

# Implicit Curriculum: Improvisation Pedagogy in Guitar Methods 1760-1860

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Performance

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## **Abstract**

Between 1760 and 1860 the guitar was in a fervent state of metamorphosis and experienced an unprecedented rise in popularity among lower- and middle-class learners. In this period of popularity, a strong community of professional and amateur guitarists developed and music education began to transition from an apprenticeship-model to one which catered to a mass market of leisure learners.

Twentieth-century research has revitalised the study of improvisation with a focus on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But scholars have neglected the specific teaching techniques employed in the nineteenth-century guitar methods and this dissertation analyses how amateur guitarists learned to improvise in the nineteenth century.

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century guitarists were not so concerned with adequately performing musical ‘works’ as is the predominant focus of twenty-first century instruction. Instead, a wide variety of musical skill sets such as preluding and accompanying were cultivated, and the ability to improvise was a quietly understood necessity.

In the nineteenth century there was an obvious link between compositional and instrumental technique which made improvisation so vital a practice that, even when it was not explicitly taught, its instruction was implicitly understood. Improvisation on the guitar was wide-spread between 1760 and 1860 and this thesis interrogates the hermeneutic process of methods and reveals how the skill was learned while providing answers as to why, in the early twentieth-century, improvisation in western art music swiftly declined.



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## Glossary of Terms

**5-3 chord.** A chord which has the intervals of a fifth, third and an optional octave above the bass.

**6-3 chord.** A chord which has the interval of a sixth, third and an optional octave above the bass.

**6-4 chord.** A chord which has the interval of a sixth, fourth and optional octave above the bass.

**6-5 chord.** A chord which has the interval of a sixth, fifth and third above the bass.

**7-3 chord.** A chord which has the interval of a seventh, third, and an optional fifth or octave above the bass.

**Augmented Sixth.** Sometimes called the 'extreme sharp.' A chord which consists of an augmented sixth above the bass.

**Automaticity.** The process by which a set of motor skills begin to require less sustained conscious direction.

**Bassi movimenti.** A didactic device which instructs the recurring movements of a bass voice and how harmonise or add notes above it.

**Batteries.** Melodic figures used to teach students to learn how to vary a chord progression or perform over a bass note.

**Cadence.** A series of four chords used to introduce a piece of music or a type of resolution.

**Cadencia Burlada o Rota.** A resolution which involves a dominant seventh chord resolving to a 5-3 chord whose root is a second above the first chord.

**Cadencia Evitada.** A resolution which involves a dominant seventh chord resolving to another dominant seventh chord whose root is a fourth above the first.

**Cadencia Imperfecta.** The resolution of a sub-dominant 5-3 chord towards a tonic chord.

**Cadencia Interrumpida.** A resolution which involves a dominant seventh chord resolving to another dominant seventh chord whose root is a third below the first.

**Cadenze prolongate.** A prolonged 'cadence' or series of chords used to introduce a piece of music. It features chromatic embellishments, was borne out of the canevas de prelude.

**Canevas de prelude.** A series of chord progressions used by eighteenth-century authors to provide material for a student to prelude over.

**Declarative Memory.** The recall of knowledge or a skill which requires sustained conscious direction.

**Explicit Learning.** The acquisition of knowledge or a skill by a process which is consciously directed by the learner. The learning outcome is primary to the task which the learning is engaged in.

**Giro de armónico.** A didactic piece of music which modulates through many keys, used by nineteenth-century guitarists to demonstrate modulatory preludes.

**Idiom.** The recurring musical schemata which can be used to define or analyse the musical style of a particular place, time, or group of people.

**Implicit Curriculum.** A set of skills or tendencies towards a cultural activity which is learned largely without conscious effort.

**Implicit Learning.** The acquisition of knowledge or a skill by a process which is not consciously directed by the learner. The learning outcomes are secondary or removed from the task the learning is engaging in.

**Improvisation.** The spontaneous creation of music in which the relationship to a pre-existent musical work is either non-existent or loosely related.

**Minor Ninth Chord.** A dominant seventh chord with an interval of a minor 9th above the bass.

**Modernism.** An artistic movement which arose out of the early twentieth century. Characterised by a hyper-awareness of the past with artistic efforts which were either, clear and marked departures from, or a clear return to musical idioms of the past.

**Partimento.** A didactic piece of music which consists of a merely a bass line and occasionally figures to help the student. It acted as a sketch with which a student was to practise improvising harmonies and melodies.

**Procedural Memory.** The recall of knowledge or a skill which is largely automated and can be executed without conscious direction.

**Resolution.** A two- or three-step idiomatic element of nineteenth-century musical style. It includes the resolutions of diminished sevenths and other dissonant chords.

**Rule of the Octave.** A seventeenth- and eighteenth-century pedagogical device which consists of a major or minor scale with chords built upon each scale degree. Used primarily to instruct how to accompany from a bass line.

**Schemata.** A distinct combination of melodic, and/or harmonic, and/or rhythmic events which are explicitly or implicitly grouped as a unified whole.

**Sense Knowledge.** The automated ability to create, manipulate and spontaneously express complex musical ideas purely through the medium of sound, by singing or playing an instrument.

**Solfeggio.** A pedagogical device used by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century musicians to teach a student how to sing and to practise solemnisation.

**Vocal Scale.** A pedagogical device consisting of a series of chords used to harmonise a major, minor scale or melodic fragments which are intended to function as a melody voice. It acts similarly to the rule of the octave but the scale is found in an upper voice.

**Werktreue.** The work-concept. The attitude that pieces of music have an immutable quality to them that can only be realised through a performance in which all the constituent parts are executed as intended by the composer.

# Introduction

The need for an investigation directed at musical improvisation, no less one grounded in a particular historical and instrumental style, is a concern wholly of the twenty-first century. This need can be attributed to a reaction against a perceived adverse attitude in higher education towards improvisational practises and the techniques associated with learning them. If musicians trained in North American and Western European conservatories are asked about their experiences with improvisation the responses usually coalesce around a central theme: too often improvisation is left out of principal instrumental and vocal studies, at worst it is implicitly discouraged. These observations are cemented further by the frequent calls produced from academics and musicians at the end of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first centuries to find a clearly defined role for improvisation in conservatory curricula; recent literature reviews have shown the area of research has increased in breadth and scope since the 1980's.<sup>1</sup> While improvisation was not devoid of scholarship or teaching in the early twentieth century, modernism as an artistic movement was in some respects largely at odds with improvising. To answer why such research in the topic has increased it is important to consider modernism and the role it played in shaping how instrumental technique was taught in the twentieth century.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Christopher D. Azzara and Alden H. Snell II, 'Assessment of Improvisation in Music' in *Oxford Handbooks Online* (Oxford University Press) <10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935321.013.103> [accessed 10 February 2021].

<sup>2</sup> While improvisation largely survived in tuition on the organ, the first scholarly study on improvisation in the west is widely credited to Ernst Ferand's publication of *Die Improvisation in der Musik* in 1938. Marcel Dupré, *Traité d'improvisation à l'orgue* (Paris: A. Leduc, 1925); Ernst Ferand, *Improvisation in nine Centuries of Western Music* (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1961).

Modernism in music gained more cohesion and institutional power after the second world war which, aside from containing a multitude of atonal and post-tonal musical styles, was characterised by notions of historical progress and a concern with originality as it responded to the interpretation of tradition and canon. This had the side effect of creating a practical effort to define, and by implication preserve, the canon, which was eventually established to consist of mostly tonal works written mostly by white nineteenth-century composers from Europe. This concern with preservation created a pedagogical need to train performers capable of reproducing and interpreting the canon, and this became institutionalised in the instrumental instruction of conservatory systems of Western Europe and North America.<sup>3</sup> Modernism has often been characterised by a sense of removing the subjectivity, or agency, of the composer or performer in the process of creating a musical work and is largely done by diminishing either's role in choosing particular musical decisions. In this regard, a composer including space for improvisation of the performer could be a way of removing agency of the composer but gives an enormous amount of agency to the performer. Likewise, indeterminate music and total serialism are obvious examples of a musical attempt to achieve the 'extinction of personality' described by modernist poet T. S. Eliot (1888-1965).<sup>4</sup> Even the so-called 'early music movement' of the mid-twentieth century, which helped significantly in

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<sup>3</sup> One needs to look no further than audition, exam, competition and degree completion requirements which almost unanimously dispense with improvisation. Musicians who call themselves 'classical musicians' are almost solely judged at an institutional level by their ability to perform autonomous musical works from the repertory of 'classical works' western Europe and North America. Even set pieces found in competitions are a measure of a performers ability to execute pieces.

<sup>4</sup> T. S. Eliot, 'Tradition and Individual Talent', *The Egoist*, 4 (1919), 55.



bringing back the review of improvisation in western art music, is not without its trappings of modernist thought. Most notably Richard Taruskin, in 1995, accurately described the historically informed movement as a seemingly paradoxical outcrop of modernism.<sup>5</sup> It is no doubt convincing to argue that no greater loss of personality is felt than when a musical decision is dictated not only by a score but by some sort of historically relevant textual authority or national tradition. This take on modernism is widespread — Tom Service described Pierre Boulez’s serialist compositional style, as an ‘attempt to wipe out the contaminating influence of subjectivity, ego, and anything that smacked of the outmoded compositional models, above all of romanticism.’<sup>6</sup> This could equally describe at least some aspects of endeavouring to perform seventeenth-century music in an ‘authentic’ style.

As the twentieth century closed, modernism became the target of a reactionary philosophical movement now nebulously referred to as post-modernism, and its sights were set on dismantling the hegemonic ideologies of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The conservatory systems founded in the early twentieth century, and the instrumental teaching contained within, seemed to have an implicit bias towards improvisation in western art music — there could be no real room for the art if musicians were trained to be faithful interpreters, concerned with uncovering and realising a composer’s ‘intent.’ This implicit bias spurred an enormous amount of research and, by

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<sup>5</sup> Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 102-103.

<sup>6</sup> Tom Service, ‘How to get your hands on Total Serialism’s ne plus ultra’, *The Guardian*, 14 May 2015.

the end of the twentieth century, many scholars and academics became fixed on repositioning improvisation from a neglected, maybe even shameful art to the *modus operandi* of theory curricula and historical research across north America and western Europe.<sup>7</sup>

This thesis is primarily aimed at investigating how instrumental technique was taught in the guitar methods published in western Europe between 1760-1860, and to what extent this instruction implicitly and explicitly encouraged improvisation. But the reoccurring subtext which will be made explicit at particular points is a commentary on the change of guitar pedagogy from one that promoted and encouraged extemporisation to one that focused solely on the interpretation of autonomous musical works. Guitar methods, and arguably instrumental instruction in general have a curious relationship with broader aesthetic or cultural changes. In some historical periods instrumental instruction may only come to exemplify broader aesthetic changes in performance after those aesthetic changes have already been established. In some instances, pedagogical texts may be contemporaneous with the activities of the musical community and sometimes (as in the

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<sup>7</sup> ‘Music teachers continuously assess student learning when students listen, sing, move, play, create, improvise, read, create, compose, notate, compare, understand, and analyze music. Regarding improvisation, Hickey (2015) noted, “The reality and importance of evaluation and assessment in school settings cannot be overlooked in music teacher education” (442). The “National Core Arts Standards” (State Education Agency Directors of Arts Education 2014) include artistic processes (create, perform, respond, connect) that provide context for music curricula and assessment for all P–12 students. State music education associations (e.g., in Connecticut, New York, Virginia) have designed improvisation assessments with the purpose of auditioning students for state-level honors ensembles (see, e.g., Saunders and Holahan 1997). At the collegiate level, the National Association of Schools of Music (2013) and the College Music Society’s Task Force on the Undergraduate Music Major (2014) advocate including creativity, improvisation, and composition in collegiate curricula. Improvisation is an opportunity for students to demonstrate comprehension of a musical concept (Azzara 2015; Grunow 2005; J. Scott 2007). While improvisation should be pervasive throughout P–12 and collegiate curricula (Marshall 2004a, 2004b; Snell and Azzara 2015) and may occur in a variety of school music settings, it still is not central to curriculum (Azzara 2002; Campbell 2009; Shuler 2011).’ Azzara and Snell, ‘Assessment of Improvisation in Music’.

case of electronic music in the twentieth century) they may lag far behind. In the early nineteenth century, the guitar methods contained a shared concern with teaching improvisation, and this thesis illustrates this concern and how instrumental teaching shifted over time. In addition to having embedded within them a pedagogical focus on improvisation, the guitar methods of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries also contained unique techniques dedicated to improvising and these techniques deserve to be contextualised among other devices commonly employed by other instrumentalists during this period.

Derek Bailey defines idiomatic improvisation as one concerned with the expression of a style such as jazz, flamenco, or Baroque, and ‘takes its identity and motivation from that idiom.’<sup>8</sup> The word improvisation is in constant reassessment and many unique differences are found between its use in the in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Oxford English Dictionary’s synopsis of the history of the word ‘improvisation’ states that it first became widely used in English between 1770-1780 and contains hints at the changes in its perceived value.<sup>9</sup> In 1808, a footnote in *The Athenaeum* reveals the verb ‘to improvise’ was only recently added to the language.<sup>10</sup> By the 1920s the term seems to have garnered the connotation of being hastily prepared or ill conceived, and this demonstrates that the practise of improvisation

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<sup>8</sup> Derek Bailey, *Improvisation: its nature and practice in music* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1991), xii.

<sup>9</sup> ‘Improvisation, n.’ in *OED Online*. (Oxford University Press) <[www.oed.com/view/Entry/92872](http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/92872)> [accessed 8 February 2021].

<sup>10</sup> ‘In this new-coined verb is introduced to avoid circumlocution, for this time only ... I conjugate it after the regular verb to revise—improvise—improvising—improvised.’ *The Athenaeum*, 4 (London: Longmans, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1807-1809), 119.

was at odds with the modernist aesthetic of the early twentieth century. The implicit bias against improvisation is illustrated by American philologist William Witherle Lawrence who writes in regards to the old English epic *Beowulf*, ‘We must agree to judge *Beowulf* ... not as the improvisation of an untutored minstrel, but as a well-considered work of art.’<sup>11</sup> This is, at best, a retrofitting of a semi-improvised aural tradition for the modernist endeavour to proclaim works of art. Lawrence demonstrates a modernist prejudice that interprets whatever written accounts that have survived as more aesthetically important artefacts than the performative event. But the connotations ‘improvisation’ accrued were a process of historical and cultural interpretation and the attitude towards improvisation was not always so explicitly concerned with disambiguating between a well-considered work of art and something haphazardly invented in the moment.

The terms used to describe improvised practice in Europe prior to the late eighteenth century included adverbial phrases and eventually verbs and nouns for improvised genres.<sup>12</sup> Common ways of referring to improvisation included phrases like ‘exercising or acting on one’s caprice, fantasy, or imagination,’ ‘playing without rules’ (*sans règle ni dessein*) or ‘from the head’ (*alla mente* or *de tete*). Sometimes improvisation was an implicit facet of specific genres such as preludes, *ricercare*, or *fantasia*.<sup>13</sup> This suggests that extemporisation was more implicit and that hard lines were not so neatly drawn

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<sup>11</sup> Quoted in OED, ‘improvisation, n.’ in *OED Online*. (Oxford University Press) <[www.oed.com/view/Entry/92872](http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/92872)> [accessed 8 February 2021].

<sup>12</sup> Stephen Blum, ‘Recognising Improvisation’ in Bruno Nettl and Melinda Russell (eds.), *In the Course of Performance Studies in the World of Musical Improvisation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 36-37.

<sup>13</sup> Blum, ‘Recognising Improvisation’, 38.

between improvising and composing, instead they were different modes of the same activity. One simply ‘did music’ and either conformed to the page or exercised degrees of freedom. G. W. F. Hegel (1770-1831) expresses this distinction when he describes the ‘executant artist’, who must add nothing to a work, and other works where ‘what preponderates is the composer's own freedom and caprice.’<sup>14</sup> Hegel hints at improvisation but, typical of the nineteenth century, does not explicitly differentiate between composer and improvisor or merely freely improvised works and written works. There are simply works which entail high levels of improvisation or those which require none.<sup>15</sup> This makes pointing to an instance of whether or not a musician improvised difficult because no clear distinction between improvisation as a separate entity from composition was made until the mid-nineteenth century. This is further complicated by the fact that many instrumentalists largely performed their own works which practically severed the dichotomy between composer and performer. Only once amateurs began desiring to perform the works of great composers did the split between performer and composer — and thus between composer and improvisor — become relevant.

The western world in the twenty-first century has such a diverse body of musical styles that the question of finding a performer’s ‘native idiom’ can be difficult to answer and can contribute to an alienating effect when learning to improvise in a seventeenth- or

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<sup>14</sup> G. W. F. Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art* Vol. II trans. T. M. Knox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 956.

<sup>15</sup> Hegel seems to value works in which improvisation is demanded when he says, ‘If this really is genius, the resulting work of art has a quite peculiar attraction, because we have present before us not merely a work of art but the actual production of one.’ Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, 957.

eighteenth-century style. If a classically-trained guitarist in the twenty-first century feels comfortable improvising in a rock or blues style, learning to create nineteenth-century improvisations may feel alien — and coincidentally, the exact opposite is also often true of classical guitarists trained in reproducing musical works when they learn to improvise in rock or blues settings. This alienation is probably explained by the fact that late-Romantic notions of the ‘work concept’ (*werktreue*) are reinforced both explicitly and implicitly at every level of higher education. The concept of *werktreue*, or the belief that musical works are immutable and unchangeable objects with an autonomy separate of their performance which is only realised through strict adherence to the printed score, is explicit in many facets of conservatory-level instrumental training.<sup>16</sup> While Lydia Goehr claims, following Hegel, that ‘we often disregard the conceptual difference between composition and improvisation’ however in practice, instruction and importantly in institutional power dynamics this difference is reinforced quite vehemently.<sup>17</sup> In exam settings, performer-composed transcriptions or arrangements are often barred from exam programmes unless made by famous nineteenth-century composers (or the examining board.) And because of this, instrumental instructors, despite their best intentions, often find little time to teach how to create or vary arrangements. This is reinforced because going against the score in interpretation, although often encouraged to some degree,

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<sup>16</sup> The concept of *werktreue* is discussed in detail by Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 243-286.

<sup>17</sup> Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum*, 244.

complicates the process of judging and thus grading a performance exam.<sup>18</sup> This is expressed clearly by Nelson Goodman who says ‘complete compliance with a score is the only requirement for a genuine instance of a work...’<sup>19</sup> Here the modernist endeavour of alienation has entrapped the instrumental instruction to serve only this most central facet of classical music.

As the early music movement expanded, studying the educational materials used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries led to a few revelations about modernism. Firstly, the modernist aesthetic, with its implicit dehumanisation either of performer or composer, largely erased a performance tradition where improvisation was quite common. Secondly, it erased nearly two hundred years of educational material which developed that skill and repositioned technique as an impersonal process geared only towards interpretation and the reproduction of musical works.<sup>20</sup> This is no better illustrated than by the legacy of Olivier Messiaen, whose success and skill as an improviser is either relegated to a minor detail or left out altogether.<sup>21</sup> Even more scarce is the discussion of the process of improvisation when interpreting and performing musical works. Messiaen reacted against the high pedestal that his work *Mode de valeurs et d’intensités* was placed by the critics

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<sup>18</sup> The guitar syllabus from the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music requires arrangements and transcriptions to be sourced exclusively from the syllabus, and improvisation is only found in the practical musicianship exam requirements grades 1-9. ‘Guitar Syllabus from 2019’, <[https://gb.abrsm.org/media/11598/complete\\_guitar\\_syllabus.pdf](https://gb.abrsm.org/media/11598/complete_guitar_syllabus.pdf)> [accessed 10 February 2021]; ‘Practical Musicianship Syllabus’, <<https://gb.abrsm.org/media/63019/praccomplete10.pdf>> [accessed 10 February 2021].

<sup>19</sup> Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 186-187.

<sup>20</sup> See chapter 5 page 268.

<sup>21</sup> ‘The piano accompaniment class, where we not only harmonised given melodies (with a good deal of improvisation at the keyboard), but also engaged in sight reading and score reduction ... the organ is essentially intended for improvisation.’ Olivier Messiaen and Claude Samuel, *Music and color: conversations with Claude Samuel* (Portland, Or.: Amadeus Press, 1994), 22.

and theorists who valued, above all, compositional practices that aimed to remove the agency of the composer in choosing specific musical elements.<sup>22</sup> Modernist values, with their obsession with tradition, only serve to emphasise the perpetuation of a late Romantic obsession with great works by great men. Messiaen's reaction is the logical conclusion of a musical talent which cultivated improvisation as a pedagogical and compositional tool.<sup>23</sup>

Scholars in the early twentieth century found themselves navigating this post-romantic *zeitgeist* and this navigation eventually created the field of historically informed pedagogy.<sup>24</sup> Improvisation pedagogy, the method and practice of teaching improvisation, becomes historically informed when it consults the treatises, methods and learning tools in whatever historical period one is attempting to improvise in. But beyond consulting historical texts, improvisation pedagogues must also recognise their studies as part of a broader educational literature of which jazz, flamenco, Indian and Persian musicians (to

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<sup>22</sup> *Mode de valeurs et d'intensités* is a serialist piece which Messiaen composed by relegating every musical parameter (pitch, duration, dynamics) to a separate numerically ordered mode, some claim it is a hallmark of the serialist technique. 'I was very annoyed over the absolutely excessive importance given to a short work of mine, only three pages long, "mode de valeurs et d'intensités," because it supposedly gave rise to the serial explosion ... Perhaps this piece was prophetic and historically important, but musically it's next to nothing.' Messiaen and Samuel, *Music and Color*, 47.

<sup>23</sup> Had Messiaen never written *Mode de valeurs et d'intensités* but maintained his post as organist at the Church of the Sainte-Trinité (in which he supplied countless improvisations) his presence in college-level theory curricula would probably be remarkably different.

<sup>24</sup> Robert Gjerdingen was probably the first to conceive of the phrase with the term 'historically informed style of instruction', but since has been echoed by others. Robert Gjerdingen, 'Solfeggi in Their Historical Context' <<https://web.archive.org/web/20160402124338/http://faculty-web.at.northwestern.edu/music/gjerdingen/solfeggi/aboutSolfe/histOverview.htm>> [accessed 11 January 2021].



name only a few) have contributed to greatly.<sup>25</sup> Only by considering current research in historically informed pedagogy with the body of work of pedagogues who primarily work with other styles can common pedagogical strands and elements be uncovered.

The thesis combines three strands of analysis a hermeneutic, phenomenological and pedagogical. Chapter 1 begins with a review of historical examples of improvisation pedagogy and a study of recent work in the field. This indicates the foundations for the pedagogical analysis of this investigation and how this thesis builds upon past work. The hermeneutic strand which permeates this thesis interrogates the historical interpretations and nuances of otherwise commonly understood musical terms. This thesis questions what the process of learning motor skills from a historical method entails, and what it is instructors and students engage in when doing so. The hermeneutic approach can be found throughout Chapters 2 and 3 as the guitar methods between 1760 and 1860 are studied with an interrogation into the normalising effect the dogma of *werktreue* has on twentieth-century instrumental instruction. Only by raising awareness of modernist prejudices (that all instrumental instruction must be directed towards the performance of musical works) can a clearer historical understanding of the pedagogical language found in the method books be attained.<sup>26</sup> This enhanced understanding contributes significantly to the experience of practising from a method which was intended for a musical culture which is foreign for students in the twentieth century — the conclusion of this analysis is

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<sup>25</sup> Bruno Nettl, 'Introduction: An Art Neglected in Scholarship', in Bruno Nettl and Melinda Russell (eds.), *In the Course of Performance Studies in the World of Musical Improvisation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 3-5.

<sup>26</sup> Following Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900-2002) the term prejudice refers to the collective 'fore-meanings' that the modernist agenda has instilled, through conservatory training, in twentieth-century performers. Gadamer's insistence that prejudice should be rehabilitated from its negative connotation and should be embraced as an integral aspect of the hermeneutic process will be maintained throughout this thesis. Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 272-296.

found in Chapter 5. Chapter 2 focuses on the methods between 1770 and 1800 because the general style of education is more varied among French, German, and Spanish methods. Chapter 3 focuses on methods published after 1800 because of the growing standardisation of style, format and teaching material found across regions in Europe. Splitting the thesis between these two periods is also useful because the guitar was largely an instrument in transition between 1770 and 1800 and the educational culture during this period encompassed an influence from other stringed instruments. Europe developed a more united guitar community after 1800, and as a result more uniformity developed among the methods after 1800. Chapter 4 concludes the pedagogical strand of analysis and uses the findings from Chapter 2 and 3 to propose a method of categorising the techniques found in the methods for teaching improvisation in the twenty-first century. Chapter 5 concludes the hermeneutic and phenomenological considerations found scattered throughout Chapters 2-4 by briefly investigating the nature of interpreting methods, and the role Modernism played in the decline of improvisation.

# Chapter 1 Methodology

## 1.1 Historical Examples of Improvisation Pedagogy

Prior to the nineteenth century there were many ways of referring to improvised activities. But the differentiations found in the twenty and twenty-first century between musical work and improvisation or performer and composer were not as strongly made until the mid to late nineteenth century when teaching improvisation became more explicit. The practice of improvising fugues and other contrapuntal works was an integral aspect of keyboard technique in the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> A large part of sixteenth-century fugal technique was shaped by improvisation — Tomas de Santa Maria<sup>2</sup> and Gioseffo Zarlino wrote on the subject — and *contrappunto a mente* (freely improvised counterpoint) was explicitly taught not only on the organ but on most chordal instruments.<sup>3</sup> Plucked and bowed string instruments were explicitly taught to vary grounds and airs.<sup>4</sup> Instrumentalists in Spain developed unique ways of organising improvisations<sup>5</sup> and common eighteenth-century forms such as the *passacaglia*, and

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<sup>1</sup> Alfred Mann, *The Study of Fugue* (New York: Dover Publications, 1987), 13, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Sixteenth-century theorist and composer known for his treatise *Arte de tañer fantasía* (Valladolid, 1565/R; Eng. trans., 1991) ‘In chapters 20 to 23 the performance of composed works and the application of ‘glosa’ or diminution is discussed.’ Almonte Howell, revised by Miguel A. Roig-Francolí, ‘Santa María, Tomás de [Sancta Maria, Thomas de]’ in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.24534>> [accessed 2 May 2021].

<sup>3</sup> ‘Even Zarlino’s third edition of *Istitutioni harmoniche* includes an added chapter dealing with the improvisation of fugal counterpoint.’ ... ‘A similar principle appears a decade later in the writing of Lodovico Zacconi, the outstanding master of the *contrappunto a mente* (freely improvised counterpoint), who asks the student to limit himself to the use of only one cantus firmus in all his exercises until he fully exhausted its possibilities ...’ Mann, *The Study of Fugue*, 26, 34.

<sup>4</sup> Sixteenth-century English sources preferred the word ‘extempore’ instead of ‘improvisation.’ Christopher Simpson, *The Division Viol* (London: Printed by William Godbid, and sold by John Playford, 1659).

<sup>5</sup> Miguel A. Roig-Francolí, ‘Playing in consonances: A Spanish Renaissance technique of chordal improvisation’, *Early Music*, 23 (1995), 461-462.

*chaconne* have their origins as improvised pieces among guitarists.<sup>6</sup> Although improvisation was explicitly taught, it does not appear to be conceptually separate from performing a ‘work’ and thus had a genuine role in instrumental instruction.

Improvisation only became taught as a separate skill in the nineteenth century, with many authors publishing treatises dedicated to teaching preluding and *fantasia* to the emerging middle classes. Both of Carl Czerny’s Op. 200 and Op. 300 were dedicated to teaching improvisation as a genre (specifically the prelude) and as a technique and performance practice more broadly.<sup>7</sup> André Ernest Modeste Grétry wrote a treatise on preluding which found itself the basis for the appendix by guitarist Francois de Fossa in the *Escuela* by Dionisio Aguado.<sup>8</sup> Other methods were written by Augustus Frederic Kollmann,<sup>9</sup> Philip Antony Corri,<sup>10</sup> Johann Gottfried Vierling,<sup>11</sup> and much research has gone into investigating this area of keyboard pedagogy.<sup>12</sup> Many other methods dedicated to preluding appeared in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, most commonly for the

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<sup>6</sup> For more on the evolution of these forms see Richard Hudson, *The Folia, the Saraband, the Passacaglia, and the Chaconne: the historical evolution of four forms that originated in music for the five-course Spanish guitar* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1982).

<sup>7</sup> Carl Czerny, *The Art of Preluding op. 300* (London: R. Cocks & Co, c1840s); *A Systematic Introduction to Improvisation on the Pianoforte op. 200* trans. Alice L. Mitchell (New York: Longman, Inc. 1983).

<sup>8</sup> André Ernest Modeste Grétry, *Méthode simple pour apprendre à préluder* (Paris: l’imprimerie de la République, 1801-1802).

<sup>9</sup> Augustus Frederic Kollmann, *An Introduction to the Art of Preluding and Extemporizing op. 3* (London: R. Wornum, n.d.).

<sup>10</sup> Philip Antony Corri, *L’Anima di Musica, Book 4: Original System of Preluding* (London: Chappell & Co., c1810).

<sup>11</sup> Johann Gottfried Vierling, *Versuch einer Anleitung zum Präludiren* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Hartel, c1794).

<sup>12</sup> Valerie Woodring Goertzen, ‘By Way of Introduction: Preluding by 18th- and Early 19th-Century Pianists’, *The Journal of Musicology*, 14 (1996), 299-337; Noam Sivan, ‘Improvisation in Western Art Music: Its Relevance Today’ (DMA dissertation, New York: Julliard, 2010).

flute or the harp.<sup>13</sup> J. F. Daube's treatise provides ample mention of prelude and modulation, and notes that studying both contribute greatly towards skill in composition.<sup>14</sup> The connection between modulation and prelude is often overlooked in regard to improvisation with the former being seen as an abstract theoretical device. But modulations were a type of improvised genre in their own right in the nineteenth century as many preludes were performed in between pieces, and if they were in contrasting keys, a modulating prelude was necessary.<sup>15</sup> The skills, therefore, to improvise modulations between keys was a vital aspect of instrumental technique and performance practice.

The pedagogy of improvisation for amateur keyboardists and harpists involved teaching chords, simple cadences, and modulations to create preludes that introduced a key and one that modulated between keys. But these methods did not appear in a vacuum as professional musicians in Italy had developed a system for teaching spontaneous composition that dominated European educational practices. This large repertoire of educational materials included collections of *partimenti* and *solfeggi* which first received scholarly attention in the twenty-first century through the pioneering works by Robert

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<sup>13</sup> Jacques Hotteterre, *L'art de préluder op.7* (Paris: L'auteur, Foucault, 1719); Giuseppe Gariboldi, *L'art de préluder op.149* (Paris: Alphonse Leduc, n.d.); Louis Charles Ragué, *L'Art de préluder sur la harpe* (Paris: Le Duc, n.d.); Nicholas Charles Bochsa, *The Harp Preludist* (London: Goulding & D'Almaine, c1840).

<sup>14</sup> See chapter 4 page 80. See also Barbara Kees Wallace, 'J. F. Daube's "General-Bass in drey Accorden" (1756): A Translation and Commentary' (PhD dissertation, North Texas State University, 1983), 41, 65, 67, 192-194, 240-247.

<sup>15</sup> 'There are ... three kinds of preludes: one chiefly confined to the ... diatonic scale of the key in which a piece is to be performed; one which passes through various modulations, ending ... in the key of the composition; and also one that, from the key of the last movement or piece ... serves to pass to that of the next.' Bochsa, *The Harp Preludist*, 49.

Gjerdingen and Giorgio Sanguinetti.<sup>16</sup> A *partimento* is ‘a sketch, written on a single staff, that is primarily intended to be a guide for the improvisation of a composition at the keyboard’.<sup>17</sup> They were found in *zibaldone* (student journals) across the Italian peninsula, though scholars have found the practice was most highly developed in Naples.<sup>18</sup> *Partimenti* were often written in bass clef and sometimes resemble solo pieces for *basso continuo*. Collections of *regole* commonly found in the *zibaldone* of Neapolitan authors throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries featured sophisticated devices for teaching improvisation such as the accompanied scales and bass patterns known as the *regole d’ottave* and *bassi movimenti*. These *regole* contain the lexicon or musical formulas designed to improvise solo and ensemble accompaniments. *Partimenti* were designed to test a student’s reflexes in improvising realisations of these musical formulas in different contexts, and by practising the application of the *regole* with a *partimento*, a student amassed instrumental technique that was directly applicable to *continuo* accompaniment. It was this direct transmission of formulas and the improvised practice of their applications that inspired twenty-first-century theories of improvisation pedagogy.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Robert Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Giorgio Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento: History, Theory, and Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>17</sup> Nicholas Baragwanath, *The Solfeggio Tradition: A Forgotten Art of Melody in the Long Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), xvii.

<sup>18</sup> Peter van Tour, *Counterpoint and Partimento: Methods of Teaching Composition in Late Eighteenth-Century Naples* (Uppsala Universitet; Ill edition 2015); Baragwanath, *The Solfeggio Tradition*.

<sup>19</sup> Stephanie Khoury, ‘Partimento as Improvisation Pedagogy: Renewing a Lost Art’, *Revista InCantare Curitiba*, 5 (2014), 87-101.

*Solfeggio* were common during the eighteenth century and served the purpose of training students not only to sing, but also to provide melodic fragments that signified good taste.<sup>20</sup> Collections of solfège in the late eighteenth century usually featured piano accompaniment which, aside from providing an opportunity for ear training, provided model bass parts to correspond to the melody prototypes. There were four types of *solfeggi*; type one were unaccompanied didactic melodies for one voice used to teach rudimentary theory and solmisation in the ‘usual Italian *solfeggio*’,<sup>21</sup> type two were similarly unaccompanied, but featured two or more voices and ‘resemble renaissance-era ricercars, contrapuntal duos and trios, and imitation fugues’<sup>22</sup>, type three and four featured one voice and two or more voices respectively, and were accompanied by either an unfigured bass, a figured bass, or a pre-written keyboard part.<sup>23</sup> *Solfeggi* taught in the traditional Italian style included the instruction of vocalisation and solmisation which, for eighteenth-century musicians, exhausted the art by adding diminutions and embellishments. Musicians used *solfeggi* to memorise and make automatic short melodic fragments which were instructed to be freely used for embellishment and variation.<sup>24</sup>

The nineteenth century saw a decline in the practice of *partimento* and *solfeggio* but accompanying the voice never fell out of fashion. Much of the allure of the guitar lies in its portability and its ease of use for self-accompaniment, and songs with guitar

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<sup>20</sup> Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 40.

<sup>21</sup> They used the syllables *ut-re-mi-fa-sol-re-mi-fa*. Baragwanath, *The Solfeggio Tradition*, 6.

<sup>22</sup> Baragwanath, *The Solfeggio Tradition*, xviii.

<sup>23</sup> Baragwanath, *The Solfeggio Tradition*, xix.

<sup>24</sup> Baragwanath, *The Solfeggio Tradition*, 14-15.

accompaniment were extraordinarily popular in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As a result, an enormous amount of space was dedicated to accompanying the voice in the guitar methods of this time. Self-accompanying and accompanying others thus played an important role in a guitarist's skill set and had a firm place in the pedagogical methods of this time. The amateur guitar community of the nineteenth century had different instructional needs than those of the Neapolitan conservatories, and these needs were shaped by shifts in socio-economic status fuelled in part by the generation of new wealth among lower and middle-class societies. These different needs resembled the improvisatory traditions of the eighteenth century but evolved to suit an amateur class and a new form of self-instruction using published method books.

