

Instrument of Change The International Rise of the Guitar (c.1870-1945)

Friday 9 December — Sunday 11 December 2016
Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, The University of Melbourne

ABSTRACTS

DAVID ASBURY (Southwestern University)

Andrés Segovia and Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: 1939

We live in turbulent times, and must contend with challenges that, while unique to our circumstances, are often reflective of the past. This paper will illuminate and humanize part of the story behind the complicated relationship of Andrés Segovia and Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, and in so doing, connect it to our own.

The names Segovia and Castelnuovo-Tedesco are among the most recognized in the guitar's rich history. They, like Mozart and Stadler, Robert and Clara Schumann, Brahms and Joachim, and indeed Segovia and Manuel Ponce, will rightly be linked as one of history's great composer / interpreter tandems. It is important for us as scholars and interpreters to attempt to understand the nuance and complicating circumstances of their relationship in order to give our own work deeper meaning. Now, nearly fifty years since the passing of Castelnuovo-Tedesco and more than twenty-five years since Segovia's death, the perspective of time offers us an opportunity to examine aspects of their professional lives without the glaring and stultifying light of celebrity, and to impartially raise our collective understanding of these artists.

This work will examine events and evidence of early 1939, when in the face of fomenting ideologies of hatred espoused by fascists and Nazis, Segovia demonstrated extraordinary acts of moral and political courage by offering public support of his Jewish friend and collaborator. It will tell the story of how the world's greatest guitarist, risking his sterling reputation and personal safety, embarked on a truly remarkable concert tour and residency.

PAUL BALLAM-CROSS (University of Queensland)

Tárrega's Transcriptions Reassessed: A Snapshot of Nineteenth-Century Performance

Francisco Tárrega is a name well-known to classical guitarists through the original material that he produced. In addition to creating a large amount of didactic material through exercises and preludes, Tárrega worked extensively to create new guitar repertoire by transcribing music originally for other instruments. This was intended primarily to expand his own performance repertoire, and to provide audiences with concert favourites. While a small number of his transcriptions have become a part of the guitar repertoire, his transcriptions and arrangements are an important snapshot of late nineteenth-century concert life.

Tárrega's pioneering arrangements showcase his eclectic taste, and that he was comfortable performing music in a wide variety of genres and idioms. The arrangements range from the core concert repertoire (the music of Mozart and Beethoven) to virtuoso

piano music (Schumann and Chopin). Furthermore, there are numerous surprises throughout the collection, including Wagner's *Grand March* from *Tannhäuser*, and the first movement of Beethoven's *Moonlight Sonata*. These arrangements are valuable not only for the historical interest of examining Tárrega's performance material, but also in that they showcase much of the concert life of the late nineteenth century. These historical transcriptions are often significantly more faithful to the original material than more recent attempts at the same pieces.

I intend to analyse Tárrega's transcriptions in terms of how the nineteenth-century guitar recital was structured, and how this relates to modern guitar performances. I also intend to discuss how today's performers can build on Tárrega's transcriptions to create more diverse recital programs.

DAN BENDRUPS (La Trobe University)

Pahu Peti: The Guitar in Easter Island Culture

The guitar has special resonance in the music cultures of the Pacific where it, together with various types of ukulele, is now ubiquitous. However, despite this wide distribution, it was only in the 1930s that guitars reached Easter Island (Rapanui). The instrument rapidly assumed a place at the centre of Rapanui performance culture, displacing other musical elements and becoming a catalyst for change in Indigenous performance practice. The instrument provided a way of engaging with external cultural influences that increasingly reached the island after World War II, as well as a vehicle for new compositions and forms of musical expression. This paper presents this history, from the construction of the island's very first guitar, called "pahu peti", to the emergence of a distinctly Rapanui guitar practice, through to an understanding of the guitar's place in contemporary performance practice on the world's most remote inhabited island.

AMY BRANDON (Dalhousie University)

Eddie Lang and Dave Berend: Creativity and Cognition in Early Jazz Guitar Pedagogy 1925–36

One of the first prominent jazz guitarists, Eddie Lang gained widespread recognition for his orchestral and solo playing from the mid-1920s to his death in 1933. Despite his popular success, American BMG periodicals of the time rarely referenced him, possibly due to the "unsavoury" reputation of jazz. It wasn't until 1932, just before his death, that an American BMG journal, *The Crescendo*, began publishing transcriptions of his pieces. Both of Lang's jazz guitar method books, *Fingerboard Harmony* and *Modern Advanced Guitar Method*, were published posthumously in 1935 and 1936. While featuring many of Lang's transcriptions, the books were partially ghostwritten by editor and banjoist Dave Berend. However, despite this hazy provenance, these early examples of jazz guitar pedagogy spearheaded an entirely new approach to teaching guitar: an emphasis on improvising one's accompaniments from a foundation of deep harmonic knowledge. This approach was a fundamental shift from traditional guitar pedagogy, and reflects Lang's individual style, his Italian solfeggio and classical training combined with the unique demands of the new jazz idiom. *Fingerboard Harmony* also touches on aspects of music cognition by delineating distinct visual, motor and auditory learning styles in jazz guitar skill acquisition. This paper explores the context and creation of these early jazz guitar

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methods, their influence on jazz guitar, and the threads connecting the books' pedagogical philosophy to our current understanding of jazz guitar skill acquisition and cognition.

JULIUS REDER CARLSON (Mount Saint Mary's University, Los Angeles)
Atahualpa Yupanqui's Guitar Style and Staged Representations of Folk Music in Early Twentieth-Century Argentina

This paper contextualizes the emergence of Atahualpa Yupanqui's guitar style during the first decade of his recording career (1936–46), arguing that it can be heard as an effort at reproducing the staged folk music representations popularized by Argentine variety shows of the 1920s and '30s. According to the autobiographical narrative he disseminated in works like *El Canto del Viento* (1965), Yupanqui's guitar style faithfully documented the musical traditions he encountered in rural Argentina. Through the analysis of his first solo guitar recordings on the Odeon label, including "Mangruyendo" (1936), "Viene Clareando" (1941), and "Chilca Juliana" (1946), this paper supplements Yupanqui's narrative, arguing that both musical and discursive attributes of his guitar style may be best understood within the context of the staged representations of folk music popular in early twentieth-century Argentina. Musically speaking, I argue, Yupanqui's guitar solos strove to capture the textures of large song and dance ensembles like Andrés Chazarreta's Company of Native Art, in which violins, guitars, harps, and drums accompanied a troupe of singing and dancing peasants. Discursively, his song titles and memorable anecdotes substituted for the visual representations of rural life that accompanied these staged performances, providing listeners with a context of Argentine tradition within which to understand his music.

