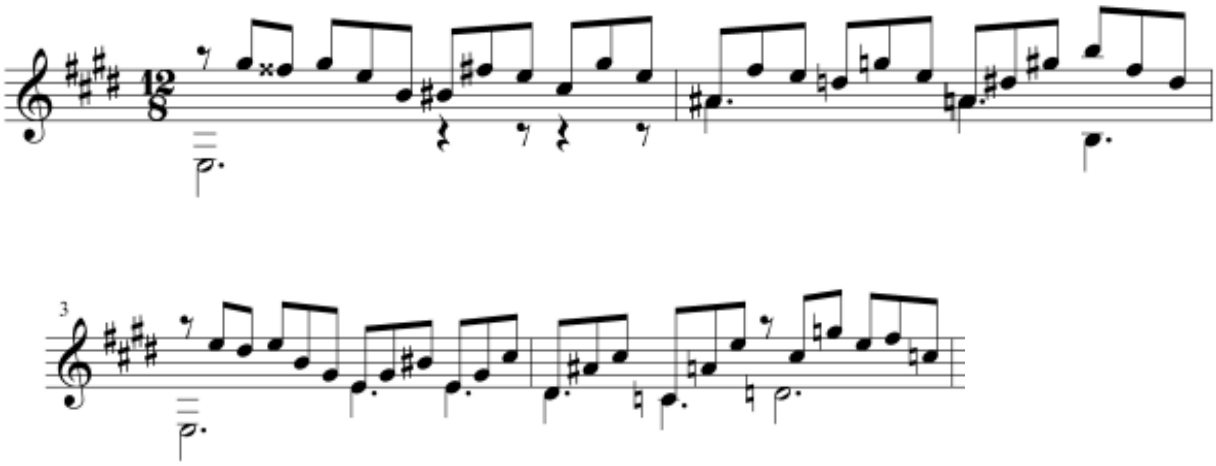
The piece begins with a paraphrase of the opening of the prelude from J.S. Bach's Prelude, Fugue and Allegro. The autograph is "*Prelude pour la Luth. Ò Cémbal. Par J. S. Bach*" and is in the key of E♭ major. It is written on a double staff using a soprano clef and a bass clef. For convenience it is presented here in standard guitar notation, using a single staff with treble clef (example 3.24).

Example 3.24: Prelude (from Prelude, Fugue and Allegro) B.W.V. 998, J.S. Bach.



The first thing one notices about Llobet's paraphrase is that he does not begin the upper voice with the tonic but, with the third (example 3.25).

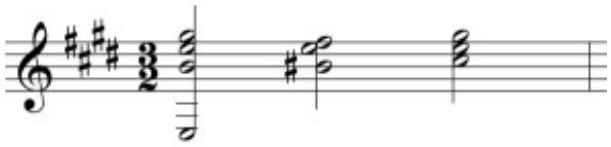
Example 3.25: Prelude in E, Llobet.



Structurally, the piece is nothing more than a harmonic progression based on a simple motivic figure in A-A' form. It begins on the tonic, to which it returns at midpoint, ultimately moving in the second half to a different area harmonically.

The first measure of the Llobet prelude, written as chords in example 3.26, moves from the tonic triad through an augmented I chord with an added second, and then to the vi chord. As might be expected in Llobet's mature music, the augmented chord is more a result of voice leading than harmonic function, with the B moving through B# to C#, and the high G# moving to F# and back to G#.

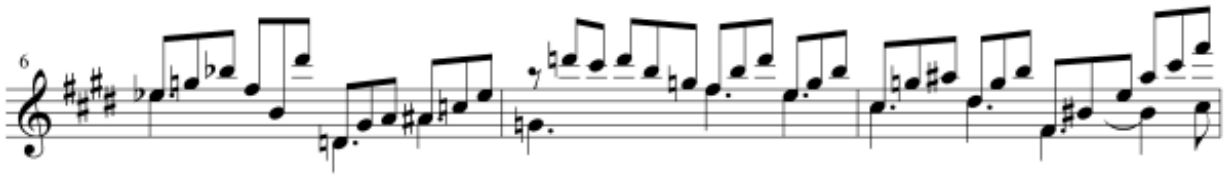
Example 3.26: Prelude in E, Llobet.



In the same manner, measure two moves from V/V to a V with an added sixth, resolving in measure three to I. This moves again through an augmented one chord to the

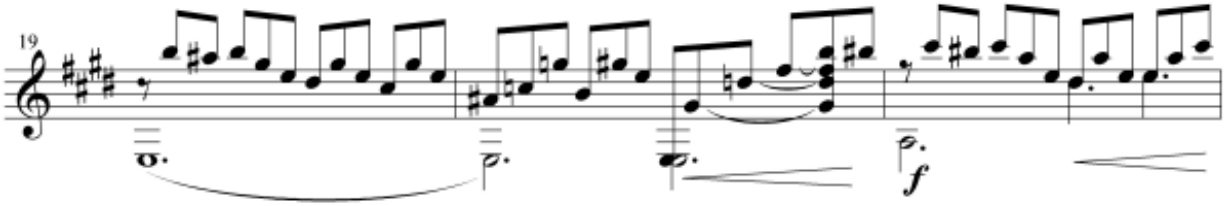
six, much as measure one did, but with the motivic material imitated at lower pitches. Measure four moves the tonal center toward G major, preparing for a sequence of the opening, now in that key area. An increase in chromaticism continues to destabilize the tonal center, arriving at the end of measure eight (example 3.27) at an F# dominant seventh with an added augmented fourth.

Example 3.27: Prelude in E, Llobet.



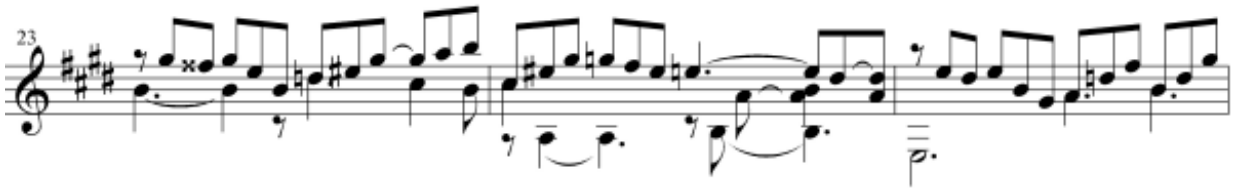
This brings the piece to the dominant, which is prolonged from measure nine through measure sixteen at which point the piece cadences in the tonic. The first two measures are repeated verbatim in measures seventeen and eighteen, but in measure nineteen (example 3.28) the tonic triad is revoiced, creating added tension by means of the substitution of an ascending melodic line.

Example 3.28: Prelude in E, Llobet.



The increased tension sets up the alteration of the tonic to create a V7 (and at the end of the measure, an augmented chord) of a new tonal area centered on A in measure twenty-one. From there the tonal center moves to C major in measure twenty-two, and to E major in measure twenty-three, which becomes an E# diminished seventh. This moves to A augmented in measure twenty-four (example 3.29) continuing to B with a suspended fourth, and finally cadencing in measure twenty-five.

Example 3.29: Prelude in E, Llobet.



The remaining eight measures comprise a tonic-dominant prolongation. Interestingly, if one argues that the second half of measure twenty-four implies an F# (and this is probably supportable), then measures twenty-three through twenty-five may be seen to present a Schenkerian final descent from three to one. Since the first three measures of the piece present a Schenkerian descent from three to one, this piece may also be analyzed using a Schenkerian graph.

Summary

Llobet's compositions begin with a backward look to Chopin. His *Romanza* was written in 1896, forty-seven years after Chopin's death. Yet, the eighteen-year-old guitarist was already showing signs of wanting more from his instrument than other composers were willing to provide. He discovered, and eventually began to use, the

harmonic language that he sought in the music of the composers with whom he interacted in his years in Paris, particularly Debussy, Ravel, and de Falla.

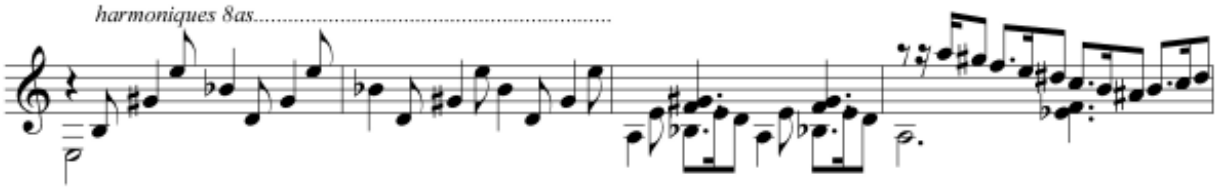
The question as to whether or not any of Llobet's compositions should be considered to be Impressionist is not easily answered. The majority should not be, but *Respuesta* and the Prelude in E major raise some questions. *Respuesta* has something of the Impressionist sound, and the prelude even more so, but both works are solidly grounded in harmonic functionality. There is never any real doubt as to what the key is or how the dominants will function. While much of Llobet's writing is influenced by that of Debussy, Ravel, and de Falla, it would be a mistake to label it "impressionist" music. Although he employs some of the same devices found in the music of Debussy, Llobet still finds himself attached to the function of the dominant-tonic relationship. On the other hand, if one takes liberation of dissonance as its most salient feature, that is, if the dissonance need not be solely in service to harmonic function, then one could argue that Llobet's use of dissonance, in these two works, as a corollary of voice leading qualifies it.