## **1.2 Survey of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Guitar Pedagogy**

The instrument to which the term 'guitar' was eventually labelled was, during the period 1770 to 1830, in a constant transformation as technology in string and fret making changed. Performers adopted instruments with a variety of different numbers of courses before eventually adopting single strings.<sup>25</sup> Instructors who specialised in fretted plucked string instruments were often, unless they descended from a family of guitar players, auto didactic in terms of instrumental technique. Because construction changed so much, it

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<sup>25</sup> The transition of the guitar from a five-course instrument to the six-string is well documented, for example, Graham Wade, *A Concise History of the Classic Guitar* (Pacific, MO: Mel Bay Publications, 2001). This transition is also well documented in regard to its effect on instrumental technique in Jeffrey Copeland, 'Ornamentation in Eighteenth-Century Guitar Music: An Examination Of Instruction Manuals From 1750-1800' (DMA dissertation, Arizona State University, 2012), and Paul Wathen Cox, 'Classic guitar technique and its evolution as reflected in the method books, ca. 1770-1850' (PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 1978).



was rare to have a consistent set of techniques that could be handed down. Instead, guitar teachers emerged from all backgrounds, some with training from famous *maestri*, and some with very little formal training at all. Often methods were written by authors who specialised in other instruments, such as mandolin or violin, who probably tried to capitalise on the popularity of the guitar. Others abandoned their primary instruments and pursued the guitar as a full-time profession. The cataloguing of guitar methods by Erik Stenstadvold depicts the contour of the guitar's popularity in Europe during the so-called *guitaromanie* of the early nineteenth century.<sup>26</sup> But pedagogical materials in the eighteenth and nineteenth century were multifaceted and included the attainment of a much more diverse skill set beyond the reproduction of musical works. Accompaniment and preluding are two skill sets that involve varying degrees of improvisation and teaching related to these skills is ubiquitous in the guitar methods between 1760 and 1860. A study of improvisation pedagogy on the guitar should incorporate other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century educational materials which prioritised skill sets beyond reproduction of musical works and of these materials, *solfege* and *partimento* were most influential.

Guitarists published examples of harmonised solfege in their guitar methods as many guitarists usually doubled as vocal instructors. Ferdinando Carulli published two series of solfege designed with his son Gustave in mind. Gustave Carulli and Henry Lemoine wrote solfege collections with piano accompaniment in collaboration with Adolphe-

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<sup>26</sup> Erik Stenstadvold, *An annotated bibliography of guitar methods, 1760-1860* (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 2010).

Léopold Danhauser.<sup>27</sup> Danhauser, later in the nineteenth century, published collections of unaccompanied solfege which became popular because they did not require an instrumental component and could be used in a conservatory classroom.<sup>28</sup> This served as the model for twentieth-century collections of solfege and became the standard for college-level conservatory curriculums across Western Europe and North America. These later solfege collections differed greatly from the solfege collections that may be found in the Neapolitan tradition.<sup>29</sup> The eighteenth-century system of solfege was designed to train students from a young age, and the system of the Neapolitan conservatories accounted for more personal instruction with older more experienced students leading classes for younger students.<sup>30</sup> Nineteenth-century *solfeggio* published by guitarists were intended to be sold to amateurs and this largely middle-class community sought music as a recreation and — with the help of a method — often engaged in varying degrees of self-study. The methods of this period reflected the demands of this community but also reflected the intentions of guitar authors regarding skill development.

Due to its role in accompanying the voice, and due to the varied musical training guitarists received, it was common for guitar instructors to also teach singing, and this is attested to in the vocal methods produced by guitarists. For categorisation, a vocal

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<sup>27</sup> *Bibliographie Musicale Française. no. 21-31* (New York: A. Schnase, 1968), 379. <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015031188314&view=1up&seq=51&q1=carulli>> [accessed 23 September 2020].

<sup>28</sup> Adolphe-Léopold Danhauser, *Solfeggio solfeggios* (Paris: H. Lemoine, 3 volumes, 1881-1907). An English translation has been published: *Solfege des Solfege tr. J. H. Cornell* (Milwaukee, U.S.A.: 1986).

<sup>29</sup> Neither Carulli, Molino, nor Danhauser appear in the collection of Italian solfeggios: The Uppsala Solfeggio Database <<https://www2.musik.uu.se/UUSolf/UUSolf.php>> [accessed 12 October 2020].

<sup>30</sup> The educational environment of Neapolitan musicians is depicted in detail by van Tour, *Counterpoint and Partimento*.

method could be anything explicitly referred to as a vocal method, or a collection of solfege. Vocal methods were written by Bonifazio Asioli,<sup>31</sup> August Swoboda,<sup>32</sup> Francesco Molino,<sup>33</sup> Charles de Marescot,<sup>34</sup> Ferdinando Carulli,<sup>35</sup> and small accompanied ‘vocal scales’ can be found in methods from Mrs Joseph Kirkman,<sup>36</sup> and Francesco Bathioli.<sup>37</sup> The solfege collections of Carulli and Molino are notable, but prior to these separate vocal methods it was standard for accompaniment training to be included in the guitar methods through the instruction of accompanied songs. As society shifted from courtly aristocratic customs to a more independent salon-based culture, which slowly integrated middle-class audiences, solo guitar works consisting of fantasias and potpourris on folk tunes and operatic songs became popular. These solo works became fashionable due to the influence of public performances by Fernando Sor, Carulli and Mauro Giuliani who wrote a wealth of these solo arrangements as well as popular dance tunes. As the concept of the ‘romantic artist’ entered the nineteenth-century *zeitgeist*, these solo works — which featured melody and accompaniment figures that imitated

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<sup>31</sup> Bonifazio Asioli, *Scale e salti per il Solfeggio: preparazione al canto e ariette* (Milan: Giovanni Ricordi n.d.).

<sup>32</sup> Art Christian Fastl, ‘Swoboda, August’, in *Austrian Music Encyclopedia online* <[https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik\\_S/Swoboda\\_August.xml](https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_S/Swoboda_August.xml)> [accessed 17 April 2020].

<sup>33</sup> Francesco Molino, *Méthode pour apprendre le solfège op. 48* (Paris: Lemoine, n.d.).

<sup>34</sup> Charles de Marescot, *Solfège Facile progressif avec des leçons à deux parties dont la seconde peut servir de basse ou de seconde voix op. 17* (n.p., n.d.).

<sup>35</sup> Ferdinando Carulli, *Solfèges avec accompagnement de guitare très facile précédés des principes élémentaires de la musique composés et dédiés aux professeurs de guitare par Ferdinando Carulli op. 195* (Gallé fecit n.p., 1822).

<sup>36</sup> Louisa Kirkman, *Improved Method for the Guitar, designed to facilitate the progress of the pupil and to diminish the labour of the teacher* (Mrs Joseph Kirkman, c1840), 44.

<sup>37</sup> Francesco Bathioli, *Gemeinnützige Guitarschule Praktische Theil* (Vienna: A Diabelli und Comp., c1827), 33-42. The last 10 pages of Bathioli’s method are dedicated to accompaniment and singing, including vocal scales, small solfege collections and arrangements of songs with guitar accompaniment.

piano transcriptions — became more popular than singing songs with accompaniment.<sup>38</sup> This meant that for amateur audiences a new skill set was in demand: the reproduction of musical works. With this new skill came a demand for educational materials that prepared a student for this goal. Shifts in publication from songs with guitar accompaniment towards solo instrumental works were gradual but continued into the twentieth century. Miguel Llobet's arrangements of Catalan folk songs<sup>39</sup> can be viewed as a culmination of the classical tradition, and in the mid-twentieth century it was continued by jazz guitarists who developed the skill to improvise song arrangements in an expanded tonal idiom. While solo works like sonatas and fantasias became the core of the 'classical guitar repertoire,' songs with guitar accompaniment in Europe gradually became less popular. By the early nineteenth century, singing with guitar accompaniment was once again viewed as 'low-brow' music and the practice slowly returned to a chord-sheet-centred notation not unlike the notation employed in the seventeenth century.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> The philosophical concern with the notion of genius became increasingly more evident at the end of the eighteenth century. Discussed at length by Immanuel Kant in 1790 in *The Critique of Judgment* the concept of 'genius' was discussed eventually covered further by subsequent German authors such as G. W. F. Hegel (1770-1831), Friedrich Schelling (1775-1854). For a discussion of this concept in the public sphere and its specific impact on improvisation see Ángeles Sancho-Velázquez, 'The Legacy of Genius: Improvisation, Romantic Imagination, and the Western Musical Canon' (PhD dissertation, Los Angeles: University of California, 2001).

<sup>39</sup> Llobet began publishing folk songs individually between 1899 and 1920. Miguel Llobet and Ronald Purcell (eds.), *Guitar Work Vol. 2, 16 Folksong Settings* (Heidelberg: Chanterelle Verlag, 1989).

<sup>40</sup> The practice of notating *alfabeto* guitar chords and text devoid of staff notation (or sometimes even rhythm) was common in the seventeenth century. While *alfabeto* chords have been replaced by chord positions based on their alphabetical pitch name and chord quality, this semi-aural tradition of notating just text with chords remains the popular way guitarists transcribe and learn popular songs. For context of these collections of un-notated songs with guitar accompaniment in the seventeenth century see Lex Eisenhardt, *Italian Guitar Music of the Seventeenth Century, Battuto and Pizzicato* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2015), 55, 59, 65-79.

The transition from a pedagogy based on composing, varying, and improvising in a musical idiom to one that is primarily concerned with interpreting musical works took several decades to solidify. This transition began in the mid-nineteenth century with the onset of famous touring virtuosi who primarily played their own music. These famous virtuosi contributed to a culture of amateur musicianship dedicated to reproducing these works and increasingly viewed composition — including spontaneous composition — as a musical activity only fitting for a musician trained in the art of composition. In the European and global guitar community, this net was cast further by the guitarist Andrés Segovia who, despite composing nearly fifty short works, broke with his immediate predecessors and contemporaries by rejecting public performances of his own works.<sup>41</sup> This effectively solidified the guitarist as an interpreter, and guitar instruction dedicated itself almost solely to developing the skill of interpretation in the latter half of the twentieth century.

### **1.3 Review of Recent Scholarship**

Current research in improvisation pedagogy incorporates strands in cognitive science, sociology, political studies, musicology, and phenomenology to name a few. Michael Callahan's research investigates the effect of improvisation on learning to compose in an historical style and concluded that improvisation can increase the acquisition of stylistic tropes in college level theory courses.<sup>42</sup> Many theses at a variety of levels have been

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<sup>41</sup> See Chapter 5 page 266.

<sup>42</sup> Michael Callahan, 'Teaching Baroque Counterpoint Through Improvisation: An Introductory Curriculum in Stylistic Fluency', *Journal of Music Theory Pedagogy*, 26 (2012), 61-99; 'Incorporating Long-Range Planning into Pedagogy of Baroque-Style Keyboard Improvisation', *Music Performance Research*, 5 (2012), 59-78.

written advocating for an introduction of improvisation into the ‘classical’ music curriculum.<sup>43</sup> Most theses of the early twenty-first century make the case that improvisation was prevalent in the eighteenth century and that it has value in some regard, often offering not much more than a few suggestions to a lament by Bruno Nettl: ‘If the European musicological world agrees generally on the basic definition of improvisation, there is less agreement among standard reference works on its value.’<sup>44</sup> A diverse coalition of voices from black, feminist and queer theorists have produced work confronting the modernist stigma towards improvisation, and have provided insight into how the implicit bias against the art may have taken hold.<sup>45</sup> Very early on the overwhelming answer to what purpose improvisation could serve revolved around the benefits its teaching has on overall musicianship, and the variety of ways that learning it aids in instrumental technique.<sup>46</sup> Research in improvisation in western art music arguably

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<sup>43</sup> Monique Arar, ‘Going Old School: Using Eighteenth Century Pedagogy Models to Foster Musical Skills and Creativity in Today’s Students’ (DMA dissertation, University of Nevada, 2017); Noam Sivan, ‘Improvisation in Western Art Music: Its Relevance Today’ (DMA dissertation: Julliard, 2010). John Robert Duke, ‘Teaching Musical Improvisation: A Study of Eighteenth- and Twentieth-Century Methods’ (PhD dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers, Vanderbilt University, 1972); Jesse S. Hale, ‘Unlocking the Guitar Fretboard: An Intervallic Approach Towards Melodic Improvisation’ (DMA dissertation, University of Miami, 2012); Nancy Ragsdale Jones, ‘Improvisation in The Beginning Piano Class’ (PhD dissertation, North Texas State University, 1977); Kevin Daniel Woosley, ‘The lost art of Improvisation: Teaching Improvisation to classical pianists’ (DMA dissertation, University of Alabama, 2012); Lindsay Jordan Wright, ‘Investigating Improvisation: Music Performance and the Disciplinary Divide’ (BA dissertation, Wesleyan University, 2010).

<sup>44</sup> Bruno Nettl, ‘Introduction: An Art Neglected in Scholarship’ in Bruno Nettl and Melinda Russell (eds.), *In the Course of Performance Studies in the World of Musical Improvisation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 11.

<sup>45</sup> Nettl, ‘Introduction: An Art Neglected in Scholarship’, 6-9.

<sup>46</sup> The following is only a handful of sources dedicated to the value improvisation has as a pedagogical tool: Michele Biasutti, ‘Pedagogical applications of cognitive research on musical improvisation’, *Frontiers in Psychology*, 6 (2015), 614; Pamela Burnard, Jean-Philippe Després, Francis Dubé, Sophie Stévanec, ‘Expert improvisers in Western classical music learning pathways’, *Journal of Research in Music Education*, 65 (2017), 139-162; Patricia Shehan Campbell and Christopher J. Della Pietra, ‘An Ethnography of Improvisation Training’, *Journal of Research in Music Education*, 43 (1995), 112-126.

had its roots in ‘early music’ studies where it was quickly discovered to be an aspect of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century performance practice.<sup>47</sup>

A few publications have been produced studying improvisation pedagogy on the guitar in both historical and more modern idioms. Dusan Bogdanovic’s monograph on Renaissance counterpoint was one of the earliest efforts for historically-inspired improvisation pedagogy, and shows influences of schema theory.<sup>48</sup> Using a form of intuitive corpus analysis, and an approach for teaching counterpoint directly inspired by eighteenth-century theorist Johann Joseph Fux, Bogdanovic identifies common melodic patterns prevalent in the lute and vihuela repertoire and posits they can be used as devices to further an improviser’s own ‘personal language.’<sup>49</sup> Pamela Ruiter-Feenstra’s research revealed a taxonomy from the eighteenth century that ties rhetorical figures with melodic gestures. The concept of association between rhetoric and melody was developed further by Ruiter-Feenstra by organising various gestures in accordance with their historical rhetorical device and her lists are organised by which gestures can best be used to move up or down by a particular interval.<sup>50</sup> This taxonomy of rhetorical gestures identifies

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<sup>47</sup> Focusing on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century improvisation seems to be a fundamental part of the study of improvisation gaining momentum; already by the 1980s material was being created to aid in teaching how to improvise in a Renaissance and Baroque idiom. Martin Erhardt, *Upon a Ground – Improvisation on Ostinato Basses (16th-18th c.)* trans. Milo Machover (Edition Walhall Publishers, 1983).

<sup>48</sup> Dusan Bogdanovic, *Counterpoint for Guitar with Improvisation in the Renaissance Style and study in motivic metamorphosis* (Milan: Berben, 1996). See page 31-41.

<sup>49</sup> ‘The patterns used in these exercises have been chosen from a variety of sources for diversity’s sake ... If one is to use these patterns in the context of improvising within already established parameters, one should stick to characteristics of not only epochal (or regional) Renaissance idiom, but also to a particular composer’s idiosyncrasies ... If, on the other hand, one uses them to create a new, personal language within a free improvisational practise (or composition), any number of new syntheses is possible within a multitude of existing musical coordinating systems.’ Bogdanovic, *Counterpoint for Guitar*, 58-61, 62.

<sup>50</sup> ‘*Circulatio*: a four-note figure that circles stepwise up and down creating passing tones and neighbor tones ... *subsumptio*: a figure including a lower neighbor tone *Transitus*: a figure including a passing tone.’ Pamela Ruiter-Feenstra, *Bach & the art of improvisation, I* (Ann Arbor, MI: CHI Press, 2011), 134, 136.

Bogdanovic's Renaissance melodic figure not as a random gesture but as a subset of a *transitus* figure, and this type of historically-informed approach can enrich Bogdanovic's study further. As a composer-improviser, Bogdanovic's experience directly informed his academic research, and it was through this synthesis that he arrived at teaching techniques that closely resembled those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Many guitar-centred theses are dedicated to improvisation pedagogy, however, most largely seem unaware of schema theory or much of any other improvisation pedagogy. Jesse S. Hale uses a type of positivistic examination of the guitar as the basis for developing improvisational skill, but attempts to address the topic without any real consideration for idiom, any sense of statistical or corpus analysis, or any real consultation of existing literature on improvisation pedagogy.<sup>51</sup> Christopher Schoelen takes a more historical approach but provides not much more than a summary of the research done on other instruments with occasional comparisons of exercises on the guitar.<sup>52</sup> No study yet has investigated the specific way in which improvisation was taught, and while Schoelen's thesis is a broad summary of the history of preluding from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, he does not make explicit connections or comparisons of teaching techniques. Schoelen, despite his intention of having applications for classical guitarists, overlooks, or was unaware of, the appendix of Dionisio Aguado's 1825 *Escuela* which is explicitly designed for teaching how to

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<sup>51</sup> Hale, 'Unlocking the Guitar Fretboard: An Intervallic Approach Towards Melodic Improvisation'.

<sup>52</sup> Christopher Schoelen, 'To Prelude (v.): The Art of Preluding and Applications for the Modern Classical Guitarist' (DMA dissertation, University of South Carolina, 2019).



improvise preludes.<sup>53</sup> Jeffrey McFadden’s doctoral thesis provides a unique approach to fretboard harmony primarily by adapting keyboard methods and traditional college level courses in harmony. McFadden’s study, however, does not address any historically sourced techniques such as the *regole d’ottave* or any of the techniques exhibited in nineteenth-century guitar methods. McFadden does not specifically deal with improvisation and does not consider the historical context for learning ‘fretboard harmony’ or the effect it has on developing the ability to improvise. By mainly adapting contemporary keyboard treatises and neglecting the wealth of resources from nineteenth-century guitarists McFadden ignores the unique tradition of teaching fretboard harmony already existent on the guitar.<sup>54</sup>

Advocates for improvisation pedagogy are found among educators influenced by the teaching of Paulo Freire, some of whom have studied the personal and socio-cultural benefits from learning improvisation, though these studies are still in their infancy.<sup>55</sup> Overcoming the fear of improvising has some superficial analogies with Freire’s concept of the ‘fear of freedom’ although detailed analysis is outside the scope of this study.<sup>56</sup> An anecdotal experience of being ‘free from the page’ is widely repeated among classical musicians who begin improvisation studies, and the new sense of agency that improvisation often grants a performer — combined with encountering or overcoming

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<sup>53</sup> See pages 141–143 and pages 226–248.

<sup>54</sup> Jeffrey James McFadden, ‘Fretboard Harmony for University Study: Method and Historical Context’ (DMA dissertation, University of Toronto, 2010).

<sup>55</sup> Megan Leigh Giacomelli, ‘Theorizing Improvisation as a form of Critical Pedagogy’ *Music Education Critical Studies in Improvisation*, 8 (2012) <<https://doi.org/10.21083/csieci.v8i1.1959>> [accessed 21 October 2020].

<sup>56</sup> Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* trans. Myra Bergman Ramos (New York: Continuum International Publishing, 2005), 36.

the stigma against improvisation — can often lead to a different relationship with power structures in the musical community. The experience of being able to spontaneously create in a musical idiom is a unifying factor due to improvisation's widespread practice in other cultures. Most who study improvisation inevitably find inspiration from other cultures where the practice is prevalent and can lead to an increased sympathy and even demystification of other cultural styles. This demystification has the potential to develop more cultural understanding, and the aural skills that improvisation builds can open opportunities for collaboration, leading to more diverse programming or more holistic types of solidarity with marginalised communities. But the current state of improvisation pedagogy on the classical guitar largely does not address any of the above. Most of the authors, besides Bogdanovic, do not specifically address the crucial role learning the lexicon of a particular style has on developing the ability to improvise or the trans-stylistic approach to teaching which this can often lead to.<sup>57</sup>

Teaching improvisation without a particular style in focus can be problematic. Although Edward Sarath argues for utilising an initially trans-stylistic approach, most of *Music Theory through Improvisation* reinforces tonality through the jazz idiom.<sup>58</sup> Without at least a cursory mention of historical period, place and stylistic constraints, improvisation pedagogy centred around the rules of western classical music runs the risk of reinforcing

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<sup>57</sup> Bogdanovic's instruction is a clear example of trans-stylistic teaching where he utilises both western modes and Indian Ragas to demonstrate and teach his scale system. Bogdanovic, *Counterpoint for Guitar*, 54-57.

<sup>58</sup> 'Trans-stylistic simply means that instead of specifying style elements in advance – such as jazz chord changes or Baroque figured bass lines or Hindustani raga-tala cycles – we allow style elements to manifest as a by-product of the creative process.' Edward Sarath, *Music Theory Through Improvisation: A New Approach to Musicianship Training* (New York: Routledge 2010), 1.

hegemonic power structures cultivated through a colonialist and white framework. It suggests that the tonal language that classical musicians learn in a theory class, which is so often presented in composed-for-study and style-neutral exercises, is somehow a demonstration of a universal tonality, despite many aspects of that tutelage never actually existing in any improvised musical tradition. Teaching improvisation through such style-neutral tonal rules (that is, without mention of historical period or compositional style) runs the risk of presenting western classical music as a default mode of improvising tonality, of which jazz or other styles are subsets. This can inadvertently reinforce a hierarchical view of styles and traditions. Put simply, by teaching improvisation rooted in the imagined cohesive language of western art music (one predominantly sourced by twentieth-century theorists and rooted in functional harmony), implicitly makes a value judgement about the ontology of other tonal genres — namely that they are somehow borne of the teachings of western art music. The acceleration of research in the field, and the increase in cross-cultural endeavours attests to this growing concern.<sup>59</sup> Improvisation pedagogy in the western tradition must be rooted in a particular era and idiom (it must be historically informed), ensuring that pedagogues do not present western classical music as a kind of objective tonal truth. This should force authors to posit eighteenth- or nineteenth-century improvisation as a nuanced, and temporally specific system that can be submitted alongside the existent improvisational idioms. Improvisation in the nineteenth-century guitar literature has unique techniques for reinforcing and developing

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<sup>59</sup> Philip A. Ewell ‘Music Theory and the White Racial Frame’ *Music Theory Online*, 26 (2020) <10.30535/mt.26.2.4> [accessed 12 January 2021].

improvisational skill; this alone makes it not dominant of, but complimentary to, other developed systems.

## 1.4 Schema Theory

The methodology known as schema theory has its roots in the 1980s.<sup>60</sup> Schema theory research spans areas of inquiry including generative linguistics, gestalt theory, phenomenology and cognitive science and can be broken into two branches. One is concerned primarily with cognitive systems investigating how schemata are perceived, remembered, and the experiences associated with them when listening to or creating music.<sup>61</sup> The second branch is concerned with analysing large collections of works (sometimes referred to as corpus analytics) to identify similarities between musical structures across specific genres or styles of music. The first strand of inquiry deals primarily with cognitive functions when aural events trigger or influence understandings of musical structures. The second concerns itself with the analysis of a large body of work (the corpus) in order to discover enough patterns and commonalities between each work to establish tropes, memes, or ‘musical formulas.’<sup>62</sup> Establishing and tracking patterns across a large corpus has been a main endeavour in Robert Gjerdingen’s body of

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<sup>60</sup> The development of schema theory will not be detailed in any great length here, but applying cognitive science and linguistics to musical study as they pertain to recognising large musical structures was undertaken in a systematic way by Fred Lerdahl, and Ray Jackendoff, *A Generative Theory of Tonal Music* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1983).

<sup>61</sup> A theory of schema emergence and functionality is investigated in detail: Marc Leman, *Music and Schema Theory: Cognitive Foundations of Systematic Musicology* (New York: Springer, 1995).

<sup>62</sup> ‘I define musical formulas as musical materials equally useful for possible insertion into an improvisation and for transmission of fundamental aspects of the musical language in distilled or simplified fashion.’ Aaron L. Berkowitz, *The improvising mind: cognition and creativity in the musical moment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 28-29.

work which was directly influenced by his investigations into *partimenti* and other educational materials.<sup>63</sup>

This thesis primarily follows the second branch of schema theory and uses the term ‘schema’ to mean a distinct combination of melodic, and/or harmonic, and/or rhythmic events which are explicitly or implicitly grouped as a unified whole consisting of the sum of its component parts. If enough schemata present themselves among composed works, it is possible to declare those schemata as part of an idiom. An example may be the ‘perfect cadence.’ The perfect cadence can be analysed through different theoretical frameworks, either as the simultaneous performance of four melodic clausulae,<sup>64</sup> or as an example of a dominant chord traveling to a tonic chord (as in V to I). The V chord is a collection of notes and can be seen as a grammatical element not a schema, while a perfect cadence, having a historically established melodic and harmonic character, can be seen as a two-step schema because it involves both grammatical and syntactic elements. Grammatical in this sense refers more to the rudimentary aspects of spelling or forming a basic musical utterance (major or minor chords, melodic lines like *do-re-mi*) which are often required for a larger phrase or harmonic event. Syntactical in this case describes the internal structure of a phrase or harmonic event according to the rules established by a particular time and place. If a harmonic or rhythmic event has both grammatical and syntactical elements that re-occur within a given corpus of works, it can be considered a

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<sup>63</sup> Robert Gjerdingen, *A Classic Turn of Phrase: Music and the Psychology of Convention* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988) and *Music in the Galant Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

<sup>64</sup> Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 140.

schema. The progression ii7-V7-I7 is a coherent example — its aural components are easily recognised and appear with such regular prevalence in the jazz idiom that it has become an essential and even generative trope of the genre. But the definitions which establish the syntactical elements of a schema are in a constant state of opening and closing, and so ‘cadence’ for one author in one historical context may have a different meaning for another author in a different historical context. In some cases, as in the word cadence, it may not refer to a schema but perhaps an element of performance practice or a specific technique or genre.<sup>65</sup> In order for twenty-first century applications of schema-theory to be successful in teaching historically informed improvisation they must have an historical understanding of how even the most basic musical concepts were interpreted.

The *partimento* rules provided material to develop finger dexterity and technical fluency on the instrument, but the rules also developed automated reflexes designed for realising both the *partimenti* themselves and accompaniments from a figured bass line. This approach situates compositional techniques at the centre of instrumental technique, and so nineteenth-century materials that are commonly seen as a composition exercise from a twenty-first century interpretation, were probably designed to also increase technical skill on an instrument. This is demonstrated in the guitar methods of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which included a wealth of material that, through the lens of twentieth century music theory and analysis, are often interpreted as merely exercises in rudimentary music theory. Many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century exercises are actually designed to instantiate an instrumental form of schema acquisition. Cadences,

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<sup>65</sup> See page 108-110.

modulations, and arpeggios were learned not to be used to interpret works, but as schema which were to be utilised in a variety of musical activities including spontaneous composition.<sup>66</sup>

In the twenty-first century, Gjerdingen follows the eighteenth-century theorist Joseph Riepel, adopting the convention of naming melodic or harmonic archetypes by their musical effect and explores and expands the components of Riepel's schemata using examples from the repertory of the eighteenth century.<sup>67</sup> The *partimento* authors present schemata in a more 'scientific' approach which clashes in style from Gjerdingen's and Riepel's. Where Gjerdingen establishes schemata based on the often-imaginative names given by Riepel (a *monte principale*) the *partimento* authors organised schemata often by the motion of its bass, for example, rising by fourths or falling by thirds.<sup>68</sup> Twenty-first century schema-theorists built upon this work and adopt taxonomic approaches utilising either the imaginative names of Gjerdingen and Riepel or the drier technical approach taught by the *partimento* authors. Lieven Strobbe's *Tonal Tools* builds upon Gjerdingen and Riepel's approach and creates an imaginative set of tonal schemata built upon a repertoire which is trans-stylistic while primarily being rooted in the tradition of western

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<sup>66</sup> See chapter 3 section \_\_\_ on preluding.

<sup>67</sup> Gjerdingen admittedly follows 'the footsteps of Joseph Riepel [1709-1782], the eighteenth-century writer and chapel master at Regensburg who gave names to several important musical schemata. I use Riepel's names and other names known in the eighteenth century where possible, but I do not hesitate to add new names to the canon. For some schemata I will choose a word, often an Italian word, that captures an aspect of their function. That was Riepel's practice in the 1750s. And for other schemata I will choose a name that honors a significant scholar or teacher.' Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 20.

<sup>68</sup> Sanguinetti mistakenly quotes Gjerdingen as describing the *monte principale* as rising fourths/falling fifths category. Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, 154. But Gjerdingen is clear he conceives the *monte principale* as an example of a rising fourths/falling third bass, and calls rising fourths/falling fifths a *monte romanesca*. Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 98-99.

art music.<sup>69</sup> Job Ijzerman adopts schema theory and applies it towards teaching college-level harmony classes and emphasises the ‘composition as technique’ facet of eighteenth-century education.<sup>70</sup> Ijzerman largely organises material in a more technical manner but, where it is easier to utilise or build on the schemata of Gjerdingen, does not ignore the benefit of having memorable and more imaginative names. The type of imaginative organisation of schemata is supported by certain historically used terms to describe them beyond Riepel. Harmonic or melodic tropes accrued names or terms throughout their history and most authors attempt to employ these where possible. Notable examples include the *lamento* which described a chromatically descending tetrachord originating in the seventeenth century.<sup>71</sup> The *folies d’Espagne* and other types of grounds often maintained a nationalistic identity giving it an imaginative connotation outside of the supposed country of origin. Even short melodic figures had extra musical designations as they were often treated as analogous to rhetorical devices between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>72</sup> Ruiter-Feenstra took advantage of this seventeenth-century pedagogy to organise her approach to teaching improvisation by using rhetorical names to classify certain musical figures.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Lieven Strobbe, *Tonal Tools for Keyboard Players* (Antwerp: Garant Publishers, 2012).

<sup>70</sup> ‘The method stimulates “hands-on” working rather than conceptual learning. The realization of the exercises includes singing or playing, improvising and composing. ... Your acquired knowledge of the musical vocabulary will bridge the historical distance between you and the music of the past. Besides this, the development of improvisational and notational skills will make you an all-round musician.’ Job Ijzerman, *Harmony, Counterpoint, Partimento. A New Method Inspired by Old Masters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), xv.

<sup>71</sup> Ellen Rosand, ‘Lamento’ in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.15904>> [accessed 21 October 2020].

<sup>72</sup> ‘A plan like Dressler’s appeared in Burmeister (1606). Burmeister had already proposed (1599, 1601) that musical ‘figures’ could be treated as analogous to rhetorical figures, and it was he who first set out a full formal analysis of a piece of music’ Ian D. Bent, revised by Anthony Pople, ‘Analysis’ in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.41862>> [accessed 21 October 2020].

<sup>73</sup> Ruiter-Feenstra, *Bach & The Art of Improvisation, I*, 134-136.



Strobbe's work draws upon the schemata of Gjerdingen and the *partimento* authors to create nine component categories of schemata: *Tertia*, *Quiescenza*, *Scalino*, *Lancia*, *Cadenza*, *Phantom Lancia*, *Phantom Cadenza*, *Passi*, and *Tiranno*.<sup>74</sup> These categories are the most thorough effort to classify groups of tonal schemata, using a repertoire stretching nearly 400 years including Renaissance, Baroque, classical, jazz, flamenco, rock and pop music. Of Strobbe's categories, four regard harmonic movement, *Lancia*, *Cadenza*, *Phantom Lancia*, and *Phantom Cadenza*. *Lancia* schemata are identified as root motion from tonic to dominant, while *Cadenza* are the inverse, from the dominant towards the tonic. *Phantom Lancia* and *Phantom Cadenza* are similarly identified by motions from the tonic towards the subdominant, and from the subdominant to the tonic, respectively. Strobbe bridges some conceptual gaps that are not often discussed in twentieth-century theory texts, the most obvious being a concept for how to move towards the dominant or the subdominant. Traditional cadences are taught as punctuations which end phrases and only describe how to end cohesively on a target chord. How to navigate towards V, or to IV, are often neglected outside of the half cadence and movement towards the subdominant has no conceptual category in twentieth-century pedagogy. The components of the harmonic movement known as the 'plagal cadence' changed significantly from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, and some contemporary authors argue the plagal cadence does not exist in the classical

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<sup>74</sup> Strobbe, *Tonal Tools*, 19.

repertory at all.<sup>75</sup> Strobbe's creation of new terms that might account for such harmonic movement is a novel and pedagogically useful endeavour.

Despite the pedagogical use, some criticisms arise when reading through the growing literature of schema theories and it will be the task of future authors to tackle how to deal with the implications of having such a variety of sometimes conflicting notions of any particular schema. This is evident in Strobbe's treatment of 'chains' which is the term used to describe how schemata can be sequenced up or down by a particular interval. In some cases, these chains are identical to the *bassi movimenti* of the *partimento* authors and in some cases, they create novel organisations for tonal material. When handling the sequencing of a perfect cadence (*cadenza*) Strobbe organises schemata by the relationship each new target chord has with its previous target chord. For example, if two perfect cadences were performed, one on A major (E7-A) and another a step up on B minor (F#7-B) the cadence is sequenced via *passo tedesco* (up by step.)<sup>76</sup> This schema is referred to as 'Up by fourth, Down by Third' by the *partimento* authors.<sup>77</sup> If the new target chord was a step lower, it is now a *cadenza* chain via *passo indietro* (Example 1.1).<sup>78</sup> This approach is both imaginative and technical, and Strobbe creates a system that can be used to describe the imaginative components of the *monte principale* in the purely technical sense as well as the coded harmonic implications of the *partimento* schema such as 'Up by Fourth, Down by Third.' The label '*cadenza* chain via *passo indietro*' can

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<sup>75</sup> William E. Caplin, *Classical form: A Theory of Formal Functions for the Instrumental Music Of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 44-45.

<sup>76</sup> Strobbe, *Tonal Tools*, 121.

<sup>77</sup> Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, 153.

<sup>78</sup> Strobbe, *Tonal Tools*, 120.

describe both the emotive effect of falling implied by the term *passo indietro* and also the harmonic implication of a rising fourths bass (using the term *cadenza*).

Example 1.1: Perfect Cadences chained up or down

The image shows two musical examples of cadenza chains in 4/4 time with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The first example, titled 'Cadenza Chain via 'Passo Tedesco'', shows a bass line ascending by semitone (C#2, D#2, E#2, F#3) and a treble line with chords. The second example, titled 'Cadenza Chain via 'Passo Indietro'', shows a bass line descending by semitone (F#3, E#3, D#3, C#2) and a treble line with chords.

While Strobbe's hybrid terminology does not describe the bass movement as the *partimento* authors do, it contains a grammatical and syntactic language that, once learned, can be decoded to describe the exact harmonic and melodic organisation. In Strobbe's pedagogy, first a student learns the grammatical and syntactical elements of smaller schemata, for example, *scalino up* referring to a bass that ascends by semitone. Then a student understands how smaller schemata can be sequenced up or down by various intervals to create larger schemata and having a terminology that accounts for this has its benefits. Strobbe's nomenclature encourages playful recombination of the different sequential motions (*passo tedesco*, *passo indietro*) with smaller schemata (*scalino up*, *cadenza*, *lancia*). Once the convention for a grammatical unit and the terminology for sequencing is learned, it is easy to imagine new possibilities, and the nature of this system encourages questioning and exploring new possibilities in improvised settings. There are instances where this taxonomy could be made easier by simply replacing the imaginative names (*passo romanesco*) with the more technical 'down by third' greatly reducing the set of required terms to learn. This offers the benefit

of imaginative names which often have emotive implications (*monte* for climbing a mountain, *lancia*, as in javelin, which is launched to the dominant), while the sequential motions remain purely descriptive. In this sense, Lancia chain via down by third (*passo romanesco* in Strobbe's system) is probably the clearest way of referring to a particular bass pattern while also maintaining the harmonic implications (Example 1.2).