MAURICIO CARRASCO (Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne)
Platero y yo, an Andalusian Elegy

"Platero, if some day I throw myself into the well, it will not be for death's sake, believe me, but only the more quickly to attain the stars". Those verses by Juan Ramón Jiménez inspired one of the only existent Melodramas for guitar and narrator: Mario Castelnuovo Tedesco's *Platero y yo* (1960). Throughout this concert-lecture, the melodramatic aspect of this work will be proven, the Ben Singer five melodrama constitutive elements will be showed through examples on the music and lyrics with the participation of actress Sapidah Kian. A comparison will be established with another genre's emblematic melodrama, the 1954 Nicholas Ray western *Johnny Guitar*. With the help of this strange film, a study on how melodramatic emotions are transmitted in different genres will be analysed: how the choice of colour can be as cinematographic as musical, how the Jiménez poetry relates to Ray's screenplay, how Platero's narrator relates to Joan Crawford's mourning character and how Platero's enemies, the destructive human kind, the cruelty of grown ups, can be identified in the figure of the antagonist Mercedes McCambridge's character and her followers.

The score will be analysed in comparison with the manuscript, and the best instrumental solutions will be explained aiming to produce a musical discourse in permanent synchrony and symbiosis with Jiménez' poetry.

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DIOGO SALMERON CARVALHO (University of Florida)
How and Why Did Banjo and Mandolin Jeopardize the Guitar's Future?

Works for the classical guitar by North American composers, regardless of time period, are underrepresented in the instrument's canonical repertory, as their minor presence in indexes, catalogs, and publications related to guitar music demonstrates. The historiography indicates the nineteenth-century profound delineation of the guitar's history in the United States; therefore that legacy must be understood to enhance the future of the instrument.

The almost ubiquitous lack of knowledge about the early North American guitar's history led to the misconception that the instrument had no past in the country. Most guitarists, composers, and even some scholars are generally uninformed about the rich European-connected nineteenth-century guitar's culture, considering that classical guitar's history in the United States began with the 1928 arrival of Andrés Segovia, the most important twentieth-century guitarist.

This misunderstanding is probably inherited from the secondary role of the guitar in the Banjo, Mandolin, and Guitar (BMG) movement (1882–1933). Despite the existence, in the nineteenth century, of indigenous virtuosi and pedagogues who attended the growing market for methods, instruments, and concerts, a North-American school of playing did not become delineated enough to prevent negative alien influences on the instrument. BMG undermined the guitar's development, ultimately holding the North American's guitar community belated and unprepared for Segovia's repertoire and technique, according to Jeffrey Noonan, who comprehensively researched BMG periodicals (Noonan, 2009). Furthermore, the guitar community has been uninformed about the nineteenth century because of the persistent lack of available consistent bibliography—jeopardizing the instrument in the United States, as Peter Danner indicated (Danner, 1976).

A focused historiography addressing the BMG movement and its implications for the instrument leads to three main points: in the first half of the nineteenth century there was a strong North American guitar culture connected to Europe; despite this strong culture, the guitar was undermined by the BMG movement; this heritage may be one of the origins of the underrepresentation of North American guitar music in the instrument's canonical repertory.

MICHAEL CHRISTOFORIDIS (Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne)
Estudiantinas and the plucked string explosion of the 1870s.

Spanish *estudiantina* ensembles achieved immense popularity in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and were integral to the international projection of Spanish popular musical styles and associated dances. These groups of serenading musicians, formed around a core of plucked string instruments, had historical precedents in Spanish student groups dating back to Medieval times, and in the *rondallas* that were associated with outdoor music. However, in the latter part of the nineteenth century these traditions were recast in the changing urban contexts of the Iberian peninsula, and from 1878 the *estudiantina* gained an international dimension in the wake of the Parisian triumph of the Estudiantina Española. The Estudiantina Española spawned a multitude of

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imitators that would form part of the international popular music stage till the early twentieth century. Most of these ensembles, comprising professional entertainers, ranged in size from 10–20 players, and predominantly employed *bandurrias*, *laúdes* and guitars, with a successful commercial formula that built on the terrain of American minstrel groups. The most famous of these ensembles was the Estudiantina Figaro, founded by Dionisio Granados in Madrid in 1878. These *estudiantinas* provided the impetus for the creation of different types of plucked string ensembles, and the subsequent mass production of relatively cheap fretted instruments; starting with the Italian mandolin orchestras that formed in 1878. By the end of the 1880s, the term *estudiantina* also denoted localised mixed and plucked-based ensembles, playing folk and popular repertoires, and from the 1890s, the term *estudiantina* was employed to describe the bourgeois amateur social music phenomenon of the plucked string orchestras in continental Europe.

WALTER CLARK (University of California, Riverside)
Going *cucú* for Aranjuez: Sources of Musical Inspiration and Influence in Joaquín Rodrigo's Most Famous Work

The *Concierto de Aranjuez* by Joaquín Rodrigo (1901–99) is not only the most renowned concerto in the guitar repertoire but one of the most iconic works in the entire corpus of European classical music. Though its celebrity is due mostly to the intensely emotive middle movement, the entire work bears the stamp of the composer's characteristic genius. Composed in 1939, at the end of the Spanish Civil War and while Rodrigo and his wife were living in Paris, the work's genesis has stimulated much speculation over the years. This paper explores Rodrigo's creative process, which bears the imprint of his variegated soundscape. This included not only references to historical and traditional music but also the sounds of nature as he had experienced them at the Aranjuez palace years earlier, as well as the song of the cuckoo bird, which he first heard in Germany's Black Forest.