The question as to how to classify these two compositions need not be answered here, and indeed may not even be answerable in any definitive way. What is important to this paper is that Llobet “raised the bar” for the scoring of the guitar and the use of what are called “guitaristic effects.”

The use of artificial harmonics and *etouffé* became a staple in the techniques employed by composers writing for the guitar. When Alexandre Tansman wrote his *Mazurka* for Segovia in 1925 he employed devices such as *etouffé* and harmonics that are clearly indebted to Llobet. Tansman's *Berceuse d'Orient*, published in 1962, includes the

following passage, whose use of artificial harmonics and piquant harmonies are truly redolent of Llobet (example 3.30).

Example 3.30: Berceuse d'Orient, Tansman.



Such techniques are found in the music of all composers who write for the guitar. They appear in works as diverse as Benjamin Britten's "Nocturnal," "Lullaby for Ilian Rainbow" by Peter Maxwell Davies, "*Thème Varié et Finale*" by Manuel Ponce, Elliot Carter's "Changes" and Luciano Berio's *Sequenza XI*.

Throughout the music of Villa-Lobos, the Preludes, Etudes, and Popular Brazilian Suite, one hears the clever manipulation of parallel hand figurations to create sonorities that are surprisingly new to the guitar. These harmonies are rich with the sound of the open fourths that comprise the guitar's tuning. It is likely that Villa-Lobos would have arrived at these sonorities with or without Llobet; Villa-Lobos played the guitar as a second instrument. But it may be questioned as to whether Villa-Lobos would have created as large a body of guitar music had there been no important players to perform it. Also, although it was to be Segovia rather than Llobet who would ultimately personify Villa-Lobos' virtuoso-champion, Segovia's artistic and professional successes stood squarely on Llobet's shoulders.

It could be argued that the harmonies that Llobet employed were enough a part of the common harmonic language that they would have eventually found their way into

that of the guitar composers. However, the common harmonic language of the previous generation of composers did not find its way into that of guitarists because no prominent figure emerged to lead the way. In his compositions Llobet was the first to demonstrate that the guitar was capable of expressing the complexities that composers had been employing in their works for other instruments since the mid-nineteenth century. In so doing, he opened the way for important composers who were not guitarists to write for the instrument.

Chapter 4

PRIMARY SOURCES

Because of the scarcity of materials written about Llobet, primary sources are of particular value. This presented a number of challenges. Locating primary source material was particularly difficult, and the metaphor of peeling back layers of an onion became appropriate. Once one legitimate contact had been made others revealed themselves.

The most obvious source to be sought was the Llobet archive, if indeed there was one. A number of scholars, including Ronald Purcell and Matanya Ophee, encouraged the author to seek out such an archive. Locating an archive that was nothing more than a rumor turned out to be a daunting task that, by itself, took a year of conducting interviews, and writing letters and emails. Locating the archive may well be the most important contribution to result from this research. The level of access that has been thus far afforded to the author, however, has been disappointing. Nonetheless, enough of a glimpse was permitted to ascertain that its size and scope are enormous.

Llobet's closest colleague and friend from the guitar community was Emilio Pujol. In an email Ron Purcell said, "The main object is to find out what happened to Pujol's personal archive" (Purcell November 1, 2001). In the process of researching the

Llobet archive,the author discovered Pujol's archive as well. Pujol's former student and teaching assistant, Hector Garcia, provoded some valuable information, as well as the location of Pujol's archive.

By examining documents in these archives, it was hoped that there could be found evidence that would support the hypothesis that Llobet was a moving force behind the development of the artistry of the classical guitar as it came to be known in the twentieth century. Evidence of Llobet's thought processes in letters to, and from, colleagues would be useful. These would support theories regarding Llobet's approach to both repertoire and pedagogy. Unpublished manuscripts of compositions written by or for Llobet would also be of immeasurable value. His travel and concert itinerary would be useful, as would concert programs and reviews.

Finally, the comparison of Llobet's concert programs with those of other guitarists might indicate that he was seeking a different repertoire for the guitar, one more in line with the accepted norms for other instruments. To this end, programs by other instrumentalists are also examined in this chapter.

The Pujol Archive

The Pujol archive presently is in the possession of the heirs of his former business manager Juan Riera, and at the residence of Pujol's widow, near Barcelona. Some key items have also found their way to the United States, and are in the private collection of Hector Garcia. Garcia has been most generous in sharing what little he has that would be of relevance to this essay, as well as his time.

While in Barcelona it was not possible to see Pujol's widow, since she was not well and was not seeing anyone. At the time of this trip, the Riera collection

was as yet unknown to the author. However, Garcia has been helpful in verifying a number of details. The subject of Segovia's relationship with Llobet is one area on which Pujol, by way of Garcia, was able to shed some light. An early edition of Llobet's arrangements of de Falla's *Siete Canciones* includes a biographic sketch of Llobet written by Pujol. This set of arrangements is no longer in print, and the edition that is most commonly used has no such biography. Garcia is in possession of this biography. The last paragraph states "Among his students were guitarists like the great José Rey de la Torre and the world famous Andres Segovia." There can be no clearer refutation of Segovia's claims to being self-taught than this. Furthermore, Garcia was kind enough to correspond with the author, explaining Pujol's role in the complex Segovia-Llobet relationship. A facsimile of this letter is to be found in Appendix B. Mr. Garcia wrote:

> De acuerdo con anécdotas contadas a mí por el Maestro Emilio Pujol, Andrés Segovia le pidió tomar lecciones de él. El Maestro Pujol declinó la petición y recomendó a Segovia que tomará lecciones de Miguel Llobet quien aparte de la ayuda musico-instrumental, podría ayudarlo a darse a conocer a través de los contactos que Llobet, por ser el guitarrista-concertista más conocido, tenía en toda Europa....
>
> Pujol le prometió que hablaria con Llobet y que estaba segurro que debido a la amistad entre ellos, éste accederia a la petición. Asi fué, y Segovia comenzó a recibir lecciónes de Miguel Llobet, unas cuatro o cinco. Al cabo de las mismas Llobet le informó a Pujol que él havia accedido a tomar a Segovia como estudiante, pero dada la rebeldía de Segovia a seguir las indicaciones de Llobet, éste se verá obligado a terminar las clases con Segovia[17] (Garcia 2002).

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[17] According to anecdotes related to me by Maestro Emilio Pujol, Andrés Segovia asked to take lessons with him. Maestro Pujol declined the petition and recommended that Segovia take lessons with Miguel Llobet who, apart from musical-instrumental help, could help by acquainting him with the contacts that Llobet, being the best known concert guitarist, had throughout Europe.

Pujol promised that he would speak with Llobet and that he was sure that owing to the friendship between them, he would accede with the petition. Thus it was, and Segovia began to receive lessons from Miguel Llobet, some four or five. At the end of the same Llobet informed Pujol that he had agreed to take

In one discussion Garcia mentioned that Segovia had more lessons with Llobet, but he did not clarify when Llobet terminated Segovia's lessons. Given the anecdotal nature of this letter it is difficult to know precisely how long Segovia studied under Llobet or how influential Llobet may have been, particularly in view of the above revelation. Furthermore, this would seem to be at odds with Pujol's biographical statement. If, indeed, Llobet terminated Segovia after only a few lessons, it would not be likely that he would want Segovia to be mentioned as a former student. No clear conclusions can be drawn, other than that Segovia did indeed study with Llobet for a time. This in itself may provide more certainty concerning the subject than there has previously been. Given that Segovia claimed to be self-taught, and that no other teacher emerges, one is left with the conclusion that Llobet must have exerted some influence on Segovia. This influence is, according to Ronald Purcell (Llobet 1989 Volume 1, ii), audible by comparing Llobet's Parlophone Electric recordings with Segovia's Angel recordings, ZB3896.

The final paragraph of the letter explains that Segovia, in an effort to utilize Llobet's contacts to promote his own career, proposed to Llobet's agent that he organize two concerts, a Llobet performance and one by Segovia, which would be advertised as a competition to determine who was the better guitarist. Garcia explained that the agent brought the idea to Llobet, who was rather insulted by the idea.

Pujol's legacy includes a biography of Tárrega, which devotes a chapter to Llobet. Garcia is presently preparing an English translation of this book for publication. He was kind enough to share this chapter with the author. It is quite informative, giving some

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Segovia as a student, but given the rebelliousness of Segovia in following Llobet's indications he would be

details of his study with Antonio Jiménez Manjón and of Manjón's life that are not included elsewhere. These, however, are not necessary for this paper. There are also in the archive a number of concert programs of performances by Pujol, as well as by Tárrega. Some of these are in Garcia's possession, and are discussed in the section of this chapter on concert programs.