Example 1.2: Lancia chain via descending thirds

The image shows two systems of musical notation in G major. The first system, titled 'Lancia Chain via Passo Romanesco', consists of four chords: G4, E4, C4, and G3. The second system, titled 'Romanesca' or Down by Fourths, Up by Step', consists of four chords: G4, D4, G3, and A3. The notation is in treble and bass clefs with a key signature of one sharp (F#).

This variety of shifting terms may at first seem like a difference in semantics, many ways of hearing the same schema. But Strobbe's organisations are new ways of listening to sometimes very old tonal materials, and without careful disambiguation, run the risk of obscuring both Strobbe's new schemata, and the historical understanding of older ones. One full iteration of Strobbe's Lancia Chain via Passo Romanesco (Example 1.2 bars 1-2.) does not align with the corresponding bass pattern from the *partimento* authors (Example 1.2 bars 3-4). For Strobbe, the *lancia* (I-V) is a complete aural event, but the schema as taught in the *partimento* rules is interrupted, as the final 'up by step' was never instantiated. This is a reorientation of older harmonic materials for twenty-first century ears that requires caution. Strobbe's *lancia* chain is centred around its fundamental I-V motion which is different in degree to the historical understanding of the same event which describes it as a *bassi movimenti*. Any attempt at orienting the *partimento* bass

motion as a ‘move to the dominant’ is a new interpretation of an older schema and future authors will have to contend with the effect teaching older schemata in new ways may have on twenty-first century listeners.<sup>79</sup>

As a pedagogical device, these formulations are remarkably useful for inspiring improvisation. A clear example of the use of these categorisations comes when Strobbe introduces the ‘walking’ variants of each schema. If the Phantom *Lancia* schema involves a movement from tonic to the subdominant, it can be made ‘walking’ by diatonically moving the bass down or up from scale degree one to four and Strobbe calls the descending variation of this ‘Dive.’<sup>80</sup> If this is chained *alla tedesca* (via step up) a student can easily improvise a complex harmonic schema after learning only a handful of grammatical and sequential techniques (Example 1.3). It is important to note that Strobbe does not make the argument that improvisors should realign their ears to listen to all historically conceived schemata in the way he organises them. His categories are derived from a wide corpus including different genres from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. While Strobbe’s work is certainly informed by historical materials, any similarities in the way they are taught are incidental. Instead of replicating the means in which older schemata were taught, Strobbe derives new ways of teaching them, creating something that can truly be considered historically inspired.

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<sup>79</sup> Strobbe, *Tonal Tools*, 16.

<sup>80</sup> Strobbe, *Tonal Tools*, 92-96.



automated. Melodic gestures like scales or arpeggios are only available to improvisors if they are trained as an automatic motor skill and are less consciously planned as they are utilised automatically. The role motor skill learning has in contributing to the ability to improvisation is not something historically informed pedagogy can accurately answer. Twentieth- and twenty-first-century research into motor-skill acquisition and improvisation practise techniques will aid greatly in informing the pedagogical strand of this thesis.

## **1.5 Phenomenological and Cognitive Frameworks**

Two studies have proven fundamental to uncovering how improvisational skill can be acquired. David Sudnow offers a phenomenological study, providing a detailed account of the author's physical and mental experiences while learning how to improvise in a jazz setting.<sup>82</sup> Aaron Berkowitz provides a similar phenomenology but is backed by his background in cognitive psychology, as well as his study into nineteenth-century improvisation pedagogy.<sup>83</sup> Sudnow provides an illuminating account of how he developed the novel motor skills necessary to improvise in a jazz idiom, describing the types of statistical realisations a learner has when practising.<sup>84</sup>

Berkowitz provides a few technical terms regarding learning which will be necessary for this thesis. Implicit learning is 'the acquisition of knowledge of a complex stimulus environment by a process which takes place naturally, simply and without conscious

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<sup>82</sup> David Sudnow, *Ways of the Hand: A Rewritten Account* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2nd edn. 2002).

<sup>83</sup> Berkowitz, *The Improvising Mind*.

<sup>84</sup> Sudnow, *Ways of the Hand*, 25-26.

operations.’<sup>85</sup> In musical knowledge acquisition, implicit learning can be anything from the unconscious reinforcement of bad habits such as hand tension, or the aural components of a perfect cadence. Explicit learning can have similar learning goals but are achieved through conscious application.<sup>86</sup> Implicit learning can often happen by making unconscious statistical inferences about a particular musical work or a body of works and knowing the most probable idiomatic phrases has a deep relationship with imitating a style. A student may consciously learn a particular musical work but unconsciously gain an understanding of the most statistically probable schemata of a typical genre. This is often recalled when asked to imitate a style aurally, and it is in the unconscious reproduction of automated reflexes where the process of recall can be further differentiated. Memory recall is broken into declarative and procedural memory and, for musicians, the two will be used to recall different knowledge stores. Declarative memory refers to the ability to consciously relay information while procedural memory is more commonly known by musicians as ‘muscle memory.’<sup>87</sup> The transition from declarative memory to procedural memory is a process commonly known as automaticity and this process explains Sudnow’s difficulty in teaching scale fingerings he has mastered.<sup>88</sup> Unless reinforced through teaching, motor skills that have been automated — especially if they were learned in youth — are often only recalled implicitly and are sometimes re-learned through teaching and thus made ‘explicit.’

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<sup>85</sup> Nick Ellis, ‘Implicit and Explicit Language Learning- An overview’ in ed. Nick Ellis *Implicit and Explicit Learning of Languages* (London: Academic Press, 1994), 1-2.

<sup>86</sup> Berkowitz, *The Improvising Mind*, 7-8.

<sup>87</sup> Berkowitz, *The Improvising Mind*, 9.

<sup>88</sup> ‘When teaching scale fingerings to students today I must play scales slowly to rediscover best fingerings.’ Sudnow, *Ways of the Hand*, 25.



Berkowitz outlines a few pedagogical tools for developing improvisational skill: transposition, variation, recombination, and model comparison.<sup>89</sup> Transposing, varying, and recombining schemata has obvious benefits for learning to improvise. In instances where transposition is instructed it leads to a type of improvisatory impulse, as is the case in instances where instruction to vary static material is prevalent.<sup>90</sup> Recombination is also commonly understood to encourage improvisation and is a facet implicitly taught in the *partimento* tradition which, within the large corpus of exercises, demonstrates the recombination of schemata. Recombination in a specific style depends on the parameters of that style and since particular combinations may be seen as outside of the style, when learning to improvise in a historical style a large degree of statistical learning is required. In many instances, nineteenth-century instructors imply or explicitly teach what combinations are most likely to follow each other and by understanding the most statistically probable combinations more informed improvisatory decisions can be made.<sup>91</sup> Model comparison is also a useful tool for improvising that appears throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with many methods dedicated to preluding being no more than a collection of model preludes. With this type of implicit learning in mind, even collections of preludes cannot be understood only as ‘musical works’ but should be considered for their pedagogical purposes as should other genres where variation is common, most importantly theme and variation sets which sometimes bore the title *pour l’étude*.<sup>92</sup> Extracting these pedagogical tools from Berkowitz’s study gives the field of

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<sup>89</sup> Berkowitz, *The Improvising Mind*, 39-73.

<sup>90</sup> See page 62, 112, 126, 130, 161-163.

<sup>91</sup> See page 238-242.

<sup>92</sup> This is demonstrated by the title page of Mozart’s variations on ‘Ah! Vous dirai-je Maman’ which is subtitled *varie pour l’étude du piano-forte*. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *12 Variations on ‘Ah, vous dirai-je maman’*, K.265/300e (Paris: Porro, n.d.).

improvisation pedagogy a type of authority since his study is backed by his experience in cognitive science. But many traditions outside of western classical music have been teaching improvisation and the knowledge base from these traditions should be considered equally authoritative, not only based on the highly skilled improvisors the traditions produce but also on the wealth of pedagogical writings contained within.

## **1.6 Improvisation Pedagogy in Other Idioms**

An enormous amount of research has gone into jazz pedagogy,<sup>93</sup> and there is an increased interest in the West in the teaching methods of Persian,<sup>94</sup> and Indian music.<sup>95</sup> It is important to consider how modernist thought, and institutionalised education affected the instruction of some of these other idioms because many began as a primarily aural art. Equally important is a consideration of the nature in which adapting educational material from other cultures can often lead to exotification, commodification or outright exploitation. This brief analysis reflects common trends that appear in the written literature of jazz, Indian and Persian music pedagogy published in twentieth and twenty-first century and does not claim to be an authentic representation of the traditional educational techniques of these styles. This is useful for this thesis because of the similarities between written twentieth-century jazz methods and nineteenth-century guitar methods. Both emerged out of commercially successful trends that appealed to a growing

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<sup>93</sup> For a slightly outdated survey into this subject see Robert Witmer and James Robbins, 'A Historical and Critical Survey of Recent Pedagogical Materials for the Teaching and Learning of Jazz', *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education*, 96 (1988), 7-29.

<sup>94</sup> Arya (Ali) BastaniNezhad, 'A Critical Study of the Iranian Teaching Textbooks on Iranian Classical Performance', *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, 35 (2014), 142-154.

<sup>95</sup> Brandon Keith Wood 'South Indian "Solkattu" and Western Music Pedagogy: Creating New Rhythmic Perspectives', *Music Educators Journal*, 99 (2013), 63-67.

middle class and — when struck by the commercial viability of printed educational material — created an avid community of amateurs and professionals alike. For many amateur guitarists, jazz, classical, and to some extent some non-western traditions, are seen as equally available for self-study because of this amateur music making community. This is demonstrated by the amount of self-study jazz books and fake books in the late twentieth century, and an equal, or arguably greater, amount of ‘classical’ guitar methods in the early nineteenth century.<sup>96</sup>

Contemporary improvisation pedagogy in the jazz idiom has been invariably influenced by both standard notation in the form of lead sheets, and functional harmony. Jerry Coker in the early 1980s taught the ii7-V7-I7 schema explicitly and describes its ubiquity as the generative schema for many compositions.<sup>97</sup> Coker even goes so far as to provide a type corpus analysis of ‘contemporary’ jazz tunes, outlining the percentage in which certain harmonic motions appear.<sup>98</sup> These kinds of preliminary steps towards using statistical data to teach idiomatic improvisation were useful in organising educational material, but as jazz music developed rapidly, traditional ideas of functional harmony in the jazz idiom

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<sup>96</sup> The term classical guitar is an entirely twentieth-century invention and seems to have become popular with the fame of Andrés Segovia (1893-1987) as a way of delineating between those who primarily interpret and perform musical works (classical guitarists) and those who compose or improvise their own. In the early twentieth century these were undoubtedly Flamenco and South American guitarists, both of which had a popular tradition, and included famous improvisors like Agustin Barrios (1885-1944). Segovia was an ardent proponent against South American music and John Williams (b1941), who was a student of Segovia’s, writes: ‘Segovia’s snobbishness about much of South American music, especially that with popular roots, was evident to John from very early on ... The Spaniard was dismissive of Antonio Lauro’s work and positively banned that of Augustin Barrios from his classes ...’ William Starling, *Strings Attached: The Life and Music of John Williams* (London: Robson Press, 2012), 116.

<sup>97</sup> Jerry Coker, *Jerry Coker’s Complete Method for Improvisation* (Lebanon, Ind. USA: Studio P/R, 1980), 14.

<sup>98</sup> Coker, *Jerry Coker’s Complete Method*, 76.

declined.<sup>99</sup> It could be speculated that as jazz education became more formalised, more tendencies to expand the instructed limits of tonality arose, leading to the creation of more abstracted and fragmented tonal schemata that have yet to be studied or catalogued.

The use of model learning reinforcement through transposition and rhythmic variation is fundamental to jazz pedagogy and appear throughout the jazz literature. Coker uses the roman numeral and scalar approach to teach model ‘licks’ pointing out how they derive from a harmonic progression.<sup>100</sup> The emphasis on the use of transposition as a practice technique is ubiquitous in jazz teaching.<sup>101</sup> Teaching melodic variation takes on a few different methods in jazz textbooks but a consensus forms around the use of ‘target notes’ and small melodic cells that build on these target notes, and many contemporary jazz methods borrow from Baroque, Renaissance and classical genres to demonstrate variation technique.<sup>102</sup> The uniting impetus of improvisation has resulted in the absorption of historical material into the practice of teaching improvisation and has become more common in jazz pedagogy.<sup>103</sup> The interest in teaching methods of the past has extended to the jazz idiom, and the stronger links between seemingly disparate research strands such

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<sup>99</sup> If we are to take the hypothesis that root motion via a perfect fourth is the strongest indicator of traditional western tonality than these studies findings are very revealing: ‘A statistically significant trend was identified wherein P4 progressions [root motion progression that travel via intervals of a perfect fourth] decrease in prevalence ... consistent with the hypothesis of a shift away from traditional tonality.’ Yuri Broze and Daniel Shanahan, ‘Diachronic Changes in Jazz Harmony: A Cognitive Perspective’, *Music Perception: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 31 (2013), 40.

<sup>100</sup> Coker, *Jerry Coker’s Complete Method*, 70.

<sup>101</sup> Jerry Coker, *How to practice jazz* (New Albany, IN: Jamey Aebersold, 1990), 17; Jamey Aebersold, Rufus Reid and Jonathan Higgins, *How to play jazz and improvise* (New Albany, IN: Jamey Aebersold Jazz, 1992, 1998), 8.

<sup>102</sup> Bert Ligon, *Jazz Theory Resources: Tonal, Harmonic, Melodic, & Rhythmic Organization of Jazz* (Milwaukee, Wis. U.S.A.: Houston Publishing, Hal Leonard, 2001), 84, 202, 213.

<sup>103</sup> Recently videos of jazz guitarist Ted Greene giving a clinic on improvising in a Baroque style c1995 have appeared online leading to a rekindling of absorbing Baroque musical materials. ‘Ted Greene Baroque Improv - Part 1’, < <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zkuo2384ZN4>> [accessed 13 January 2021].

as Neapolitan style *solfeggio* and the Tonic Sol-Fa taught in early nineteenth-century New Orleans are being made.<sup>104</sup> Model comparison, imitation and repetition of a repertoire is a core element of learning to improvise in a particular style and is the traditional educational framework of learning the Iranian music repertoire known as the *radif*.<sup>105</sup> Like in nineteenth-century Europe, when the apprenticeship style of tuition became replaced by amateur self-study through the form of method books, in twentieth-century Iran the master-student relationship is also being subverted through the publication of textbooks and in-home lessons.<sup>106</sup> Recent Iranian music pedagogues have also similarly utilised corpus analysis to provide ‘a schematic presentation of the *radif* by breaking *radif* phrases into short [formulaic] melodic fragments.’<sup>107</sup> This approach is similar to the efforts of western authors like Gjerdingen and Strobbe, and shares a lot in common with the way eighteenth- and nineteenth-century pedagogues taught the *partimento* rules.<sup>108</sup>

Investigations of improvisation pedagogy have invariably led many to rethink the purpose and modes in which music theory is taught at a college-level. Western musical analysis is not consistent over time and a push for historically informed analysis, and

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<sup>104</sup> Vic Hobson, ‘Historically Informed Jazz Pedagogy: New Orleans Counterpoint and Barbershop Harmony’, *Jazz Education in Research and Practice*, 1 (2020), 155-166.

<sup>105</sup> BastaniNezhad, ‘A Critical Study of the Iranian Teaching Textbooks on Iranian Classical Performance’, 143.

<sup>106</sup> BastaniNezhad, ‘A Critical Study of the Iranian Teaching Textbooks on Iranian Classical Performance’, 145.

<sup>107</sup> BastaniNezhad, ‘A Critical Study of the Iranian Teaching Textbooks on Iranian Classical Performance’, 149.

<sup>108</sup> See page 23.

historically informed theory curricula are already prevalent.<sup>109</sup> The momentum for making theory courses more practical is building, and improvisation is slowly finding its *raison d'être* as a more useful mode for assessing understanding of theoretical concepts than the written page. Edward Sarath posits that improvisation can be used as the vehicle for college level music theory courses and utilises an initially trans-stylistic approach to teaching dynamics, density, and registral variety.<sup>110</sup> Sarath's work is a collection of techniques that are adapted to learn theory but are designed to develop the type of sense-knowledge indicative of improvisational skill. A common thread in modern improvisation pedagogy is the concept of 'anticipatory hearing'.<sup>111</sup> Anticipatory hearing is a facet of sense knowledge and is the ability to understand and react to appropriate responses to certain musical gestures. This impulse can be trained usually through statistical learning and leads to an understanding of the *proposta* and *risposta* relationships which certain gestures may have in a style. Both Strobbe and Sarath both seem to agree that the ability to 'feed forward' is largely driven by temporal and gestural relationships.<sup>112</sup> Sarath introduces antecedent-consequent phrases in a trans-stylistic setting before introducing pulse-based improvisation suggesting that anticipatory hearing can be less stylistically dependent.<sup>113</sup> The concept of impact-realisation that Sarath utilises is an idea borrowed from the works of Leonard Meyer and his student Eugene

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<sup>109</sup> Bert Mooiman and Karst de Jong, 'Historically Inspired Improvisation', *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education*, 15 (2016); Duke, 'Teaching Musical Improvisation: A Study of Eighteenth- and Twentieth-Century Methods'.

<sup>110</sup> Sarath, *Music Theory Through Improvisation*, 1-4.

<sup>111</sup> Sarath, *Music Theory Through Improvisation*, 14-16.

<sup>112</sup> 'Musical feedforward is the capacity to mentally predict the musical events yet to come. Predictability depends mainly on temporal factors. There are three: regular pulse, temporal symmetry, and absolute duration.' Strobbe, *Tonal Tools*, 135.

<sup>113</sup> Sarath, *Music Theory Through Improvisation*, 9.

Narmour, further confirming improvisation pedagogy's links with studies in linguistics.<sup>114</sup>

For this thesis, the term sense knowledge is loosely defined as the ability to demonstrate ideas in a largely unconscious way through purely 'sensual' means. Following G. W. F. Hegel, sensual is used to mean the mode of production of works of art. Art like sculpture, painting or music are all thought by Hegel to be able to communicate knowledge differently from a purely philosophical form like discourse or argument.<sup>115</sup> Composing an instance of a schema by writing it on paper or identifying an instance of it in the analysis of a work is an example of declarative knowledge more in the conceptual realm of philosophy. The ability to spontaneously compose a schema in ways beyond repetition of a specific instance falls into the realm of procedural or sense knowledge. Recent trends in hermeneutics have come to see interpretation, understanding and application as being inseparable, and this has grave implications for teaching music theory.<sup>116</sup> Writing and even language is essentially a sensual medium used to demonstrate knowledge, but for this thesis the automated aspect of demonstrating musical concepts is what will be highlighted here when defining 'sense knowledge.' Although the motor skills necessary to write, type or even speak must be practised, the practice required to demonstrate

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<sup>114</sup> Sarath, *Music Theory Through Improvisation*, 15.

<sup>115</sup> Hegel believes Art can represent 'even the highest ideas in sensuous form.' Unfortunately an examination of music's ability to communicate 'the highest ideas' cannot be undertaken in this thesis. Instead, sensuous knowledge will be restricted to the ability to display theoretical concepts such as schemata or statistical relationships in a sensuous medium by improvising. G. W. F. Hegel, *Introductory Lectures on Aesthetics* trans. Bernard Bosanquet, Edited with an Introduction and Commentary by Michael Inwood (London: Penguin Classics, 1993), 9.

<sup>116</sup> The importance of language as the means of communicating understanding and knowledge is explored by Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 470-478.

philosophical knowledge is remarkably different from the motor skills required of writing. Similarly, acquiring the knowledge to demonstrate idiomatic properties of a musical style through analysis or through written composition may not necessarily lead to the ability to demonstrate the style spontaneously. A seemingly separate set of skills must be practised to be able to improvise. Crucially, if a given musical style is seen as a language, then it becomes even more important to cultivate the ability to apply understanding of theoretical concepts through improvisation — through the purely sensual means in which music is heard and communicated.

The differentiation between sense knowledge and procedural knowledge is that sense knowledge often refers to demonstrating activities or concepts in a way that is dependent on and inseparable from highly refined motor skills. Improvising in a particular style is a demonstration of sense knowledge which is unique from executing a particular work. It is often said a performer either ‘gets’ or does not ‘get’ jazz — what is in question is whether or not a performer has the ability to communicate a sensual knowledge of the idiom. The metric for judging sense knowledge when executing a ‘musical work’ is often more difficult to pin down but is also often framed as a lack of understanding. A common criticism of performers who execute the constitutive parts of a work flawlessly but still the performance ‘feels flat’ hints at this difficulty — in these cases many report the performer does not understand the piece. What is in question is the communication of understanding which is only attainable through the sensual medium of performance. One may give a well-researched lecture on a piece of music and yet still the in-performance ‘sensual understanding’ of the piece may not be communicated to an audience. Sense



knowledge in this case is clearer when determining the ability to improvise in a style because the style, by nature of it being composed of various schemata and tropes, is usually already established as a cultural entity. Although the ability to explain that one particular schema is more likely to follow another in a style (declarative knowledge) it is not the same type of knowledge as the one required to 'show' it. The following chapters reveal how eighteenth- and nineteenth-century guitar instruction was dedicated to precisely this skill, not to merely know a theoretical concept, but to demonstrate a physical mastery of the prevailing musical style.

# Chapter 2 The Early Methods 1760-1800

## 2.1 Early French Methods from 1760-1780

As commerce grew in eighteenth-century Paris, professionals such as doctors, lawyers, business owners, and government officials began learning music for recreation. This growing *petite-bourgeois* created a sizeable market in Paris and other urban centres for published methods and easy music. Despite this thriving market, the fifty-year period immediately after the death of Francois Campion and Robert De Visée<sup>1</sup> is often disregarded for being of inferior musical quality and is largely unknown to classical guitarists. This dark age of the guitar ranges from the death of Campion in 1747 to roughly 1800, but during this period over twenty-five methods were written for guitar and over twenty of them were published in Paris. These methods contain instruction designed to cultivate the ability to improvise on the guitar because of the musical culture for which they were produced.

The first form of improvisation a student would have engaged in during this period were improvised preludes and the variations on song accompaniments and dance forms. The demand for simple songs with accompaniments on guitar, harp and piano was strong during the last half of the eighteenth century and continued well into the 1820s.<sup>2</sup> Song

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<sup>1</sup> Francois Campion (1686-1747) and Robert de Visée (1665-1732) were both influential guitarists of the early eighteenth century. Philippe Vendrix, 'Campion, François' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.04692>> [accessed 14 January 2021]. Robert Strizich revised by David Ledbetter 'Visée, Robert de' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.29508>> [accessed 14 January 2021].

<sup>2</sup> Erik Stenstadvold, 'A Bibliographical Study of Antoine Meissonnier's Periodicals for Voice and Guitar, 1811-27', *Notes Second Series*, 58 (2001), 11.

accompaniments would have been the most popular music heard on the guitar and accompanying the voice was the first skill a student would develop when following a method of this time. The method books reflect this demand through the explicit teaching of how to vary accompaniments. Primary chords and arpeggios are learned, and many method books then show how right-hand arpeggio patterns can be applied to existing song arrangements. This is a type of improvisation that involves changing preliminary right-hand movements over a static left-hand shape. As the student applies various right-hand patterns different melodic and rhythmic variations are produced incidentally and a student discovers these gestures while reinforcing the basic motor-skill.

The earliest teaching of this type appears in both standard notation and tablature in *Méthode Pour Apprendre à Jouer de la Guitarre* published in Paris, c1760. The anonymous author Don \*\*\* uses the term *batterie* to refer to specific right-hand patterns that guitarists now classify as right-hand arpeggios. The author also specifies which left-hand chord is being used to realise each note, which the author explicitly teaches on the pages before.<sup>3</sup> This is one of the earliest uses of notation and it is evident that the *alfabeto* system, which built a technique centred around left-hand chords, did not disappear but became assimilated into the new notation. Chords are taught first, and then right-hand variations are developed by applying them not to open strings but to the previously learned chords. These variations are practised and worked out further by gradually changing chordal material in the form of the prelude. This provides first

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<sup>3</sup> Don \*\*\*, *Méthode Pour Apprendre à Jouer de la Guitare* (Paris: Le Menu, c1760); Facsimile reprint in *Méthodes and Traités Guitare: France 1600-1800* Vol. 1 (Courlay, France: Editions J. M. Fuzeau, 2003),78.

harmonic material for the left hand, then variation material driven by the right hand, in the form of arpeggios, and the two motor skills are then combined towards preluding.<sup>4</sup> By introducing techniques in this order, it leaves a student with a clear progression from chords to preludes, and eventually to vocal accompaniment. The anonymous author Don \*\*\* is explicit in c1760 regarding preludes and the broken style: ‘These preludes should be played in the broken style; the letter or note detached from the agreement is added to the preceding agreement,’ but the notation the author employs is purely didactic (Example 2.1).<sup>5</sup>

Example 2.1: Anon., Preludes in Perfect Chords, c1760



Blocked chord notation is a common element among guitar methods between 1760 and is found as late as 1860. This notation leaves performers free to choose whatever arpeggio they wish, which inevitably entailed an easy and spontaneous (co)-composition — a preliminary form of structured improvisation. This type of notation is helpful for teaching

<sup>4</sup> Don \*\*\*, *Méthode*, 78-83.

<sup>5</sup> ‘Ces préluce devrait se jouer dans un genre de batterie; la lettre ou la note détachée de l’accord, s’ajoute à l’accord qui la précède.’ Don \*\*\*, *Méthode*, 82-83.

improvisation as it leaves virtually all musical elements besides harmony in the hands of the performer.

Mary Criswick considers Giacomo Merchi to be the author of *Le Guide des Écoliers de Guitare, ou préludes aussi agréables qu'utiles*, although it had been thought to have been authored by his brother Joseph Bernard Merchi.<sup>6</sup> Both Joseph and Giacomo were musicians from Naples who lived primarily in Paris during their professional lives. Together they published many works for guitar including two treatises *Le Guide des Ecoliers*, and later *Traité des Agréments de la Musique*.<sup>7</sup> Giacomo spent 1766 to 1775 in England performing, teaching and promoting the 'Spanish Guitar'; there are records of him selling method books between 1767 and 1775, providing further credibility to the theory that Giacomo authored these methods and then promoted the sale of them with concerts and teaching in England.<sup>8</sup> *Le Guide des Ecoliers* sheds much-needed light on the common thread shared between these method books; the *avertissement* gives instruction on the pedagogical purposes of including preludes:

I made preludes in which we go through the 12 major modes and the 12 minor modes. ... These well-thought-out preludes will give a lot of ease for accompaniment. Regarding the guitarist's

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<sup>6</sup> Mary Criswick, Review: *Le guide des écoliers de guitare; Traité des agréments de la musique* by Giacomo Merchi, *The Musical Times*, 125 (1984), 161.

<sup>7</sup> Giacomo Merchi, *Le Guide des Ecoliers de Guitare, ou préludes aussi agréables qu'utiles, sur tous les modes, les positions et les arpègements avec des airs et des variations* (Paris: l'Auteur 1761); *Traité des Agréments de la Musique* (Paris: l'Auteur 1777).

<sup>8</sup> Christopher Page, 'The Spanish Guitar in the Newspapers, Novels, Drama and Verse of Eighteenth-Century England', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 44 (2013), 10-13.

favourite tune for arpeggiations, the Spanish follies, 36 variations will give a sufficient idea. There are, however, also examples for preludes.<sup>9</sup>

While the instruction is explicit when considering eighteenth-century norms, in the twenty-first century truly understanding the pedagogical intent requires reading the implied subtext. These preludes are not there for the reproduction of written works as each prelude is written in blocked chords. Instead, they are pedagogical devices where improvisation is a central component. A student is free to perform any *batteries* over the chords and this practice not only helps refine the *batteries* but also explicitly develops skill in preluding and accompaniment. By practising Merchi's thirty-six variations on *les folies d'Espagne* a student consciously learned how to use arpeggios to vary songs and airs. Merchi employs a type of statistical learning that has the student learn variation figures from practising composed models. New techniques are transmitted by discovering them in the works of established musicians, making them available for use in preludes or vocal accompaniments. Variation (spontaneous composition upon a framework) is treated as an instrumental technique of its own importance.

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<sup>9</sup> 'J'ai fait des préludes dans lesquels on parcourt les 12 modes majeurs et les 12 modes mineurs. Dans ces préludes, tous les accords se réduisent aux accords parfaits et de 7 mes de la note de basse fondamentale . . . C'est préludes bien sucs donneront beaucoup de facilité pour l'accompagnement. À L'égard des arpègements air favori de la guitare, je veux dire les folies d'Espagne avec 36 variations en donneront une idée suffisante. On en trouvera cependant des exemples pour les préludes.' Giacomo Merchi, *Le Guide des Écoliers de Guitare, ou préludes aussi agréables qu'utiles, sur tous les modes, les positions et les arpègements avec des airs et des variations*. (Paris c1761), Facsimile reprint in *Méthodes & Traités Guitare: France 1600-1800* Vol. 1 (Courlay, France: Editions J. M. Fuzeau, 2003), 109.

To further give credit to this idea, it is important to consult some of the published musical works during this time which would give a clearer image of what challenges a student would be confronted with and how their newly learned skills would be utilised. If a student were eager to perform a song in public, they would probably purchase a song arrangement first before making their own. By understanding what was on the page it is possible to reconstruct what skills were implied by the method books. *Raccolta d'Ariette Francesi ed Italiane*, Op. 4 provides insight into the sorts of decisions the Merchi and publishers had to make in the absence of a hegemonic form of standard notation.<sup>10</sup> *Raccolta* features fifteen arias for guitar and voice as well as parts for two violins and small sections written in bass clef with figures simply labelled 'basso.' The guitar part alternates between tablature and switches to bass clef for the parts labelled *basso* indicating that a guitarist probably would have read and performed from this bass line in addition to any basso section that may or may not be present. The stringing of the guitar in Merchi's own method would not be able to realise the abundance of lower notes in the two arias with 'basso' parts. But there is ample evidence to suggest a guitarist at this time would have overcome this by transposing any inaccessible bass notes up an octave. Merchi is explicit in his description of accompanying on the guitar:

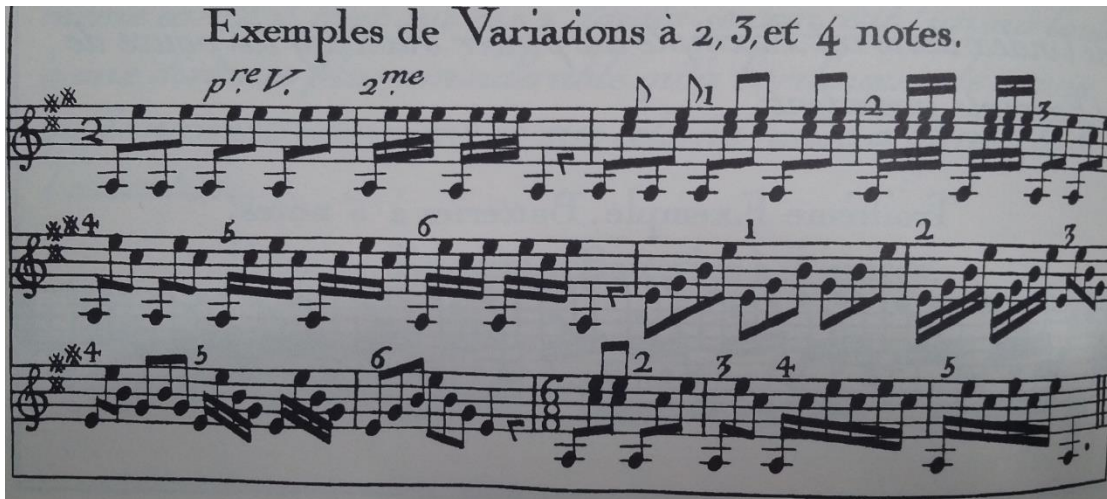
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<sup>10</sup> Giacomo Merchi, *Raccolta d'ariette francesi ed italiane* (Paris: n.p. 1760) Reprint Archivum Musicum L'arte della chitarra tra settecento e ottocento: Studio Per (Firenze: Edizioni Scelte, 1981).

The accompaniment of the guitar is the performance of a complete and regular Harmony, based on a basso continuo, in which each note performed on one of the strings, La, Re, Sol is also soon followed by the notes of its chord on the higher strings, in the form of arpeggios or *batteries*.<sup>11</sup>

Merchi also provides explicit instruction for varying accompaniments which are too simple and provides different types of variation technique in the form of a diagram containing variations in two, three, and four notes (Example 2.2).<sup>12</sup>

Example 2.2: Merchi, list of variations for vocal accompaniments, 1777



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<sup>11</sup> 'L'accompagnement de la guitare est l'exécution d'une Harmonie complète et régulière, fondée sur une basse continue, dont chaque note exécutée sur une des cordes, La, Re, Sol est aussi-tôt suivie des notes de son accord sur les cordes plus hautes, en forme d'arpèges ou de batteries.' Merchi, *Traité des Agréments*, 48.

<sup>12</sup> 'Lorsqu'on trouve que l'accompagnement d'un air est trop simple, on peut le varier dans le goût des exemples suivants; cela fait un bon effet...' Merchi, *Traité des Agréments*, 48.



Michel Corrette published method books for a variety of different instruments and theoretical treatises during his long career as an organist and instructor.<sup>13</sup> *Les dons d'Apollon* contains a detailed account of the difference between French, Italian and Spanish stringing for the guitar along with various attitudes of different techniques. In a section on chords, Corrette instructs that once the perfect chords are learned a student can apply them to the *folies d'Espagne* which is a 'great place to learn *les batteries*.'<sup>14</sup> As seen in Merchi's method, '*batteries*' was not a term used to describe a drum, as the literal French translation might suggest and this term appeared in many of the early method books for the guitar and other plucked-strings. On the classical guitar, the best correlate for *batteries* is the right-hand arpeggio patterns that guitarists learn to strengthen the hands. Corrette supplied a more flexible definition in his method for Mandolin: 'On nomme batteries deux notes sur différent degrés, battues l'une après l'autre plusieurs fois a quand les notes se trouvent sur deux cordes différentes, l'effet en est plus beau.'<sup>15</sup> Further context is provided in a section on arpeggios, where Corrette describes the performance of ad lib arpeggios and how some authors mark *ad libitum* when any

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<sup>13</sup> Michel Corrette, *Les Dons d'Apollon, méthode pour apprendre facilement à jouer de la guitare*, (Paris: n.p. 1962); Facsimile reprint in *Méthodes & Traités Guitare: France 1600-1800* Vol. 1 (Courlay, France: Editions J. M. Fuzeau, 2003).

<sup>14</sup> 'Il faut d'abord apprendre à faire les accords parfaits sur le Re F, sur le La G, sur l'ut H. Sur le Fa I, Quand ces quatre accords parfaits sont une fois dans les mains vous savez jouer en très peu de tems les folies d'Espagne qui est une très bonne pièce pour apprendre les batteries.' 'First you must learn to make the perfect chords on the Re F, on the La G, on the C. On the F, when these four perfect chords are once in the hands you can play in very little time the follies of Spain which is a very good place to learn batteries.' Michel Corrette, *Les Dons d'Apollon*, 156.

<sup>15</sup> 'We call *batteries* two notes on different degrees, beaten one after the other several times. When the notes are on two different strings, the effect is more beautiful.' Michel Corrette, *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre à jouer en très peu de tems la mandoline* (Paris: n.p. 1772), Fol. 26.

arpeggio would suffice by indicating round or white notes.<sup>16</sup> The presence of varied accompaniment patterns developed into an iconic signature of guitarists in the latter half of the eighteenth century. It became such a characteristic of the instrument that lists of the different types of arpeggio patterns became longer in the method books between 1790 and 1830.