GUY CUNDELL (Elder Conservatorium, Adelaide University)
In Search of the Lost Chord: The Emergence of the Dominant Seventh Steel Guitar Tuning

This paper explores the development during the 1920s of alternative steel guitar tunings, specifically, the dominant seventh. Faced with the increasing harmonic complexity of the emerging jazz repertoire, steel guitarists needed to expand the existing triadic tunings of Hawaiian music. Transcription and analysis of an obscure solo guitar piece reveals the moment when the dominant seventh tuning emerged. The paper then provides evidence of its subsequent adoption by Hawaiian ensembles across America

LEILANI DADE (University of California, Riverside)
Joaquín Turina: Spanish Nationalism and Guitar in the Early Twentieth Century

Joaquín Turina was heavily influenced by the works and friendships of fellow twentieth-century Spanish composers, particularly Isaac Albéniz, Enrique Granados, and Manuel de Falla. Much of Turina's music reflects his Andalusian Spanish heritage; however, certain pieces also bear resemblance to much of the work that was being composed in France

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due to an extended stay in Paris from 1905–1914. Isaac Albéniz praised his French style, yet encouraged him to abandon it and focus instead on composing Spanish music. Turina took this advice to heart and composed some of the most characteristically Spanish pieces in the repertoire, including five pieces for guitar: *Sevillana* Op. 29 (1923), *Fandanguillo* Op. 36 (1925), *Ráfaga* Op. 53 (1929), *Sonata* Op. 61 (1931), and *Homenaje a Tárrega* Op. 69 (1932). Turina's compositional style was characterized by his allusions to Spanish folk melodies and his rather strict adherence to conventional European forms. Through interviews and archival research, I will focus on the role that Spanish nationalism played in Joaquín Turina's life and work as a Spanish composer, particularly in regards to his compositions for guitar, as well as the influence that Turina had on the subsequent generation of guitar composers and performers, including his students Celedonio Romero and Vicente Asencio.

KEVIN DAWE (University of Kent)
The Guitar in World History, c. 1870–1945

The extraordinary richness of the proposals submitted for the conference "Instrument of Change" suggest that the field of "Guitar Studies" is not only established but proliferating with cross cultural, multi-genre, historical and interdisciplinary theses and publications. But do we have an adequate enough methodological and conceptual toolkit with which to embark on, and do justice to, research into the many different cultures of the guitar, past and present? Importantly, what kinds of questions might we ask of instruments in history, as intrepid, time-travelling and, in this case, guitar-wielding academics? For instance, composer biographies and analyses of their work and pedagogy continue to be highly illuminating; and collections of guitars provide us with extensive knowledge about how they were made, sounded and featured, for example, in ensembles and the visual arts. However, the "new organology" draws attention to a number of untapped intellectual resources, enabling us to put a deeper critical plough into the field of Guitar Studies, whilst allowing us to explore further the historical contexts and trajectories, cultural entanglements and social significance, of the guitar. In attempting to develop the above argument, a limited literature review will be attempted in this paper, featuring relevant and key works in the fields of world history, musicology (historical, cross-cultural and ecological), anthropology and sociology (the body and senses, material culture studies), and science and technology studies.

JAN DE KLOE (Belgium)
The First Teacher of Julian Bream—Boris Perott

Boris Perott, a Russian physician who came to England after the Revolution, is primarily known for being the first teacher of Julian Bream and his creation in 1929 of the Philharmonic Society of Guitarists in London. The lecture covers his life in Russia and in Finland where he played concerts in public, and in Great Britain where he published more than 60 articles about the classical guitar in between the World Wars.

Boris Perott has always been rather secretive about the first 38 years of his life before he established himself in London. This lecture reveals many details of his parallel careers in Russia, as a medical doctor, as a guitarist, as a language and literature teacher, and as an author of many articles and books on a variety of subjects.

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ROXY DEPUE (University of California, Riverside)
Strings Attached: The Culture and Challenges Encountered by Free-Lance Guitarists in Hollywood, California from the Turn of the Century to 1945

I would like to propose a paper exploring the local contexts of the studio guitarist, and the challenges of working as a free-lance musician in Hollywood, California from the turn of the century to 1945. This paper will provide an historical context and back story to the explosion of guitar activity that began to take place in the 1950s in Los Angeles. I will discuss the key guitarists in the industry during this time, and the instrument's rise in popular and jazz traditions leading up to 1945.

I have several questions to ask in presenting this paper: How was Hollywood, California socially, politically, and linguistically constructed at the turn of the twentieth century? How and why was this area of Los Angeles made known to the music community as the named place for aspiring musicians, and more specifically guitarists to pursue a career in the music industry? What was the power hierarchy, hegemony, and challenges of building contacts within the local contexts of Hollywood? And, what were the communities of practice during this time? By unpacking these questions a clearer understanding shall unfold as to the culture free-lance guitarists experienced in Southern California during the first half of the twentieth century.

In conclusion, I will leave us to consider the following questions: How has time and change affected the music industry in Hollywood? As guitarists, how do different social categorizations and hierarchies influence our perception of Hollywood? And finally, how does Los Angeles make us reimagine or contest this place?

DOUG DE VRIES (Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne)
Pioneers of Jazz Guitar's Pre-Electric Era: Plectrum Virtuosi

Tributes to jazz guitar most often begin with the first star of electric guitar, Charlie Christian and progress through those he influenced afterward and on through the latter part of the twentieth century where the amplified instrument became such a popular item to the present day. But what about those players who were around during the early days of jazz when the guitar was proliferating all across the USA via radio and the nascent recording industry?

Many of these very players were extremely versatile, often playing a number of fretted instruments, versed in popular styles of the day, jazz being one of them. They were called at the time "musicianers", those that could play jazz, blues, ragtime and country styles or even folk music from the various immigrant communities of Italians, Polish, French and Spanish recently settled in the big cities in America.

In this paper we shall focus on some of these exponents of the early jazz era such as Lonnie Johnson, Eddie Lang, Dick McDonough and Carl Kress, examining their respective recordings, the instruments they employed, and recreate some of their performances live on unamplified guitars to get a brief snapshot of the skills and inventiveness of the musicians and their subsequent influence on those that followed as jazz expanded its market across continents.

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YIANNIS EFSTATHOPOULOS (Koninklijk Conservatorium / Vrije Universiteit, Brussels)
**Historical Performance Practice of Spanish Modernism:
An Approach to the Performer Regino Sainz de la Maza**

The leading guitar figure of Regino Sainz de la Maza appeared after 1920 actively within the avantgarde artists of Spain and the prewar composers. A new modernist repertoire was written for him and in 1935 a collection of pieces known as "Biblioteca de musica para guitarra" were catalogued in Union Musical Espagnola. However the discovery of those works started many decades later, dated mainly in 1978 by Ricardo Iznaola and recently by Leopoldo Neri.