One final detail gleaned from the conversation with Garcia is the subject of Llobet's actual feelings toward Tárrega. Ophee (Ophee 1981) indicates that Llobet may have “whispered some dark secret” to Domingo Prat and to Pujol. Garcia is not aware of any such secret and, as far as he knows, Llobet had only the greatest respect for his teacher. According to Pujol's biography, there was an area in which Llobet and Tárrega differed in their artistic opinions. "Pero a pesar de su profunda admiración por Tárrega, su maestro, el sentido estético de Llobet no era el mismo; difería por razones de natural concepción, diferencias de edad y circumstancias de ambiente. Y mientras Tárrega, enamorado de la pureza del cuarteto clasico en su homogénea varedad, hubiera hecho de las seis cuerdos de su instrumento una sóla unidad, Llobet, atraído por diversidad de timbres de la orquestra, hubiera hecho de cada cuerdo unoa guitarra distinta"[18] (Pujol 1978). This is, however a well-known artistic difference and sheds no additional light on the subject.

The Llobet Archive

Around 1985 Llobet's daughter died, alone in the apartment in which she had lived most of her life. The remaining Llobet relatives sold the contents of the apartment

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obliged to terminate the classes with Segovia.

[18] "But in spite of his profound admiration for Tárrega, his teacher, Llobet's esthetic sense was not the same; it differed by the reasons of its natural conception, differences of time and circumstances of environment. And while Tárrega, enamored of the purity of the classic quartet and its homogeneous

to an antique dealer. Soon after, Fernando Alonso purchased all letters, papers, manuscripts and any other documents pertaining to Miguel Llobet. Intending to write a comprehensive biography of Llobet, Alonso kept his acquisition to himself. In the early 1990s, Josep Mangado, having learned of the collection, requested permission to examine it. His intention was also to write a biography. Alonso denied him permission to examine the documents carefully, but did allow him to peruse the collection sufficiently to be able to evaluate its significance. The whereabouts of the collection remained unknown to everyone but a small circle in Barcelona, and its existence became nothing more than a rumor among scholars (see Gilardino quote on page eight).

An investigation into these rumors led the author first to Alonso, who did not respond to two written requests, and then through a maze of contacts beginning with Carlos Barbosa-Lima, to Mangado. Mangado was visited in Barcelona, and he revealed two sources of Llobet memorabilia. The *Musea de la Música* in Barcelona holds a few items of Llobet's, although none of interest to this essay. They were, at that time, in the process of purchasing the collection from Alonso. Following the recommendation of the assistant to the curator in charge of the department that handles Llobet's materials, the next stop was the *Casa Sors*, a music shop owned by Alonso. Alonso recognized the author’s name and recalled the two letters he had received, but would not give his permission to examine the archive, asserting that he was under strict orders from the museum to forbid access to anyone. A phone call the following morning to the curator, Judit Bombardó, resulted in neither a confirmation nor a denial of Alonso's assertions.

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variety, he had made the six strings of his instrument a single unity, Llobet, drawn to the diversity of timbres of the orchestra, had made each string a distinct guitar."

She did, however, promise to send notification when the sale of the collection is consummated.

Although the visit may not have yielded the intended result of examining the archive for evidence of Llobet's activities in support of the hypothesis put forth by this paper, some important things have resulted. First, the collection has been located, and will be made public soon. Second, the author was able to discuss the collection with both Mangado and Alonso extensively, getting a clear idea of how extensive the collection is and what it contains.

Among its contents are postcards that Llobet sent home after every performance giving his thoughts on how his concerts went, and discussing his travels. Furthermore, he saved every concert program and every review throughout his professional life. These will surely serve as documentary evidence supporting the expansiveness of his international career, but cannot yet be taken into account for the purpose of this essay.

Also contained within the collection are numerous musical scores, including a manuscript by Villa-Lobos dedicated to Llobet. This piece is an early version of the well-known "Choros" which he later revised and published, without the dedication. This score has been examined by Mangado. Alonso has also stated that there are numerous scores in the collection, and previously unknown works may well surface.

Llobet's output is known to contain four unpublished original solo guitar works, nine unpublished transcriptions for solo guitar, and seven unpublished guitar duets. This number represents fully 25% of his known works. It is expected that with the eventual opening up of the Alonzo archive some, or all, of these works will come to light.

While such unpublished works cannot be considered influential in and of themselves, they must be considered to be part of his legacy.

Llobet's correspondence with his friends and colleagues must be discovered and brought to light. He associated with Viñes, de Falla, and Ravel, and perhaps with Debussy as well. Documents may exist that place him in the sphere of influence of the Parisian masters. Knowledge of what his letters contain, and to whom they were written, would be indispensable in an evaluation of his impact on the guitar. It is also expected that documents will be found that will clear up discrepancies in the accounts of Llobet's life.

Concert Programs

The programs for Llobet's concerts and recitals that are accessible reveal something of the artistic viewpoint that was to shape the way that guitarists would eventually think about their instruments. They also expand the picture of Llobet's artistic output. For example, in his first full solo recital in the United States at the Orpheus Rooms in Philadelphia on October 29, 1912 Llobet played a Sor *Menuet*, a Coste *Etude*, the Chopin *Nocturne, opus nine number two*, a Bach *Bourée*, the andante from Beethoven's tenth sonata, Tárrega's *Reve* and *Caprice Arabe*, and two of his own works, the Variations on a theme of Sor, and a *Fantaisie Espagnole* which does not appear to be published anywhere. However, this may be a misprint in the program. Tárrega has a composition with this title that appears on another Llobet program. The inclusion of works by Bach, Beethoven, and Chopin would seem to indicate a desire to legitimize the guitar through the programming of uncontestable masterworks by composers whose credentials were beyond debate. Furthermore, it is interesting, although not surprising,

that he programmed the longest and most virtuosic of his original compositions, the variations.

Another program dated October 14, 1928 in Berlin lists works by Sor, Dionysio Aguado, Mozart, Tárrega, J.S. Bach, Federico Moreno Tórroba, Albeniz, Granados, Broqua, Villa-Lobos, de Falla, Grau, and Llobet. The title of the Villa-Lobos piece is listed as "*Danse brésilienne*," a title that does not appear in the Villa-Lobos catalogue. It may be that this is actually the "Choros" that was written for Llobet. A choros is, in fact, a characteristic Brazilian piece in a dance-like rhythm, so this is not unlikely. The Llobet piece is listed as "*Yota*," which is probably a misprint (another misprint is "J. Albeniz"). A work with the title "*Jota*" by Llobet appears in a 1931 program in Adria, and is probably the same piece. Whether the piece is "*Yota*" or, more likely, "*Jota*" there is no such work listed among Llobet's original pieces or folk song arrangements.

Tonazzi lists four unpublished works, *Jota* and *Triste* as original works, and "*La pastorela*" and *L'emigrant* as popular Catalan songs. *La pastoreta*, the correct title, has been published since that time. *Fantaisie Espagnole* might be added to the list. One would fervently hope to find the manuscripts of these, and other unpublished works, in the archive in Barcelona.

An examination of programs by other artists is in order. For example, a program that Tárrega gave on May 10, 1888 at the *Real Academia de Santa Cecila de Cadiz* lists the following works:

Melodía de las Visperas Sicilianas ……Verdi

Fantasía de Marina ……...Arrieta

Gran Tremolo ……...Gottschalk

Fantasía Española ……*Tárrega*

Célebre Gavota …… *Arditi*

Polonesa de Concierto …… ……*Arcas*

Carnaval de Venecia ……*Tárrega*

Motivos Heterogéneos ……*Tárrega*

Scherzo y minuetto ……*Prudent*

Gran Marcha Fúnebre …… ……*Thalberg*

Aires Nacionales ……*Tárrega*

This may well have been a challenging program, but it contains little of any real substance. None of the compositions on the program could be considered major works, and, with the exception of Verdi, the composers are rather insubstantial. Another performance given by Tárrega, in the *Salle Pleyel* in Paris as part of a *concurso* on November 28, 1897, had a little more substance, including, in addition to the Gottschalk, Verdi, and Tárrega pieces, the *Sérénade*, *Rapsodie Espagnole*, and *Seguidilles* by Albéniz and a Romance by Mendelssohn. This program seems a bit more substantial than the previous one, but is still dominated by decidedly lightweight works. They certainly present a contrast to the Bach, Beethoven, Chopin, de Falla, and Mozart that Llobet programmed. And if Sor, Aguado, Coste, Granados, and Villa-Lobos are not among the pantheon, their music is, nevertheless, more significant than that of any number of composers on Tárrega's programs.

Examination of programs by Pujol reveals that he was either influenced by Llobet or was of a similar mind. In a program from a recital at the *Orfeó Gracienc* in Barcelona on June 8, 1918, Pujol played a Sor minuet, two of his own works, two works by Tárrega,

two by Llobet (both from the folk song arrangements) and one each by Malats, Albéniz, and Granados. But, more tellingly, is the inclusion on this program of a Haydn adagio, and a *loure* by Bach. The program also lists a "Moment Musical" by Bach, and a Schubert minuet, but this appears to have been a misprint, because Schubert wrote a number of works that used the title, "Moment Musical" and Bach wrote many minuets.