Joseph Carpentier produced a method book in two parts, the first published in 1771 and the second in 1773 intended for the *cytre*, sometimes called the *guitarre allemande*.<sup>17</sup> Carpentier provided a clear description of the instrument intended, with eight strings, tuned from highest to lowest e'-c#'-a'-e'-d'-a-e-d.<sup>18</sup> The similarities between the instrumental techniques were acknowledged by Carpentier by intending his eight collections of dances for *cytre* to be equally playable on the guitar and the mandora.<sup>19</sup> That the guitar and mandora were treated near synonymously in this method indicates that the instrument known as the *mandora* was at least as present in the public conscious in France as the Spanish guitar was at this time.<sup>20</sup> In the preface to the first and second

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<sup>16</sup> 'L'arpeggio est une batterie de trois notes sur trois cordes différentes. Quelque fois sur quatre cordes, mais rarement, pour abrégé la quantité des notes on le Crit avec des rondes, ou des blanches C comme l'arpeggio se bat de bien des façons différentes, les auteurs en notent ordinaire la 1 mesure, mais s'ils écrivent seulement que le mot d'arpeggio pour lors on le bat ad libitum.' 'The arpeggio is a *batterie* of three notes on three different strings. Sometimes on four strings, but rarely, to shorten the amount of notes we write it with round, or white [notes] C as the arpeggio is played in many ways, the authors usually note the 1 measure, but when they only write the word arpeggio then we perform it ad libitum.' Joseph Carpentier, *Méthode distribuée par leçons pour apprendre en peu de temps à jouer de l'instrument appelé Cytre ou Guitare* (Paris: l'Autheur, Melling, 1771), Facsimile reprint in *Méthodes & Traités Guitare: France 1600-1800* Vol. 1 (Courlay, France: Editions J. M. Fuzeau, 2003), Fol. 28.

<sup>17</sup> Carpentier, *Méthode*.

<sup>18</sup> '... qui peuvent néanmoins s'exécuter sur la guitare espagnole et sûre la mandore.' Carpentier, *Méthode*, 176.

<sup>19</sup> Joseph Carpentier, *Ier Recueil de menuets, allemandes etc. entremêlés d'airs agréables à chanter avec leurs accompagnements dont les sujets* (Paris: n.p. 1770).

<sup>20</sup> See page 77–81.

*recueil* Carpentier writes that if special attention is made to the octaves which are not on the guitar, care has been made to make sure unnatural fingerings are not presented on either instrument. The suggestion that the mandora's lowest note is tuned to Mi confirms that the mandora Carpentier refers to probably had the same tuning as the modern guitar, E-A-d-g-b-e'.<sup>21</sup>

This freedom with transposing notes that did not suit the instrument implies that despite an instrument's limited range, accompanying pieces with frequent octave transpositions would have most likely been commonplace. Carpentier dedicates the fourth lesson to *les batteries* and provides a disambiguation between them further solidifying them as right-hand schemata to apply to left-hand chords. Carpentier separates them into two classes one of which utilises plucking the chords with individual fingers, and the other, which involves using one finger to pluck several notes, usually with the thumb or with the index finger.<sup>22</sup> Concerning the first type, he explicitly mentions that there is an infinite number of possibilities concerning arpeggios that are solely plucked and that the method will

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<sup>21</sup> 'J'observerai que comme les guitares espagnoles ne descendent que jusques au La, et les mandores jus qu'es au Mi. Il faudra avoir l'attention de reporte à l'octave au-dessous les notés qui se trouveront descendre au delà par cette voye. Simple elles pourront exécuter facilement cette musique d'autant mieux que quoy qu'elle soit plus spécialement faite pour le Cythère ou guitare allemande, on a eu néanmoins l'attention de ne point s'écarter des positions et du doigté naturel et vraie de ces deux autres instrumente.' 'I will observe that as the Spanish guitars go down only to LA, and the mandoras to MI. It will be necessary to have the attention to transfer the notes which will be found to descend beyond this path to the octave below. Simple, they will be able to easily perform this music, all the better since it is more specially made for the Cythera or German guitar, but we have nevertheless taken care not to deviate from the positions and the natural and true fingering of these two other instruments.' Carpentier, *Ier Recueil de menuets, allemandes etc.*, 3-4.

<sup>22</sup> '... cette espèce de batterie se fait en pinçant le la du pouce que l'on glisse sur le Re le La d'après du premier doigt le re du second le premier fa du troisième doigt, le second Fa, le Re, et le La, du premier doigt en glissant en même temps que l'on descend, et de même pour les autres notes qui suivent cette espèce de batterie quand elle est adroitement faite produit un assez bel effet...' Carpentier, *Méthode*, 181.

feature many variations of them, especially in the last section which is on *folies d'Espagne*.<sup>23</sup>

Both Carpentier and Merchi utilise *folies d'Espagne* as a tool for practising *batterie* variation, strengthening its use as a vehicle for improvisation. Volume 1 of Carpentier's method utilises the term *canevas de prelude*, the *canevas* is the materials which the performer 'paints' over with right-hand variation (Example 2.3).<sup>24</sup> Carpentier's *canevas* are short chord progressions written without rhythm on each tone organised in different keys which invite students to employ their newly learned *batteries*. In the section on preludes Carpentier shares what seems to have been commonly held beliefs in the late eighteenth-century:

It is too easy to practise preluding, nothing can advance students as much as this practise which results, among other things, from three advantages. The first is to develop your hand, the second to train your ear in harmony, and the third to learn a lot of positions, and to be sure of your hand on the instrument. Whenever we want to play a piece or accompany any song, we will have to prelude the key in which it is played, and similarly practise playing it on the upper part of the neck where the chords are repeated this is the way to learn to know it well.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> '...ces sortes de batteries comme on voit peuvent se multiplier à l'infini on les trouvera réduites en pratique dans divers endroits e mes recueils, et surtout dans de le dernier qui contient entre autres les folies l'Espagne.' Carpentier, *Méthode*, 181.

<sup>24</sup> Carpentier, *Méthode*, 184.

<sup>25</sup> 'On ne saurait trop s'exercer à préluder rien ne peut avancer les élèves autant que cette pratique dont il résulte entre autres trois avantages. Le premier c'est de se faire la main, le second de se former l'oreille à l'harmonie, et le troisième d'apprendre beaucoup de positions, et de s'assurer par la, la main sur l'instrument. Toutes les fois que l'on voudra jouer une pièce ou s'accompagner un chant quelconque il faudra faire le prélude du ton dans lequel on sera, et de même s'exercer à le dire sur la partie haute du manche ou les accords se répètent c'est la, la vraye manière de bien apprendre à le connaître.' Carpentier, *Méthode*, 185.

Example 2.3: Carpentier, *Canevas de Prelude*, 1771



These instruction manuals do not just provide deeper insight into the improvised performance practice of the period but reveal the ways in which skills acquisition occurred. While the writing in Carpentier's method, and the prefaces to his *recueil*, suggest an amateur audience, their instruction cannot have appeared in a vacuum of activity. Instead Carpentier's so-called amateur teaching can be read as a response to a demand for learning materials, not as an absence of performance practice. For Carpentier and most professionals, learning to prelude was a holistic educational tool developing physical technique and aural skills.

Antoine Bailleux<sup>26</sup> was a composer, violinist and publisher active in Paris before the end of the eighteenth century and published a method for guitar in 1773 *Méthode de guitare par musique et tablature*.<sup>27</sup> Bailleux included short preludes and pieces with tempo markings as the vehicle for early lessons. Each lesson serves the purpose of teaching very basic mechanical techniques such as developing the first and second fingers of the right hand or barre chords.<sup>28</sup> The common means of improvising a prelude, i.e., left-hand chords with various right-hand *batteries*, seemed to be an ideal vehicle for more explicit teaching of physical skills and Bailleux exploits this. Bailleux remarks on the dual function of the exercises both as physical lesson and as template ‘Au surplus il sera aisé de se perfectionner en exécutant avec précision ceux qui suivent et dont les folies d’Espagne m’ont fourni le canevas ... je les propose comme de simples exercices d’ailleurs dont on appeler variations.’<sup>29</sup>

Bailleux does not relegate the prelude as the only form for each lesson and instead couples each prelude with solo pieces such as *romances* and *minuetti* — often with variations — and in doing so maintains the formal structure of the prelude as a preparatory piece. But eventually the preludes are left out and the last half of Bailleux’s method is solely made up *minuetti*, and songs with varied accompaniment. The prelude

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<sup>26</sup> Antoine Bailleux (1720-1798) wrote profusely for other instruments including duos, trios, violin and piano concertos, and symphonies as well a solfège method: Antoine Bailleux, *Méthode pour apprendre facilement la musique vocale et instrumentale* ((Lyon: Richomme, 1770).

<sup>27</sup> Antoine Bailleux, *Méthode guitare par musique et tablature* (Paris: n.p.1773) (Reprint Geneva: Minkoff, 1972).

<sup>28</sup> Bailleux, *Méthode de guitare*, 11-15.

<sup>29</sup> ‘In addition, it will be easy to improve by executing with precision those which follow which *les folies d’Espagne* provided me the framework. ... I propose them as simple exercises, moreover, which we call variations.’ Bailleux, *Méthode de guitare*, 15.

had a clear purpose but was not the sole object of eighteenth-century pedagogy, its gradual omission before pieces in Bailleux's method implies the student must eventually supply their own. The use of preludes, both as a vehicle for stylistic development through varying a *canevas* and as a means for training fingers, became more pronounced as the eighteenth century ended. In the period between 1780 and 1800 the use of the prelude as a means for learning positions and fretboard harmony reached a high degree of sophistication.

## 2.2 French Methods during the French Revolution, 1780-1799

Pierre Jean Baillon<sup>30</sup> wrote preludes and pieces on all twelve pitches in major and minor and instructs: 'pour apprendre à connaître le manche dans toute son étendue et à le parcourir dans tous les tons.'<sup>31</sup> Examples of the most explicit instruction on accompaniment variation are available, providing several songs with written-out guitar accompaniment in treble clef, interspersed with suggested right-hand variations. Baillon is no less explicit than Bailleux when he says:

People who wish to achieve a certain degree of force, and a perfect knowledge of the neck of the guitar, cannot apply too much to the exercise of scales and preludes as well as the chords which follow them, it is the real way to become familiar with all positions in no time.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Pierre-Jean Baillon (17?-1785) was a *maître de chant et de guitare* in Paris, and an active publisher and author between 1760 and 1785. *Nouvelle Méthode de Guitare Selon le Système des Meilleurs Auteurs* (Paris: n.p., 1781), (Reprint Geneva: Minkoff, 1977).

<sup>31</sup> '... to get to know the neck in all its extent and to browse it in all tones.' Baillon, *Nouvelle Méthode de Guitare*, 2.

<sup>32</sup> '... les personnes qui désirent parvenir a un certain degré de force, et a une parfaite connaissance du manche de la guitare, ne pouvons trop s'appliquer à l'exercice des gammes et des préludes ainsi que des accords qui les suivent, c'est le vrai moyen de se rendre familier en peu de temps avec toutes les positions.' Baillon, *Nouvelle Méthode de Guitare*, 54.

Practising scales, and precluding were considered the most efficient way of familiarising a student with the fretboard, but the specific method of practising precluding came by learning the syntax of harmony (*des accords*) and applying that syntax to the technical confines of the guitar. The teaching here could not be more explicit: precluding — the free variations applied to a *canevas* — was the best way to familiarise a student with the fretboard and train the synchronisation of hands. But the variations that could be applied to a *canevas* had several uses beyond precluding. Authors stressed the benefit that precluding has on accompanying the voice, and as the guitar became recognised as an instrument capable of complex solo music, themes and variations started to appear in the method books. Variations on *folies d'Espagne* were the first types of themes and variations to appear, but as the eighteenth century ended, composers began to utilise different themes to teach the art of variation.

Whereas the prelude *canevas* was simpler for the left hand as it could be written in unmeasured blocked chords, the same type of implicit learning could occur by performing themes and variations. Francesco Alberti's<sup>33</sup> method is one example where an emphasis is placed on themes and variations rather than preludes or vocal accompaniment. Alberti's method does not feature the type of explicit prelude or accompaniment instruction as other methods of the time. Instead, Alberti's *Nouvelle méthode* contained just six preludes, five of which all function according to typical

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<sup>33</sup> Francesco Alberti's dates are given by the Paris Library as (1750-18?), but biographical information is lacking. His method *Nouvelle méthode de guitare dans laquelle on y trouve différentes variations, une sonate, 12 menuets et 6* was published in Paris dated 1786, the title dedication is to Madame la Baronne de Beauvais.



preludes of the time, left-hand chord progressions with varied right-hand arpeggios meant to introduce the key.<sup>34</sup> However, Alberti primarily uses themes and variations as his preferred medium to teach variation.<sup>35</sup> Instead of opting to show variations as they apply to the prelude, he directs the reader to the end of his method where he has written out nine variations on ‘Ah! vous dirai-je maman’ in D major and A major, and seven variations on airs of his own composition ‘Le Cordelier’ and ‘Le Port Mahon.’<sup>36</sup>

‘Ah! vous dirai-je maman’ was first published in France in 1761<sup>37</sup> and appears in Alberti’s method here as a tool to teach variation techniques. It may be no coincidence that Mozart’s famous variations on ‘Ah vous dirai-je maman’ holds the subtitle *pour l’étude du piano forte* and were published around the same time in Paris by none other than the guitarist Pierre-Jean Porro. The pedagogical role of variations upon popular songs seems to have functioned similarly to that of the *folies d’Espagne* for guitarists.<sup>38</sup> Variations were meant to be studied not only for developing mechanical execution but also for the extraction of variation ideas or techniques. Alberti’s method demonstrates that, for a guitarist, study goes beyond simply learning to execute musical works. By learning to imitate how the professionals prelude or vary airs, a student develops the taste, judgement, and physical skill necessary to become a maestro.

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<sup>34</sup> Francesco Alberti, *Nouvelle méthode de guitarre* (Paris: n.p., 1786), reprint in *Méthodes & Traités Guitare: France 1600-1800* Vol. 1 (Courlay, France: Editions J. M. Fuzeau, 2003), 9.

<sup>35</sup> ‘On pourrait faire plusieurs variations pour apprendre les différentes pinces; mais on trouvera dans cette Méthode le même air oy dessus avec douze variations.’ ‘We could do several variations to learn the different right-hand variations; but we will find in this Method the same air above with twelve variations.’ Alberti, *Nouvelle méthode de guitarre*, 10.

<sup>36</sup> Alberti, *Nouvelle méthode de guitarre*, 19-23.

<sup>37</sup> Henri Davenson, *Le livre des chansons* (Neuchâtel, Éditions de la Baconnière, 1944), 567.

<sup>38</sup> Wolfgang Mozart, ‘Ah! vous dirai-je maman varié pour l’étude du piano-forte’ (Paris: Porro, n.d.).

Pierre-Jean Porro worked as a publisher and guitar teacher in Paris between 1783 and 1830.<sup>39</sup> His method *Collection de préludes et caprices dans tous les tons* reveals his attitudes towards preluding and most likely towards improvisation as a performance practice.<sup>40</sup> Porro's intentions are clear, suggesting that playing with a rhythmic freedom directed by expression and intelligence provides a source of beauty:

My intention in composing these preludes was to teach amateurs who ignore them, the positions, most necessary for each mode. These skills are absolutely essential. The rhythm in these kinds of works is not essential here, on the contrary, the alteration of movement often produces a source of beauty when the expression and the intelligence direct it. These preludes played regularly will offer pieces and sonatas of different characters. I thought that the song and the expression cannot be foreign to preludes.<sup>41</sup>

Porro reveals an incredibly assertive attitude towards preluding: it is necessary to study preludes for the sake of learning different positions on the guitar. By varying preludes composed by masters, a student develops the motor skills necessary to predict movements in the musical language of that composer, and thus of the prevailing style of the day. The more familiar a guitarist is with the positions on the guitar, the easier it is to

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<sup>39</sup> The activity of Pierre-Jean Porro's (1750-1831) as a publisher is well documented and his role in the history of the guitar is illuminated further with the recent critical edition of Fernando Sor's *Grande Sonata op.14* published by Porro in 1811-1812. See Fernando Sor, *Grand Solo op.14 Edition Pierre Joseph Porro (1811-1812)* with critical commentary by Mario Torta and Frédéric Zigante (Editions Durand, 2016).

<sup>40</sup> Pierre-Jean Porro, *Collection de préludes et caprices dans tous les tons pour l'étude de la guitare* (Paris: Porro 1789).

<sup>41</sup> 'Mon intention en composant ces préludes a été d'apprendre aux amateurs qui les ignorent, les positions, les plus nécessaires à chaque mode ces connaissances sont absolument indispensables. La mesure dans ces sortes d'ouvrages n'y est point de rigueur l'altération de mouvement y produit au contraire souvent une source de beautés lorsque l'expression et l'intelligence la dirigent. Ces préludes joués régulièrement offriront des pièces et sonates de différents caractères, j'ai cru que le chant et l'expression ne voient peut-être étrangers à des préludes même.' Pierre-Jean Porro, *Collection de préludes*, 13.

navigate that which stays in common among composers, and at a time of general homogeneity between musical schemata this was an incredibly useful skill.<sup>42</sup>

Methods during this period range in length and scope, some are comprehensive learning guides aimed at beginners and for general music development while others are exclusive to preluding. Abbé François Guichard was a well-respected musician during his tenure as *sous-maître de musique* at Notre Dame and published many works with guitar accompaniment as well as sacred and spiritual works.<sup>43</sup> Guichard's method, *La Guitare Rendue* is solely dedicated to preluding and, after a small section on basic music literacy, presents model preludes in major and minor on C, D, E, F, G, A, and B♭ major/ B minor.<sup>44</sup> By 1795 the methods reflect that the guitar could play in more difficult keys, but the published pieces and arrangements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries barely venture to keys outside of four sharps or two flats.

Antoine-Marcel Lemoine founded a publishing firm in Paris c1794 which would eventually become Editions Lemoine.<sup>45</sup> Lemoine published a method that contains some of the most harmonically robust preludes of the time featuring scales and preludes in all

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<sup>42</sup> See chapter 4 for comparative analysis of the *canevas* and modulation sets pages 248-262.

<sup>43</sup> Ethyl L. Will, 'Guichard, François, Abbé' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.11953>> [accessed 20 July 2020].

<sup>44</sup> The facsimile reprint of *La Guitare Rendue Facile* attributes an L.Guichard, *La Guitare Rendue Facile sans le secours de l'Art Ou l'on trouve la Manière de Préluder et Jouer Dans tous les Tons Possibles tant Majeur que Mineur* (Paris, c1795), Facsimile reprint in *Méthodes & Traités Guitare: France 1600-1800* Vol. 2 (Courlay, France: Editions J. M. Fuzeau, 2003). The RIMAB research portal of the *Schola Cantorum Basiliensis* however attributes *La Guitare Rendue Facile* to Abbé François Guichard (1745-1807). <[http://www.rimab.ch/content/projets-de-recherche/projet-la-guitare-en-francaise/copy\\_of\\_sources-primaires](http://www.rimab.ch/content/projets-de-recherche/projet-la-guitare-en-francaise/copy_of_sources-primaires)> [accessed 23 November 2020].

<sup>45</sup> Robert S. Nichols and Jeremy Drake, 'Lemoine' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.16388>> [accessed 20 July 2020].

24 major and minor keys. Some preludes are short and utilise simple harmonic schema but transposing even simple preludes to keys with two or more flats requires many *barre* chords that most intermediate guitarists would find difficult, making them great exercises for dexterity and stamina. Lemoine's method is robust in text, and the first and second parts are dedicated to the basic principles of music and guitar specific techniques such as *batteries* along with very specific descriptions of articulation.<sup>46</sup> The third and largest section reflects an emphasis on variation, song accompaniment and preluding. It opens with a small section developing various *batteries* in octaves on C major and then demonstrates a sequence upon a common eighteenth-century schema, the *overture*,<sup>47</sup> and develops it by applying different *batteries* (Example 2.4).<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Antoine Marcel Lemoine, *Nouvelle Méthode de Guitarre à l'usage des Commençans, Divisée en trois Parties* (Paris: Lemoine, 1800) Facsimile reprint in *Méthodes and Traités Guitare: France 1600-1800* Vol. 2 (Courlay, France: Editions J. M. Fuzeau, 2003), 149-160.

<sup>47</sup> The *overture* is the ascending walking variant of the *Lancia* schema which sees the bass voice move from I to V following the conventions of the *regle d'ottave*. Lieven Strobbe, *Tonal Tools for Keyboard Players* (Garant Publishers; Spi edition 2012), 97-102. See pages 38-40.

<sup>48</sup> Lemoine, *Nouvelle Méthode de Guitarre*, 161.

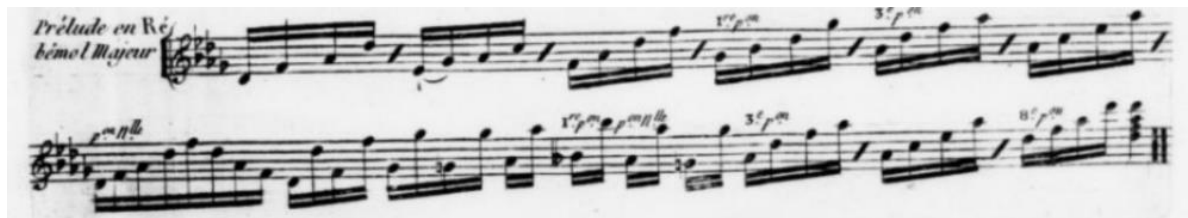
Example 2.4: Lemoine, Preludes with variations, c1800



There is an implicit intention that lay behind the methods of this period — the *folies d'Espagne*, and the variation of songs served the function of instilling variation techniques. Lemoine's method includes seventeen pages of *gammes*, *préludes*, and songs with simple accompaniment where, following the reoccurring performance practice of the day, it is presumed amateurs would develop the variation skills they learned from the *folies*. Each *gamme* or scale is meticulously fingered and is written in various positions. Most keys feature anywhere between two to four different fingerings or positions. Songs with basic accompaniment are written in keys of up to three sharps and one flat. The remarks made by Lemoine regarding difficult keys are important stating that their presence is to show that it is possible to play in them, and that they are important for *les*

*modulations* which are found in other genres of music.<sup>49</sup> It is clear here that although it is not likely that guitarists may encounter or accompany a song in Eb major, practising these keys, despite the difficulty, could lead to an understanding of the art of modulation. After these simple preludes Lemoine presents 31 variations on *folies d'Espagne*, and then thirty preludes in every major and minor key (Example 2.5).<sup>50</sup>

Example 2.5: Lemoine, Prelude in Db Major, c1800



Modulation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was an abstract theoretical knowledge as it is commonly conceived of in twenty-first century theory classes but a type of improvised instrumental technique.<sup>51</sup> Lemoine remarks that modulation is found in other genres of music but by the early nineteenth century guitarists too adopted this performance practice and it became a central facet of improvisation pedagogy.<sup>52</sup> Lemoine

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<sup>49</sup> ‘Si j’ai fait et place dans cet ouvrage des gammes et des préludes dans tous les tons majeurs et mineurs; tant avec les dièses qu’avec les bemoles. Mon intention n’a été que de faire voir aux élèves que l’on pouvait jouer dans tous ces tons quoi que l’on ne le fasse pas ordinairement vu la difficulté, voici le nom des tons le plus usité sur la guitare: Ut majeur naturel très peu son mineur a-cause des trois bemoles. Ré Majeur et son mineur La Majeur et son mineur. Sol Majeur et son mineur, fa majeur fort peu son mineur vu les quatre bemoles. Quand aux autres tons dont j’ai donné les exemples on ne les rencontre guère que dans les modulations: qui se trouvent dans les différents genres de musique.’ ‘If I have made and placed in this work scales and preludes in all major and minor tones; both with sharps and flats. My intention was only to show the students that we could play in all these tones, although we don’t usually do it because of the difficulty, here is the name of the most used tones on the guitar: C natural major is used and very seldom its minor because of the three flats. D Major and its minor A Major and its minor. G Major and its minor, F major, and its minor is used very little because of the four flats. As for the other tones of which I have given examples, they are hardly encountered except in the modulations: which are found in the different genres of music.’ Lemoine, *Nouvelle Méthode de Guitarre*, 185.

<sup>50</sup> Lemoine, *Nouvelle Méthode de Guitarre*, 182.

<sup>51</sup> See page 15 footnote 15 for a description of modulating preludes.

<sup>52</sup> See page 144 and page 248–255.

dedicates four pages to solo repertoire to end his method — two waltzes and an allemande (in the older duple time)<sup>53</sup> make an appearance, but the bulk of this section is dedicated to variations on popular airs with ‘Ah, vous dirai je-maman’ making another appearance.<sup>54</sup>

The notation and presentation of these songs directly aids the curriculum designed for variation; song accompaniments are sparse and often solely outline the characteristics of the time signature. In this sense the accompaniment serves a similar function to basso continuo, it serves as a springboard for recognising and supplying harmonies for a melody usually written in treble clef above the staff for the guitar. The layout of the published songs both by Lemoine and others confirms this utilisation; blocked chords or arpeggios written in a simple subdivision of the beat (usually quavers) can safely demonstrate the harmony and the rhythmic impetus without the knowledge of harmony or basso continuo. It is often clearer on one staff to indicate a harmony with the bass and the chord separated by a rhythmic unit and many accompaniments utilise simple subdivisions of the beat, or a bass with a blocked chord a quaver away (Example 2.6).<sup>55</sup> Using this format for songs a composer could supply both a basic rhythmic pulse and fully realised chords on one staff and with this notation the tradition of variation taught in the method books is easily understood.

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<sup>53</sup> This is noteworthy because the triple time variant had become more common during this period. Meredith Little and Suzanne Cusick, ‘Allemande’ in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.00613>> [accessed 11 November 2020].

<sup>54</sup> Lemoine, *Nouvelle Méthode de Guitarre*, 186.

<sup>55</sup> Guillaume-Pierre-Antoine Gatayes and Antoine Lemoine, *L’amant délaissé: romance / musique par Gatayes; accompagnement de lyre ou guitarre [sic] par Lemoine* (Paris: l’Auteur, c1793).

Example 2.6: Lemoine, *L'amant délaissé*, bar 1-8

The image shows a page of a musical manuscript. At the top left, it is numbered 'N° 63.' and has the instruction 'Con expressione.' written below it. The first staff is a treble clef with a common time signature 'C'. The second staff is labeled 'Guitarre ou Lyre.' and contains a guitar accompaniment with chords and single notes. The third staff contains the vocal line with the lyrics 'De la beau.té qui me dé.laisse pour .quoi toujours m'entrete.' written below it. The fourth staff is a bass clef with a common time signature 'C' and contains a bass line with chords and single notes. The music is written in a historical style with some ligatures and a simple rhythmic notation.

In the opening observation of his *Methode Pour la Guitare*, Guillaume-Pierre-Antoine Gatayes makes several elucidating comments on accompaniments and how to formulate them adequately. Technically he condemns accompaniments that utilise too many strenuous barre chords and the use of rapid striking of the strings using the thumb and index finger, an action he calls *le roue*.<sup>56</sup> In these opening remarks Gatayes offers advice for accompanying advocating simplicity and grace, solo bass notes, or melodic passages in single notes or thirds and sixths create a more pleasing sound than overwhelming percussive effects.<sup>57</sup> Gatayes's remarks on accompaniment go beyond technical advice and cross into the territory of compositional technique. Stating that it is necessary to find

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<sup>56</sup> Guillaume-Pierre-Antoine Gatayes, *Méthode pour la guitare simple et facile à concevoir* (Paris: Gatayes, c1800). Facsimile reprint in *Méthodes & Traités Guitare: France 1600-1800* Vol. 2 (Courlay, France: Editions J. M. Fuzeau, 2003), 199.

<sup>57</sup> 'Une seule note de basse judicieusement employée, est souvent d'un plus joli effet. Après une batterie analogue au chant, faites chanter la guitare a notes simples, ou par tierces, ou par sixtes, faites sentir alternativement des traits de basses graves, des notes medium et peu d'aigues.' 'A single bass note, judiciously used, is often a prettier effect. After a *batterie* analogous to the vocals, make the guitar sing in single notes, or in thirds, or in sixths, alternately feeling low bass lines, medium notes and little treble.' Gatayes, *Méthode pour la guitare*, 198.



times to allow the voice to rest, and that creating echoes of lines the voice just sang in short *ritornelli* should not be neglected. Gatayes does not imply that these remarks are strictly for original compositions but for arrangements, and his comments suggest that these variations, and the decision to add *ritornelli* are a technique *sui generis*.<sup>58</sup> When these comments are considered alongside those found in other method books, the conclusion is that these suggestions are not referring to composition in the twenty-first century sense but to a quasi-spontaneous variation technique. The implicit curriculum of the French methods builds this variation-technique through prelude and song accompaniment. In this sense, improvisation was not a cursory or separate performance activity, but an interwoven aspect of a guitarist's skill development.

### 2.3 Plucked-Strings in the German Confederation

In the eighteenth century, the territories which would become the German Confederation in 1806 were filled with the sounds of a variety of plucked string instruments.

Instruments including the *lyre-guitar*, *terz guitar*, *guitar-theorbo*, the regency lute, and the little-documented instrument known as the *gallichon* or mandora were all being produced in some capacity at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>59</sup> Many anonymous sources exist for both the *gallichone* and the *mandora*, and an exchange in usage between the two

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<sup>58</sup> 'Il faut aussi trouver de jolies entrées qui donnent à la voix le temps de se reposer, des échos qui répètent la fin d'une phrase que la voix vient de faire entendre, quand le morceau le permet des silences mis a propos, sont aussi d'un joli effet. Il ne faut pas négliger une jolie ritournelle; elle fait valoir les couplets qui la suivent, et l'intérêt va ainsi croissant jusqu'à la fin de la romance.' 'You also have to find pretty entries that give the voice time to rest, echoes that repeat the end of a sentence that the voice has just uttered, when the song allows it, silences put in place, are also of a nice effect. We must not neglect a pretty ritornello; she emphasizes the verses that follow her, and interest thus grows until the end of the romance.' Gatayes, *Méthode pour la guitare*, 198.

<sup>59</sup> Taro Takeuchi, 'Rediscovering the Regency Lute: A checklist of musical sources and extant instruments', *Early Music*, 46 (2018), 1-2.

occurred with the *gallichone* declining in reference by 1770 while the *mandora* became more widely referenced up to the 1870s.<sup>60</sup> A plucked-string community thrived in the eighteenth century with many lutenists such as Johann Paul Schiffelholz (1685-1758), Giuseppe Antonio Brescianello (1690-1758), Francesco Conti (1681-1732), Sylvius Leopold Weiss (1687-1750), his son Johann Adolph Faustinus Weiss (1741-1814) and Johann Friedrich Daube (1730-1797), enjoying employment in the royal courts.<sup>61</sup>

The mandora is notable because of its stringing similarities to the guitar featuring five courses and an additional sixth string known as the *chanterelle*. While many tunings existed Giuseppe Antonio Brescianello (1690-1758), in 1730, employed the tuning D G c f a d'.<sup>62</sup> The instrument — tuned in fourths with a third between the second and third course — had an identical interval and stringing pattern as the six-course. This instrument was popular enough for prominent composers to write for it, notably George Philipp Telemann.<sup>63</sup> Daube probably played and wrote for it,<sup>64</sup> as did Johann Georg Albrechtsberger who later wrote three concertos for the mandora and the 'jaw harp'.<sup>65</sup> As

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<sup>60</sup> Preliminary searches through RISM shows this change in usage.

<sup>61</sup> Dieter Kirsch, 'Calichon [mandora, gallichon]' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40919>> [accessed 29 November 2020]; James Tyler, 'Mandora [Calichon, Gallichon]' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.45646>> [accessed 29 November 2020].

<sup>62</sup> The mandora was previously thought to be identical to the colascione but research has verified the mandora had an independent popularity. For more information on tuning and construction see Donald Gill, 'Mandores and Colachons', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 34 (1981), 130-141.

<sup>63</sup> Telemann works catalogue Telemann-Werke-Verzeichnis numbers TWV 53:h1, TWV 44:43 require mandoras.

<sup>64</sup> The calichon was probably used as a late substitute for the lute in continuo sections, but its appearance as a solo instrument found in various manuscripts suggest the solo performances were likely informal and written explicitly for members of the court.

<sup>65</sup> Fritz Meyer, liner notes *Concerto for Jew's Harp, Mandora & Orchestra in E Major: I. Tempo moderato*, CD, Orfeo, C035821A, 1982.

an instrument of the continuo in the first half of the eighteenth century this inclusion is unsurprising but its presence as a soloist in a concerto suggests an affinity for the instrument among aristocrats. The instrument was popular into the nineteenth century with manuscripts for solo repertoire and vocal scores appearing scattered in northern Saxony and Austria.<sup>66</sup> The number of manuscripts support the idea that this instrument took on a role like that of the guitar in Spain, Italy and France. Like the guitar, the mandora was an instrument often used in continuo sections but was increasingly employed in small ensembles, to accompany singers, and was used to play instrumental solos like dances, fantasias or sonatas. It could be speculated that this instrument was primarily an aristocratic one, and that with the fervour of populism spreading across Europe at the onset of the French Revolution, a less aristocratic instrument such as the guitar would have been eagerly picked up by the increasingly empowered working class. Educational materials in the courts largely circulated in manuscript form and thus no methods were ever published for the mandora during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century. Molitor comments on the pleasantness of the lute and the mandora in 1807 and confirms the popularity of these instruments in Vienna at the beginning of the eighteenth century and the decline of their use.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> RISM records many manuscripts by anonymous authors and musicians such as a Joseph Michael Zink (1758-1829), Johann Evangelist Brandl (1760-1837), Benedikt Emanuel Schack (1758-1826) with manuscripts appearing as late as 1870.

<sup>67</sup> ‘... dennoch hatte es zu Anfang des vorigen Jahrhunderts in Wien ebenfalls seine Periode, und machte damals ungefähr das nemliche Glück, wie itzt in der neuesten Zeit die Guitare; auch that die Mandora schon damals wegen ihrer Einfachheit der in ihrer Behandlung künstlicheren Laute merklichen Eintrag. Diefè beiden Instrumente, nemlich die Laute und Mandora, find wirklich so brauchbar, und so angenehm, das sie in allem Anbetracht kaum noch etwas zu wünfchen übrig laßen. Und doch hat der Gebrauch der selben seit

The skills taught by these musicians were certainly transferable and adapted to the guitar, and the techniques and attitudes of these musicians are illustrated in the theoretical treatises written by them. Daube was a noted theorist of the *galant* period but was criticised harshly by Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg for his writings on modulation and accompaniment — mainly for his liberal treatment of dissonance and his reduction of harmony to only three basic chords.<sup>68</sup> This harsh criticism largely consisted of an accusation of plagiarism of the works of Jean-Philippe Rameau, but could also have been because of his association with plucked-string instruments which were often heavily ostracised by critics and theorists. Daube's comments on transposing the three basic chords and how doing so can lead to preluding and improvisation confirms a general focus on improvisation.<sup>69</sup> Daube's method also features a collection of modulations and, although he expresses the nuances of each modulation via a specific bass motion with figures, he also organises them by their root motion (Example 2.7)<sup>70</sup> This practice was adopted by guitarists in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>71</sup>

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der zweyten Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts so fehr abgenommen, daß man sie bei uns fast nur noch der Gestalt und dem Namen nach kennt.' ... Nevertheless, at the beginning of the last century [the Mandora] also had its period in Vienna, and at that time made about the same amount of luck as the guitars now in the modern age; even then, because of its simplicity in handling more artistic sounds the mandora made a noticeable entry. These two instruments, namely the lute and the mandora, are so useful and so pleasant that they leave little to be desired in all respects. And yet the use of the same has decreased in the second half of the last century so that we only know them by their shape and name.' Simon Molitor, *Grand Sonata op. 7* (Vienna: Artaria c1807), 8.