Despite the musicological research of this topic, as well as this of the "Generation 27", there is not any implication about Sainz de la Maza as a performer and to the historical performance practice. Considering the lack of original recordings, historical continuity in the interpretations, the result of this research presents a very different prospective of that repertoire.

In order to approach the performances of that period I took into consideration: the historical background of the composers, the original instrumentation, the real gut and silk-coated bass strings, manuscripts, as well as the guitar technique and posture of that period.

This paper analyzes the feedback and the artistic insights of performing on original guitars by Santos Hernandez, the sound production on historical strings, the approach to Tárrega's technique and the sources concerning Regino Sainz de la Maza as a performer. In addition the research output presents examples of performing guides and performance choices on the selected repertoire compared with modern interpretations.

SUSAN ELLIS (Maton Guitars)
The Early History of Maton Guitars

Susan Ellis, in dialogue with Ken Murray, will discuss her father Bill May and the early history of Maton Guitars. May, a Melbourne-born jazz musician, woodwork teacher and luthier, founded Australia's first major guitar-making firm in the 1940s. Celebrating its 70th anniversary this year, Maton has gone on to achieve iconic status internationally, bulding on May's commitment to making quality hand crafted guitars.

MATTHEW FAGAN (Victorian College of the Arts, University of Melbourne)
The Development of the Steel String Guitar 1830-1915

My presentation will explore the development of the two families of steel string guitar from 1800 to 1920. The Arch-top steel string guitar, whose construction borrows from the violin family tradition and the Flat-top steel string guitar whose origins lie in the "gut string" guitars of the nineteenth century, closely related to the European Classical guitars of this period. In particular the developments of the two main American families of makers Orville Gibson (1856-1918) and C.F. Martin (1796-1873, born Neukirchen, Germany, emigrated to USA in 1833) will be discussed.

The paper will explore the development of the family of Gibson's "F-hole, orchestral" guitar family and the instruments advent into guitar orchestras, reflecting the developing music of these instruments, most notably the American Jazz Age.

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The discussion will also explore how the advent of the Mandolin Family and Archtop guitars of Lloyd Loar led to the rise of the guitar as a solo instrument from a purely rhythmic accompaniment role in the hands of players such as Eddie Lang (Salvatore Massaro, 1902–33).

Also to be presented is the creative work of luthier and performing classical guitarist Mario Maccaferri (1900–93), whose unique design for the steel string guitar was favoured by gypsy jazz musician Django Reinhardt (1910–53).

The final part of the paper will focus on the development and advent of music and players of the Flat-top-steel string guitar particularly the work of luthier C.F. Martin and the rise of the flat-top guitar as the principal instrument of American Folk, Country Music and African-American “Blues” from 1880 to 1920.

STUART FISHER (Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne)
Influences and Trajectories in the Use of the Guitar in Interwar German Concert Music

This paper will examine some of the factors which compelled interwar German composers to incorporate the guitar into their concert works as well as some of the impact this usage of the instrument had on successive generations writing for the guitar. A surprising array of significant German composers made use of the guitar in this period including Ernst Krenek, Arnold Schoenberg, Hans Pfitzner, Paul Hindemith and Kurt Weill. Whilst these composers occupied various contrasting aesthetic positions, from Schoenberg's *Serenade op. 24* to Weill's *Die Sieben Todsünden*, their usage of the guitar poses the interesting question of why? What drew them to the guitar? Was it the influence of folk traditions or the early echoes of jazz that inspired these composers? This paper will furthermore seek to contextualise these developments within the cultural and political upheaval of the time, looking at how these factors may have influenced compositional decisions.

STATHIS GAUNTLETT (Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne)
Rebetiki kithara: Handmaiden of the Bouzouki or Power behind its Throne?

The bouzouki tends to be seen as the instrument *par excellence* of rebetika (commonly styled “Greek blues”), while the guitar is typically assigned the ancillary role of providing rhythmical accompaniment—and even there the guitar is prone to be upstaged by the baglamas (a miniature, higher pitched version of the bouzouki). The verses of some classic rebetika songs appear to confirm this hierarchy of instruments.

This paper aims to redress somewhat the apparent under-appreciation of the importance of the guitar and guitarists in rebetika by exploring instances of their signal contribution to the development of the genre, beginning at a time when the bouzouki and its exponents had an image problem. Indeed, guitarists serving on the staff of recording companies facilitated the advancement of the bouzouki; as composers and lyricists they also supplied songs for performance by bouzouki players; and some guitarists who converted to the bouzouki raised the level of virtuosity on that instrument, even modifying it physically to accommodate their technique—not without controversy. The guitar was also central to some of the more bizarre interludes in the evolution of rebetika and the associated discourse.

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This paper will further invite consideration of the role of the guitar with its western associations within the cultural politics of rebetika, a genre often portrayed as the defiant rearguard of levantine culture in a rapidly westernising Greece.

EVAN HOPKINS (Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne)
**The Changing Zeitgeist in Classical Guitar Repertoire:
Andrés Segovia's Reception in New York 1928–1940**

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a young Spanish guitarist by the name of Andrés Segovia took his first steps in a lifelong endeavour to change the face of the classical guitar. His intention was to lift the classical guitar out of the small salon rooms and away from the realm of popular music and into the conservatories and concert halls of audiences around the world. This unprecedented vision for the guitar was to be achieved through several means.

Firstly, by challenging the common perception of the guitar as an instrument of limitations. His startling technique and sense of musicality showed audiences that the artistry of the performer, rather than the instrument they chose to wield, was the decisive factor in effectively realising great works of art. Secondly, by commissioning a new repertoire Segovia sought to highlight the charming intricacies of his chosen instrument. Lastly, by interpreting the music of J.S. Bach on the guitar he demonstrated the richness of the repertoire available to the instrument and its ability to convey great works of art.

Through his work, Segovia thrust the guitar into the public consciousness and demanded that audiences, guitarists, composers and critics alike re-evaluate their thoughts on the instrument. Segovia's frequent performances in New York and the concert reviews that accompanied them give us a unique insight into this changing period in the history of the classical guitar.