Pujol's program at the *Palau de la Música Catalana* in Barcelona on December 27, 1927 included, in addition to the usual Sor, Tárrega, Albéniz, etc., the de Falla *Homenaje pour le Tombeau de Claude Debussy*. Even more interestingly, a portion of the program was dedicated to late Renaissance and Baroque music for guitar, lute, and vihuela. It included a pavan by Luís Milan (c.1500-1561), a gavotte by Francesco Corbetta (c.1615-1681), a galliard by Gaspar Sanz (1640-1710), a prelude, sarabande, and gigue by Robert de Visée (c. 1650-c. 1725) and two works for lute by Bach. At this point, one might be justified in observing that Pujol may have surpassed Llobet in the programming of interesting works by excellent composers. Pujol would seem to be reaching not so much for masterpieces as much as for novelty, but it should be observed that his choices reflected a refined taste, and the connoisseur's attraction to quality. This interest in early music continued to grow, and on April 23, 1936 Pujol gave a recital entirely devoted to music of the late Renaissance for the *Congrés de la Societat Internacional de Musicologia*. Pujol played all six of Milan's pavanas at this recital.

It may also be interesting to examine programs by virtuoso performers of other instruments. Ricardo Viñes enjoyed a career that in many ways paralleled that of Llobet, performing throughout the major musical centers of Europe and South America. However, most of his life was spent in Paris, where he performed in some of the same

venues as Llobet, the *Schola Cantorum* and the *Société National de Musique* for example. As an artist with some interest in the music of the Parisian *avant-garde,* his programs might be expected to have some similarities to those of Llobet.

In April of 1905 Viñes gave a series of recitals at the *Salle Erard* in Paris. His programming was varied, and his repertoire was very obviously quite extensive. The first concert was a performance of works from Cabezon (1510-1566) through Haydn (1732-1809). The program was designed to demonstrate various national schools and consisted of numerous short works, or movements from larger works. The second program, given on April 3, included both multi-movement and shorter single movement works:

Adagio en b …… Mozart

Sonate, Op. 57 (Appassionata) …… Beethoven

Impromptu en A♭ Op. 142 No. 2 …… Schubert

Momento Capriccioso, Op. 12 …… Weber

Romance sans paroles, Op. 62, No. 25 …… Mendelssohn

Fantasie, Op. 17 …… Schumann

Scherzo en c#, Prelude en A♭, and Etude en a …… Chopin

(Kehler 1982, 1360).

Two weeks later he gave a performance of the music of contemporary composers, including works of Frank, Chausson, D'Indy, Fauré, Samazeuilh, Février, Moreau, Rhené-Baton, Pièrne, Debussy, Severac, Ravel, and Chabrier. In subsequent years Viñes gave recitals that included works primarily by major composers: Liszt, Schumann, Debussy, Bach, Ravel, Chopin, de Falla, Couperin, Poulenc, Granados, Albeniz, and Beethoven, to name a few. As would seem to have been the practice at the time, long

multi-movement works were more the exception than the rule. As a pianist, Viñes enjoyed a much broader repertoire than Llobet did. Llobet had a limited number of contemporary works at his disposal. However, given his inclusion of works by Bach, Beethoven, Chopin, de Falla, and Mozart it is not difficult to see that the kind of repertoire that Llobet was desirous of creating for the guitar was influenced by the kind of programs that Viñes was performing.

One can also find similarities in the programming of Pablo Casals. For example, in his last solo recital in the United States, which took place on February 26, 1928, Casals played the Bach Sonata in D major (accompanied), Couperin's *Piéces en concert*, Boccherini's Adagio and Allegro, Bruch's *Kol Nidrei*, Sgambati's Neopolitan Serenade, Popper's Mazurka and Vito, and Rubenstein's Sonata in D major (Kirk 1974, 366). The limitations of available repertoire by major composers appears to be a problem for the cello as well as the guitar, and Casals balances the major and minor composers with the same delicacy as Llobet.

The inclusion of all movements of multi-movement works sets this program apart from others. This concert was later in date than the others discussed above, with the exception of one by Pujol, in which he performed the complete Milan pavanas. Multi-movement works are, of course, the norm in concerts today, and this trend probably had its beginnings at about that time.

Not all of Llobet's performances were solo recitals, and he frequently shared the program with other solo performers. In 1916 he appeared in Boston on the same bill as soprano Marian Clark. The program was as follows:

Passing-bye……Edward Purcell

Mary of Allendale …… James Hood

Jardin d'Amour ……Old French

Entrez la Belle en vigne …… " "

Marian Clark

Menuet ……F. Sor

Caprice Arabe ……Tárrega

Miguel Llobet

Wehe so willst du ……Brahms

Botschaft …… "

Zueignung …… Strauss

Marian Clark

Etude……N. Coste

Danse Espagnole……E. Granados

Miguel Llobet

Spleen……Poldowski

Le Matin ……Bizet

The Blue Bell…… MacDowell

Song of the Blackbird …… Roger Quilter

Marian Clark

Bourree …… Bach

Fantaisie Espagnole …… Tárrega

Miguel Llobet

Mr. Richard Epstein at the piano

Llobet seems to be concentrating a bit more on lighter works in this program, with the Bach being the only work by a major composer. This may appear to be something of a move back to Tárrega's style of programming. However, it may be that these "variety show" concerts were viewed by the performers as being somewhat less formal events, and that less demanding programming was considered more appropriate. Indeed, the soprano's choices are equally lightweight.

Casals also participated in programs in which several artists were featured in turn. For example, the following is program from a concert on January 15, 1904 at the White House:

MR. PABLO CASALS, Violoncellist.

MR. MYRON W. WHITNEY, Jr., Basso

MR. WARD STEPHENS, Pianist

PIANO SOLOS

Barcarolle …… *Liszt*

Danse Orientals …… *Gartz*

Moto Perpetu ……*Gottschalk*

SONGS

Three Gypsy Songs…… *Brahms*

Widmung …… *Schumann*

CELLO SOLO

Sonata …… *Boccherini*

SONGS

L'invito
Nissun lo sa……*Vannuccini*

Couplets de Vulcain ……*Gounod*

CELLO SOLOS

Le Cygne ……*Saint-Saëns*

Spanish Dance ……*Popper*

SONGS

Finland Love Song …… *M. V. White*

Little Irish Song ……Traditional

Bedouin Love Song ……*Chadwick*

Despite the appearance of works by Brahms, Schumann, and Liszt, the emphasis throughout this program seems to be on more entertaining works that demand less of the audience. In this context, Llobet's choices seem less like a return to the guitar's parlor repertoire than it was following the practice of other musicians of his day.

Summary

The documentary evidence that would support the thesis put forth in this essay is, at this time, sadly lacking. Comparisons of concert programs may give some indication as to Llobet's thinking regarding the guitar's position among other concert instruments, and quite clearly he was one of a number of guitarists who were attempting to play more serious music. But Pujol's choices are equally admirable, and lacking any letters discussing both of their preferences, one cannot conclude that Llobet was entirely responsible for this line of thinking. The best one can do is to observe that Llobet was

playing to a larger world audience, and was therefore better able to demonstrate the guitar's capacity to render viable performances of serious music to this audience, critics, and musicians.

The continued inaccessibility of the Llobet archive is nothing short of tragic. Its disappearance has been a major contributing factor to the neglect of Llobet's biography, and the resultant delay in his taking his rightful place in history of the guitar. It should also be noted that the neglect of Llobet's legacy has a tangible manifestation. Llobet's tomb, in Barcelona, is unmarked and is in a state of disrepair.

There is little doubt that the archive, when it finally becomes publicly accessible, will yield a wealth of information that will clarify the details of Llobet's life, eliminate some of the discrepancies and support the theory that his influence on the classical guitar has been formative. However, at this point, the evidence is lacking, and the documentary portion of this investigation must be considered to be inconclusive. Further examination of this area is called for at such a time as the documents become available.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

Introduction

Miguel Llobet was truly the right guitarist at the right time in history. The musical world was changing in ways that made the legitimacy of the guitar more likely than at any previous time. The Impressionist composers with whom he interacted in Paris were already predisposed toward Spanish music. The appearance among them of a virtuoso of this most quintessentially Spanish instrument, one who understood and appreciated their new direction in music, must have made his acceptance into their artistic circle seem quite natural. Had a lesser performer than Llobet attempted to make his way in Paris at that time, he may well have gained attention as a novelty, but the impact on the future of the guitar would have been, at best, non-existent and, at worst, detrimental.

Llobet also had the good fortune to arrive at a time when the instrument itself had changed. Improvements in design by Antonio Torres resulted in an instrument that could project its sound in larger spaces than the much smaller form that it replaced. It is not likely that Llobet would have succeeded in creating an international career if his instrument had been inaudible in larger recital halls.

Advances in technology also aided Llobet in his quest to move the guitar to a position of respect. The development of the radio allowed him to reach a larger audience than was ever possible, and the invention of the recording allowed him to create a lasting

presence. The development of the microphone also aided this in no small way. Earlier attempts to record acoustically, by playing into a large horn, failed to capture the small voice of the guitar in any viable way, but the microphone was sensitive enough to discern its beauty, and to capture its nuances.

Two things remained to move the guitar into the accepted sphere of classical music. First was to establish a standard of pedagogical excellence that would ensure that the highest levels of playing could be duplicated by succeeding generations of players. The second was to establish a repertoire that reflected the best compositional practices of the day.