<sup>68</sup> Barbara Kees Wallace, 'J. F. Daube's 'General-Bass in drei Accorden' (1756): A Translation and Commentary' (PhD dissertation, North Texas State University, 1983), 7-9.

<sup>69</sup> 'I would advise that one try the three primary chords in all twenty-four keys; this is very easy because there is such a small number of chords. I know for sure that this practice would be of great use. ... Through this small amount of practice ... One also attains a great ease and skill in preluding ... This would make preluding easier, and it would open the way to improvising [Fantasiren].' Wallace, 'J. F. Daube's 'General-Bass in drei Accorden' (1756): A Translation and Commentary', 269-270.

<sup>70</sup> Wallace, 'J. F. Daube's 'General-Bass in drei Accorden' (1756): A Translation and Commentary', 198.

<sup>71</sup> See pages 144-153 and 248-255.

Example 2.7: Daube, Modulation chart, 1756

In the mid-eighteenth century the lack of practical instruction for beginners in the art of modulation was probably the catalyst for Francesco Geminiani’s treatise *Guida Armonica*. He remarks: ‘no branch ... has been more neglected ... very little has been said of modulation.’<sup>72</sup> By Daube’s death, melody was another often neglected subject<sup>73</sup> and his comments that *fantasiren* is a useful vehicle to practise inventing melodies was probably a widely held attitude among court musicians and especially those who specialised in plucked strings such as Daube.<sup>74</sup>

In May 1755 Daube lost his position as a lutenist and flautist at the court of the Duke of Württemberg, and an increased demand for Italian music set the scene for the eventual import of Italian musicians towards the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>75</sup> Lutenists were relatively well paid in the royal courts up until the beginning of the nineteenth

<sup>72</sup> Francesco Geminiani, *Guida Armonica* (London, 1742), Preface.

<sup>73</sup> This probably led Daube to address the topic in his *Anleitung zur Erfindung der Melodie und ihrer Fortsetzung* (Wien: 1797 (Bd.1), 1798 (Bd.2)).

<sup>74</sup> ‘... and it would open the way to improvising [*Fantasiren*] since the frequent alterations of the —upper voice and of the bass would give the opportunity to invent melodies of all types.’ Wallace, ‘J. F. Daube’s ‘General-Bass in drei Accorden’ (1756): A Translation and Commentary’, 270.

<sup>75</sup> Barbara Kees Wallace, ‘J. F. Daube’s ‘General-Bass in drei Accorden’ (1756): A Translation and Commentary’, 1-2.

century when the lute became less popular. Employment rates and pay at the royal courts in Europe declined from 1790 to 1810 and the populist fervour of the coalition wars may have led plucked string specialists to turn to guitar publications to make a living.<sup>76</sup> Faustinus Weiss's court salary was reduced to a fraction of his father's, and these kinds of economic changes probably led to the publication of a collection of easy duos, Weiss's only currently known works for guitar.<sup>77</sup> Probably feeling the pressure of market forces, even the nineteenth century's most successful lutenist turned to publishing for the guitar.<sup>78</sup>

## 2.4 Methods of the Iberian Peninsula

The methods from France were not solely published by French authors and it can be suggested that the French audience was not necessarily fixated on a French style *per se*. This can be further suggested when considering how important a teaching tool the *folias d'Espagne* became. However, it is clear from the methods that a French style of teaching emerged that was quite distinct from the methods published in Spain and Portugal. Although there are differences regionally between stringing and the preferred language for song, the presence of authors such as the Merchis indicates an affinity for Italian

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<sup>76</sup> A short analysis of salaries for lutenists at the Hapsburg court during the eighteenth century shows most salaries declined by nearly a third, the clearest example can be seen in the drastic difference of S.A. Weiss's salary of 1400 Thaler anuum in 1744, and his son J.A.F. Weiss's salary at 200 Thaler as late as 1813. Timothy A. Burris, 'Lute and Theorbo in 18th-century Dresden: A performance practice study' (PhD dissertation, Duke University, 1997), 25, 31.

<sup>77</sup> Johann Adolf Faustinus Weiss, *Sechs leichte Duette: für zwei Gitarren* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1814).

<sup>78</sup> Faustinus Weiss worked in the Dresden court but performed extensively through Europe earning praise in a time where the lute was considered out of fashion. He saw his salary reduced to 200 Thaler, compared to his fathers. Edward R. Reilly, Douglas Alton Smith and Tim Crawford, 'Weiss family' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.30065>> [accessed 3 September 2020].

musical trends despite the guitar still commonly being called the Spanish guitar. This Italian demand is mirrored in the publications of other educational tools, specifically a demand for those written by musicians trained in Naples.<sup>79</sup> Neapolitan guitar playing reached Paris through publications by the Merchis and, much later, through Ferdinando Carulli and Nicolas-Raphaël Carli.<sup>80</sup> But Italian guitar playing reached Spain first in the seventeenth century via Gaspar Sanz and later Santiago de Murcia. Sanz travelled extensively in Italy and studied under composers such as Cristoforo Caresana (1640-1709) and Lelio Colista (1629-1680).<sup>81</sup> Sanz explicitly states that he learned his accompanying rules through his studies with the great masters in Rome and Naples.<sup>82</sup> This Neapolitan tradition of teaching can be found in adaptations for the guitar in Spain and even further across the world to New Spain and attests to the indomitable reach of Italian musical training during the eighteenth century. Eighteenth-century Spanish methods largely took resources of the past and attempted to sustain the tradition present in Spain for over two hundred years through paraphrase and adaptation of seventeenth- and sixteenth-century teaching tools. These teaching methods largely reinforce skill sets geared towards spontaneous music making and harmonic versatility. Eventually, the

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<sup>79</sup> For more information on French publications of Neapolitan educational tools see Rosa Cafiero, 'The Early Reception of Neapolitan Partimento Theory in France: A Survey' *Journal of Music Theory*, 51 (2007), 137-159.

<sup>80</sup> Pierre-Jean Porro published many works and treatises from famous Italian composers in Paris. But it was the Neapolitan publisher Raphaël Carli (1764-1827) who arrived in Paris in 1807 and was vital for bringing Neapolitan and Roman educational materials to Paris. Richard Macnutt, 'Carli' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.04939>> [accessed 11 November 2020].

<sup>81</sup> Robert Strizich and Richard Pinnell, 'Sanz, Gaspar' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.24565>> [accessed 26 August 2020].

<sup>82</sup> Gaspar Sanz, *Instrucción de musica sobre la guitarra espanola* (Zaragoza: por los herederos de Diego Dormer, 1697) Facsimile edition (Geneva: Minkoff, 1976), 3.

‘classical style’ of playing reached Spain through the works of the Neapolitan Federico Moretti who published his method in Naples and later in Madrid.<sup>83</sup>

This tendency to represent the traditions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is found in the early guitar methods of Pablo Minguet y Yrol, and Andrés de Soto. Minguet y Yrol authored and published many texts in Madrid and on a variety of different topics including magic or sleight of hand<sup>84</sup> and a set of guitar tutors.<sup>85</sup> These publications are largely a reprint or reorganisation of Doctor Juan Carlos Amat’s *Guitarra española, y vandola*<sup>86</sup> but also borrow extensively from Gaspar Sanz’s *Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española*<sup>87</sup> and Murcia’s *Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra*.<sup>88</sup>

This tendency to recycle learning material from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reflects the continued performance tradition of the five-course guitar in Spain but also demonstrates that, despite the change in musical style happening in Spain and elsewhere, a slightly more conservative teaching style persevered. The influence of Murcia and Amat characterised the methods of the mid-eighteenth century through its emphasis on *basso continuo*, performing dance tunes, and accompanying songs.

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<sup>83</sup> Federico Moretti, *Principj per la chitarra* (Naples, 1792) (Reprint Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1983); *Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis órdenes* (Madrid: 1799).

<sup>84</sup> Almonte Howell and Craig H. Russell, ‘Minguet y Yrol, Pablo’ in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.18733>> [accessed 23 August 2020].

<sup>85</sup> Pablo Minguet y Yrol, *Reglas, y advertencias generales que enseñan el modo de tañer todos los instrumentos mejores y más usuales como son la guitarra* (Madrid: 1754); *Reglas y advertencias generales para tañer la guitarra, tiple y bandola* (Madrid: 1774).

<sup>86</sup> Juan Carlos Amat (1542-1642) first published *Guitarra española, y vandola* in c1586. But it was reprinted many times after his death including *Guitarra española, y vandola* (Gerona: Joseph Bró, 1761).

<sup>87</sup> Gaspar Sanz, *Instrucción de musica sobre la guitarra espanola* (Zaragoza: 1674).

<sup>88</sup> Santiago de Murcia, *Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra* (Madrid: 1714).



Minguet y Yrol's *Reglas* reaffirms some of the prior centuries' focus on accompaniment and reiterates the systems designed to streamline the general rules of harmony.<sup>89</sup> *Reglas*, like Andrés de Soto's *Arte para aprender*, repeats the Catalan style of notating chords first written down by Juan Carlos Amat and is the chord system most adopted among these transitional authors.<sup>90</sup> In the Catalan system major and minor chords are indicated via 'N' or 'B' for the natural third and the flattened third (*Naturales, y Bemolados*). All twelve pitches are mapped onto numbers, starting with an E chord (major being 1n, minor being 1b) and moving down by fifths/up by fourths until it arrives on B (12N).<sup>91</sup> The Catalan system is used to quickly notate the harmonic structures found in various dances, and Minguet y Yrol demonstrates how it can be used to quickly notate a passacaglia in all twelve keys (Example 2.8).<sup>92</sup> Where Amat calls these model chord progressions the *passeo*, later authors use *passalles*.<sup>93</sup> Considering this notation style, it is tempting to consider this an aural, or at least semi-aural tradition as the notation shows only the chord shapes — rhythm, melody, articulation and tempo must all have been communicated and learned aurally.

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<sup>89</sup> 'Dice don Santiago de Murcia en su libro, que para acompañar la parte con la Guitarra, es menester que el Acompañante, o Aficionado Sepa bien la música, y descomposición; y si no lo sabe, le será muy dificultoso el poderlo aprender. No obstante, véanse las Reglas Generales que explico para acompañar sobre la parte.' Pablo Minguet y Yrol, *Reglas, y advertencias generales para tañer la guitarra, Tiple, y Vandola* (Madrid: 1774), 15.

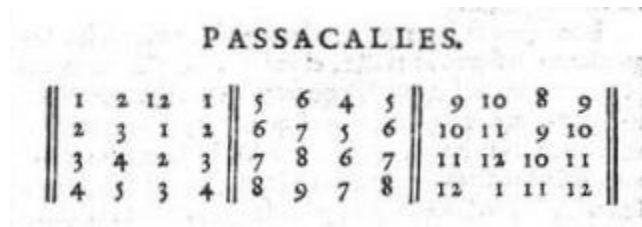
<sup>90</sup> An account of the three different systems is found in the introduction by Ángel Medina Álvarez, Juan Antonio Vargas y Guzmán, *Explicación De la Guitarra* (Cadiz, 1773) Edited with Introductory study by Ángel Medina Álvarez (Granada: Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía, 1994), 13-14.

<sup>91</sup> Minguet y Yrol, *Reglas*, 18.

<sup>92</sup> Minguet y Yrol, *Reglas*, 8.

<sup>93</sup> The connection between these two is probably just a difference in terminology for a variety of dance figures. See Richard Hudson, 'Further Remarks on the Passacaglia and Ciaccona', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 23 (1970), 303-304.

Example 2.8: Minguet y Yrol, *Passacalles* notated using the Catalan system, 1774



The numbered system and its organisation in fifths provide a convenient and easy way of learning how to perform the various Spanish dances. Improvisation in some form must have been a necessary element of this notation as many of the musical components that differentiate each dance (*seguidillas*, *passeos*, *villanos*, *canarios*, *gallarda*) must be created without the use of notation, leaving much freedom to the performer. When some of the musical details are notated, the improvisational tendencies are exposed. This is indicated in the notation choices found in the diagrams at the end of *Reglas* where a melody for the *folias d’Espagne* and a *seguidilla* is written in treble clef with tablature supplied underneath both. Where the notated melody is monophonic, the tablature features a bass line and additional harmony notes with the title ‘Easy *folias d’Espagne*, so that the amateur knows how to understand and execute the plucked style’ (Example 2.9).<sup>94</sup> That all this information could be derived just from a notated dance melody and Catalan chord symbols suggests that the lessons found in *Reglas* were building towards an improvisational skill set. Once a piece was ciphered, a large amount of stylistically

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<sup>94</sup> ‘Folias españolas y fáciles, para que al aficionado sepa entender, y executar, los tañidos de punteado.’ Minguet y Yrol, *Reglas*, 25.

constrained elements needed to be added extempore, and the methods largely served the purpose of teaching a playing style or musical idiom.

Example 2.9: Minguet y Yrol, Dance realisations, 1774

The image shows a page from a music book with two systems of music. The first system is titled "Folias Españolas, y fáciles, para que el aficionado sepa entender, y executar los Tánidos de punteado." It features a treble clef, a 3/8 time signature, and a melodic line with various ornaments. Below it is a guitar tablature line with numbers 1-3 and a 3/8 time signature. The second system is titled "Seguidillas fáciles, y nuevas. Los num<sup>os</sup> del punteado tam<sup>o</sup> sirven para exec<sup>er</sup> los golpes de rasgueado." It features a treble clef, a 3/4 time signature, and a melodic line. Below it is a guitar tablature line with numbers 1-3 and a 3/4 time signature. At the bottom of the page, there is a line of guitar tablature for "Rasgueado" with numbers 1n, 2n, 2n, 1n, 12n, 2n, 1n, 2n, 1n, 2n, 3n, 1n, 2n.

Andrés de Soto's method *Arte para aprender con facilidad, y sin Maestro* is largely a paraphrase of Amat's *Guitarra Española* with near identical texts and many shared diagrams.<sup>95</sup> That de Soto's method was published in Madrid with no reference to Amat beyond the title page implies that this paraphrase and augmentation was a genuine endeavour to supply the amateur students of the day with useful learning materials despite dating back to the sixteenth century.<sup>96</sup> De Soto remarkably even recycles a story found in Amat's *Guitarra española* where the author impresses other guitarists by accompanying their voices in all twelve keys and explains how it is of chief priority for any aspiring guitarist.<sup>97</sup> This story is a preamble written originally by Amat which

<sup>95</sup> The diagrams on page 36, 38 and 51 of Andrés de Soto, *Arte para aprender con facilidad, y sin Maestro* (Madrid: Lopez and Company, 1760) are like pages, 16, 18, and 31 of the 1761 reprint of Juan Carlos Amat, *Guitarra española, y vandola*, (Gerona: Joseph Bró, 1761). That Amat's treatise was published a year before de Soto's suggests this method was still widely used as a teaching device.

<sup>96</sup> Soto, *Arte para aprender con facilidad*, 1.

<sup>97</sup> Soto, *Arte para aprender con facilidad*, 48-50; Juan Carlos Amat, *Guitarra española, y vandola*, (Gerona: Joseph Bró, 1761), 28-31.

introduces a table designed to teaching accompaniment from bass line. By analysing a bass line using the Italian *solfeggio* system a student can understand which chord (in *alfabeto* or the *Catalan* system) is likely to be played over any bass line (Example 2.10).<sup>98</sup> The skills a Spanish guitarist must cultivate are not solely for the reproduction of musical works, nor creating written arrangements. As the Italian solfege system facilitated developing the ability to improvise diminutions, Amat's table provided a useful short-cut for creating accompaniments for those skilled in Italian solmisation.

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<sup>98</sup> Soto, *Arte para aprender con facilidad*, 51.

Example 2.10: De Soto, Table for Accompaniment, 1760

51

**LA TABLA ES ESTA.**

Fa, ut	D	F	h	g	L	M	N	P	Q	R	X	Z
	1	2	4	3	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Sol, re	11	12	2	1	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
La, mi	P	Q	X	R	Z	D	F	G	h	L	m	n
	9	10	12	11	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Fa,	2	3	5	4	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1
Ut, sol	P	Q	X	R	Z	D	F	G	h	L	m	n
	12	1	3	2	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Re, la	10	11	1	12	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Mi	XB	ZB	FB	DB	GB	HB	LB	MB	NB	PB	QB	RB
	8	9	11	10	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

The prevalence of learning materials created over a century earlier is indicative of the continued performance of some of these dance forms well into the end of the eighteenth century, and the popularity of the *folias d'Espagne* in the French methods points to international popularity. But the *folias* written in the French method books 1760 to 1800 can be seen as French interpretations of the types of performances that were probably improvised and not explicitly written down in Spain. Much material in the methods of de

Soto and Yrol requires an aural knowledge of the dances to be able to properly execute a piece. Dance rhythms and right-hand patterns are largely left out of the Spanish instructional materials and this points to the conclusion that these Spanish dance forms were first learned largely through a semi-aural transmission in Spain. Perhaps with a lack of Spanish instructors in France (or merely an increased access to paper), French authors had to describe variation techniques more explicitly as the Spanish dances found in the Spanish methods may not have been familiar to the amateur Parisian audience. This explains why French authors committed the specific rhythmic variation techniques to notation earlier than their Spanish counterparts. The use of *batteries* as a variation technique can be interpreted as a written-out French interpretation of variation techniques that were most likely commonly learned aurally in Spain.

## **2.5 Transitional Authors in Spain and Portugal**

The transitional Spanish authors of this period were concerned with creating systems that allow for transposable and easily remembered patterns for accompanying songs and as a result seldom mentioned any right-hand fingering patterns. The focus for Spanish authors was adapting left-hand shapes and harmonic rules dedicated to accompanying a bass on the guitar. By far the most robust contributions to this goal were published by Juan Antonio Vargas y Guzman. Not much information is known about Vargas y Guzman's life save that his initial treatise was written in Cadiz, Spain in 1773, and two other

manuscripts were found in Veracruz, Mexico, dated 1776.<sup>99</sup> Vargas y Guzman's *Explicación De la Guitarra de Rasgado, Punteado, y haciendo la Parte de el Baxo* is a pivotal text in the history of the guitar and gives a clear account of some of the skills eighteenth-century guitarists accrued. It is also one of the earliest and most robust methods written for the six-course guitar. Vargas y Guzman's presence in Veracruz also provides insight into the musical culture of New Spain.

*Explicación* is a marked departure from De Soto and Minguet y Yrol's methods which primarily reproduce older texts. Vargas y Guzman's text is forward looking and aims to consolidate many systems into one that would satisfy amateur learning but would also push guitarists to undertake more technically advanced accompaniments. In *Explicación*, Vargas y Guzman attempts to consolidate and improve the practical systems of the past such as Amat's Catalan system but builds upon it with a more 'learned system' of accompanying bass lines by adapting for guitar the work of Joseph de Torres's *Reglas de acompañar*.<sup>100</sup> Vargas y Guzman proposes a new style of interpreting chords which simplifies and reorients the Catalan system to make it more versatile as a system designed for tonal flexibility in accompaniment. Vargas y Guzman is explicit in his intentions of creating a new system to replace the old, despite recognising the strengths of the Catalan system. Chapters V-VIII are dedicated to adapting the Catalan system, and showing how

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<sup>99</sup> To date there are two published editions and translations of this method, one which is widely available and another now out of print published in 1986. For more information comparing these manuscripts, as well as a wealth of concise contextual information see Israel Salvador Vazquez Zerecero, 'La Explicación de la Guitarra de Juan Antonio de Vargas y Guzmán' (PhD dissertation, University of Koblenz-Landau, 2015).

<sup>100</sup> Joseph de Torres (1670-1738) was an organist and composer born in Madrid and published a treatise on accompaniment *Reglas generales de acompañar* in 1702 and 1736.





an alteration above it made this system too complex and was not utilised by any author after him.

Additional instructions of improvised performance practice evident in Vargas y Guzman's method are found in a section on the fermata. The indication is that when accompanying the voice, at the *Señal de Calderón* (fermata) a guitarist should arpeggiate whatever chord is placed at the fermata.<sup>102</sup> Vargas y Guzman's emphasis on versatility is exemplified by presenting a table of the *folias Italians* on all twelve tones using his chord system and then provides instruction on how to play a variety of dances in this notation.<sup>103</sup> The emphasis on using the system to play on all twelve tones, along with the lead sheet style in which the dances are presented gives rise to a pedagogical method not unlike the way twenty-first century jazz musicians practise. In the twenty-first century, although jazz standards are usually written in one 'original key,' it is almost required that a musician transposes them often to accommodate performing with different instrumentalists and singers. *Explicación De la Guitarra* is also the first Spanish method to feature lists of right-hand arpeggios, in Chapter Twenty. However, none of the long lists common in the French texts are found. Vargas y Guzman is not as explicit or clear in his instruction on why or how to practise them giving further evidence to the conclusion that variation technique was implicit in the Spanish style but had to be explicitly taught in France.

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<sup>102</sup> Vargas y Guzman, *Explicación De la Guitarra*, 57.

<sup>103</sup> Vargas y Guzman, *Explicación De la Guitarra*, 28.

If the first two treatises of *Explicación De la Guitarra* show Vargas y Guzman's intention to simplify and improve notation of the amateur traditions, the third and final treatise aims to lift the amateur tradition into the realm of the astute and learned by dictating how to read figured bass on the six-course guitar. Vargas y Guzman adapts the rules of harmony for playing atop a figured bass in a *punteado* style that had been similarly attempted by Santiago de Murcia.<sup>104</sup> The treaty is so robust it is possible to draw a direct line in the development of continuo teaching on the guitar from Sanz's *Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra*, to Vargas y Guzman and Salvador Gil's *Principios de música aplicados á la guitarra*.<sup>105</sup> A thorough investigation and comparison of this treatise is outside of the scope of this thesis but some of the pedagogical tools used will find themselves in other forms later in the nineteenth century.<sup>106</sup>

Vargas y Guzman's first notable pedagogical device is the harmonisation of a diatonic scale starting on E. This serves two functions, first a student must be confident reading from the bass clef and second, by presenting in notation and tablature an accompanied diatonic scale, the student can immediately grasp the location of the notes and their implied 'natural' harmonies.<sup>107</sup> Here all harmonies are to be a fifth and a third apart from

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<sup>104</sup> Santiago de Murcia, *Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra*. (Madrid: 1714).

<sup>105</sup> Salvador Gil, *Principios de música aplicados á la guitarra* (Madrid: en la Imprenta de Sancha, 1814). See pages 173-175.

<sup>106</sup> A thorough comparison of the texts by Sanz, Murcia, and Vargas y Guzman and the connection between the latter and Joseph De La Torre is outlined by Vazquez Zerecero, *La Explicación de la Guitarra de Juan Antonio de Vargas y Guzmán*.

<sup>107</sup> 'A esta escala se dice diatónica y natural porque sube el bajo de tono en tono con naturaleza y sin accidente de sostenido o bemol, acompañándose conforme las consonancias que en la propia escala'. Vargas y Guzman, *Explicación De la Guitarra*, 73.

'B' which is to receive a 6-3 chord. Vargas y Guzman follows Murcia and Gaspar Sanz and provides an accompaniment of the scale with major thirds and minor thirds (Example 2.12).<sup>108</sup> Similar scales appear in Minguet y Yrol's *Reglas*<sup>109</sup> with both methods extending as far as an F major chord at the tenth fret, but Minguet y Yrol does not teach harmonising scales in thirds. *Explicación* then continues with its harmonised scales by notating scales up to four sharps and flats, all scales begin with the lowest note on the six-course guitar, as opposed to the tonic of each key. This serves the novel function of separating diatonic harmony from the rule of the octave and adapting it solely to the range of the guitar starting with the lowest possible bass/chord to the highest.

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<sup>108</sup> Vargas y Guzman, *Explicación De la Guitarra*, 73.

<sup>109</sup> Minguet y Yrol, *Reglas*, Folio 45.

Example 2.12: Vargas y Guzman, Harmonised Scales in Thirds, 1773

Signos Naturales

Acompañamiento con Tercera Mayor

Acompañamiento con Tercera Menor

The image displays a musical score for 'Signos Naturales' from Vargas y Guzman's 'Harmonised Scales in Thirds, 1773'. The score is organized into three systems. The first system, titled 'Signos Naturales', features a bass clef staff with a scale of eighth notes in thirds, marked with five '3#' symbols above the notes. Below it is a grand staff with two treble clef staves, labeled 'Acompañamiento con Tercera Mayor', showing a harmonic accompaniment of chords. The second system, titled 'Acompañamiento con Tercera Menor', features a bass clef staff with a scale of eighth notes in thirds, marked with four '3b' symbols above the notes. Below it is a grand staff with two treble clef staves, labeled 'Acompañamiento con Tercera Menor', showing a harmonic accompaniment of chords. The third system consists of a single bass clef staff with a scale of eighth notes in thirds, marked with four '3#' symbols above the notes, and a grand staff with two treble clef staves showing a harmonic accompaniment of chords.

EJEMPLO PRÁCTICO DE LOS SIGNOS NATURALES ACOMPAÑADOS  
CON TERCERAS MAYORES Y MENORES

Vargas y Guzman's method is a near direct adaptation of the teachings of Joseph de Torres's *Reglas generales de acompañar*. He presents the figures for the intermediate and final clauses of each 'tone' or mode, and various bass motions. Each bass movement is based off those from de Torres's *Reglas*, and all are supplied with tablature indicating precise fingerings for each harmony.<sup>110</sup> Vargas y Guzman presents one *ejemplos prácticos* which demonstrates the type of realisation intended by the rules presented earlier (Example 2.13). He suggests students practise his realisation to gain 'promptness' and 'intelligence' in the easy and plain consonances (*fáciles y llanas*) before he proceeds to the more exquisite and difficult (*primorosas y difíciles*).<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Vargas y Guzman, *Explicación De la Guitarra*, 88-124.

<sup>111</sup> 'Y habiendo dejado dicho los modos más fáciles y ordinarios que hay de poner las voces sobre todos los movimientos cantables en que se puede dividir el diapasón y que comúnmente se hallarán en toda especie de acompañamientos, pasaré a demostrar los ejemplos prácticos que para la mayor claridad de las reglas generales y particulares, notas y advertencias respectivamente dadas, se han puesto a continuación de cada una de ellas, con el loable objeto de que el estudioso en esta facultad con el ejercicio de ellos, u otros sus semejantes, consiga la prontitud necesaria e inteligencia precisa en estas consonancias fáciles y llanas, para proceder al uso de las que son más primorosas y difíciles y que en adelante se demostrarán para complemento total de su instrucción y cabal satisfacción mía.' 'And having said the easiest and most ordinary ways that you have to put the voices on all the *movimientos cantables* in which the fretboard can be divided and commonly found in all kinds of accompaniments, I will go on to demonstrate the practical examples that for the greater clarity of the general and particular rules, notes and warnings respectively given, have been placed after each of them, with the laudable object that the student in this faculty with the exercise of them, or others, get the necessary promptness and precise intelligence in these 'flat' easy consonances, to proceed to the use of those that are more exquisite and difficult and that from now on they will be demonstrated to complement your instruction and my complete satisfaction.' Vargas y Guzman, *Explicación De la Guitarra*, 98.

Example 2.13: Vargas y Guzman, *Ejemplos Prácticos*, 1773

Prácticas en la guitarra

The harmonised scales of Vargas y Guzman and Minguet y Yrol resemble the ubiquitous eighteenth-century teaching tool — the rule of the octave. And while Vargas y Guzman

falls short of providing a complete iteration of it, some authors of the time do provide clear examples on five-string guitar (Example 2.14).<sup>112</sup>

Example 2.14: Vargas y Guzman, Partial Rule of the Octave, 1773



Manuel da Paixão Ribeiro's method for the five-course guitar *Nova Arte De Viola*<sup>113</sup> presents the rule of the octave in a shorthand notation utilising both tablature and bass clef (Example 2.15).<sup>114</sup> Ribeiro's studies with *mestre de capela* José Maurício (1752-1815) probably had a strong influence over his instruction on the guitar and represent another example of the cross pollination between organists and guitarists in the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Vargas y Guzman, *Explicación De la Guitarra*, 89.

<sup>113</sup> Manuel da Paixão Ribeiro, *Nova Arte De Viola* (Coimbra, Portugal: Na Real Officina da Universidade, 1789).

<sup>114</sup> Ribeiro, *Nova Arte De Viola*, Estampa VII.

<sup>115</sup> Robert Stevenson, 'Maurício, José (i)' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.18128>> [accessed 23 August 2020].

Example 2.15: Ribeiro, Complete rule of the Octave for five-course guitar, 1789



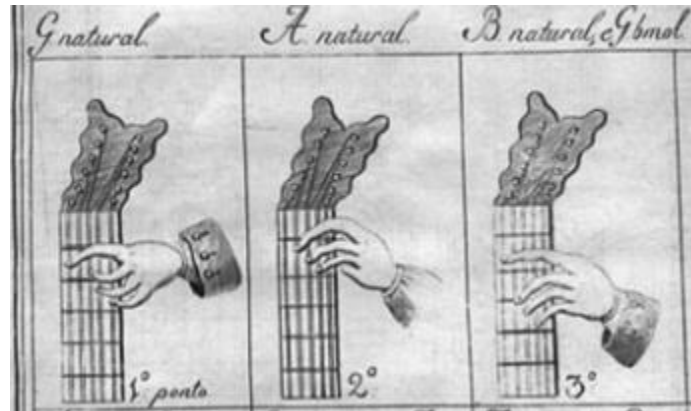
Ribeiro exploited the coincidence that five-course guitar tablature required the same number of lines as a staff of standard notation does and created a hybrid notation where the bass note is written on the same clef as the tablature with the harmony figures on top. *Nova Arte* presents a new presentation of a chord system that resembles the Catalan system and Vargas y Guzman's system by retaining the *Naturales y Bmolados* distinction between major and minor but labels each *punto* based on the seven letter names (Example 2.16).<sup>116</sup> By attaching the chord shapes to the seven letter names Ribeiro creates a chord system virtually identical to the system used in the twentieth century.

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<sup>116</sup> Ribeiro, *Nova Arte De Viola*, Estampa V-VI.



Example 2.16: Ribeiro, Chord diagrams with new names, 1789



The teaching of the rule of the octave, and bass movements suggests a stronger connection between organ training, choral education, accompaniment training and guitar education in Spain and Portugal. The transmission of knowledge being adapted on the guitar is a tradition in Spain spanning nearly 300 years and Fernando Sor's training in the conservatory of Montserrat attests to the perseverance and love of the instrument in the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>117</sup>

## 2.6 The Transition Methods of 1799

The last of the transition methods in Spain were all published in 1799.<sup>118</sup> It is fitting to refer to this year as the end date for this period due to the overwhelming influence of the method by Federico Moretti whose work reflects a type of turning point. But other authors writing in the 1790s provide novel insight into the pedagogical intent of guitarists

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<sup>117</sup> Kenneth Hartdegen, 'Fernando Sor's Theory of Harmony Applied to the Guitar: History, Bibliography and Context' (PhD dissertation, The University of Auckland, 2011), 415-416.

<sup>118</sup> Antonio Abreu and Victor Prieto, *Escuela para tocar con perfección la guitarra de cinco y seis órdenes* (Salamanca, 1799); Fernando Ferandiere, *Arte de tocar la guitarra Española por música* (Madrid: 1799); Federico Moretti, *Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis órdenes* (Madrid: 1799).

thanks to their strong connections to organists and other educated traditions. Victor Prieto was an organist at the Royal Monastery in Salamanca who published a treatise on the guitar that largely adapted the ideas of Portuguese guitarist Antonio Abreu (1750-1820) with various diversions by Prieto.<sup>119</sup> Curiously, this text is focused primarily on the physical aspects of playing the guitar and mentions no substantial instruction on how to accompany the voice, a bass line, or on how to prelude. Dionisio Aguado mentions Antonio Abreu's renowned skill but expresses dissatisfaction that many of his musical skills were not adequately transcribed suggesting perhaps that Antonio Abreu was unable to read standard notation.<sup>120</sup> Despite the orientation towards physical elements of guitar playing, Prieto and Abreu still provide insightful comments on the displeasing elements found in contemporary players and teachers. Regarding contemporary players Prieto/Abreu writes that some players perform too many *ligado* runs, without variation (*carreras ligadas, sin variar*) 'as if the guitar were not of the same class of other instruments who learn early on how to vary arpeggios and other delicacies of the art.'<sup>121</sup> This passing comment hints at the importance that variation technique played in the overall perception of a musician's talent.

These comments suggest a frustration with Spanish guitarists who may have appeared to be more interested in a type of melodic variation technique as opposed to one that is

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<sup>119</sup> Abreu and Prieto, *Escuela* (Salamanca, 1799), Title Page.

<sup>120</sup> Dionisio Aguado, *Escuela de guitarra* (Madrid: 1825), i.

<sup>121</sup> 'A otros, y de éstos muy pocos solo tocar innumerables carreras ligadas de fusas y semifusas, sin variar, como si la Guitarra no tuviera el mismo privilegio que los demás instrumentos, debiendo verificarse oportunamente ya los puntos ligados, ya los picados ya variando de arpegios, dúos, y otros primores del arte, y no contentos con su capricho desean que todo el común de tocadores cautive su entendimiento a sus ideas.' Abreu and Prieto, *Escuela* (Salamanca, 1799), 6.

grounded in a more harmonically ‘learned’ style. Interestingly, the method’s small number of musical examples are fragments of scales, arpeggios and legatos in standard notation and tablature. These fragments are referred to in Abreu and Prieto’s two separated sections on the right hand and left hand, and each group of text that references the examples is filled with instructions that describe the proper physical positioning required to execute passages in each hand.<sup>122</sup> The methods produced in 1799 mark the beginning of a change in the teaching methods used in the last half of the eighteenth century. This is most likely because of two trends: the increased popularity of the guitar among the burgeoning middle class and the influx of highly-educated musicians taking up the instrument. An increased range due to the additional strings added to the reevaluation of the instrument as one that could render all the parts adequately and thus a more ‘perfect instrument’ akin to the keyboard.

Fernando Ferandiere shared the opinion of other authors in his *Arte de tocar la guitarra Española por música* that the guitar is an instrument deserving a similar reputation among the instruments of the orchestra, but states his hope that anyone, with the help of his method, may pick up the instrument and enjoy the pursuit of it for fun and recreation.<sup>123</sup> The culture of amateur recreational learning flourished in the nineteenth century and inevitably forced musicians trained in older eighteenth-century tutelage to

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<sup>122</sup> Abreu and Prieto, *Escuela* (Salamanca, 1799), 48-71.

<sup>123</sup> ‘yo quedaré complacido á el ver que este libro le haya facilitado el haber tocado la Guitarra Española por música, sirviéndole á el que la toca de diversión y recreo; y á el que la oye, de ver que un instrumento nacional (y hasta ahora desconocido) se logra ver entre los instrumentos de orquesta sacando su partido como el mejor.’ Fernando Ferandiere, *Arte de tocar la guitarra española* trans. Brian Jeffery (London: Tecla Editions, 2nd edn 2013), 124.

adapt their methods for the middle class. Having spent most of his life performing as a violinist in various theatres across Spain, Ferandiere shared his time mainly between Cadiz and Madrid. This experience in theatre coupled with his experience as a choirboy while attending the College de Zamora contributed to not only Ferandiere's erudite writing style but his emphasis on practical teaching approaches.<sup>124</sup> This sense for practicality and for the ease of beginners is displayed in his choice to omit scales as the first thing a beginner should learn. Instead Ferandiere chose to introduce the major and minor chords keeping in the Spanish tradition but abandons the *alfabeto* system and instead utilises a system like the one used by Ribeiro. With his feet firmly planted in the nineteenth century Ferandiere labels chords according to their root note which he displays using the seven letter names.<sup>125</sup> While still maintaining the older form of solemnisation to refer to specific pitches, 'postures' are named based on their root notes, not on a physical shape or reference to their natural or flattened third.<sup>126</sup> Teaching chords first exposes the harmonic basis of the guitar and reinforces the explorative aspect of learning an instrument. Knowing the major and minor chords built on the tonalities G A B $\flat$  C D E and F are all a student may need for the guitars most common use: accompanying the voice.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Ferandiere, *Arte de tocar la guitarra española* trans. Brian Jeffery, 7-10.