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ERIC JOHNS (University of California, Riverside)
The Fall of the Tango Guitar and the Rise of Middle-Class *Tangueros*

The transformation of tango from its roots on the poor outskirts of *Rioplatense* urban areas to its eventual acceptance among the middle and upper classes, was partially marked by a gradual reduction in the use of guitars. Tango scholars and journalists often attribute this change to the introduction of the piano. However, I argue that this instrumental exchange, from the guitar to piano, was a function of the expanding middle classes and their corresponding search for identity. With the relegation of the guitar to a tool of accompaniment for *cantores nacionales*, singers of a variety of folk music styles, the guitar began to take on an association with the lower classes and a valued idealization of those classes. This association is illustrated through both the visual and audible representation of tango in 1930s Argentine film. Through an examination of these films, I will illustrate that the tango guitar became a signifier of lower-class society, giving an authenticity to the tangos celebrated by the newly formed middle classes.

DAMIEN KINGSTON (University of Tasmania)
Derek Bailey's *Ballads*: Combining Traditions

Derek Bailey (1930–2005) was an English born guitarist known widely for his work in freely improvised music. His performance and recording career features freely improvised music in a variety of settings, from solo to large ensemble performances. Bailey is viewed by many as one of the progenitors of “European Free Improvisation”, and was one of the earliest visible practitioners of the genre, especially on the guitar. His style was characterized by extreme variance of register and timbre, discontinuity of phrasing and extended instrumental technique.

Bailey's improvisational language, whilst idiosyncratic and highly individual, was born of multiple traditions, most notably those of jazz and early twentieth-century classical compositional technique. Bailey forged a new trajectory for the guitar, combining materials and approaches from these various traditions to create a unique improvisational identity and expand the improvisational resources of the instrument. Never is the influence of these traditions more obvious than in his 2002 recording *Ballads*—on which a series of jazz ballads are interpreted through the prism of free improvisation.

This paper, through the transcription and analysis of materials contained on *Ballads*, will investigate the improvisational language of Derek Bailey and seek to identify materials drawn from multiple traditions; demonstrating how these materials were utilized and combined to create a new improvisational context for the guitar, and, more broadly, a new tradition in which the instrument could be situated.

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KATE LEWIS (University of Surrey, Guildford)
She Made That Guitar Talk: Pioneering Female Lead Guitar Players and Their Influence on the Development of American Popular Music

Throughout the second half of the twentieth century, male players arguably dominated the role of the lead guitarist in mainstream popular music. However, during the development of American popular music, especially in the pre-rock n' roll era before the electric guitar became both a pop icon and signifier of masculinity, there were a number of female lead players who were fundamentally influential in shaping the sound and popularity of the instrument in commercial pop music.

This paper will explore the approaches to playing taken by Maybelle Carter, Memphis Minnie and Sister Rosetta Tharpe, three female lead players who were all significantly innovative within the contexts of the 1930s and '40s country, blues and gospel/R&B genres. In addition to examining the specific technical and musical approaches of these players, this paper will consider the cultural implications of the presence of commercially successful female lead players in early popular music, in contrast with the virtual absence of equivalent figures in later popular styles. The examination of the often-overlooked influence of women and their innovative playing styles on the development of the lead guitar in pop music will further current scholarship surrounding the instrument and continue to address the issues of gender imbalance within the field.

HANNAH LINDMAIER (University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna)
“Female” or “Male”? Guitar and Gender at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

Within the limited possibilities of suitable musical instruments for women in the nineteenth century, the guitar was considered an appropriate choice. Especially towards the end of the century the instrument was widely regarded—and sometimes frowned upon—as a “lady-like instrument” (*Magazine of Music*, 1895). The turn of the century marked a change in the gender-connotation of the classical guitar, as it shifted to be regarded rather as a male-dominated virtuoso solo instrument, especially from within the community of the classical guitar. History-writing on the guitar has further supported an imbalance in the representation of female and male protagonists, as in many publications the dawn of the twentieth century and the following decades read like a fairy-tale of a triumphant advance of the classical (“Spanish”) guitar, carried out by only a handful of male players who “finally conquered” the concert stages of this world.

This paper explores the shift of paradigms around the turn of the twentieth century, the changing gender connotation of the guitar and possible reasons for it, examining social and cultural contexts in which the guitar was commonly employed, in form of case studies. It also takes a closer look at history-writing dealing with this era analyzing dynamics that fuel the gender-discourse surrounding the guitar until today.

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CLA MATHIEU (Graduate School of the Arts, Bern)
**The “Espressivo: Tradition and Early Twentieth-Century Classical Guitar Playing;
Miguel Llobet’s Recordings of the 1920s as Sources for Historically Informed
Performance Practice**

Even a superficial glance at early recordings confirms that the performance style of western art music has changed massively during the past century. Much of this change can be attributed to an aesthetical shift around World War II away from the tradition of the “espressivo”, which dominated the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Several studies have documented the important practical implications of these developments for various areas of musical performance, although a study focusing on the classical guitar is still lacking.

Among the recordings of classical guitar music featuring a performance style in the “espressivo” tradition, Miguel Llobet’s (Barcelona 1878–1938) recordings from the 1920s stand out due to their musical quality and to Llobet’s special role as pupil of Tárrega, leading soloist and influential teacher. In this paper, I present two case studies from Llobet’s recordings. Starting with an empirical analysis of the recording’s temporal structure, I discuss the aesthetical, technical and material components of Llobet’s playing. Comparisons with other recordings of the discussed pieces and insights from the contemporary literature permit a distinction between period performance style, instrumental idiosyncrasies and individual preferences. Although such case studies are just a starting point for a historically informed performance of early twentieth-century classical guitar music, they can help map out the range of possibilities available for the interpretation of this important part of the guitar’s repertoire.

GERARD MAPSTONE (Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne)
**That’s Not Flamenco, THIS is Flamenco:
The Decline of Purity and the Modern Flamenco Guitar**

Some of the greatest arguments surrounding flamenco over the past 100 years have been about describing what is really Flamenco? Does it belong to one group of people? Is it of the streets, the poor, the oppressed? Is it a state of being? Or is it a spectacular dance display seen in theatres? While there is still much debate to what is and isn’t flamenco the fact that we argue about it is important in keeping flamenco progressive.