Llobet's Influence on Pedagogy

It may never be established with any degree of certainty that either Tárrega or Llobet can be credited with the synthesis of the varying pedagogical practices espoused by Federico Moretti, Dionisio Aguado, Fernando Sor, Ferdinando Carulli, Francesco Molino, and Matteo Carcassi. Evidence has been discussed here that would tend to lead one away from the traditionally held belief that Tárrega created the school of pedagogy that bears his name. The strongest indication that Llobet may have developed this pedagogical approach comes from his own pen, quoted from Tonazzi on page ten of this essay. Llobet claimed to have experimented with his technique as a student of Tárrega rather than having learned it. This statement is strong enough to bring the hypothesis to the point where it may be considered a theory. But the empirical evidence that would establish this as fact is lacking. Nevertheless, it has been established that Llobet was the first to take these precepts to students throughout the world by teaching in Spain and South America.

Through Llobet's years teaching in Buenos Aires and through the continued efforts of his pupils throughout the Americas and Spain, the rapid acceptance of this school of pedagogy has allowed the guitar to enjoy a uniformity of technical approach surpassing anything in its history. That uniformity has even settled the issue of the use of fingernails, an issue of considerable contention prior to Llobet. The question of whether or not to use nails remained problematic for Tárrega's students, and Pujol himself did not believe in the use nails. Today, however, virtually all classical guitarists use their nails to play. There is a consensus that the nails allow for greater projection of the guitar's small voice into larger concert halls, and nearly all guitarists agree that a desirable sound rich in overtones may be only be produced with the use of properly shaped fingernails.

Llobet's most important pupils went on to become important teachers as well. Domingo Prat's contribution to the proliferation of Llobet's pedagogical principles may be of greater importance than that of anyone else, except Segovia. Prat had originally studied guitar at the Municipal Music School in Barcelona, but continued his studies with Llobet. According to Maurice Summerfield, Prat was "the first exponent of the Tárrega method in South America, and was a prolific writer of guitar methods..." (Summerfield 1996, 184). Thus it would seem this student of Llobet played a large role in bringing this method to the Americas.

Prat, it may be remembered, had denied the existence of a "Tárrega School" (see page thirty-two) on the grounds that Tárrega left no documentation. With no written record of the precepts of this school its exact nature would become subject to debate, and guitar pedagogy would eventually revert to its prior state of disparate methods. Indeed (as cited on page thirty-two), Ophee points to the disagreement among Tárrega's students

as to the details of this school. Prat clearly sought to stave off the potential degeneration of the principles that he learned from Llobet by writing the books that he felt were lacking. Thus, the man who, along with Juan Anido and Ruiz Romero, first brought Llobet's technique, and then Llobet himself, to South America played the role of apostle.

Maria Luisa Anido, in addition to her international concert career became a professor of guitar at the National Conservatoire of Music in Buenos Aires where, according to Maurice Summerfield, she "taught many of Argentina's finest classical guitarists" (Summerfield 1996, 30). Jose Rey de la Torre also combined an active concert career with a teaching career for many years, and when rheumatoid arthritis forced his retirement from the concert stage, he devoted all of his efforts to teaching first in New York and then in San Francisco. Rey de la Torre has left a significant number of pupils with this legacy, and his former students include the Cuban-born virtuoso Manuel Barrueco. But it was not from Llobet's hands that Rey first received this tradition, but from Severino Lopez, his first teacher in Havana. Lopez had studied with Llobet in Barcelona. Through Lopez and Isaac Nicola, a pupil of Pujol, the new approach to guitar technique was spread through Cuba.

Among Llobet's most influential pupils was the Uruguayan guitarist, Isaias Savio. Savio was known as both a performer, and a composer, but is primarily remembered for having brought the modern school of classical guitar pedagogy to Brazil. His former students include Louis Bonfa, the first guitarist to apply classical technique to popular music, Paulo Bellinati, who has continued in Bonfa's tradition, and Carlos Barbosa-Lima.

As Savio was bringing Llobet's technique to Brazil, Atilio Rapat brought it to Uruguay. Rapat, who studied with Llobet during his years in Buenos Aires, was the

major influential figure in guitar in Montevideo until the emergence of Abel Carlevaro. A former student of Segovia's, Carlevaro's record for turning out virtuoso players is rivaled only by Aaron Shearer's. Carlevaro's former students include Carlos Barbosa-Lima, Eduardo Fernandez, Alvaro Pieri, Roberto Aussel, and Irma Constanzo. Carlevaro's approach to pedagogy introduces some changes in the traditional method, which are, for the most part, minor, and the basic tenets remain recognizable

In the United States Aaron Shearer (b.1919) has turned an impressive number of students into virtuoso performers. His students include David Tanenbaum, Manuel Barrueco, and David Starobin. A former student of Sophocles Papas (1893-1986), Shearer's two published guitar methods have set a standard for the thorough implementation of the principles of pedagogy espoused by Llobet through Segovia. Papas was himself the author of a much admired guitar method, based on the approach that he learned from his close association with Segovia.

Segovia was Llobet's most famous pupil, and he did much to ensure that succeeding generations of guitarists would continue the tradition that he himself was taught. Segovia's prodigious talent and energy, assisted by modern transportation and mass media , allowed him to reach more guitar students than any teacher before or since. His former students include Julian Bream, John Williams, Oscar Ghiglia, Carlos Barbosa-Lima, and a long list of performers whose careers never went far but whose contributions as teachers and guitar method authors are imposing. From his students have come some of the finest players in the world, including Sharon Isbin, Eliot Fisk, and the players who studied with Shearer and Carlevaro. Minor differences occur between the Segovia approach to pedagogy and the Llobet approach. Most notably, according to Carlos

Barbosa-Lima, is Segovia's heavy reliance on the rest stroke, a technique that was more heavily used by Tárrega than by Llobet. According to Barbosa-Lima, Llobet relied more heavily on the free stroke. This approach is found in the playing of most guitarists today, including those whose pedagogical roots may be traced to Shearer and Carlevaro.

Llobet's Influence on Repertoire

Two observations may be made regarding Llobet's years in Paris. First, that the exposure to the *avant-garde* had some influence on his compositional style. The analyses of selected works reveals a clear indication of the composers who influenced him, and it can be easily seen that those composers had ties to Paris both during and before that time.

However, it must not be construed that the influence of the Parisian composers was entirely due to his experience there. Indeed, although he did not go to Paris until 1905, the influence of Chopin may be seen in his earliest works, dating from 1896. These include the first seven of his sixteen folk song settings, and Romanza, Estudio in E major, Estudio Capricho, and the Mazurka. Clearly there was an affinity to the Parisian approach to composition prior to his first trip to Paris, and his exposure to the artistic elite there only served to refine and strengthen his style as well as his skills.

The works that followed this first trip to Paris demonstrate two distinctive characteristics. His Variations on a Theme of Sor, written in 1908, constitutes his first excursion into truly virtuosic writing (see Appendix A). *El Mestre*, written in 1910 shows an increasing confidence in his use of a somewhat more contemporary harmonic vocabulary than is found in his earlier works. In all of the works written during and after his years in Paris one finds a steadily increasing use of non-chordal tones, chords with added notes, and diminished and augmented chords. In other words, Llobet reached

toward the esthetic of the Parisian *avant-garde* in its desire to liberate dissonance from its traditional function. By the end of his career he was increasingly influenced by Debussy, Ravel, and de Falla.

Llobet's impact on the Parisian music scene was small, but significant. It was in this city that Llobet first made contact, through Ricardo Viñes, with Debussy, who approached Llobet with the idea of composing for the guitar. It was also in Paris that Llobet became acquainted with de Falla, with whom he was to develop a genuine friendship. This friendship was eventually to result in the *Homenaje pour le tombeau de Claude Debussy*. Although these hardly imply enough influence to regard Llobet as having exerted much influence on the Parisian music scene of the time, one must be struck by the improbability of a young guitarist drawing the attention of two such potent musical forces.

No guitarist before this time has inspired a major composer to write for him. Although Paganini wrote a number of works with guitar accompaniment, these had more to do with his own abilities as a guitarist, and a need for a convenient accompaniment, than any desire to express something uniquely guitaristic. Boccherini wrote a number of quintets for string quartet and guitar, but they are inspired by his desire to depict local color rather than by an acquaintance with any particular player. Mauro Giuliani may have been associated with the creation of a few works for piano, violin, and guitar by Johann Hummel, but in this instance the works were written for a series of performances that Hummel, Giuliani, and the violinist Mayseder were to give in Vienna (Turnbull 1991, 85). None of these works by Hummel are considered to be significant

contributions to the guitar repertoire, nor are they considered important enough to the general body of music repertoire to have drawn much attention to their use of the guitar.