<sup>125</sup> Ferandiere, *Arte de tocar*, Lamina no. 2.

<sup>126</sup> Ferandiere's system shares this similarity with the one found in Vargas y Guzman's. See pages 91-92.

<sup>127</sup> 'Aunque debía empezarse a aprender por la escala, me parece, que por no causar fastidio á los principiantes se omite por ahora y se empieza por la armonía del posturage, guardando el orden de los signos de la música, que son siete: Gesolrreut, Almirre, Befabemi, Cesolfaut, Delasolrre, Elami, Fefaut. Véase posturas de los siete signos de la música, mayores y menores, núm. 2. Sabidas estas catorce posturas se pasará á el modo de formar los tonos, suponiendo que no hay más tonos en la música que dos, mayor y menor. Véase formación de los tonos mayores y menores' Ferandiere, *Arte de tocar*, 6-7.

After teaching the basic postures, Ferandiere teaches the *formación de los tonos mayores y menores* which combines the major and minor chords to affirm the major and minor ‘modes.’<sup>128</sup> Ferandiere’s method signals a transition in teaching tools; the eighteenth-century methods taught left-hand chord shapes through some type of *alfabeto* or *puntos* system so that students can spontaneously accompany or establish a tonality built on all 12 tones. This older style of instruction in Spain often used terms such as the *laberinto*, from Gaspar Sanz, holding the connotation that the chord system was to be used to explore harmony and modulation. Key areas are one of many destinations a student can modulate towards and possibly get lost in on the way.<sup>129</sup> The joy of improvising is often derived from freely testing a musician’s technical limits, and, through the musical act, transcending them and stumbling upon newly combined ideas previously inaccessible to conscious thought. Ferandiere intentionally does not provide fingerings when he eventually does teach the natural scale on the guitar, suggesting the student will find the appropriate fingering.<sup>130</sup> The idea of finding new technical solutions through play is a common facet of improvised instruction. Students must try passages and test their technique against musical ideas finding new ways of navigating small musical building blocks such as scales and arpeggios. Even in terms of fingerings some authors at this point push towards self-discovery and experimentation. This is especially true when it

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<sup>128</sup> Ferandiere, *Arte*, 7 and plate 3.

<sup>129</sup> An exploration and speculation of the term *laberinto* can be found in Lars Christian Rosager, ‘A Humanistic Reading of Gaspar San’s Instruccion de musica sobre la guitarra Espanola’ (MA thesis, San Francisco State University, 2016), 25-30.

<sup>130</sup> ‘Sigue la primera lección de compasillo, sin el orden de dedos, pues por la escala debe sacar por sí solo los dedos que le corresponden.’ Ferandiere, *Arte*, 12 and plate 9.

comes to the principle of modulation which Ferandiere again providing an insightfully vague description of modulation:

Modulation is the most difficult art in music, because it does not consist merely in shifting key, nor in imperfect cadences, nor in preparing the key-changes, nor in making the changes suddenly and without warning; because then the hearing is pained and offended by an inapposite strangeness, a clumsy shift of key, or a continuous modulation, and is only surprised and charmed when it hears an imperceptible transition which did not seem to be subject to any rule of composition; and these changes of key are what we call modulation.<sup>131</sup>

This curious description via negation is another example of implicit learning. Only by studying many musical examples can the true art of modulation be learnt, and lessons six to eight are designed to understand this activity.<sup>132</sup> Harmony, modulation and accompaniment are techniques a student learns by playing with the rules of composition.

## **2.7 A Neapolitan in Spain: Federico Moretti's Influence**

Federico Moretti was a decorated military officer whose extraordinary achievements as a commander and military author exist only in the shadow of his reputation as a talented musician and guitarist. Moretti was born in Naples into a musical family of nobility, and

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<sup>131</sup> 'La modulación es el arte más difícil de la música, porque no consiste solo en hacer salidas de tono, ni cláusulas burladas, ni prevenir las salidas, ni tampoco hacerlas de golpe sin prevención; porque el oído se lastima, y se resiente de una extrañeza sin tiempo, de una mala salida de tono, y de una modulación continuada, y solo se sorprende y embelesa cuando oye un pasar de tono insensible que parece no estuvo sujeto á ninguna ley de la composición, y estas salidas de tono es lo que llamamos modulación.' Ferandiere, *Arte de tocar la guitarra española* trans. Brian Jeffery, 15-16.

<sup>132</sup> 'La sexta lección servirá para instruirse en el modo de hacer varios géneros de arpeggios, y aprender algo del arte de la modulación. 'La octava lección enseña á tocar con armonía, con melodía y con modulación, y sirve para enseñarse á acompañar' Ferandiere, *Arte*, 13-14.

received his early musical training from Geronimo Masi.<sup>133</sup> Moretti's mother, Rosa Cascone de Moretti, was a well-educated musician of high praise and had contact with many maestri of the Neapolitan tradition.<sup>134</sup> Moretti began his military career in 1796 just before an initial draft publication of his *Principi per la chitarra* went to the printing house of Luis Marescalchi.<sup>135</sup> Moretti's method and teaching show a clear influence from his Neapolitan learning and he wilfully admits that he had to use his own resources and knowledge of music to teach himself the guitar as he could not find a tutor suitable for his abilities. His method probably began as a type of *zibaldone*<sup>136</sup> — miscellaneous writings that he had written as he applied his studies of the general principles of music onto the guitar.<sup>137</sup>

Moretti describes a few activities that bear similarities to the French authors but curiously the term prelude is not used in the 1799 edition, or in the 1792 manuscript.<sup>138</sup> That a term as ubiquitous in the French methods as *prélude* would not appear in either editions by Moretti or any of the Spanish authors would seem strange. However, in a section on the various types of cadences, Moretti reveals an important distinction that bears significance on the rest of his method and many methods in the nineteenth century influenced by it.

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<sup>133</sup> Not much is known about Geronimo Masi. However, he is likely to have been either a relative of Giovanni Masi, or perhaps this was just an alternative name for Giovanni himself. Marita P. McClymonds, 'Masi [Massi], Giovanni' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O008130>> [accessed August 2020].

<sup>134</sup> Ana Carpintero Fernández, 'Federico Moretti, un Enigma Descrifado', *Anuario Musical*, 65 (2010), 82.

<sup>135</sup> Moretti, *Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis órdenes*, 14.

<sup>136</sup> *Zibaldone* were notebooks where students would often keep notes of their musical training, anything from counterpoint exercise to musical ideas or scale fingerings. For more information on teaching methods in Naples and the use of the term *zibaldone* see Peter van Tour, *Counterpoint and Partimento: Methods of Teaching Composition in Late Eighteenth-Century Naples* (Uppsala University; III edition, 2015).

<sup>137</sup> Moretti, *Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis órdenes*, 14.

<sup>138</sup> Moretti, *Principi per la chitarra*.

After descriptions of the perfect and imperfect cadence, Moretti describes three other species, *cadencia excusada*, *cadencia interrumpida*, and *cadencia falsa* or *quebrada*. Moretti was well read and cites Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) and Nicolas-Etienne Framery (1745-1810) for providing a theoretical definition of the word cadence.<sup>139</sup> But Moretti does not use the term *cadencia* in the purely theoretical sense and provided a more practical definition. *Cadencia*, according to Moretti, is the term for ‘the four chords which are generally played before performing a piece of music and serve to express the tone and mode in which the piece belongs.’

I use the word cadence in my guitar principles to express the four chords, which are generally made before playing a piece of music and serve to express the tone and mode to which it belongs.

This modulation is called in Spanish giving the tone, and in Italian making the cadence.<sup>140</sup>

When reading through Moretti’s method the implication is clear, there is an understood practice that is so widespread in Italy and Spain Moretti describes the phenomenon in their colloquial terms, *dar el tono*, or *hacer la cadencia*. The comments in his *Explicacion* reveal that the various cadences found in the 1792 edition are models for the student to learn, memorise and use to ‘give the tone’ — in all but name Moretti is instructing students how to prelude.<sup>141</sup> Moretti, in remarkable clarity, describes the ‘fore-meaning’ (prejudices) that would have informed the interpretation of terms like cadence,

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<sup>139</sup> Moretti, *Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis órdenes*, 32-33.

<sup>140</sup> ‘Uso de la palabra cadencia en mis principios de guitarra para expresar los cuatro acordes, que generalmente se hacen antes de executar una pieza de música, y sirven para manifestar el tono y modo á que pertenece. Esta modulación se llama en español dar el tono, y en italiano hacer la cadencia.’ Moretti, *Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis órdenes*, 33.

<sup>141</sup> Moretti, *Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis órdenes*, 61.



*modulación*, and some aspects of methods as a whole, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The practice-oriented approach of Moretti is echoed in Ferandiere's method, and a consensus is formed: being able to 'give the key' both in practice and in performance is an essential task. Moretti, in the explanation of the last table titled *arpeggios generales*, recommends each student take the time to practise the arpeggios on all tones and modes in any position and any time signature (*compases*) that the student wants.<sup>142</sup> Moretti encourages learning through a practice that only in the twentieth and twenty-first century would be called improvisatory play. Moretti is directing the student to practise by transposing (in different time and key signatures), recombining, and varying basic musical building blocks. These are exactly the pedagogical devices described by Aaron Berkowitz in the twentieth century and this shows that late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century pedagogy both explicitly and implicitly led to improvisational skill.

The practice of reading from a figured bass is widely accepted to have been declining near the end of the eighteenth century. Based on the guitar methods, it was still considered an integral part of a guitarist's skill set up until at least 1774 with the publication of Vargas y Guzman's *Explicación*, and Moretti's method provides evidence that the practice of accompanying from a bass was still highly regarded by 1799. Moretti differentiates between the *basso fundamental* and the *basso continuo*, the study of which

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<sup>142</sup> Moretti, *Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis órdenes*, 63.

would have probably been a part of Moretti's musical study with Masi.<sup>143</sup> Moretti also provides revealing attitudes towards playing solo works on the guitar claiming it too often does not delight or provide any moving effect but instead invokes simply surprise and spectacle. Moretti instead suggests that a guitarist pursue accompaniment as a primary object, 'delighting' in the full accompaniment of voices, and trying to introduce in the accompaniments the melodies and songs which, in an accompanied aria, are normally prepared for violins and oboes.<sup>144</sup> For instrumental music, however, Moretti remarks that there are those who attempt to put in all the harmonies and lines one may find in a symphony, that the French and Italians are already proficient at this, and that he himself attempts this and encourages those who attempt to learn the guitar to pursue this style of playing.<sup>145</sup> Moretti's method is one of the earliest methods for six-string guitars outside of France and due to Moretti's adaption of his Neapolitan learning on the guitar, should be considered an authoritative writer on the subject despite the little music he published.

The eighteenth century was a remarkable period in the development of the guitar. Shifts in style, technique, and performance practice can all be traced through the method books. While it would seem intuitive to make distinctions based on the instrument's stringing, the transition in stringing did not necessarily cause such differences in style or teaching technique. This is especially true in the teaching tools of the Spanish authors who seem to

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<sup>143</sup> Moretti, *Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis órdenes*, 20.

<sup>144</sup> Moretti, *Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis órdenes*, 20.

<sup>145</sup> Moretti, *Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis órdenes*, 20.

have a stronger attachment to the teaching methods of the past. The French texts seem to be more ‘forward’ looking in that they often do not mention figured bass and cater to an amateur audience. Neither of these reactions to the past equate to an abandonment of the practice of teaching basic improvisational skill. The methods show that the French eventually came to a single staff notation that accommodates a performance practice of varying accompaniments with different right-hand *batteries*. Taking the implied directions of authors like Moretti and Ferandiere and the explicit instructions on how to vary printed accompaniments of the French authors it is possible to conclude what types of variations were performed. Preludes were improvised before every piece and also in-between pieces, and accompaniments were probably spontaneously varied when performing off a printed score in treble clef, or freely improvised from a basso continuo. In more informal settings it is more than likely that guitarists freely improvised song accompaniments in a plucked or broken style while either the guitarist or other musicians sang popular tunes.

It is a direct result of the teaching methods that focus on exploration, combination and transposition that would have provided students with the physical capacity to improvise. This is attested to in the various accounts of how important it was to have a fully chromatic ability to accompany in all twelve keys. As the eighteenth century ended this did not disappear as is shown by the various preludes on every tone, and through the extensive instruction of cadences by Moretti. Practising from late eighteenth-century methods in the twentieth century, with the modernist prejudices of *werktreue* towards pedagogy, results in receiving these methods as encyclopaedias of physical techniques for

executing musical works. But the differences in terminology and educational value of key terms like cadences, or even the role of ‘works’ like preludes, indicate there is a vastly different pedagogical intent. It is up to the one who practises to understand these modernist ‘fore-meanings’ and adjust practice expectations appropriately. The use of labyrinth-like educational tools were intentionally conceived to leave out elements which the student will arrive at only through play and inductive reasoning, but it is the activities most practiced in the musical community, that is, eighteenth-century prejudices, which informs this play. Resuscitating improvisation in the twenty-first century will require addressing these Modernist prejudices and the role they play in informing skill development whenever a musician practises.

# Chapter 3 The Middle Period Methods

## 3.1 Nineteenth-Century Guitar Communities

The establishment of the ‘Guitar Community’ as a cultural entity has its roots in the nineteenth century and can be explained as a collision of three central phenomena. Firstly, the creation of an avid upper-middle class consumer base, many of which were women,<sup>1</sup> whose demand for music making was driven by two increasingly more affordable instruments, the guitar and the piano. Secondly, the presence of many publishers who also happened to be guitarists played a part in spreading new music and method books. This played a large part in sustaining many guitarists’ incomes and this sizeable guitar economy sustained the availability of materials for an instrument that was widely disparaged by critics.<sup>2</sup> Guitar publishers and prominent guitar societies saw the creation of an economic infrastructure that created a sizable incentive for the publication of materials supporting amateur music making. The publication of guitar music, mostly songs in a variety of different genres with guitar accompaniment, was supplemented by the publications of journals, method books, and eventually solo musical works. This publishing industry contributed to a thriving community that supported local teachers and travelling musicians alike. Thirdly, the demand for Italian music coincided with a large influx of Italian emigration, which brought Italian guitarists to Spain, Germany, England, and France. These three components ripened the condition for a thriving community and

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<sup>1</sup> Christopher Page, ‘Being a guitarist in late Georgian England’ in *Early Music*, 46 (2018), 12-14.

<sup>2</sup> Erik Stenstadvold, ‘“We hate the guitar”: prejudice and polemic in the music press in early 19th-century Europe’ *Early Music*, 41 (2013), 595-604.

was sustained by the commercial success of performers such as Mauro Giuliani, Fernando Sor, Ferdinando Carulli, and even Niccolò Paganini. Italian musicians had a strong influence on the community for most of the nineteenth century, prominent exponents of the guitar include the Neapolitans Federico Moretti and Carulli, and northerners Matteo Carcassi, Francesco Molino and Francesco Bathioli. Where these Italian musicians settled or performed played an important role in establishing guitar communities.

In the nineteenth century, the disparities between regional teaching methods shrank as publications became funnelled through large European capitals of which Paris was the most important. Few guitarists could escape the pull of the French capital and it was here that, as in the eighteenth century, the rate of publications increased. Despite the centre of activity in Paris, publications also increased in German speaking cities, of which Leipzig, Offenbach, and Vienna showed the most popularity. Vienna eventually developed a strong guitar community, with the presence of Giuliani at the forefront but Vienna hosted several Austro-Hungarian composers such as Simon Molitor, Anton Gräffer, and the prominent guitarist and publisher Anton Diabelli. The relative lack of publication of guitar methods in Germany before 1800 was a product of the unique dominance of aristocratic culture that produced many manuscripts of educational material for other plucked string instruments such as the mandora.<sup>3</sup> This culture was challenged

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<sup>3</sup> RISM records many manuscripts by anonymous authors and musicians such as a Joseph Michael Zink (1758-1829), Johann Evangelist Brandl (1760-1837) and Benedikt Emanuel Schack (1758-1826) with manuscripts appearing as late as 1870.

significantly with the onset of the Napoleonic wars, and the populist ideas that spread throughout Europe in the aftermath. As a result, the middle-class economy that demanded guitar publications in Paris developed later in the German Confederation. It is probable that Napoleon's first conquest of Vienna in 1805 spurred this development, and indeed after 1806 publications of methods began to increase significantly, although the arrival of Napoleon also coincided roughly with that of Giuliani.<sup>4</sup> This coincidence of revolutionary ideas with a rising guitar celebrity probably cemented the instrument's amateur audience for the next three decades. From 1810 onwards the guitar became increasingly more popular in Vienna, and despite the congress of Vienna reaffirming aristocratic power as a cultural force, the guitar would remain an instrument with enough demand to create its own subculture across the German speaking countries.

Paris developed a demand for guitar methods earlier than other European capitals, and some of this is, in part, due to Italian authors finding a demand for their teaching methods among the Parisian middle-class. The French Revolution saw large, violent shifts in Parisian cultural life take place between 1789 and 1820 and the emergence of a phenomenon known as the public sphere in the decades prior to the revolution probably played a role in cultivating this demand.<sup>5</sup> The five-course guitar was certainly a popular

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<sup>4</sup> See Philip James Bone, *The Guitar and Mandolin* (London: Schott, 1954), 123. For more updated information on Giuliani's years in Vienna see Michael Lorenz, 'New Light on Mauro Giuliani's Vienna Years' <<http://michaelorenz.blogspot.com/2015/04/new-light-on-mauro-giulianis-vienna.html>> [accessed 2 November 2020].

<sup>5</sup> Much has been written about this phenomenon first coined by Jürgen Habermas in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* in 1962. Since then, much analysis has been conducted into the cultural impact of privately owned 'public spaces' such as coffee houses, salons and taverns. David A. Bell, "The Public Sphere", the State, and the World of Law in Eighteenth-Century France', *French Historical Studies*, 17 (1992), 912-934; Thomas Brennan, 'Taverns in the Public Sphere in 18th-Century Paris', *Contemporary Drug Problems*, 32 (2005), 29-43.

instrument with French nobility in the seventeenth century but the reputation of the six-string ‘Spanish guitar’ leaned more towards an instrument for women and peasant boys and this probably made it fashionable for those who sympathised with anti-monarchical sentiment. This coincided with an increased availability of music for the guitar, and the community purchasing that music coalesced around privately-owned business and cultural centres. Wealthy entrepreneurs, their off-spring, and sometimes poorer working-class students all vied for social prestige with old aristocratic power. Social events and gatherings coalesced around coffee shops, taverns, and most significantly private salons which were most-often organised and run by well-to-do women. The intimacy of the salons, not the grandeur of the concert hall, served as the ideal performance venue for the guitar, creating the *mise-en-scène* for a growing guitar community frequented by aristocrats and ‘new-money’ alike.

### **3.2 The Pedagogy of Preluding**

Charles Doisy published a seminal method at the turn of the century that exemplifies the transition from the early methods to the middle period methods of the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Despite being written for both the five and six-course guitar, this forward-looking method established tropes and teaching techniques that echoed throughout the nineteenth century. Doisy’s method is the first appearance of the rule of the octave in staff notation on the treble clef and is a precursor to the classical tradition regarding texture and technique. Doisy does not offer much explanation as to why he included this

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<sup>6</sup> Charles Doisy, *Principes généraux de la Guitare à cinq et à six cordes, et de la lyre* (Paris: chez l’auteur, c1801).



device but included harmonised minor and major scales on all the natural tones, using the typical eighteenth-century style employing B natural minor and Bb Major.<sup>7</sup> Doisy remarks that these are the harmonised scales most common to the guitar, and in the following lessons provide more instruction for improvisation by providing model preludes (Example 3.1)<sup>8</sup>

Example 3.1: Doisy, Model prelude before a guitar accompaniment, c1802

The image shows a page from a music book with the title "Romanze aus den Califen von Bagdad." at the top. The score is written for voice and guitar. The vocal line is in the upper staff, marked "Amoroso." and contains the lyrics: "Selt er be - herzt mit star - ken". The guitar accompaniment is in the lower staves, featuring a complex arpeggiated pattern. At the bottom of the page, there is a note: "bedeckt bis zum aten Platze, und der untere Accord mit dem Daumen gerissen." The paper is aged and yellowed.

This lesson is immediately followed with a multitude of model preludes.

Preluding is the best opportunity for the guitar to play beautifully. Here follow, as examples, a few chords that can be arpeggiated at will, and from which it is possible to make little preludes in the most common tones. They are all the easier to execute because they never go beyond the third position.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Charles Doisy, *Vollständige Anweisung für die Guitarre* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Hartel c1802), 31-55.

<sup>8</sup> 'Als Beispiel eines Präludiums und eines Ritornells kann folgende Romanze aus dem Califen von Bagdad dienen.' Doisy, *Vollständige*, 58.

<sup>9</sup> 'Im Präludieren ist für die Guitarre vorzüglich die beste Gelegenheit schönem Gang zu machen. Hier folgen, als Beispiele, einige Accorde, die man nach Willkür arpeggieren kann, und woraus es möglich ist, kleine Präludia in den gebräuchlichsten Tönen zu machen. Sie sind umso leichter auszuführen, weil sie nie über den dritten Platz Gehen.' Doisy, *Vollständige*, 60.

Doisy described the collection of chords as a ‘suite d’accords dont on peut former un petit prélude à chaque position. On peut aussi les arpeger.’<sup>10</sup> He utilises the same harmonic schema and transposes it up by step utilising the same fingering for each new key. Doisy offers the familiar eighteenth-nineteenth century remark that preluding is a vital skill for development and that it is used for practising arpeggios.<sup>11</sup> This is different from the pedagogical intent indicated by Pierre-Jean Porro who remarked that preluding is used for learning the left-hand positions of the guitar; despite minor nuances expressed among authors the overall attitude towards preluding was favourable for developing technique.<sup>12</sup> Doisy’s 1801 publication of *Vollständige Anweisung für die Guitarre* in Leipzig is not an exact translation of *Principes généraux de la Guitare* despite the close publication date. The French publication features a section devoted solely to accompanying the voice which does not appear in the German edition. The presence of Doisy’s method in Leipzig, and the removal of a substantial section on accompaniment is curious, but it shows that the guitar must have had an audience in Leipzig by 1802. The abandonment of a section on vocal accompaniment provides some clues to explain some of the derogatory comments written about the guitar and vocal accompaniment later in the century.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> ‘A suite of chords on which to form small preludes on each position. We can also arpeggiate them.’ Charles Doisy, *Principes généraux*, 59.

<sup>11</sup> ‘Fortsetzung einiger Accord, woraus kleine Präludia in jedem Platze gemacht werden können, und welche auch zum Arpeggieren dienen. Von den dritten Plätzen bis zum Zehnten ist der Fingersatz nicht mehr angezeigt, weil er der nämliche ist, wie zweiten Plätze.’ ‘Continuation of some chords, from which little preludes can be made in any place, and which also serve for arpeggiating. From the third place [position] to the tenth the fingering is no longer indicated because it is the same as the second place.’ Doisy, *Vollständige*, 61.

<sup>12</sup> See page 69.

<sup>13</sup> See page 152.

The first methods to appear in Saxony, Prussia, and Austria were tutors written by Johann Heinrich Carl Bornhardt, Friedrich Guthmann and J. T. Lehmann. Both Bornhardt and Lehmann's tutors were popular enough to warrant consistent editions and new releases from 1802 until 1850<sup>14</sup> with the latter publishing several songs with guitar accompaniment.<sup>15</sup> A similar amateur community to that seen in France in the last decades of the eighteenth century seems to have developed in Berlin, Leipzig and other German speaking cities roughly fifteen years later. Bornhardt's early methods resemble the French methods featuring short modulatory pieces in an unmeasured arpeggiated prelude style and in a variety of keys. In Bornhardt's 1820 method, keys with one flat and up to four sharps were the only keys presented and the method ends with solo vocal pieces.<sup>16</sup> Bornhardt's posthumous method was released in 1850 and the teaching methods changed, instead of prioritising vocal accompaniment and preludes, scales and cadences on all twenty-four keys were provided before any piece was presented.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Erik Stenstadvold, *An annotated bibliography of guitar methods, 1760-1860* (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 2010), 7.

<sup>15</sup> Carl Bornhardt, August Harder, and other guitarists were reviewed favourably in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, Leipzig's most influential music journal c1798-1848. In 1799 a reviewer of a collection of songs by Bornhardt noted that 'so little music is being written for this soft and charming but admittedly limited instrument.' This largely confirms that the instrument was not as popular as it was in Paris. Stenstadvold, "'We hate the guitar': prejudice and polemic in the music press in early 19th-century Europe', 598.

<sup>16</sup> Johann Heinrich Carl Bornhardt, *Anweisung die Guitarre zu spielen und zu stimmen* (Mainz c1820), 5-6.

<sup>17</sup> Johann Heinrich Carl Bornhardt, *Kleine Guitarre-Schule nebst einem Anhang von Übungsstunden und Liedern* (München c1850), 6-7.

Lehmann employs both numerical tablature and notation, and this remained until the fifth edition published in 1830.<sup>18</sup> Utilising similar techniques to the French methods of the late eighteenth-century, he offers left-hand chord shapes for the I and V chords in all twelve keys, and then presents many right-hand variations on these chords. This approach is like using a harmonic schema like the *folies d'Espagne*, which was so ubiquitous in Parisian methods, for developing *batteries*. In Lehman's method the stylistically specific *folies* were replaced with more stylistically ambiguous chord structures and he notates them in more diverse key areas. All of Lehmann's exercises are written in this canvas-variation presentation which demonstrates that nineteenth-century guitar music still had a chord-focused pedagogy (Example 3.2).<sup>19</sup> But Lehmann's use of this technique also shows that regarding the development of technique, using right-hand variations upon a variety of left-hand chords was an effective strategy and was later utilised by Louisa Kirkman c1840 for teaching modulation.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Johann Traugott Lehmann, *Neue Guitarre-Schule* (Leipzig: Hofmeister, c1830); *Nouvelle méthode pour la guitarre ou règles les plus simples pour apprendre à pincer cet instrument sans maître* (Leipzig: Hofmeister c1840); *Neue Guitarre-Schule oder die einfachsten Regeln die Guitarre auch ohne Lehrer spielen zu lernen* (Leipzig: Hofmeister c1830).

<sup>19</sup> Lehmann, *Neue Guitarre-Schule* (Leipzig : Hofmeister, c1830), 15-22, 26-30.

<sup>20</sup> See page 231.

Example 3.2: Lehmann, Canvas-variation notation, c1830



Many Italian guitarists travelled through Austria, Saxony and Prussia before Giuliani's arrival in Vienna c1806.<sup>21</sup> Joseph Rotondi d'Arailza was the first Italian to publish a Viennese method in 1804,<sup>22</sup> and Bartolomeo Bortolazzi's *Nuova ed esatta Scuola per la Chitarra* followed a year later.<sup>23</sup> An emphasis is placed on harmonic versatility, and the practice methods associated with them are clear. Bortolazzi begins his method with scales across the entire fretboard in every key followed by 'cadenza' built upon the three fundamental chords of I, IV and V. In the nineteenth century an importance was placed on the explicit teaching of harmonic progressions and cadences in as many positions and keys as possible.<sup>24</sup> Here spontaneous variation is an implicit outcome, but Bortolazzi

<sup>21</sup> The biography of Giuliani is now in its third edition: Thomas F. Heck, *Mauro Giuliani: A Life for the Guitar* (Guitar Foundation of America; 3rd edn., 2013).

<sup>22</sup> Rotondi d'Arailza's origins are unclear. He published primarily in Vienna and Joseph is likely the Germanified version of the pianist and guitarist, Giuseppe Rotondi d'Arailza mentioned in Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1903), 332. François-Joseph Fétis mentions a Spanish guitarist 'Arailza' but it is unclear if this was the same author and Fétis was mistaken or if these two names are unrelated. François-Joseph Fétis, *Revue musicale* (Paris: M. Fétis, 1831), 12. Philip J. Bone does not mention Rotondi and biographical information is scarce. Joseph Rotondi d'Arailza, *Neue gründliche Anweisung zur Erlernung der Guitarre mit sechs Saiten* (Vienna: J. Eder, 1804).

<sup>23</sup> Bartolomeo Bortolazzi, *Nuova ed esatta Scuola per la Chitarra* (Vienna: Tobias Haslinger, c1805).

<sup>24</sup> Bortolazzi, *Nuova ed esatta Scuola*, 2-4.

leaves no discovery to the student. Bortolazzi exhaustively wrote fingerings and arpeggiations for the primary chords in every major and minor key in three different positions, as well as alterations that utilise each of their inversions. This is followed immediately with different right-hand variations, often containing passing notes or neighbour tones.

The conclusion of Bortolazzi's method is a fantasia which modulates in typical prelude form through various keys and this type of modulatory exercise was nearly ubiquitous in guitar methods of the nineteenth century.<sup>25</sup> Bortolazzi's comments are sparse, and they resemble the typical format of an eighteenth-century method: position studies followed by examples of how to utilise those positions. This format seems to be designed for style acquisition and developing a student's ability to create modulating preludes. The teaching techniques utilised here are an echo of the teachings of authors like Johann Friedrich Daube who described the logical progression of skills: preluding and basso continuo leads to an understanding of how to compose fantasias (improvise).<sup>26</sup> Many of these early methods by now unfamiliar names must have been very successful due to the lack of any real substantive method by Mauro Giuliani until 1812.<sup>27</sup>

Expanding on the efforts of the French methods nearly thirty years before, methods published in Vienna featured more explicit efforts to teach harmonic versatility by

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<sup>25</sup> See pages 144-153 and 246-266.

<sup>26</sup> See pages 80-81.

<sup>27</sup> Mauro Giuliani, *Studio per la Chitarra op.1* (Vienna: Artaria & Comp., 1812).

featuring cadences, preludes and modulations. Like the methods of Baillon, and Lemoine, two methods published in 1811 and 1812 by Anton Gräffer signal the increased effort to maximise the pedagogical intent of the late eighteenth century.<sup>28</sup> The 1811 edition of Gräffer's method features a lengthy section on music theory and is followed by a *Practischer Theil* — his 1812 method is a reprint of this practical part. The practical part of Gräffer's method focuses heavily on fretboard harmony and a familiarity of scales and cadences in each key. First the simplest keys and their fundamental chords are displayed along with a brief instruction of scales in a variety of different intervals. Gräffer incorporates a pianistic approach to teaching harmony ensuring all cadences are strictly in four parts, and with model cadences where the fundamental is doubled on different string sets.<sup>29</sup> After extensive sections on the cadences in every key Gräffer presents a table of modulations from C, G, D, A, E, F major, E and D minor, to all the 'natural key' areas.

The first large deviation from custom found in Gräffer's method is in the style of his preludes. This section of preludes is affirmatively more classical in style and texture, more resembling *etudes* than the arpeggiated preludes published between 1770 and 1790. Before 1810 preludes were mostly in an arpeggiated texture and many Italian authors sustained this tradition past 1810, but Gräffer's preludes are more contrapuntal and mark the development of a more 'Germanic' style. Gräffer provides a definition for prelude

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<sup>28</sup> Anton Gräffer, *Gitarre-Schule* (Wien: Strauß, 1811).

<sup>29</sup> Gräffer, *Gitarre-Schule*, 15.

and fantasia, stating fantasia is usually done by experienced composers.<sup>30</sup> His definition of a prelude also provides an indication of the growing distinction between music and musical works: ‘Preamble, prelude, entrance to the following. Initial playing on the organ or on the main instrument before music — before a piece — is called preluding’<sup>31</sup> The attitudes towards preluding are also alluded to in a disparaging quote by Simon Molitor which Gräffer repeats:

Up until now, most of the guitar compositions are as little suitable as is the playing of most guitarists to satisfy the listener. Useless playfulness, arpeggiating irregular chords, and artificial artistry not appropriate to the instrument give the art connoisseur a bad opinion of the instrument.<sup>32</sup>

This *Tändeleyen* (useless playfulness)<sup>33</sup> and *Künsteleyen* (artificial artistry)<sup>34</sup> were possibly the formulaic patterns that appeared as preludes in the French methods. It is also

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<sup>30</sup> ‘Fantaisie, wenn ein geübter Spieler oder Compositieur Gedanken regellos, doch ohne das Gehör zu beleidigen, spielt oder schreibt.’ Fantaisie, when an experienced player or composer plays or writes thoughts without rules, but without offending the hearing.’ Gräffer, *Gitarre-Schule*, 49.

<sup>31</sup> ‘Praecambulum, Präludium, eigentlich Vorspiel, Eingang des folgenden. Vorläufiges Spielen auf der Orgel, oder auf dem Hauptinstrumente vor einer Musik – vor einem Stücke – wird präludieren genannt.’ Gräffer, *Gitarre-Schule*, 49.

<sup>32</sup> ‘Der größte Theil der Gitarre-Compositionen ist bis jetzt noch so wenig, als das Spiel der meisten Guitarristen geeignet, den Zuhörer zu befriedigen. Tändeleyen, arpeggieren regelloser Accorde, dem Instrumente nicht angemessene Künsteleyen bringen den Kunstkenner eine schlechte Meinung für dieß Instrumente ben.’ Simon Molitor, quoted in Gräffer, *Gitarre-Schule* (Wien: Strauß, 1811), 5.

<sup>33</sup> In translating the word Tändeley I have used the definition in the *Grammatisch-Kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart (Ausgabe letzter Hand, Leipzig 1793–1801)*, digitised version in *Wörterbuchnetz des Trier Center for Digital Humanities, Version 01/21*: ‘Useless movements carried out merely to pass the time or for pleasure, and, in a wider sense, any occupation of this kind with insignificant trifles or useless things ... The French are more inclined to Tändeley than the Germans.’ Johann Christoph Adelung, ‘Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart mit beständiger Vergleichung der übrigen Mundarten, besonders aber der oberdeutschen. Zweyte, vermehrte und verbesserte Ausgabe’ (Leipzig: 1793-1801), 528. <<https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/Adelung>> [accessed 3 September 2020].

<sup>34</sup> *Künsteleyen* appears to be disparaging: ‘a work produced by the artificial.’ Johann Christoph Adelung, ‘Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart mit beständiger Vergleichung der übrigen Mundarten, besonders aber der oberdeutschen. Zweyte, vermehrte und verbesserte Ausgabe’ (Leipzig: 1793-1801), 1833. <<https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/Adelung>> [accessed 3 September 2020].



possible they refer to the irregular recreational playing that the French texts probably endeavoured to address. Either interpretation supports the idea that Gräffer and other German speaking authors changed their method for teaching preludes from one that utilised a prelude canvas to one that primarily utilised model comparison. Gräffer's preludes are less formulaic, utilise more complex left-hand shapes that include suspensions and signal a strong shift to a clearer, more 'classical' style. They are often in a two and three-voice texture but still utilise a general pattern of left-hand shapes with right-hand variations designed to imitate more pianistic textures (Example 3.3).<sup>35</sup>

Example 3.3: Gräffer, Prelude, 1830

The image displays a handwritten musical score for a prelude by Gräffer, dated 1830. It consists of two systems of music, each with a treble and bass clef. The first system is marked '1.' and is in 2/4 time. The second system is marked '2.' and is in 6/8 time. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and fingerings. A section of the second system is labeled 'III. Position.' and features a double bar line. The manuscript is written on aged, yellowed paper.

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<sup>35</sup> Gräffer, *Gitarre-Schule*, 34.

Students were expected to take their newly-acquired knowledge of cadences and modulations and begin forming their own preludes in this style. Bathioli teaches direct transpositions similarly to this in his own series of methods.<sup>36</sup> The model preludes written by Gräffer were probably used as example to base an improvised prelude on instead of directly to be used as a canvas. This is different from the description given by Moretti which suggested that arpeggiating the primary chords sufficed as a prelude. Preludes quickly evolved among guitarists as a genre deserving more compositional forethought, and Gräffer probably composed his preludes to move beyond the ‘useless playfulness’ described by Molitor. This trend of more sophisticated preludes becomes especially evident in the German texts, but this did not mean that the pedagogy surrounding prelude changed significantly. No clearer is this demonstrated than in the method of Francesco Molino.