Many of us that unfold the layers of flamenco discover that a sense of purity and tradition are common in conversation, that you must bide by tradition first then add a little something, but I aim to ask what is that something... how much of it can we use before we are told it’s not flamenco... and who is to judge?

Looking back is an important step forward for *flamencos* in forming their understanding of the integrity within tradition at an elemental level. To do so in today’s presentation I aim to address the “modern” flamenco guitar styles of the 1880s, and show that while some innovations may be unpopular, others can become standard, and that through discussing what is acceptable or not is in fact what strengthens our community and our art today.

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ABSTRACTS

ADAM MAY (Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne)
**The Central Role of the Brazilian Seven-String Guitar in the
Development of *Choro* Music (1870–1945)**

This paper will outline the history of the seven-string guitar, starting with the earliest historical accounts from the European classical-guitar tradition as well as the widespread popularity of the seven-string guitar in nineteenth-century Russia. Then it will discuss in detail the sudden and yet unexplained appearance of the instrument in Brazil at the beginning of the twentieth century, and its central role in the development of *choro* music.

Within the Brazilian context, I will focus on key musicians from the beginning of the twentieth-century in Rio de Janeiro, China (Otávio de Rocha Vianna, 1888–1927) and his contemporary Tute (Arthur de Souza Nascimento, 1886–1957) who are widely accepted as being responsible for the seven-string guitar’s entry into Brazilian music. I will also discuss Horondino José da Silva (1918–2006), known as Dino Sete-Cordas, who is recognized as the most influential figure in the history of the seven-string guitar, and a pioneer of its role in *choro* ensembles. Dino is responsible for the way the *baixairas*, the intricate basslines and countermelodies, are performed on the Brazilian seven-string guitar. He created the musical language and consolidated its role and function in *choro* music. Interesting additions to the discussion on these earliest years of the seven-string guitar in Rio de Janeiro, will include the little-known Brazilian guitar the *violão-bolacha*, and the four-string Brazilian soprano guitar, the *cavaquinho*.

LUIISA MORALES (Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne/FIMTE)
Domenico Scarlatti and the Spanish Guitar c. 1920–1940

The renewed interest in Domenico Scarlatti that took place during the first half of the twentieth century is marked in the history of music by two seminal editions: a collection of twenty-four sonatas (1905) “freely transcribed” by Enrique Granados from a late eighteenth-century manuscript, and the publication of 545 sonatas (1906–10) by Alessandro Longo.

The Early Music revivals imported from fin-de-siècle Paris to Barcelona by a generation of pianist-composers are exemplified by artists like Malalts, who performed a series of Concerts històrics in Barcelona in November and December 1891 which included Scarlatti sonatas, or by Enrique Granados who premiered his transcription of the sonatas in the Salle Pleyel in March 1905. These were but the prelude to the explosion of Neoclassical aesthetics in 1920s Spain. If in *Goyescas* Granados evokes eighteenth-century aesthetics and indicates explicit references for the piano to imitate the guitar—namely in *Coloquio en la Reja* and *Epilogo*—in the following years Falla analyzed Scarlatti’s sonatas and studied the idiomatic guitar resources used by the Neapolitan composer, strongly recommending them as a model to the guitarist Angel Barrios. In this paper I will overview the impact of the Scarlatti sonatas and neo-Scarlatti compositions on the generation of Spanish guitarists. I will further discuss how Manuel de Falla’s essay *El Cante jondo* (1922) has been a major influence on Scarlatti historiography.

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KEN MURRAY (Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne)
Percy Grainger: The Accidental Guitarist

Grainger engaged with the guitar as both performer and composer over many decades, from his early experiments in London in the 1910s to performances with Henry Cowell in the 1940s. In the 1910s Grainger developed his own idiosyncratic style of guitar playing and notation. His arrangement of *Scotch Strathspey and Reel* has one of the most fully formed guitar accompaniments with detailed descriptions and diagrams to explain his methods. Most striking of all in his notes for the *Scotch Strathspey and Reel* are the right hand strumming techniques which Grainger describes in some detail. These show that he had some knowledge of Spanish *rasgueado* (strumming) techniques.

Grainger employed open tunings on the guitar and an unorthodox left hand technique, approaching the neck from above or below. This technique is used extensively in *Random Round* (originally written 1912–14), an early exploration of aleatoric principles. His mother Rose also played guitar and they often played together, including in a performance of Grainger's arrangement of the dance-folksong from the Faroe Islands *Father and Daughter* (1912) at Henry Balfour Gardiner's London concerts in 1913. A year after his mother's death in 1922 Grainger dedicated his arrangement of the Danish folksong *Hubby and Wifey* to her. This short song features an intricate two guitar accompaniment which Grainger played with Henry Cowell at a series of concerts in New York in 1940. This paper will explore Grainger's unique approach to the guitar and his interest in guitar-related musical trends of the early twentieth century.

MATANYA OPHEE (Editions Orphée)
Segovia and the Russians

The guitar arrived in Russia during the last two decades of the eighteenth century. One of the new arrivals was the five-string single-strung *chitarra francese* tuned in fourths brought to Russia by French and Italian guitarists. At the same time, there was also an influx of guitars which were fashioned after the English guitar, the *cetra* of the eighteenth century, a seven-string instrument tuned in a straight major chord, that is, in thirds, brought to Russia by Polish and Czech musicians.

Both types became accepted by Russian musicians, and both thrived in two separate yet complimentary cultures. For more than a century, professional and amateur activity of both instruments continued side by side with full cooperation and respect between the two.

And then Segovia came. His impact as a musician and as a teacher was tremendous. Within a short time he acquired an admiring following and many of the leading players of the Russian seven-string guitar abandoned their own national heritage and adopted the Segovia repertoire. But soon enough, the relationship between those who still clung to their national music and the instrument used to play it, and those who converted to the Segovia mystic turned sour.

This paper will describe the trial and tribulations the two groups underwent during the harshest times of the Soviet repression regime, including exile to concentration camps, from which some guitarists never returned. Besides some obnoxious published denunciations of one group by the other, there was also a huge wave of private

correspondence, which luckily survived, that gives us a unique view into the process by which a simple tuning difference can turn guitarists into bitter enemies. Of course, schisms and disputes were always a part of the history of music, but this was a conflict that not only turned ugly, but was also quite deadly.