The stated willingness of major composers to write for the guitar (Hindemith was to join the ranks in 1930) was to become an increasing trend in the twentieth century. The guitar was to become a new color for many composers. The guitar was used by Schoenberg in his *Serenade for Seven Instruments and Bass Voice, opus 24*, Stravinsky in his Four Songs (for voice, flute, harp and guitar), Pierre Boulez in his seminal masterpiece *Le Marteau sans Maître*, and Luciano Berio in his *Sequenza XI*. Anton Webern used the guitar in *Drei Lieder opus 18,* for voice, E-flat clarinet and guitar, Ned Rorem in his suite for flute and guitar, *Romeo and Juliet*, as well as his solo guitar sonata, George Crumb in *Mundus Canis* for percussion and guitar, and Elliot Carter in a number of songs, chamber works and a solo. George Rochberg also included the guitar in his chamber work *Serenata d'estate*. Lucas Foss and John Corigliano have each written a guitar concerto, and Alberto Ginastera has written an important sonata for guitar. Meyer Kupferman has contributed numerous works for guitar, the most significant dating from a protracted stay in Barcelona, and for numerous Spanish composers such as Joaquín Rodrigo it has become a vital voice in their nationalistic idiom. There are solo guitar works by Frank Martin, Peter Maxwell Davies, Robert Beaser, Hans Werner Henze, Lou Harrison, Alan Hovhaness, Darius Milhaud, Joan Tower, and Toru Takemitsu.

By elevating the level of playing, and by writing music that revealed the guitar's capabilities, Llobet demonstrated the guitar's capacity to express the complexities found in the music of major composers. As a result, important composers such as those named above have responded by providing the guitar with a richer repertoire.

Llobet's programming decisions were significant in the way that they influenced future generations of guitarists, and his elimination of works that, according to Tonazzi, were "shoddy" (Tonazzi 1966, 17), pointed the way toward more sophisticated programming. Other guitarists soon followed his lead, Pujol being among the first. After Llobet it became increasingly common for guitarists to seek out composers who were willing to help to provide the instrument with a more viable repertoire. Segovia selected several composers whose tonal idiom suited his conservative artistic temperament. Nevertheless, through his influence a large number of important guitar works have come about. The British guitarist Julian Bream was more successful at commissioning important composers to write, and some major works by Benjamin Britten, Malcolm Arnold, and William Walton have resulted. Most recently, the American guitarist David Starobin has had great success commissioning numerous composers, and their influence on the future of guitar will undoubtedly be great.

It may well be argued that the guitar was moving toward its present position, and that if Llobet had not first sought out a more substantive repertoire someone else would have. But the fact remains that it was Llobet who first took those steps toward creating a repertoire more in line with that which other instrumentalists were performing, a repertoire that would help to legitimize the guitar and make it less provincial. Through his example as a composer and as a performer he proved that both the instrument and its players were capable of serious music, and that it could move beyond its reputation as a quaint parlor instrument.

When one examines Llobet's success in elevating the repertoire of the guitar, one discovers a kind of "feedback loop." As the repertoire expanded to include more

substantive works, the audience grew. As the audience grew, so too did the potential for performing, and these in turn spurred composers to expand the repertoire.

Llobet's Influence on the Stature of the Guitar

To say that Llobet led the movement to establish the guitar as a legitimate concert instrument is not to deny any prior influence on him, nor does it assume that the guitar never figured as a concert instrument. At the height of Francisco Tárrega's career he was performing for audiences in some of the European capitals, but the extent of his career was limited. As Turnbull points out, "Tárrega travelled to Paris, London and Italy, but was happiest in Spain" (Turnbull 1991, 107). Nevertheless, his influence must be acknowledged. It was Tárrega that Llobet sought out in 1894 to add “polish” to his playing, and Llobet's early compositions bear a structural resemblance to those of his teacher. Also, however small Tárrega's career may have been by today's standards, it was one of the major guitar careers of his day.

It should also be remembered that Llobet was assisted by Tárrega's patron, Concepción Jacoby. There are some indications that this may have put something of a strain on Llobet's relationship with his teacher, and Hector Garcia has indicated that during this time Jacoby withdrew her financial support from Tárrega, forcing him to move into his brother's house. With this new-found support, Llobet acquired the economic wherewithal to make the necessary career moves that would help to establish him as a major player, and his instrument as an equal to the violin, piano or cello.

Finally, it must also be recognized that Llobet would probably not have succeeded in bringing his arcane instrument to the *Schola Cantorum*, *La Trompette*, and the *Société Nationale de Musique* were it not for the efforts of Ricardo Viñes. Viñes, it should be

remembered, first brought Llobet to Paris and to the attentions of its musical titans. It was the acceptance by these groups that Pujol claimed "ennobled at a stroke" the once “plebian” instrument (Jones 1998, 24). Paris represented the beginning of Llobet's international career, and only through his acceptance into a legitimate artistic elite was he able to launch such a career.

Thus began a professional life that spanned much of the globe. Audiences responded positively, as did critics. Indeed, many of the critics seemed astonished that such an instrument as the guitar was capable of being a medium for great music. Today's critics are much more familiar with the guitar, and review it as they do any other instrument. The only surprise one finds voiced today is that voiced by Tonazzi, that anyone prior to Segovia had as busy a concert itinerary as Llobet did.

Considering the difficulties of transatlantic travel in Llobet's day, his itinerary is nothing less than astounding. It was this international success that would allow the next generation of great guitarists, Andrés Segovia, José Rey de la Torre, Luisa Maria Anido and others, to take the fullest advantage of aviation and the shrinking of the globe to bring the guitar to an even wider audience.

Llobet's early recognition of the value of recording paved the way for future generations of players. Through his early efforts to have the sound of the guitar recorded properly, he is able to take his place beside Pablo Casals, Arturo Toscanini, and Enrico Caruso. Today record companies continue to release classical guitar CDs, and the guitar has been prominent in the past few years of Gramophone Awards, with Sharon Isbin winning the award for Best Instrumental Soloist Performance without orchestra in 2001, and Christopher Rouse winning the award for Best Classical Composition for his *Concert*

de Gaudi for Guitar and Orchestra in 2002. Paul Galbraith's recording of the complete Bach solo violin partitas and sonatas transcribed for guitar was named one of the two best CDs of 1998 by Gramophone Magazine.

Today there are thousands of classical guitarists throughout the world. Most large urban centers and many rural areas have guitar societies that provide performing spaces for amateurs, local professionals, and touring artists. At the week-long conference of the Guitar Foundation of America one can attend three concerts every day, and never hear the same piece twice. Most conservatories, colleges and universities have a classical guitar program, and many programs provide graduate degrees.

To say that any one player created the classical guitar as we know it today would be a gross overstatement, but one that unfortunately has appeared in the publicity of Andrés Segovia. However, when one sorts out the historical facts from the hyperbole, one is left with a number of major influences on the shaping of the guitar's progress through the twentieth century. Llobet did not single-handedly bring the guitar to its present position. Rather, he established a set of values that would allow others to duplicate and expand upon his work. It was Llobet who established a standard of quality to which players and composers would be held, and it was Llobet who first brought this new standard to the attention of a worldwide audience.

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Appendix A

Virtuosity in Llobet's Music:

Variations on a Theme of Sor

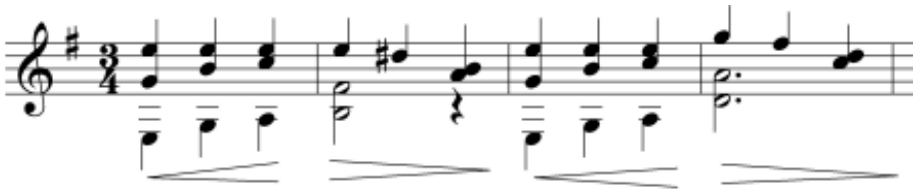
VIRTUOSITY IN LLOBET'S MUSIC

Llobet was not the first guitarist to employ virtuosic techniques on the guitar, but he may have pushed the limits of guitar technique further than ever before. There are examples of great virtuosity in the music of Dionisio Aguado, Fernando Sor, Mauro Giuliani, and Napoleon Coste. Many of the virtuoso passages in Llobet's works are clearly indebted to those of these important guitarists, using similar figurations and treating rapid scales and arpeggios in much the same way. There are also examples of virtuoso writing in the music of Tárrega.

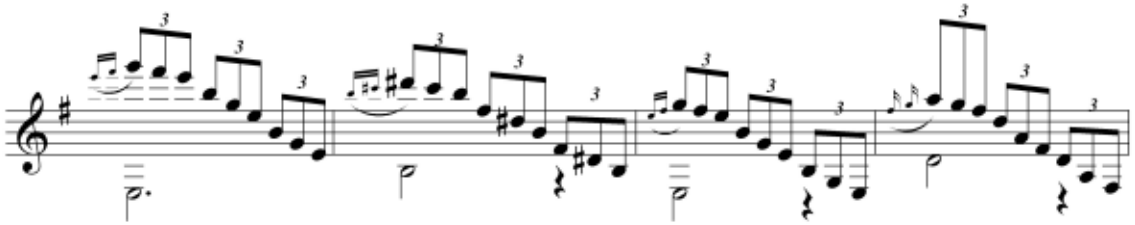
There were, however, specific techniques that Llobet employed in a few of his works that expanded on the techniques found in the music of these composers. Such techniques include the incorporation of artificial harmonics into a contrapuntal texture, as seen in the analysis of *El Mestre,* as well as the more active role that natural harmonics play in his music. Llobet's first truly virtuosic composition was his *Variations on a Theme of Sor*. Based on Sor's own *Variations on "La Folia" opus 15*, Llobet used Sor's own first two variations, then continues with eight of his own. There is also an *intermezzo* between variations six and seven. Although this work is not central to the argument of this essay, the four measure incipit for each of Llobet's variations is given here. It is felt that the extent of the virtuosity required for these variations, and it is considerable enough that one might say that Llobet "raised the bar," will give some support for a new look at Llobet and will be of interest, particularly to guitarists.