The year 1813 marked the formation of a more connected guitar network with the publication of both Giuliani’s Op.1 and Francesco Molino’s *Nouvelle Methode*.<sup>37</sup> Pedagogical ideas seemed to travel faster after 1813, and a degree of uniformity appeared in the method books after this time. Francesco Molino (1768-1847) was born in Irvea, but he travelled extensively, and settled in Paris in 1820. *Nouvelle Methode* is a remarkable method not least because of its direct synthesis of some of the Italian, French and German trends seen over the previous twenty years. The method features the rule of the octave, like Doisy, but also exhibits a clearer ‘classical style’ found in Gräffer and this can be

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<sup>36</sup> Francesco Bathioli, *Gemeinnützige Guitareschule* (Vienna: A Diabelli und Comp., c1827), 35.

<sup>37</sup> Francesco Molino, *Nouvelle Méthode pour la Guitarre* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel 1813).

seen on display in the model preludes. Like Gräffer and many others a similar emphasis is placed on harmonic versatility, but Molino has a talent for crafting a smooth gradient of skill progression.

Molino's first piece of music is one theme with thirty-six variations which, as noted in the discussion of Bornhardt, have effectively replaced the pedagogical purpose once held by the *folies d'Espagne* in the previous three decades. The theme and variation are meant to learn not only right-hand arpeggios patterns, but variation patterns more broadly and utilise passing tones and chromatic embellishments.<sup>38</sup> These variation techniques are immediately followed by ornaments and explanations of some of the variation techniques used in the theme and variations. A large portion of Molino's method is concerned with preparing the student to play with each key. The rule of the octave (*harmonique ou d'accompagnement*) written in C major and A minor are immediately followed by demonstrations of typical right-hand variations over the rule of the octave, and then a composed prelude and a short piece.<sup>39</sup> The rule of the octave is presented in all other keys but the explicit variations upon the device demonstrated in C major and A minor disappear — heavily implying the student should play with the rule of the octave in the manner indicated by the examples on C and A. The model preludes Molino offers are a departure from the *canevas* preludes seen in the late-eighteenth-century French methods,

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<sup>38</sup> Molino, *Nouvelle Méthode pour la Guitarre*, 13-27.

<sup>39</sup> Molino, *Nouvelle Méthode pour la Guitarre*, 35-59.

featuring contrapuntal imitative voices, chromatic shifts in harmony and a more recognisable ‘classical style.’

As a composer, Molino put much pedagogical forethought into each prelude. Shapes pulled from each subsequent rule of the octave begin to appear in other keys demonstrating the beginnings of modulation technique. The impression is that a significant amount of inductive reasoning must occur on the part of the student, but another phenomenon is in play. The presentation of similar motor functions (fragments of the rule of the octave) in a variety of different contexts entails that novel motor skills become functional motor skills. The transition of novel to functional motor skills entails practising stylistically probable patterns (such as scale, arpeggio or cadence patterns) with the intention of utilising them for other purposes beyond the reproduction of a musical work. Common musical activities that use functional motor skills are precluding and modulating, and sight reading. In Molino’s case these functional motor skills are developed by first practising novel skills (fragments of the rule of the octave), identifying them in the model preludes, and eventually learning to apply those context-sensitive motor skills towards a student’s own prelude. By developing particular automated responses to the harmonies of the rule of the octave a sense knowledge of the compositional style is developed — the student learns to play with the style, not merely pieces from it. The role of precluding in learning and mastering different positions as echoed by Porro was the preferred mode of teaching even into the 1820s and 1830s. As the performance practice and skill of guitarists grew, the *grande prelude* advanced

musically and yet was still the occasion where musicians would improvise, warm up their fingers, and tune their instrument.<sup>40</sup>

Collections of written out preludes for noble patrons were popular, Emilia Giuliani's *Sei Preludi* written for Luigi Moretti were likely a type of musical gift from one famous virtuoso to a less famous 'dilettante.'<sup>41</sup> Similar dedication preludes can be found throughout the nineteenth century but were probably intended for dilettantes and wealthy amateurs to flaunt their friendship with a famous composer rather than purely pedagogical exercises. The use of even more elaborate preludes as a *canevas* for improvisation could have been expected especially given the encouragement for transposition by a few nineteenth century authors like Aguado and Bruni. And even when the indication for transposition is not evident many authors teach explicitly the process of transposition because of its didactic ease. Transposing shapes with zero open strings require merely shifting a position up or down a fret. Here is where preludes in many keys can be learned easily via transposition and some authors choose to take advantage of this. Despite the author not explicitly stating this, it is clearly the implicit effect of working through the small preludes of Bénigne Henry's method where the exact same prelude is

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<sup>40</sup> A 'miscellaneous misery' by a London woman: 'Sigh XXX. Being requested to play at a house where the harp and guitar are kept as mere pieces of furniture ... half of the dry old strings break, and you replace them with others, which, not having been stretched, go out of tune every minute; and you are obliged to stop in the midst of your grand preludes to screw up the refractory notes.' Louisa H. Sheridan (eds), *The Comic offering: or, Ladies' melange of literary mirth* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1831), 218.

<sup>41</sup> Emily Giuliani was the virtuoso daughter of Mauro Giuliani, and Luigi Moretti was brother of Federico Moretti, both Emily and Luigi were very talented composers in their own rights. Brian Jeffery, *Luigi Moretti (c. 1780-1850), composer* <<https://tecla.com/luigi-moretti-c-1780-1850-composer/>> [accessed 19 July 2020].

transposed up and down the neck in major and minor in the same style as Doisy twenty-five years earlier.<sup>42</sup>

### 3.3 Impact of Giuliani and his Students

Both Francois Molino's *Nouvelle Méthode* and Mauro Giuliani's *Studio per la Chitarra* Op. 1 were published in Leipzig between 1812 and 1813. The former would be generally forgotten by subsequent generations, but the latter was cemented into history due to another growing facet of the nineteenth-century *zeitgeist*: the idea of the romantic 'genius' and the concept of *werktreue*. Giuliani gained a substantial reputation as a performer and instructor, and his legacy can be interpreted through his own method and through the work of his students, Felix Horetzky (1796-1870) and Jan Nepomucen Bobrowicz (1805-1881). Giuliani is widely regarded as one of the greatest guitarists of the classical period, and in the years after his arrival in Vienna in 1806 he was catapulted to European stardom. So great was his fame that in 1833 a journal called the *Giulianiad* ran for three years in London.<sup>43</sup> His fame is also attested to in the method books with many authors explicitly mentioning his influence. Maximilian von Schacky's *Gründliche*

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<sup>42</sup> 'Les morceaux suivants exerceront les Élèves dans tous les tons ils devront auparavant faire entendre le petit prélude du tons dans lequel ils voute jouer.' 'The following pieces will exercise the Pupils in all the tones they will have beforehand to make heard the little prelude of the tones in the music they want to play.' Bénigne Henry, *Méthode pour la Guitare* (Paris, 1826), 65.

<sup>43</sup> No editors were ever credited but contributors to *The Giulianiad* over the years include Elizabeth Mounsey, Robert Spencer, and Ferdinand Pelzer, among others. *The Giulianiad, or Guitarist's Magazine. vol. 1-3. no. 1-13* (London: Sherwood & Co, 1833-1834).

*Anleitung die Gitarre spielen zu lernen* features the subtitle *Selbstunterricht nach Giuliani* but is markedly different in scope from Giuliani's Op. 1.<sup>44</sup>

Schacky's method bears little similarity to Giuliani's method and more closely resembles the methods of Bortolazzi or Gräffer, placing an importance on cadences in all keys and in a variety of different positions. Giuliani's Op. 1 is divided into four parts, the first of which is Giuliani's highly popular 120 right-hand patterns. The second section is a set of exercises in interval scales of thirds, sixths and tenths in the common keys for the guitar. The third and fourth section are etudes, each featuring an emphasis on a particular physical task such as a sustained bass lines, left-hand legato, turns or trills. This does not suggest that Giuliani had no concern for preluding or improvisation. In a separately published collection of etudes, Giuliani writes several studies utilising the arpeggiated prelude texture and includes three unmeasured preludes with the instruction 'Preludi ad uso cadenza servendosene avanti di cominciare un pezzo di musica.'<sup>45</sup> The complete lack of chords, scales or any explicit instruction regarding fretboard harmony in Giuliani's Op. 1 is curious, but the output of Giuliani's students reveals many differences between apprenticeship-style learning and the amateur 'self-instruction' utilising method books. Giuliani's comments in the introduction to Op. 1 reveal that this new method has a very specific and unique purpose.

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<sup>44</sup> It is unclear whether Schacky was a student of Giuliani, but the subtitle suggests this to be the case. 'Self-teaching according to the Giuliani method and fingerings designed by Maximilian Von Schacky.' Maximilian von Schacky, *Gründliche Anleitung die Gitarre spielen zu lernen* (Nürnberg: L. Widhalm seel. Wittwe, n.d.).

<sup>45</sup> 'Preludes and cadences to be used before starting a piece of music.' Mauro Giuliani, *24 Studies for the Guitar op. 100* (Vienna: D. Sprenger, c1830), 23.

These studies, which I come to present to the public, are the result of my long and many efforts, confirmed by experience and practice; and I am convinced that guitar amateurs, with assiduous practice, in a short time, will be able to perform with expression what has been composed in a more correct genre for this instrument.<sup>46</sup>

The impact of Giuliani's method is not in its revolutionary change in teaching material. Long lists of right-hand arpeggios have appeared in methods since the 1770s<sup>47</sup> as have etudes in scales in thirds and sixths. The impact of Giuliani's method is focused on teaching students to interpret with expression, musical works. What is and is not a work of music has been the subject of much analysis in the twentieth century and will not be interrogated here but Giuliani's Op. 1 clearly reflects a changing attitude about public performance practice and about works of music themselves.<sup>48</sup> By 1813 Giuliani must have witnessed a demand to produce a method that would enable students to interpret and perform the more technically demanding works of famous guitarist-composers like himself. Christopher Bilderbeck de Monte's collections of papers accumulated through his study with Giuliani, however, reveals a distinction between apprenticeship tutelage and amateur learning. Contrary to the impression that may be derived from Giuliani's method, de Monte's collection consisted of accompaniment patterns in simple keys written in block chords or simple rhythms with only the names of popular opera and

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<sup>46</sup> 'Questi studi, che vengo a presentare al pubblico, sono il risultato delle lunghe e moltissime mie fatiche, confermate dall'esperienza e dalla pratica; e sono persuaso, che gli amatori della chitarre, con un assiduo esercizio, in breve tempo, o saranno in grado di eseguire con espressione quanto è stato composto in un genere più corretto per questo strumento.' Giuliani, *Studio, op. 1*, 3.

<sup>47</sup> Giuliani's predecessor Federico Moretti included 196 right-hand arpeggios in his 1799 method.

<sup>48</sup> This topic is investigated in the seminal work by Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992). Bruce Ellis Benson provides a timely reorientation of the concept of composition as it relates to improvisation: Bruce Ellis Benson, *The Improvisation of Musical Dialogue* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).



ballet songs written over them.<sup>49</sup> De Monte, as a beginner, learned from Giuliani how to accompany melodies which were probably played by Giuliani on *terz* guitar, and/or sung by the student himself.<sup>50</sup> Although Giuliani's private teaching resembled many of the other methods of this time (cadences and accompaniment patterns), his only public method was intended for expanding the technical level of students to prepare them for the reproduction of works (of which the prelude was a small but still present aspect.)

This dichotomy is seen most clearly in the output of his students or those who claim to be influenced by Giuliani's teaching. Schacky's method bears very little resemblance with Giuliani's, and the difference in tutelage is illuminated further by the instructional output of his most famous student Horetzky who wrote four collections of lessons.<sup>51</sup> Parts one and two of Horetzky's Op. 15, which have no dedication, resemble the third and fourth part of Giuliani's method featuring didactic exercises which Horetzky claims are in Giuliani's spirit — they are intended to train the student to perform 'distinguished' pieces of music.<sup>52</sup> But Op. 21, Op. 30, and Op. 33 are composed for and dedicated to Horetzky's pupils and differ in substantive ways. Op. 33 features two studies exercising right-hand

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<sup>49</sup> Paul Pleijsier, 'Found: A Giuliani Guitar, Kept in a London Bank Since 1816', *Soundboard*, 29 (2001/2002), <[https://www.paulpleijsier.nl/assets/pdf/soundboard\\_2001.pdf](https://www.paulpleijsier.nl/assets/pdf/soundboard_2001.pdf)> [accessed 25 2021].

<sup>50</sup> See page 279.

<sup>51</sup> Felix Horetzky, *Preludes, Cadences and Modulations op. 21* (London: Metzler & Son, n.d.); *Instructive Exercises op. 15 (Part 1 and 2)* (London: Boosey & Co, n.d.); *Instructive Lessons op. 33* (London: Paine & Hopkins, n.d.); *24 Studies or Exercises principally in arpeggio for the Guitar op. 30* (London: Keith Prowse, n.d.).

<sup>52</sup> 'I feel therefore that as I was so fortunate as to receive my musical education from so able a Teacher [Giuliani], and by his means to become efficient in this branch of music, I should not render an unwelcome *service* to Amateurs and to the Public by presenting to them 24 progressive lessons composed by myself, entirely in the spirit of Giuliani's style and which develop moreover, its principles in a practical manner. They will enable the learner to play in a very short time and with little trouble, not only Giuliani's compositions, but also every other piece of distinguished music for the guitar.' *Instructive Exercises op. 15 (Part 1 and 2)* (London: Boosey & Co, n.d.), Preface.

patterns, and an additional four studies designed for transposing a specific harmonic schema (Example 3.4).<sup>53</sup> The passage modulates down by tone, and Horetzky delineates where the transposable pattern ends with double-bar lines.

Example 3.4: Horetzky, Modulatory Pattern, c1830



Additional modulatory patterns are presented in lessons 4–6 that demonstrate similar downward modulations but with walking and leaping variants.<sup>54</sup> The method ends with extended cadences in all major and minor keys and a series of contrapuntal exercises unlike anything seen in the methods of this time with scales in contrary motion harmonised with a modulatory and decorated bass line, in addition to scale figures in thirds, tenths and octaves (Example 3.5).<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Horetzky, *Instructive Lessons op. 33*, 3.

<sup>54</sup> See page 239.

<sup>55</sup> The same patterns are presented on the ‘usual keys’ for the guitar, C, G, D, A and E. Horetzky, *Instructive Lessons op.33*, 6-10.

Example 3.5: Horetzky, Scales in Contrary Motion with Modulation, c1830

6 C. Major.

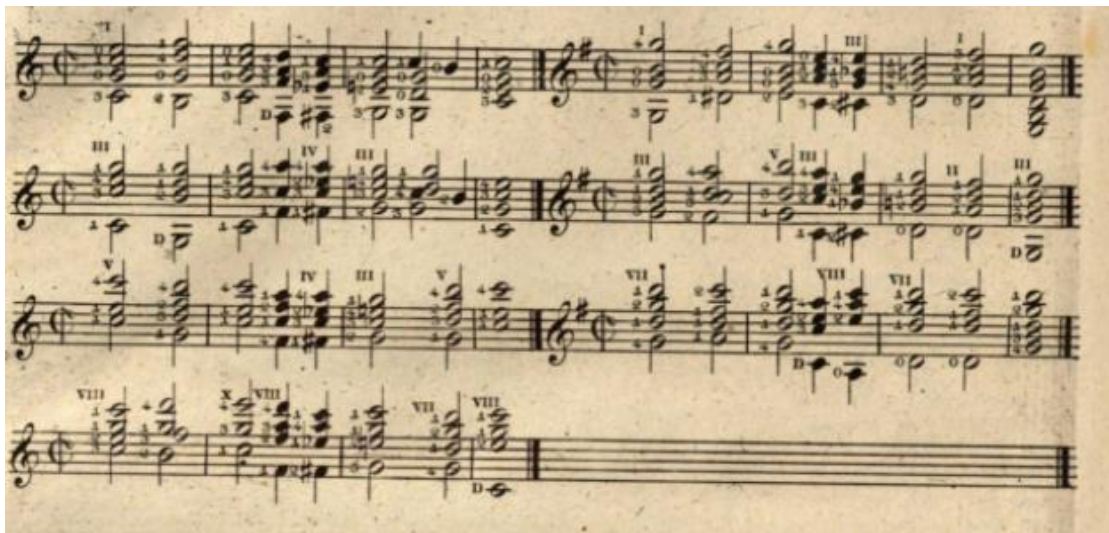
### 3.4 Cadenze Prolongate

The practice of teaching cadences for improvising preludes did not fall out of fashion until well into the twentieth century, and the techniques used only increased in frequency and sophistication into the nineteenth century. *Cadenze semplice*, and *Cadenze prolongate* were terms used by Francesco Bathioli to describe long and short prelude material and similar prolonged cadences are found in other methods.<sup>56</sup> Bathioli's *cadenze semplice* are presented in each key with each example shown varied with a new set of right-hand arpeggios. Pairing cadences with arpeggio variation had been a common

<sup>56</sup> Francesco Bathioli, *Kleine Gemeinnützige Guitareschule: in deutscher, französischer u. italienischer Sprache* (Vienna: Diabelli, 1827), 20, 25.

teaching method and Bathioli explicitly writes variations for *cadenze semplice*.<sup>57</sup> *Cadenze prolongate* are extended chord sequences that indicate the key, and their presentation implies they are to be practised similarly. Bathioli's use of the word *cadenze* is clearly more similar to Moretti's use of the word than any purely theoretical definition.<sup>58</sup> Salvador Gil, fourteen years after Moretti's *Principj*, provides another clear indication that the I, IV, and V chords are to be used to present the key (*formar el modo*) on every tone.<sup>59</sup> In this shared usage, Bathioli's *cadenze prolongate* can only be interpreted as material to be used for preludeing — they feature chromatic passages but still clearly serve the function of establishing a key centre (Example 3.6).<sup>60</sup>

Example 3.6: Bathioli, *Cadenze Prolongate*, 1827



<sup>57</sup> See page 121.

<sup>58</sup> See pages 108-110.

<sup>59</sup> 'Se acostumbra antes de tocar qualquiera pieza en la Guitarra, formar el modo en que está escrita con tres posturas consonantes: que son la de la primera del modo, la de la quarta y la de la quinta, y aun á esta se suele añadir la séptima menor.' 'It is customary before playing a piece on the guitar to give the key in which the piece is written and this is done with three consonant chords: the first of the key, the fourth of the key, and the fifth of the key which can have added the minor seventh.' Salvador Gil, *Principios de Música Aplicados á la Guitarra* (Madrid: Imprenta de Sancha, 1814), 18.

<sup>60</sup> Bathioli, *Kleine Gemeinnützig*, 25.

Explicitly writing out cadences as found in these later method books also serve an additional purpose for those dedicated to learning the works of the masters. Identifying patterns visually and having the functional motor skills to execute them cleanly is an integral skill for a successful sight reader. Practising cadence and modulation structures in this way aids the transition of novel to functional motor skills. By practising model cadences a student develops physical and visual cues for left-hand patterns and the ability to learn more challenging music. Before the popularisation of works by Carulli, Sor and Giuliani, a student's main concern was to master harmonic sequences in a variety of keys to become a better accompanist, but the creation of a wide repertoire created a new skill set, reading the works of famous performers. To do so efficiently requires a technique that connects the execution apparatus (the hands) and the recognition apparatus (the eyes and the ear). Having a sophisticated knowledge of cadences and harmonic schemata develops the ability to sight read but it is not indicated that this benefit of learning cadences was explicit throughout the nineteenth century. Instead, the instruction designed for execution characterised by Giuliani's Op. 1 focuses on technical studies which strengthen the hands by focusing on the many challenging aspects of nineteenth-century guitar technique (separate right-hand and left-hand facility.)

The most explicit reason for teaching cadences and modulations was to improve a student's ability to prelude and modulate — not to read and perform musical works.<sup>61</sup> If teaching cadences was pedagogically designed to aid in sight reading it may have

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<sup>61</sup> See page 62 footnote 25, and 116 footnote 9.

appeared more in Giuliani's method, but no collections of cadences like other authors appear written by Giuliani. Giuliani's teaching represents a clear divide in pedagogical intent which drove students to practise 'études' and much later 'technical exercises' to gain proficiency. However, it would not be until the early twentieth century before the emphasis on the execution of musical works would manifest itself fully in guitar pedagogy and most methods of Giuliani's time still placed an importance on fretboard knowledge and harmonic versatility. The sustained importance of harmony as a practical skill can be seen developed further with the first method completely dedicated to harmony on the six-string guitar published by Ferdinando Carulli in 1825.<sup>62</sup>

### **3.5 Carulli's Pedagogical Output**

By the 1820s, either an appetite for instruction in harmony among the students of the guitar was evident, or this skill was so absent from their playing it was deemed necessary by authors to write treatises that included its instruction. Ferdinando Carulli is largely credited for writing the most popular methods for the guitar ever written, and his output indicates his methods were in high demand. Carulli wrote four methods for the guitar between 1808 and 1826 in addition to a method dedicated to vocal accompaniment, a set of solfège, and a unique treatise on harmony. Like many guitarists of this era Carulli largely adapted his method from the instruction he received during his childhood in Naples, and he made quite an impact after moving to Paris sometime after 1810.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Ferdinando Carulli, *l'Harmonie appliquée à la Guitare* (Paris: Ph. Petit, 1825).

<sup>63</sup> Marco Bertazzi, *Ferdinando Carulli: chitarrista - compositore (1770-1841)* (Genoa: E.R.G.A., 1984), 13-14

Carulli's attitudes towards preluding are quite open, and he never seems to miss a chance to remind a student of what material could serve as a prelude. The intent was obvious, while prelude technique was largely developed by practising cadences and modulations, style and other musical judgements had to be learned implicitly from other preludes.

In Carulli's method *Méthode complète pour le Décacorde*, Op.293 he instructs beginners to learn the cadences in the common keys as these would be used to perform a prelude before a vocal accompaniment or solo work.<sup>64</sup> In the complementary suite to his first method Carulli remarks on what type of pieces could be considered a prelude. This probably served two purposes, to remind the students that these pieces could be substituted for a prelude but also to extract stylistic information from them for their own *grande preludes*.

I developed in this second suite the arpeggios, the modulations, the flowing and detached notes; the thirds, sixths, octaves, and tenths; of which I had previously only been able to give succinct examples. The studious pupil will find in the various exercises which this new work contains everything that is possible to do on the guitar. The first six pieces are in *arpèges modules*, in all tones, and in all positions, they can be considered *grande preludes*.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Ferdinando Carulli, *Méthode complète pour le Décacorde op. 293* (Paris: Carli, n.d.), 17.

<sup>65</sup> 'J'ai développé dans cette seconde suite les Arpèges, les modulations, les notes coulées et détachées ; les Tierces, Sixtes, Octaves et Dixièmes ; dont je n'avais pu donner précédemment que des exemples succincts. L'élève studieux trouvera dans les divers Exercices que continent ce nouvel ouvrage tout ce qu'il est possible de faire sur la guitare. Les six premiers morceaux sont en Arpèges modules, dans tous les tons, et à toutes les positions, eils peuvent être considères comme de grands Préludes.' Ferdinando Carulli, *Seconde Suite à la méthode op. 71* (Paris: Carli, c1814), 2.

These *arpege modules* are indeed long preludes, each key has two to three pages of modulations in the ‘easy keys’ featuring an abundance of right-hand variation. But if the *grande prelude* is viewed as a type of improvised performance practice then the implication is that these pieces are not meant to be performed as pieces of works. Instead, they provide substantial templates or examples of what an improvised *grande prelude* may sound like. Even the exercises in thirds, sixths and tenths have the instruction *ad libitum*, and Carulli’s comments on the caprice that ends the suite are indicative: ‘This work ends with a great Caprice, in which I offered the Amateur a choice of passages suitable to familiarize him with all the difficulties which could be presented to him.’<sup>66</sup> Carulli is explicit that these techniques are developed to prepare students for any challenges they may face implying they have a compounded effect — prelude technique helps to overcome the challenges inherent in the reproduction of musical works.

### 3.6 Aguado’s Influence

The differences between Aguado’s first method in 1825 and his last in 1849 demonstrate the overall changes of improvisation pedagogy in the nineteenth century.<sup>67</sup> Aguado changed his approach significantly between his first and last method and seemed to succumb to the pressure to accommodate amateur audiences. Aguado’s 1825 *Escuela de guitarra* ends with a lengthy appendix written by Francois de Fossa entirely devoted to

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<sup>66</sup> ‘Cet ouvrage est terminé par un grand Caprice, dans lequel j’ai offert à l’Amateur un choix de passages propres à le familiariser avec toutes les difficultés qui pourraient lui être présentés.’ Carulli, *Seconde suite à la méthode op. 71, 2*.

<sup>67</sup> Dionisio Aguado, *Escuela de guitarra* (Madrid: 1825); *Nouvelle Méthode de Guitare op. 6* (Paris: s.p., 1834). *Nuevo método para guitarra* (Madrid: Benito Campo, 1843, 1849).



cultivating preluding and modulating.<sup>68</sup> Fossa's *tratado* cites André Ernest Modeste Grétry as its main influence and is the most cultivated and explicit example of improvisation pedagogy on the guitar of the period.<sup>69</sup> His introduction is clear:

Introduction: Mr. Fossa, as intelligent in the harmony as in the guitar, has formed this appendix, applying to this instrument the compendiated doctrine of M.M. Grétry, Momigny and Galin, who have written recently; And it has served to honour my school by completing it with the beautiful ideas that follow.

If the exploited disciple wants to exercise his fantasy in prelude with modulations, in addition to the dexterity of his hands and the knowledge of the guitar fingerboard, he also needs to know the brief elements of harmony that I am going to indicate.<sup>70</sup>

Aguado's 1843/49 edition includes a comparatively small section on preluding with several written-out preludes and clear indications as to which preludes can be transposed both to different keys but also into the minor mode.<sup>71</sup> Aguado uses a much more explicit style of instruction that largely reinforces the execution aspect which became more central to instrumental technique. Aguado still maintains novel techniques for developing the ability to improvise by presenting each model prelude in the key of C major and indicates which preludes are best suited for transposing. This style of writing forces the

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<sup>68</sup> See pages 209-248.

<sup>69</sup> André Ernest Modeste Grétry, *Méthode simple pour apprendre à préluder* (Paris: l'imprimerie de la République 1801-1802). See page 14.

<sup>70</sup> 'Advertencia el Sr. Fossa, tan inteligente en la armonía como en la guitarra, ha formado este Apéndice, aplicando a este instrumento la doctrina compendiada de M.M. Grétry, Momigny y Galin, que han escrito recientemente; y se ha servido honrar mi escuela completándola con las preciosa ideas que siguen. Si el discípulo aprovechado quiere ejercitar su fantasía en preludiar con modulaciones, además de la destreza de sus manos y del conocimiento del Diapasón de la guitarra, necesita saber también los sucintos elementos de armonía que voy a indicar.' Aguado, *Escuela*, 103.

<sup>71</sup> Aguado, *Nuevo método*.

transposition process on the students and contributes greatly to preluding, but it is a marked shift from his 1825 method. Despite the shift, the opinion was still held by Aguado that improvisation on the guitar was a vital part of the performance practice: ‘Full of means to represent music ideas, the guitar is well suited for improvisation, or as they say, to play on a whim.’<sup>72</sup>

It is a fair assumption that Aguado’s decision to explicitly indicate which preludes are most easily transposed is a response to the increased demand for easier material that many nineteenth-century authors faced. This assumption is reflected in Aguado’s decision to completely remove the more visceral and less ‘reproduction focused’ appendix of the *Escuela*. Aguado’s transition in teaching techniques epitomises the challenges authors encountered when faced with an increased demand from amateur learners. This was a transition that moved from ideally expecting the student to assimilate bass motions and compositional techniques into their preluding to simply indicating which preludes can be transposed into different keys.

For nineteenth-century guitarists, the knowledge of harmony was not just an abstract theoretical knowledge demonstrable through discourse but was a sense knowledge which achieves its full understanding through performance. This sense knowledge demanded technical abilities borne out of the performance practice of improvising modulatory

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<sup>72</sup> ‘Llena de medios para representar las ideas músicas, la guitarra es a propósito para la improvisación, o como suele decirse, para tocar de capricho.’ Aguado, *Nuevo método*, 1.

preludes before and between each piece.<sup>73</sup> Composition and instrumental technique were not separate concepts but fell upon a type of spectrum where one influenced the other. And in an environment where composition is so closely tied to instrumental technique, free play and exploration are vital elements of a student's skill development. This type of technical proficiency, and the relative uniformity of harmonic schema and melodic material probably contributed to many authors massive output of works with Carulli's alone totalling nearly 400 publications.<sup>74</sup>

### **3.7 The Pedagogy of Modulation**

The explicit instruction to develop more complex techniques like modulation and preluding is evident well into the 1840s. Daube explicitly taught modulation technique in his 1756 treatise on general bass and the approach of organising modulations by their starting root tonality to a target root tonality (C to A $\flat$  major) was used by guitarists in the nineteenth century.<sup>75</sup> In addition to the precedent set by Daube, guitarists created their own unique techniques regarding modulations including common resolutions of dissonant chords, as well as in the form of modulation sets which often consisted of long uninterrupted sequences of arpeggiated chords which modulated through many different keys. These *grande préludés*, or *arpege modules* went by many names — many are unlabelled exercises usually at the end of a method, and some are published separately.

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<sup>73</sup> See the comments by Nicholas Charles Bochsa page 15, footnote 15.

<sup>74</sup> Mario Torta, *Catalogo Tematico delle opere di Ferdinando Carulli* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana editrice, 1993).

<sup>75</sup> Barbara Kees Wallace, 'J. F. Daube's 'General-Bass in drei Accorden' (1756): A Translation and Commentary' (PhD dissertation, North Texas State University, 1983), 102-179.

*Arpeggio ovvero Giro d'armonia, in tutti i tuoni* is a four-page fantasia of modulations written by Antonio Nava and features common right-hand arpeggios with clearly marked arrival points for each key.<sup>76</sup> This type of modulatory etude appeared in Bortolazzi's method, and similar pieces are included by Lehmann. Another *giro* ends Carulli's *Méthode complete*, Op. 27, which totals six pages of arpeggios without a single breath or break in rhythm and modulates to all keys.<sup>77</sup> Leonard Schultz published a collection in London with suggestions for alternate right-hand variations (Example 3.7).<sup>78</sup>

Example 3.7: Shulz, Modulation Exercise with Variation, c1830

The foregoing Chords may be played likewise in Arpeggios, as follows:

František Max Kníže also ends his method with a series of modulatory preludes and offers suggestions for alternate right-hand patterns (Example 3.8).<sup>79</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Antonio Nava, *Arpeggio ovvero Giro d'armonia, in tutti i tuoni maggiori, diesis, e bemolle coi relativi loro minori; ad uso de' studiosi della chitarra francese op. 15* (Milan: c1830), 2-5.

<sup>77</sup> Ferdinando Carulli, *Méthode complete op. 27* (Carli: Paris, 1810), 99.

<sup>78</sup> Leonard Schultz, *Modulations in Chords for the Guitar op. 15* (London: Johanning & Co., n.d).

<sup>79</sup> František Max Kníže, *Vollständige Guitarre-Schule oder leichtfaßlicher Unterricht, dieses Instrument gründlich spielen zu lernen* (Prague: n.p. 1820), 34-38.

Example 3.8: Kníže, Modulating Prelude with suggested variations, 1820



By the late 1840s Kirkman's method would include an approach like Lehmann's which indicates a chord canvas and a constantly changing right-hand arpeggio (Example 3.9).<sup>80</sup> This approach is useful as it deconstructs the variation process.

Example 3.9: Kirkman, Modulations with Chord Canvas, c1840



<sup>80</sup> Louisa Kirkman, *Improved Method for the Guitar* (Mrs Joseph Kirkman, c1840), 12–15.

Phillipe Verini explored preludes and modulations in the second book of his method, ensuring that his students would have good facility in each position.<sup>81</sup> Verini’s method echoes the instructional methods of Frederic Kollman and Philip Anthony Corri where chord positions and cadences lead to preludes.<sup>82</sup> Verini is not explicit in his intent to develop the ability to improvise, but mentions giving ‘the pupil a general knowledge of the instrument as well as to strengthen the left hand to undertake the difficult positions ...’<sup>83</sup> Verini presents a short prelude before a lesson in each key, and each prelude resembles canvas of the previous decades but features more written out suggestions for flourishes and also features more chromatic harmonies (Example 3.10).<sup>84</sup>

Example 3.10: Verini, Prelude *ad lib*, c1825



In the late nineteenth century modulation technique became a necessary skill to have in order to effectively prelude, and Verini demonstrates this need by ending his method with a compendium of suggested modulation patterns (Example 3.11).<sup>85</sup> The very concept

<sup>81</sup> ‘And lastly I give the pupil some exercises on modulation which I trust will be of use in perfecting the pupil.’ Phillipe Raphael Jean Baptiste Verini, *Rudiments for the Spanish Guitar Book 2* (London: J. B. Cramer, c1825), 1.

<sup>82</sup> Philip Antony Corri, *L’Anima di Musica, Book 4: Original System of Preluding* (London: Chappell & Co., c1810); Augustus Frederic Christopher Kollmann, *An Introduction to the Art of Preluding and Extemporizing op. 3* (London: R. Wornum, n.d.).

<sup>83</sup> Verini, *Rudiments for the Spanish Guitar*, 1.

<sup>84</sup> Verini, *Rudiments for the Spanish Guitar*, 8.

<sup>85</sup> Verini, *Rudiments for the Spanish Guitar*, 18-19.



These modulatory preludes are virtually identical in intention to a *Suite de Harmonie* anonymously authored in 1760 (Example 3.12).<sup>87</sup>

Example 3.12: Anon., *Suite de Harmonie*, c1760



Antonio Cano too ends his method with a 'Circulo Armónico' but written in blocked chords (Example 3.13).<sup>88</sup> Cano, over 100 years after Don \*\*\*, felt it necessary to illustrate the nuances of modulation technique creating a link of improvisation instruction nearly one hundred years long. Cano provides the clearest evidence that these collections

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<sup>87</sup> Don \*\*\*, *Méthode Pour Apprendre à Jouer de la Guitare* (Paris, c1760); Facsimile reprint in *Méthodes and Traités Guitare: France 1600-1800* Vol. 1 (Courlay, France: Editions J. M. Fuzeau, 2003), 88

<sup>88</sup> Antonio Cano, *Método completo: con un tratado de armonía aplicada a este instrumento* (Madrid: Antonio Romero, c1869), 42 of the *Tratado De Harmonia*.




were not meant to be performed as works but to be learned from, to be used so that students would learn to modulate by principles and not routine.<sup>89</sup>

Once the Guitarist has penetrated all that is stated in this treatise, he will know how to modulate by principles and not by routine as is generally done, and will be able to analyse the works written for the Guitar and harmonize in a living way those he writes, since without having the presumption that this method is a perfect work, I believe, however, to have filled a void that could contribute to the guitar occupying its rightful place in the Philharmonic world, and finally, if it deserves the approval of the lovers of our poetry instrument.<sup>90</sup>

Example 3.13: Cano, Modulating Exercise, c1869

CÍRCULO ARMÓNICO  
recorriendo los doce tonos mayores y los doce menores.



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<sup>89</sup> Antonio Cano (1811-1897) published three methods throughout his lifetime with at least one known reprint in the twentieth century. *Método completo: con un tratado de armonía aplicada a este instrumento* (Madrid: Antonio Romero, c1869); *Método abreviado* (Madrid: Zozaya, c1891); *Principios de guitarra* (Madrid: Zozaya, c1892); *Método de guitarra* (Madrid: Ildefonso Alier, c1908).