JONATHAN PAGET
 (Western Australian Academy of Performing Arts, Edith Cowan University)
Mr Shand's Recitals and the "Spanish" Guitar in Colonial Australia

Ernest Shand (1868–1924) is now recognised as the foremost English guitarist of the late Victorian era, publishing more than thirty works, a guitar method, a guitar concerto, and numerous songs. Less well known (at least to Australian guitarists) is the fact that he toured Australia and New Zealand from 1897–98, primarily as part of various musical hall and operetta shows, particularly "Messrs' Williamson and Musgrove's Comedy Company". Shand's role as a comedic singer and actor might come as a surprise to guitarists, but was the primary reason behind his Australian visit. Intriguingly, Shand quickly connected with an established Australian scene of guitar aficionados, particularly the banjo, mandolin, and guitar orchestra of a "Mr Stent" in Sydney (one of many such ensembles in Australia at that time). Shand began giving public recitals in Sydney and Melbourne to considerable critical acclaim. This paper will make a fresh examination of the critical reception of Shand's concertizing through digitised newspaper collections, with an aim of making a reevaluation of the significance of the guitar in the musical life of Australia in this period. This investigation will also consider Shand's musical compositions, as well as his method and its possible influence. While no guitar methods were published in Australia in the late nineteenth century, there were several "Spanish" guitar methods published within Australia in the first decades of the twentieth century. These factors point towards a more substantial (pre-Segovia) guitar culture in colonial-era Australia than previously reported and amplify an intriguing chapter of Shand's intriguing musical career.

MELANIE PLESCH (Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne)
Nationalism, Internationalism and Other Dichotomies in the History of the Guitar in Argentina

Participating simultaneously in both the worlds of vernacular and concert music, the guitar in Argentina embodies the tensions between the local and the European that have haunted the country since its emergence as a nation state. The corpus of works for the guitar published in Buenos Aires in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, which includes European-inspired "nocturnes", "études", "sonatas", "sonatinas", operatic excerpts, and Argentine vernacular songs and dances, is a clear example of the extent to which these two facets of the instrument lived side by side.

In this presentation I explore a subset of this repertoire, highlighting the role of the guitar as an interface between oral and written music traditions on the eve of the Argentine nationalist movement. I argue that a group of early works by Juan Alais, Gaspar and Julio Sagreras—heretofore undervalued by ethnomusicology as not proper field records—constitute a key source for the history of Argentine vernacular music and was one of the main channels through which this repertoire entered art music.

PATRICK SALLINGS (University of North Texas)
Amalgamation as Nationalism in the *Valses Venezolanas* of Antonio Lauro

Many composers, performers, and listeners respond to Antonio Lauro's *Valses Venezolanas* with similar sentiment: these pieces are melodically lyrical, harmonically accessible, and generally enjoyable. Contrast these characteristics with some of the features found in other works by Lauro, such as the modern chromaticism in his *Sonata* or the lack of a clear melodic line a la *style brisé* in his *Carora* and other solo pieces. One might assume that because the *Valses* were written early in Lauro's career, they are naturally less developed. My goal is to explore further the idea outlined by Aponte, Vidal, and others that Lauro was an active participant and became a prominent figure in defining Venezuelan musical nationalism through his works for the guitar.

Lauro effectively combined European/Creole musical features and techniques with his knowledge of and experience with South American folk idioms, resulting in a compact catalogue of works that engender a nationalistic style that represent both the traditional Viennese waltz and the established Venezuelan waltz. With this amalgamation, he offered a solution to the problem of artistic identity in Venezuela in the first half of the twentieth century.

BERNARDO SCARTON and FERNANDO GUALDA
 (Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil)
Before Bossa-Nova: Early Twentieth-Century Guitar Recordings, Performers and Genres in Brazil

In early twentieth-century Brazil, guitar playing had been discriminated against, usually associated with vagabond style of life. In one of the first recordings of Samba, "Pelo telefone" ("Over the phone", Odeon, 1916), lyrics suggest police persecution of musicians. The early development of a phonographic industry in Brazil (e.g. Casa Edison, Rio de Janeiro, 1900–60 and Casa Elétrica, Porto Alegre, 1913–24) may have influenced not only the way people listened to the guitar, but also its social role, for some guitarists became icons through performances and recordings. We focused this research on four influential musicians of this period: Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887–1959), João Pernambuco (1883–1947), Aníbal Augusto Sardinha (Garoto) (1927–55) and Octávio Dutra (1884–1937). This paper discusses how those musicians, through their recordings, recitals and compositions may have changed the way guitar playing had been perceived as well as how guitar recordings may have been an instrument of change from that particular social perspective to new, mainstream musical genres, such as bossa-nova, as well as to the development of international interest in Brazilian music.

ERIE SETIAWAN (Art Music Today (Music Information Center), Yogyakarta)
***Fado* "Metamorphosis" in Indonesian Kroncong Music**

As a musical genre of Portuguese heritage (now Portugal), *fado* has a long history and it has brought up to Indonesia since the seventeenth century. *Fado* is the musical genre with a Portuguese guitar (plucked) instrument which later evolved into "the ukulele" (*kroncong*) in Indonesia, through Hawaiian dissemination in the early twentieth century. On the other hand, the accompanying instrument called banjo, in the *kroncong* music format, has a different organology from the original, but is similar in shape and design.

However, the development of all these instruments starts from *fado* as a song from Portuguese. It is interesting to see the development of *fado* in *kroncong* music in Indonesia through the songs and technique of instrument, especially in Jakarta in the nineteenth century and another city, like Yogyakarta, Solo, etc. There is some key literature to support this research. Nowadays, *kroncong* music has become quite widespread in Indonesia. The music has been played across Indonesian societies yet its history is not thoroughly understood. More interestingly, a stringed (plucked) instrument in Indonesia is growing rapidly and it could be found in many kinds. Of course, this search is very interesting and will open up new horizons for us all.