Each of Llobet's variations uses characteristic figurations in its treatment of the *La Folia de España* theme. For this reason, the opening four measures of each variation will provide ample material for evaluating the virtuosic nature of the piece. Sor's variations, although an integral part of the work are omitted. However, it is felt that Sor's version of the *La Folia* theme should be included for comparative purposes. The *intermezzo* is also omitted as being of no particular relevance to what is being examined here.

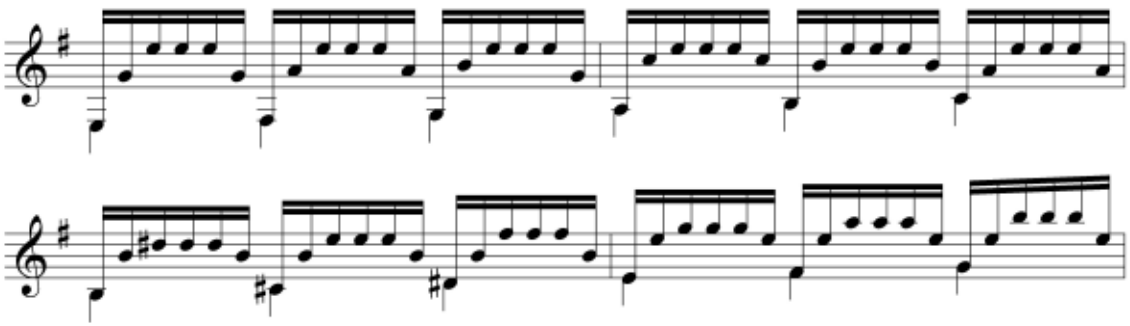
Theme:



Variation 3:

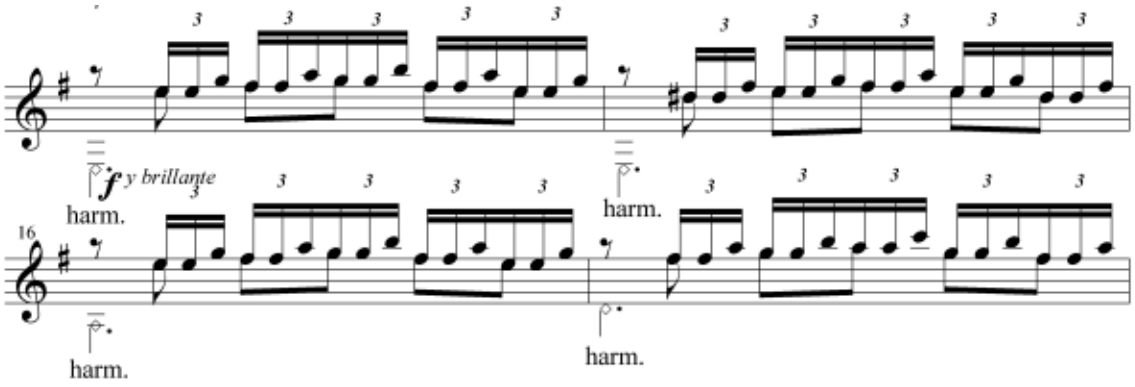


Variation 4:

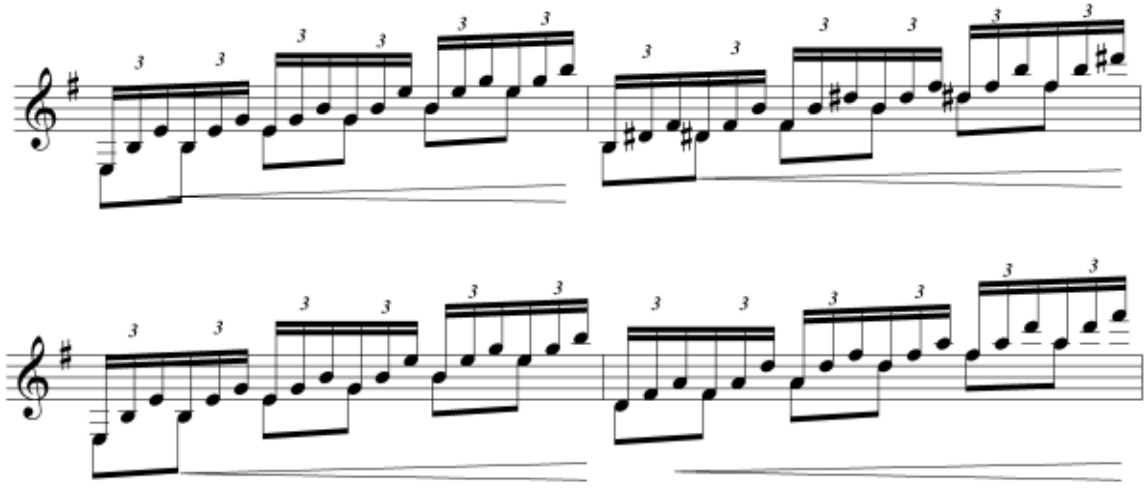


Variation number four is a rather enigmatic variation, with the theme buried in a harmonic progression that is rather altered from the original and a tremolo-like figure that is not the theme.

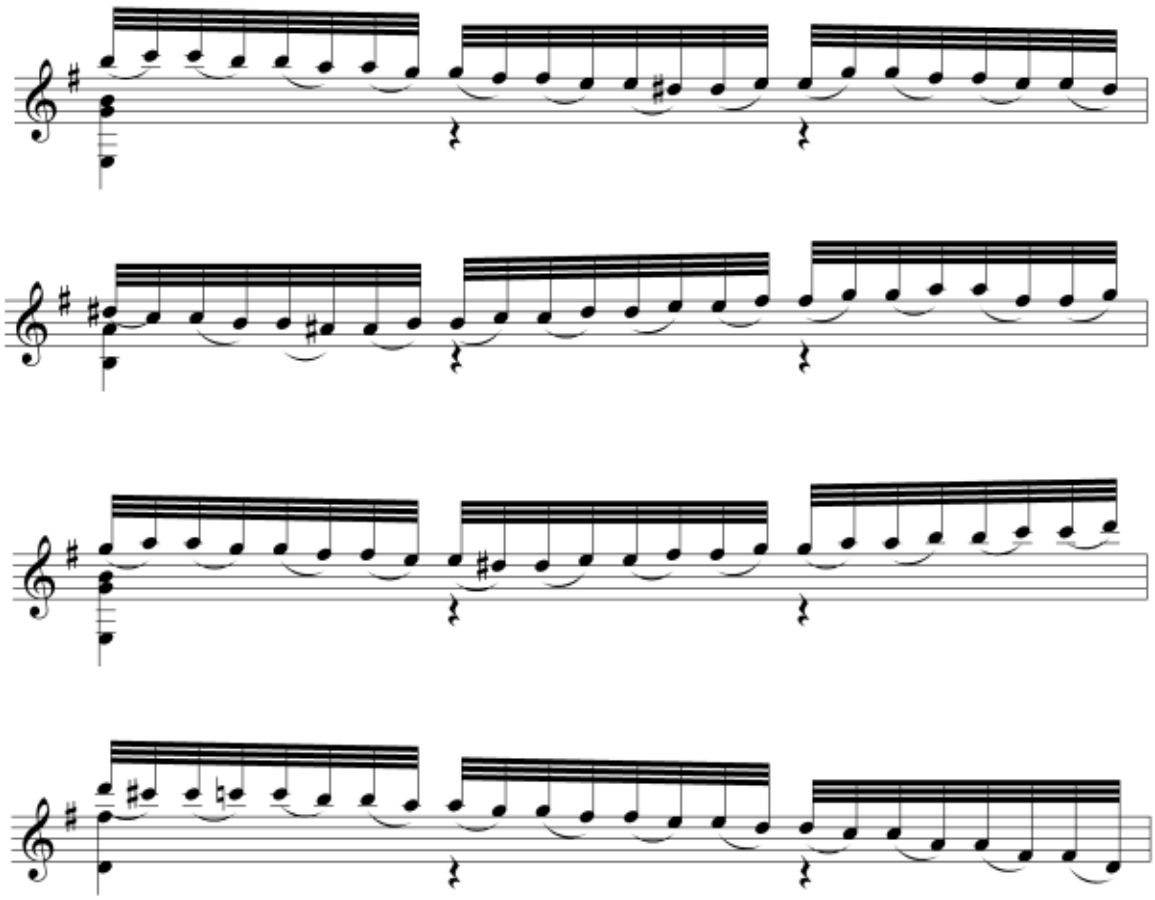
Variation 5:



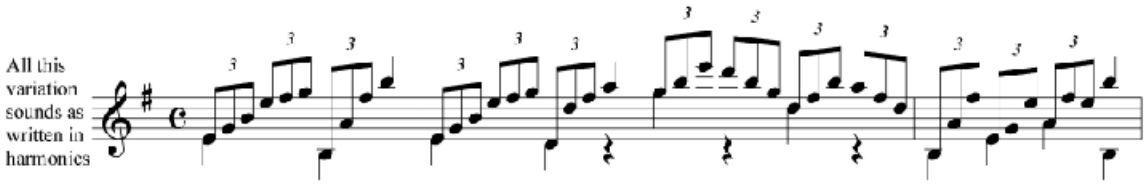
Variation 6:



Variation 7:

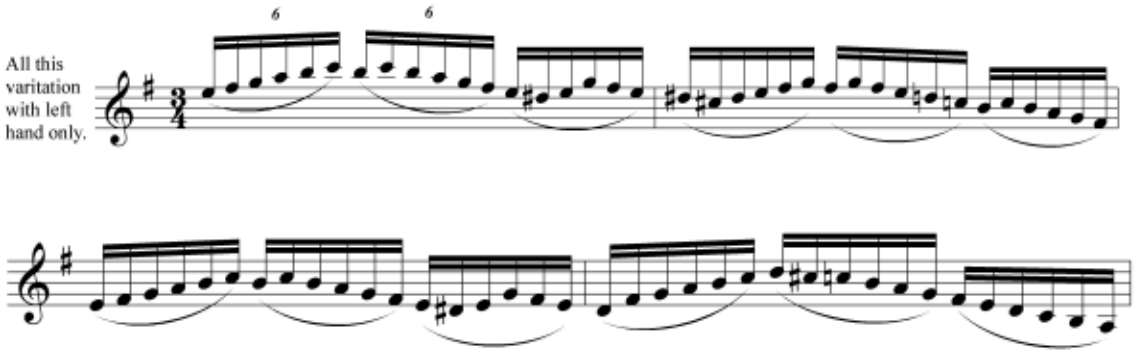


Variation 8:



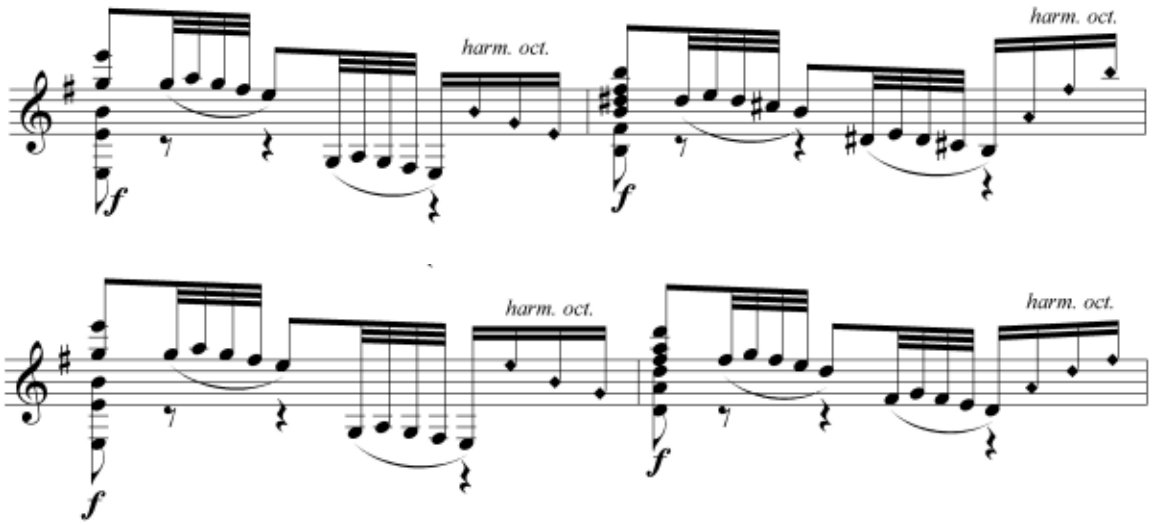
This variation is particularly remarkable for its ingenious use of natural harmonics. The only earlier work that approaches this use of natural harmonics is the trio from the *Marche* in Sor's *Sicilienne et Marche* in d minor. The trio imitates a horn fanfare and requires considerably fewer pitches than the Llobet variation.

Variation 9:



This variation may be the first of its kind, although flamenco players use this technique, and an extension of it occurs in Andrew York's "Sunburst." The exclusive use of the left hand requires great strength and agility, and always excites the audience in concerts.

Variation 10:



Appendix B

Facsimiles of Primary Documents

Plate 1: Title page of *El Mestre* annotated by Rey de la Torre.

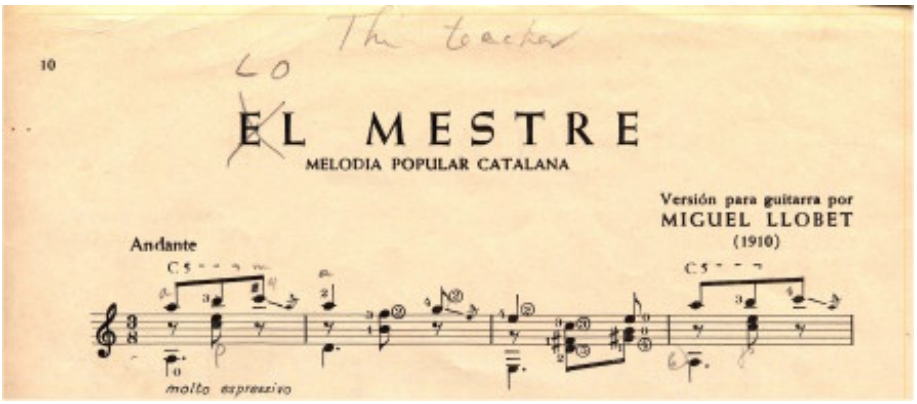
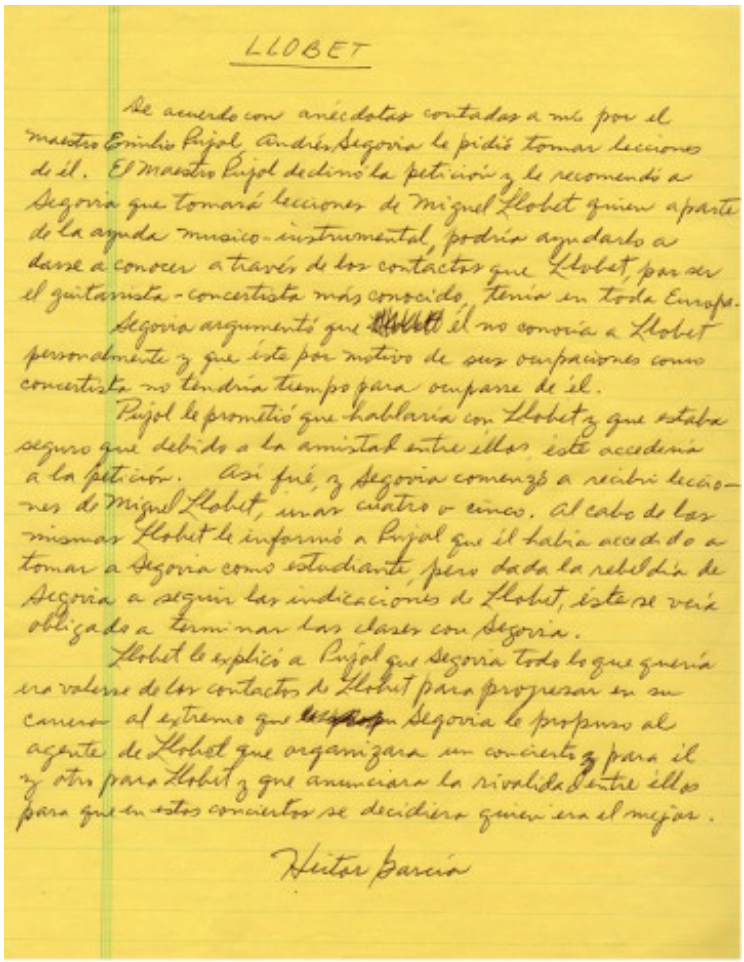


Plate 2: Letter from Hector García to Robert Phillips



LLOBET

Se acuerdo con anécdotas contadas a mí por el maestro Emilio Pujol, Andrés Segovia le pidió tomar lecciones de él. El Maestro Pujol declinó la petición y le recomendó a Segovia que tomará lecciones de Miguel Llobet quien aparte de la ayuda musico-instrumental, podría ayudarlo a darse a conocer a través de los contactos que Llobet, por ser el guitarrista-concertista más conocido, tenía en toda Europa.

Segovia argumentó que él no conocía a Llobet personalmente y que éste por motivos de sus ocupaciones como concertista no tendría tiempo para ocuparse de él.

Pujol le prometió que hablaría con Llobet y que estaba seguro que debido a la amistad entre ellos, éste accedería a la petición. Así fué, y Segovia comenzó a recibir lecciones de Miguel Llobet, unas cuatro o cinco. Al cabo de las mismas Llobet le informó a Pujol que él había accedido a tomar a Segovia como estudiante pero dada la rebeldía de Segovia a seguir las indicaciones de Llobet, éste se veía obligado a terminar las clases con Segovia.

Llobet le explicó a Pujol que Segovia todo lo que quería era valerse de los contactos de Llobet para progresar en su carrera al extremo que Segovia le propuso al agente de Llobet que organizara un concierto para él y otro para Llobet y que anunciara la rivalidad entre ellos para que en estos conciertos se decidiera quien era el mejor.

Hector García