RUSSELL A. SPIEGEL (Miami, Florida)
The Selmer-Maccaferri Guitar and the Rise of Gypsy Jazz

With the the rise of a new style of music embodied in the two-fingered virtuosity of guitarist Django Reinhardt, a new instrument came to prominence: the Selmer Maccaferri. With its unique body design and ability to produce extraordinary volume, not only was this instrument indicative of a new development in guitar construction, it also required a specific plectrum technique to take full advantage of this instrument's sonic capabilities. Though Selmer made less than a thousand of these instruments, the design was adopted by other builders and is today the guitar style of choice for performers in this unique genre of music. This paper will examine the background and construction of the Selmer-Maccaferri guitar, its adoption by Django Reinhardt and other practitioners of Gypsy Jazz, specific techniques employed on the instrument, and its role in music today.

JOSEPH TABUA (Western Sydney University)
Strings of Oceania: A Study of Hawaiian Guitar and Guitar Cultures 1880–1945

This paper focuses on the evolution of the guitar that was built during the early eighteenth century. Still, by the turn of the nineteenth century the Hawaiian guitar with its transformation into steel string and lap steel guitar (Evans 1976) appears to be enjoying a considerable resurgence in popularity today. Interestingly, prior to World War II Hawaiian music claimed enthusiastic audiences throughout the world (Hood 1983). This awareness of transformation has influenced the way the guitar is perceived in both the academic milieu and within popular culture. This reasoning is twofold. Firstly, the steel guitar's profound influence upon Polynesian and Melanesian cultures (Miller 1970) should be seen as crucial towards the development (Troutman 2013; Kennedy 1972) of the arts in Oceania. That is, the accessibility of the guitar into Oceania as the ideal accompaniment instrument for traditional song and dance. Secondly, there are striking similitudes between Oceania and Hawaii because of the guitar's acknowledged popularity throughout North America during the 1920s. Guitars have evoked powerful local and global feeling, particularly since they came of age in the nineteenth century (Troutman 2016). This paper applies the qualitative research approach by investigating Hawaiian steel guitar innovators Joseph Kekuku and Sol o' Hopi'i.

ABSTRACTS

ARI VAN VLIET (Cumuli Foundation, Netherlands)
Introducing Modernism: The Shifting Style, from Romanticism through Nationalism towards Expressionism

In the late nineteenth century, guitar composers were both writing and playing their own music in the Romantic style, such as Coste did in Paris. The transition in style and performance practice was realized by Tárrega and his contemporaries. Then, guitarists played either their own compositions or transcriptions of non-guitar music, mainly composed in the national style. This had its home in Spain with Albéniz, Granados and Falla. The next generation of guitarists, such as the modern players Pujol, Llobet and Segovia, mainly performed music by other composers, while at the same time making the transition from nationalism to internationalism. Above all, it was Segovia who had a large pool of modern composers—from Moreno Torroba to Ponce—who brought performing and composing for the instrument up to an international standard, establishing Modernism as the norm. Along with these developments in the international rise of the guitar, its performance practice changed from participation in mixed concerts with original compositions, through mixed program recitals with original works and transcriptions, towards eclectic program recitals with varied programs of original works by non-guitarist composers, transcriptions and interpretations in various styles. This is described in musicological terms by pointing out the most significant characteristics of the musical styles to the background of socio-cultural traditions in musical life.

ALEXANDRA VELASCO-SVOBODA (Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne)
The Influence of Neoclassicism in Selected Guitar Works by Joaquín Rodrigo: Implications for Performance

This presentation argues that the context within which prominent Spanish composer Joaquín Rodrigo (1901–99) composed for the guitar was largely affected by the role of Neoclassicism between the late nineteenth and mid twentieth centuries. This will be traced through an examination of the events and figures that contributed to the development of Spanish Neoclassicism during the period. While a substantial body of literature exists regarding the engagement of French and Spanish musical nationalism with Stravinsky's Neoclassicism, little has been written about how these events came to affect composers of the classical guitar after the Spanish Silver Age in the 1920s. A key composer in linking the Neoclassicism of Stravinsky and the French with the development of Spain's musical landscape was Manuel de Falla (1876–1976). His works, now studied in the sphere of prominent Neoclassical composers of the time, inspired a generation of composers prior to and following the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) to utilize the classical guitar in their Neoclassical compositions removed of Andalusian cliché. The instrument itself came to represent the Neoclassical movement with its combining of modernist elements and ties to Spain's rich musical past.

In the Spanish Silver Age, the effect of Falla's music was substantial. His explorations of using the guitar and other historical instruments from *La Vida Breve* (1904), *El Corregidor y la Molinera* (1919), through to *El Retablo de Maese Pedro* (1923) and the *Harpichord Concerto* (1926) affected how audiences internationally and locally received the new identity of Spanish music. Rodrigo's compositions were greatly affected by Falla's output.

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Combined with the recognition and popularity of the classical guitar through the concerts of Andrés Segovia, Rodrigo's guitar works launched the Neoclassical aesthetic on the classical guitar to an international scale. He remains the composer of hugely important works of the classical guitar repertoire.

JOHN WHITEOAK (Monash University)
Sounding the Silence of the Guitar in Australian Musical Entertainment, Culture and Society before the Jazz Age

In the introduction to his 2012 history of the guitar in Australia from 1836, *The Twang Dynasty*, Ron Payne explains that "the guitar does not feature prominently in Australian musical culture before 1920" and he therefore only devotes about a page to this period. My paper broadly explores this Australian guitar "pre-history" and suggests that, while the guitar did become somewhat marginalized in Australian musical entertainment before the 1920s, the early history of transplantation of guitar culture to Australia is very complex, multi-faceted and richly deserving of further research from social, musical and other perspectives.

Facets of this transplantation include the marketing of "Spanish guitars" from the 1820s; the mediated British, Spanish, Italian, and other musical traditions that influenced guitar-playing, teaching and repertoire here; the guitar in vernacular and community entertainment and as a variety act, art-song accompaniment and solo concert instrument; and, especially, the pervasive spread of American-style "BMG (banjo, mandolin and guitar) club" culture in the last decade of the nineteenth century.

The paper describes how guitar-playing was widely gendered as a homely, essential, female accomplishment, while also becoming emblematic of a masculine, turbulent and romantic part-imagined Spain through literature, poetry, visual art and Spain-themed theatrical productions. I also assess the influence of the visiting Estudiantina Espanola ("Spanish Students" mandolin and guitar orchestra) and its entrepreneurial "leader", Manuel Lopez, who established a Sydney-based amateur Estudiantina Espanola several years after the 1888 Spanish Students tour.

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