<sup>90</sup> 'Penetrado el Guitarrista de todo lo espuesta en este tratado, sabrá modular por principios y no por rutina como generalmente se hace, y podrá analizar las obras escritas para la Guitarra y armonizar en debida forma las que escriba, pues sin tener la presunción de que este Método sea una obra perfecta, ereo sin embargo, haber llenado un vacío que podrá contrabaja a que la Guitarra ocupe el lugar que le corresponde en el mundo filarmónico, y por fin si merece la aprobación de los amantes de nuestro poético instrumento.' Cano, *Método completo*, 42 of the *Tratado De Harmonia*.

By 1830 teaching methods dedicated to improvisation developed into maturity but as early as the 1820s the reproduction of solo works of contemporary composers became *en vogue*. The influence of the new solo style developed alongside the Romantic zeitgeist, and the dichotomy between executant ability and playful mastery of musical content became clearer in the early nineteenth century.

... the free exercise of imagination in this way is expressly to be distinguished from a perfectly finished piece of music which should essentially be an articulated whole. In the free exercise of imagination, liberation from restriction is an end in itself, so that now the artist can display among other things, freedom to interweave familiar melodies and passages into what he is producing...<sup>91</sup>

G. W. F. Hegel's remarks about the execution of musical works versus the 'exercise of imagination' point to a broader philosophical distinction between improvisation and execution. This does not mean, however, that interpreting or even composing musical works does not involve elements of improvisational play.<sup>92</sup> Hegel's remarks eventually translated into practical pedagogical changes but not quite during his lifetime. Only by the late nineteenth century did educational approaches begin to shift towards producing executant artists and the changes found in Aguado's methods signals this shift. The focus on executant artists would be the *modus operandi* of instrumental technique in twentieth-century western art music. The slow transition towards producing executant artists had the side effect of producing a negative attitude towards vocal accompaniment on the guitar. As students increasingly aspired to play musical works, teaching the skill of

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<sup>91</sup> G. W. F. Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art* Vol. II trans. T. M. Knox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 897.

<sup>92</sup> This idea is rigorously argued and explored in Benson, *The Improvisation of Musical Dialogue*.

execution drove authors to focus less on teaching vocal accompaniment. This change in focus is something authors had various attitudes to but largely contributed towards a stronger negative attitude of vocal accompaniment. Marziano Bruni alludes to this negative attitude in the introduction to his method. ‘The author trusts that his experience ... particularly qualifies him for facilitating its acquirement, not merely to the limited extent of an accompaniment for the voice, but to the more ample range of an effective performance of grand and brilliant Concertos, Fantasias, etc.’<sup>93</sup> This perception that accompanying songs was a lesser activity grew simultaneously to the emphasis placed on the execution of musical works. This is demonstrated by Hegel’s critical view of song who wrote it renders the text as ‘more or less superficial.’<sup>94</sup> Despite this negative attitude Bruni still offers extensive material to develop position studies and modulation and indicates that by mastering these techniques one can accompany any air.<sup>95</sup> Bruni’s treatise is filled with position studies and features a section on the fundamentals of modulation and the resolution of chords which he arranges for piano/harp and the guitar.<sup>96</sup> Bruni encourages the students to transpose his modulation examples into every key.<sup>97</sup> This practical approach to modulation gave the students the required skill set to improvise more complicated and elaborate preludes and to create elaborate accompaniments.

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<sup>93</sup> Marziano Bruni, *Treatise on the Guitar Embracing the Rules of Harmony with Examples for the Guitar, Piano and Harp* (London: O. J., c1834), 1.

<sup>94</sup> Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, 900.

<sup>95</sup> Bruni, *Treatise on the Guitar*, 26.

<sup>96</sup> See pages 185–188.

<sup>97</sup> Bruni, *Treatise on the Guitar*, 54.

Despite these overlapping skills the deviation of accompaniment and soloistic playing was established and some authors devoted whole treatises exclusively to accompanying the voice in the form of solfege collections with guitar accompaniment. Although the teaching of accompaniment was gradually mentioned less in the method books as a whole, collections of written-out cadences and modulations grew larger and took up more space in the method books of the mid to late nineteenth century.<sup>98</sup> This maintained a conception of technique that incorporated variation and encouraged a visceral knowledge of fretboard harmony that would be sustained until the early years of the twentieth century. This emphasis may have led to the pedagogical attitudes that produced guitarists known for their improvisations such as Antonio Dominici (1872-1934) and Augustin Barrios (1885-1944).<sup>99</sup>

### **3.8 Vocal Accompaniment Pedagogy**

Despite how separated the teaching of vocal accompaniment and solo guitar playing became by the end of the nineteenth century, by the end of the eighteenth century the skill sets that link these two practises together largely overlapped and were deemed mutually beneficial.<sup>100</sup> But this eventual bifurcation of skill sets was signalled by Carulli in his first method *Méthode complete*, Op. 27 with the publication of two supplementary

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<sup>98</sup> See page 248-255.

<sup>99</sup> A comprehensive study of the learning materials of the latter half of the nineteenth century in South America has yet to take place and so Barrios's training can only be speculated about. Equally so, Dominici's musical training in Palermo (politically and culturally linked to Naples for most of the nineteenth century) may explain his penchant for improvisation.

<sup>100</sup> Bruni himself is a culprit of simultaneously viewing vocal accompaniment as limited but encouraging the development of a skill set devoted to it. See page 152.

suites published the following year. Written to compliment Op. 27, Carulli's Op. 61 is a two-volume suite — one develops the skills to accompany the voice, and the other is dedicated to exercises in *arpege modules*, and scales in thirds and sixths.<sup>101</sup> Carulli's Op. 61 is demonstrative of a teaching style evident in the late eighteenth century but is also firmly forward-looking and a response to a growing amateur market.

Carulli's suites were published the same year as Giuliani's Op. 1 and featured many of the right-hand arpeggios in the style of an eighteenth-century French method. Also like the French methods Carulli wrote short studies in the common keys introducing each key with a scalar prelude and chordal prelude. Each chordal prelude is used to introduce a new right-hand pattern which harkens back to the right-hand patterns (*batteries*) of the late-eighteenth-century methods which were introduced in the context of varying a vocal arrangement. After an introduction of each key with unique variations Carulli then demonstrates arpeggios and classifies them by their number of notes, *arpege a double notes*, *arpege de quatre notes*, etc. These are presented in a variety of different keys so that the left-hand technique becomes versatile and capable of managing major and minor keys up to five sharps and flats.<sup>102</sup> Carulli places an emphasis on position studies in the form of a suite presenting short examples of cadence structures but in the higher positions of the neck. This section is in the florid style instead of blocked chords, and Carulli is increasingly more chromatic, including keys up to seven flats. The emphasis on harmonic

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<sup>101</sup> Ferdinando Carulli, *Première suite à la méthode op. 61* (Paris: Chez Carli, c1813) and *Seconde suite à la méthode op. 71*.

<sup>102</sup> Carulli, *Première suite à la méthode op. 61*, 1–17.

knowledge is continued with a presentation of all the major and minor chords that can be formed upon the bass notes found on the sixth string, notating six chords for frets one to nine (Example 3.14).<sup>103</sup>

Example 3.14: Carulli, Chords formed on different bass notes, c1813



Using the first fret as his starting point Carulli constructs all the major and minor chords that may have the note F (found at the first fret of the guitar on the lowest string) as its bass and accounts for its enharmonic reinterpretation as E#. This bottom-up approach is unique as it provides a visual cue for the bass and provides a variety of useful harmonies while confining the string sets to only the sixth, third, second and first strings.<sup>104</sup> This pattern is continued for diminished seventh chords and their resolutions, but Carulli changes the string set to include the fifth, fourth, third, second and first strings (Example 3.15).<sup>105</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Carulli, *Première suite à la méthode op. 61*, 23–25.

<sup>104</sup> This aspect of confining chord voicings to different string sets is a common practice technique among jazz guitarists.

<sup>105</sup> Carulli, *Première suite à la méthode op. 61*, 23–25.

Example 3.15: Carulli, Diminished Sevenths on different bass notes, c1813



Carulli notes that a student does not need to memorise them all to make good accompaniments — his list is quite exhaustive, providing eight interpretations of the diminished seventh chord found on each note of the D string up to the seventh fret. Carulli implies an important difference between the practical ability to accompany (*pouvoir*) and how writing and knowing the names of the chords contributes to an ability to make (*faire*) accompaniments.<sup>106</sup> Although it is not necessary to memorise each of Carulli's chords, he suggests that practising them strengthens the ability to accompany, whereas having them written down and knowing the contexts will enable a student to make accompaniments. The bass-up approach by Carulli provides a consistent recontextualisation of the bass-harmony relationship and simulates the more active process of accompanying. With each position change, a student is forced to do a short mental calculation to determine the key, chord quality, and the inversion it may be in.

<sup>106</sup> '[ce] n'est pas nécessaire de les apprendre par cœur pour pouvoir accompagner, mais il est bon de les avoir notés et d'en connaître les noms et les doigtés, sur tout si l'on veut faire des accompagnements.' 'It is not necessary to learn them by heart to be able to accompany, but it is good to have them written down and to know the names and the fingering, especially if you want to make accompaniments.' Carulli, *Première suite à la méthode op. 61*, 25.

Carulli's chord system employs recombination as a practice technique, it forces the conscious effort of navigating familiar shapes with different bass notes. This method for learning chords develops the practical skill of reading, transposing, and varying vocal accompaniments like those popular between 1780 and 1830.

Accompanying the voice was not necessarily an activity for two people, as is the culturally enforced norm in western art music. This is commonly overlooked when discussing vocal accompaniment and it was more than likely that a majority of amateur vocal accompaniment involved guitarists accompanying themselves. This was certainly the case for Fernando Sor — contemporary records of him singing and accompanying himself attest to this — and with many guitar teachers doubling as singing instructors, self-accompaniment probably happened more often than might be mentioned in contemporary accounts.<sup>107</sup> Carulli stresses the importance of practising accompaniments to feel (*faire sentir*) the harmony, and encourages to play them with a violinist, another guitarist or to sing them oneself.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Brian Jeffery, *Fernando Sor: composer and guitarist* (Wales: Tecla Edition, 1994), 42.

<sup>108</sup> 'La difficulté d'avoir de bonnes paroles, ou des Romances d'Auteurs distingués, me décide à composer six petits Morceaux en style de Romances ou d'arêtes, avec un accompagnement: on peut en exécuter la première partie avec un Violon, une Guitare ordinaire, ou la vocaliser soi même. Je n'ai fait ces morceaux que pour faire exercer les élèves a l'accompagnement, et pour leur en faire sentir l'harmonie, la richesse des basses, et le peu de difficulté qu'ils présentent.' 'The difficulty of having good words, or Romances by distinguished Authors, compels me to compose six small pieces in the style of Romances or arias, with an accompaniment: we can perform the first part with a Violin, a Guitar ordinary, or vocalize it yourself. I only made these pieces to make the students practice the accompaniment, and to make them feel the harmony, the richness of the bass, and the little difficulty they present.' Carulli, *Méthode complète pour le Décacorde op. 293*, 34.



In a rare instance, Carulli describes how learning accompaniments should provide something beyond moving the fingers. Feeling the harmony is one of those nebulous phrases that leaves many students puzzled in master classes of western art music — it often obscures rather than clarifies for those who are solely taught to interpret musical works. Yet those who have attained a proficiency accompanying or improvising in a tonal idiom often describe this very visceral mind-ear-body connection of ‘locking-in’ to a harmony or playing ‘outside’ it. This phenomenon drove Carulli to utilise more complex arpeggios and harmonies with more bass notes.<sup>109</sup> Singing melodies over harmonies with more complex bass lines forces students to strengthen their control of the melody as the bass context shifts. The variation techniques found in the method books at the end of the eighteenth century were still being used to vary accompaniments, and Carulli sought to expand these techniques by having students incorporate a richer chord vocabulary into their arrangements.

The push to have students develop more complex accompaniments and elevate what Bruni would call ‘the limited extent of an accompaniment’<sup>110</sup> seems to be a chief concern of Carulli’s. The treatise, *l’Harmonie appliquée à la Guitare* was published to address

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<sup>109</sup> ‘Les connaisseurs verront bien que j’aurais pu faire ces accompagnements beaucoup plus faciles qu’ils ne le sont, en mettant des arpèges simples, comme on fait ordinairement pour les accompagnements de guitare: mais comme je n’ai voulu placer dans cette Méthode aucun morceau qui ne fut d’une très grande utilité pour les Élèves, je les ai chargés de basses, comme on le voit, afin qu’ils puissent travailler davantage, et se rendre très forts dans l’accompagnement.’ ‘Connoisseurs will see that I could have made these accompaniments much easier than they are, by putting in simple arpeggios, as is usually done for guitar accompaniments: but as I did not want to place in this Method any piece which was not of very great use to the students, I loaded them with bass, as we can see, so that they can work more, and make themselves very strong in accompaniment.’ Ferdinando Carulli, *Méthode complète pour le Décacorde* op. 293, 41.

<sup>110</sup> Bruni, *Treatise on the Guitar*, 1.

this issue. Carulli and a few other authors still maintained that accompaniment of the voice was a worthy pursuit, and it would seem the training of *solfeggio* and accompaniment so prevalent in the Neapolitan conservatories had a strong impact on some of the Italian authors. The title of *l'Harmonie appliquée à la Guitare* may well be deceptive to twenty-first century readers where terms like harmony and modulation are abstract and are often divorced from an instrumentalist's conception of 'technique.' *l'Harmonie appliquée* is written for those who wish to create a guitar part for a piece of their own, or from a piano or orchestra score.<sup>111</sup>

*l'Harmonie appliquée* contains teaching methods that appear in other method books of the time including an example of the rule of the octave, and fingerings for the resolutions of diminished seventh chords.<sup>112</sup> But the remarkable aspect of this work is its central text which focuses not on harmonising bass lines but on determining the proper harmonies to a melody. This is in contrast with the appendix to Aguado's *Escuela* and its appendix of bass motions. Carulli's use of the rule of the octave serves a different function to its eighteenth-century usage — that of a shorthand for reading figured bass lines and approximating the harmonies on top of them. While Carulli does comment briefly on the intervals above the bass, Carulli's rule of the octave shows how the harmonies found upon each scale degree can be reduced to 'three' fundamental harmonies. Carulli offers

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<sup>111</sup> 'Qui n'a point, en effet, senti plusieurs fois le désir de faire un accompagnement a quelque morceau qui en était dépourvu, ou d'arranger pour la guitare un accompagnement de piano ou d'orchestre.' 'Who has not, indeed, felt several times the desire to make an accompaniment to some piece which was deprived of it, or to arrange for the guitar an accompaniment of piano or orchestra.' Carulli, *l'Harmonie*, 3.

<sup>112</sup> Carulli, *l'Harmonie*, 18, 19.

both the eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century harmonisation of scale degree IV, both a major triad, and a six-five chord are suitable harmonies.<sup>113</sup> This is useful for Carulli not only because it trains the student to harmonise a bass line but also for the benefit of being able to assess which notes of a melody would suit each harmony. He provides a model melody with written descriptions of what notes would match each chord (Example 3.16),<sup>114</sup> followed by an example of a realisation (Example 3.17).<sup>115</sup>

Example 3.16: Carulli, *Melodic Figures*, 1825



Example 3.17: Carulli, *Accompaniment of Melodic Figures*, 1825

<sup>113</sup> Carulli, *l'Harmonie*, 19.

<sup>114</sup> Carulli, *l'Harmonie*, 20–22.

<sup>115</sup> Carulli, *l'Harmonie*, 23.

Example 3.18: Carulli, Melodic figures with non-chord tones, 1825



*l'Harmonie appliquée* is mostly written like a theoretical text with little encouragement to stop and practise, its effectivity is based substantially on how a student uses the text to practise. Carulli offers advice and best practice as to how to approach accompaniment but the main teaching method is through model comparison. Carulli also comments on transposition and instead of encouraging harmonic versatility Carulli recognises that it is often necessary to transpose accompaniments to keys more suitable for the guitar, not the voice, and to consider which tune would change the character of the piece the least.<sup>116</sup> This reveals many of the romantic sentiments often exhibited by Carulli in his vast oeuvre. Carulli's focus is not harmonic versatility but in maintaining the immutable qualities of a particular musical work. Where Spanish authors from 1770 to 1800 concerned themselves with the range of the voice and the abilities of the singer, Carulli

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<sup>116</sup> 'On sait que les difficultés d'exécution interdisent à la guitare les tons chargés de Dièses et de Bémols; il est donc nécessaire de transposer dans des tons plus commodes pour l'instrument les Airs, duos, etc.: auxquels on veut faire des accompagnements, et qui sont écrits dans tons difficiles. Mais au lieu de faire cette transposition à la hâte, comme cela n'est que trop ordinaire, il est bon de réfléchir sur le genre de voix auquel le morceau est destiné, afin de prendre le ton qui a le plus d'analogie avec celui dans lequel il a été écrit primitivement, et qui en change le caractère aussi peu que possible.' 'We know that the difficulties of execution prevent the heavy tones of sharps and flats on the guitar; It is therefore necessary to transpose into tones more convenient for the instrument the Airs, duets, etc: to which we want to make accompaniments, and which are written in difficult tones. But instead of doing this transposition in a hurry, as it is all too ordinary, it is good to think about the voice genre for which the piece is intended, in order to take the tone which has the most analogy with the one in which it was originally written, and which changes its character as little as possible.' Carulli, *l'Harmonie*, 27.

encourages the student to make their transposition decisions based on the character of the music, reinforcing, although subtly, the pedagogical implications of the integrity of musical works (*werktreue*). He still, however, comments that too often these transpositions are done hastily, perhaps in response to the often quickly improvised accompaniments of the amateurs who boasted of their abilities to accompany on all the tones.<sup>117</sup>

This perspective is reinforced further considering the comments on transposition by Charles de Marescot in his *Traité analytique des principes de la musique*. Marescot defines transposition as executing or transcribing a piece in another key, and offers two categories: *transposition subite* (sudden transposition) and *transposition écrite* (written transposition).<sup>118</sup> Sudden transposition is done on the spot (*au premier coup d'oeil*) and in order to do this successfully one must be so familiar reading (*il faut être assez familiarisé avec la lecture des différentes clefs*) all the keys as to use them indiscriminately (*les employer indistinctement*).<sup>119</sup> The description of transcription *écrite* — employed

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<sup>117</sup> See page 85 footnote 97.

<sup>118</sup> 'Exécuter ou transcrire un morceau de musique dans un ton plus ou moins élevé que celui sous la forme duquel il est présenté, s'appelle transposer. Il y a deux sortes de transpositions, la transposition subite, et la transposition écrite.' Charles de Marescot, *Traité analytique des principes de la musique avec un procédé nouveau pour transposer dans tous les tons sans le secours des clefs op. 6* (Paris n.d.), 46.

<sup>119</sup> 'La transposition subite est celle qu'on exécute au premier coup d'œil, en substituant à propos et avec toutes les accidents convenables, à celles des morceaux à transposer, d'autres clefs qui en élevant ou en abaissent toutes les notes, d'autant de degrés qu'il est nécessaire. Pour bien faire cette transposition, il faut être assez familiarisé avec la lecture des différentes clefs pour les employer indistinctement, et connaître parfaitement les rapports qu'elles ont entelles, afin de bien choisir celles qu'on doit substituer.' 'Sudden transposition is that which is performed at first glance, by substituting appropriately and with the appropriate accidentals, for those pieces to be transposed to other keys by raising or lowering all the notes of all the degrees if it is necessary. To do this transposition properly, you must be familiar enough with reading the various keys to use them indiscriminately and be fully acquainted with the relationships they have with each other, in order to choose the correct ones to substitute.' Marescot, *Traité analytique*, 46.

indiscriminately implies without constraint — echoes the common ways of referring to improvisation, *sans regle*, *unbedachtsam*, or *para tocar de capricho*.<sup>120</sup> These views on transposition are obvious in circles who frequently improvise (or frequently accompany) and it seems that nineteenth-century guitarists reinforced transposition because of its practical benefits in concert or rehearsal.

Carulli does not remark which transposition he is intending most likely because his text simultaneously addresses creating arrangements. In the context of creating arrangements of orchestral pieces its likely only exceptional students would be utilising *transposition écrite* and this would probably occur in the solitude of a practice room. Much of twentieth-century theory instruction methods prioritises *transposition écrite* over *transposition subite* and this takes the physical immediacy out of the technique. In the twentieth century, the conceptualisation of music theory as a primarily written and analytical exercise led to the loss of more practical instrumental techniques like transposition and improvisation.

Carulli's final practice suggestion again utilises model comparison which requires significant observation-inference judgements and can leave many ambiguities either to be corrected by a teacher or to be judged by a student's developing ear. Carulli's call for model comparison comes in the last exercises of *l'Harmonie* where, nearly fifty pages

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<sup>120</sup> See Aguado's description of improvisation and Stephen Blum, 'Recognising Improvisation' in Bruno Nettl and Melinda Russell (eds.), *In the Course of Performance Studies in the World of Musical Improvisation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 38.

after his official conclusion he offers twelve model melodies with separately written accompaniments. Carulli instructs not to insert an accompaniment from another song but to imagine an accompaniment that will suit each melody and to compare them with the model accompaniments provided.<sup>121</sup> It should come as no surprise that model comparison was utilised heavily for learning accompaniment, but it was the new printing medium which forced the learning procedures to adapt. Model comparison for the individual student has the benefit of having a teacher present to provide feedback, a privilege that self-taught students would not have. When confronted with the inevitable replacement of aural communication with the printed page, Carulli encourages his readers to imagine sounds on top of the printed page and audiate the accompaniment.

The process of textual information and ‘reference book’ style of learning can only suit those who would wish to learn to compose in the newer nineteenth-century sense of the word — composing accompaniments by writing them down. *l’Harmonie appliquée* is a work that straddles this distinction, Carulli’s main concern was teaching those who would feel compelled to make an accompaniment for some piece (*quelque morceaux*) or arrange

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<sup>121</sup> ‘Le but étant ici, non de’entraire un Accompagnement d’un autre, mais d’en imaginer un sur un Chant donne, les Amateurs, qui voudront s’y exercer, consulteront les règles que j’ai données dans les chapitres 8,9 et 10, et compareront les Accompagnements qu’ils auront faits avec les miens qui sont imprimés a la fin de cet ouvrage. Cette méthode les conduira promptement a accompagner correctement les Chants qu’ils composeront eux-mêmes.’ ‘The goal being here, not to enter an Accompaniment from another, but to imagine one on a given Song, Amateurs, who will want to practice it, will consult the rules that I have given in chapters 8, 9 and 10, and compare the Accompaniments they have made with mine which are printed at the end of this work. This method will promptly lead them to correctly accompany the Songs which they will compose themselves.’ Carulli, *l’Harmonie*, 66.

existing accompaniments for piano or orchestra on the guitar.<sup>122</sup> The nature of a mass market of learners made it impossible to replicate the apprenticeship-style learning that many guitarists like Carulli benefited from.<sup>123</sup> This new mass-market demand was the environment in which *werktreue* ideals could be instantiated at a societal level even if only implicitly. No other author than Carulli knew this better as his music was some of the most fashionable at the time. Despite Carulli's intentions and favourable attitude towards preluding, and self-accompaniment, the demand for musical works, and the skills required to execute them, became an indomitable force.

*l'Harmonie* is a work unlike any methods of the time showcasing the transition from 'bottom-up' harmonisation practice of the eighteenth century to the 'top-down' approach that would become prevalent in popular music of the twentieth century. Carulli's teaching methods rely on statistical learning and model comparison, all vital aspects of improvisation pedagogy. It is possible that this collision of two incongruous dissemination types, mass publishing, and aural model comparison probably led to a decline in improvisation ability as publishing evolved into the industry of music education. However, the decline of improvisation is a phenomenon that is undoubtedly centred around the growing concept of *werktreue* — a view of 'works' that created an executant-focused teaching style prevalent in the twentieth century. This executant pedagogy is in stark contrast with the teaching methods of many guitarists of the

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<sup>122</sup> 'Qui n'a point, en effet, senti plusieurs fois le désir de faire un accompagnement à quelque morceau qui en était dépourvu, ou d'arranger pour la guitare un accompagnement de piano ou d'orchestre.' Carulli, *l'Harmonie*, 1.

<sup>123</sup> Bone, *The Guitar and Mandolin*, 67.



nineteenth century who used transposition, variation and recombination to advance musical skill.<sup>124</sup> As the top-down approach to harmonisation became evident, it became the preferred method for teaching accompaniment primarily because of the simplicity such a system afforded. With an emphasis on fundamental root motion, a phenomenon of consolidation occurred where bass motions became more or less obsolete among amateurs. Whereas a composer who specialised in basso continuo would have a wide vocabulary of bass motions, modulations, and accompanied scale figure, an amateur using functional harmony could easily reduce these all to elaborations of a fundamental root motion, predominately V7-I.<sup>125</sup>

### **3.9 Solfege Collections for Guitar**

The study of *solfeggio* has a rich tradition which has evolved both in musical style, and pedagogical function over its long history. The solfege collections of Ferdinando Carulli and Francesco Molino serve different purposes from the solfege written by Neapolitan masters in the eighteenth century. While it is true that they appear to enable the student to sing, they resolutely served the purpose of facilitating the learning of accompaniment. This is mentioned by Francisco Molino in the introduction to his collection of solfege where he states ‘I determined myself to also compose a Method for the solfege, in order to give amateurs enjoyable lessons and the easiest way to learn to sing and to accompany

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<sup>124</sup> See page 265-275.

<sup>125</sup> This idea was increasingly popular among Germanic theorists and Marpurg’s criticism of Daube signals that this was becoming more common. See page 79, footnote 73.

each other.<sup>126</sup> Molino also offers some rare comments in the accompanying explanation indicating that it is more helpful to know how a lesson, and in this case, the melodic schema he employs, is conceived in order to gain the most benefit from it ‘it is more essential to make known the way of conceiving them.’<sup>127</sup> Molino’s examples, however, are little more than naming the specific variation technique used in each example, and each technique is clearly aimed at an amateur audience. An important aspect of Molino’s method that appears in other methods of this time is his introduction of harmonised major scales (Example 3.19).<sup>128</sup> These function like the rule of the octave but instead the major scale is placed in the highest voice and the harmony below it is the source of variation. Several of these scales are presented and each instance of a particular melodic passage, for instance from *Re* to *Mi*, does not necessarily contain the same bass and harmonies when they appear in other exercises; Molino instead demonstrates a multitude of possibilities that could be placed underneath each melodic motion.

Example 3.19: Molino, Harmonised Major Scale, c1820




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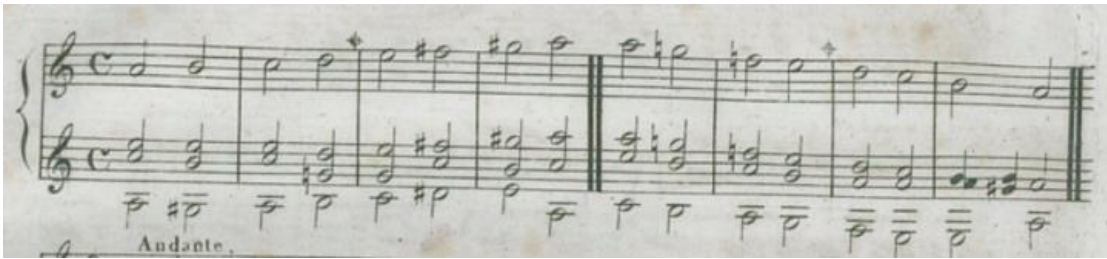
<sup>126</sup> ‘Je me suis déterminé à composer aussi une Méthode pour le solfège, afin de donner aux amateurs des leçons agréables et la manière la plus facile d’apprendre le chant et de s’accompagner.’ Francesco Molino, *Méthode pour apprendre le solfège op. 48* (Paris: n.d.), 1.

<sup>127</sup> ‘il faut plus essentiellement faire connaître la manière de les concevoir’ Molino, *Méthode pour apprendre le solfège op. 48*, 1.

<sup>128</sup> Molino, *Méthode pour apprendre le solfège op. 48*, 15.

Molino offers several variations of these throughout the method in different keys including the minor mode, with different rhythms in the voice and the accompaniment, and includes one for an ascending and descending chromatic scale (Example 3.20 and 3.21).<sup>129</sup>

Example 3.20: Molino, Ascending ‘Melodic’ Minor Scale, c1820



Example 3.21: Molino, Ascending Chromatic ‘Vocal Scale’, c1820



The solfège methods, while rudimentary, when used in conjunction with a method from any of the authors mentioned, would have provided a holistic and all-encompassing musical tuition, one which developed not only physical skill in executing passages but a trained musical intuition regarding melody and accompaniment. While unaccompanied

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<sup>129</sup> Molino, *Méthode pour apprendre le solfège* op. 48, 39.

solfege collections became more common after 1840,<sup>130</sup> as late as 1870 Tomás Damas must have felt it worthwhile and profitable to publish his own collection of guitar-accompanied *solfeo*.<sup>131</sup>

A guitar accompanied solfege method serves several purposes but the cumulative effect of practising solfege with self-accompaniment is to make physical and tangible the more abstract theoretical precepts required for accompanying songs. For seventeenth- and eighteenth-century professional musicians, it was the melody-bass relationship that was strengthened through solfege. Solfeggi were usually accompanied with a figured or unfigured bass lines (intended to be realised at the keyboard) and this practice continued into the early nineteenth century with figured solfege collections being published by many Italian authors. Bonifazio Asioli, who studied with Angelo Morigi, and was renowned as an improviser, published many methods on counterpoint and a collection of solfege, and probably published two guitar methods.<sup>132</sup> By the nineteenth century however, and especially for amateurs learning harmony on the guitar, it was the melody-chord relationship that became the preferred way of developing proficiency in accompaniment. This form of conceptualising harmony became ideal for improvisation

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<sup>130</sup> The definitive text on Solfeggio and a brief description of their eventual decline in use is detailed in Nicholas Baragwanath, *The Solfeggio Tradition: A Forgotten Art of Melody in the Long Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).

<sup>131</sup> Tomás Damas, *Método de solfeo abreviado con acompañamiento de guitarra* (Madrid: A. Romero, c1874).

<sup>132</sup> There is mention of two guitar methods in Bone, *The Guitar and Mandolin*, 20, but no cross reference can be found in Stenstadvoll, *An annotated bibliography of guitar methods*, 1-12. It is very possible that the methods Bone references were actually published by Bonifazio's ancestor Francesco Asioli, *Concerti armonici per la chitarra spagnuola as posti da Francesco Asioli Reggiano* (Bologna: 1676). Bonifazio Asioli, who was known as a child prodigy — Asioli publishing two guitar methods during his lifetime seems plausible.

as the vast amount of bass-melody schema could now be consolidated to a few primary chord harmonies and their inversions. Eventually, however, solfege collections were less likely to come with any corresponding accompaniment like those popularised by Danhauser.<sup>133</sup> That Danhauser worked with Gustave Carulli is poignant. Both Ferdinando and Gustave Carulli believed in the multifaceted use of accompanied sets of solfege for developing a holistic musical skillset.<sup>134</sup> But by Gustave's death the unaccompanied solfege was positioned to become the preferred format in conservatories across France and eventually the world. It was this increased development towards beginners and amateurs, along with the growing importance of musical works, that gave rise to the type of aural skills and harmonic analysis classes which standardised the teaching of music theory in the twentieth century. This transition, from apprenticeship-based musical training to amateur tutelage, to a classroom environment — largely based around the mass publishing trends of the nineteenth century — was a death blow to the integrated and functional musicianship that accompanied solfege collections cultivated.

While Carulli's methods would garner a reputation as some of the most successful and popular methods of all time, his reputation as a formulaic and uninspired composer is still a quietly but commonly held conception in the twenty-first century. Carulli's biography,

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<sup>133</sup> Adolphe-Léopold Danhauser, *Solfège des Solfèges* trans. J. H. Cornell (New York: G. Schirmer, 1891).

<sup>134</sup> '... j'ai préféré y faire un accompagnement le plus simple possible, et qui soutiendra la voix en me bornant dans mes principes élémentaires, comme dans mes solfèges aux leçons les plus nécessaires pour qu'on puisse devenir bon musicien, et savoir solfier.' 'I preferred to make the accompaniment as simple as possible, and which will support the voice by limiting me in my elementary principles, as in my solfège's to the lessons most necessary so that one can become a good musician and know how to solfier.' Ferdinando Carulli, *Solfèges avec accompagnement de guitare très facile précédés des principes élémentaires de la musique op. 195* (Paris: Carli 1822), 1.

written in 1984, has never been translated into English, but a two-volume catalogue of his works does exist and expresses a re-evaluation of Carulli's teaching and its role in shaping his didactic compositions.<sup>135</sup> The educational output of Carulli, Molino, Bathioli and many other nineteenth-century guitarists represent a three-pronged approach to not only learning the guitar but also to becoming a more dynamic musician. A triumvirate approach consisting of etudes, preluding with modulations and solfege collections. Etudes and variation sets were designed to introduce technical issues and variation techniques, preluding and modulating were for developing harmonically informed reflexes and solfege collections honed the reflexes with the ear. These teaching methods were largely absent in the methods of Fernando Sor and Mauro Giuliani and the devotion towards their methods, and works, in the twentieth century is probably a reflection of how poorly regarded accompanying the voice, and possibly even improvisation writ large, was considered among the modernists. As the modernist ideology towards the interpretation of musical works achieved a hegemonic position, self-accompanied solfege training for guitarists vanished. The disappearance of accompaniment training for classical guitarists by the twenty-first century is the logical outcome of a century of Modernist thought hiding from the ghost of the guitar's ancient and most beloved musical role.

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<sup>135</sup> Bertazzi, *Ferdinando Carulli*; Torta, *Catalogo Tematico delle opere di Ferdinando Carulli*.

## Chapter 4 Analytical Commentary

### 4.1 *Partimento* Practice on the Guitar

Improvisation pedagogy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was most developed on the keyboard and the voice and was disseminated largely through manuscripts of *partimenti* and *solfeggi*. There were also many methods for keyboard explicitly dedicated to preluding or improvisation which appeared in the early nineteenth century indicating the practice was widespread among amateur keyboardists. The versatility of the keyboard made it best suited to demonstrate theoretical concepts and, as a result, practice techniques that cultivated improvisation such as bass motions and the rule of the octave were more developed on this instrument. Most of the accompanied solfege collections were intended for keyboard accompaniment despite the guitar's popularity for accompanying the voice. The improvisation teachings present in the keyboard literature influenced nineteenth-century guitarists, but guitarists contributed unique ways of teaching improvisation. While *partimenti* and figured *solfeggi* continued to be disseminated in the early nineteenth century, this is also the period where continuo playing as a functional skill declined. As continuo practice ended, the six-string guitar assumed the role of the five-course guitar as the 'instrument most suited to accompany the voice.'<sup>1</sup> As a result, the overlap of the six-string guitar's popularity for vocal accompaniment and the not-yet obsolete basso continuo practice prompted some writers

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<sup>1</sup> 'Le plus propice pour accompagner la voix.' Ferdinando Carulli, *Solfèges avec accompagnement de guitare op. 195* (Paris: Carli, 1822), 1.

to include continuo training in their methods.<sup>2</sup> Salvador Gil, in 1827, maintained that accompanying from a basso continuo was a necessary aspect of guitar instruction indicating that continuo training was a skill that six-string guitarists cultivated.

Since the guitar is a harmonic instrument, it is necessary to take some knowledge of the three ways to accompany, which are: by made accompaniments, by bass, and by score. The first consists of executing exactly what the author would have written; this I know well. This is achieved by knowing the instrument with perfection and reading the music correctly.

The second, which is to accompany the bass of a composition, is executed by applying to it the corresponding harmonies, which is achieved with the knowledge of the postures or most necessary chords, consonant as well as dissonant, their resolutions; the application of the postures to the strings of the major and minor scales, and bass modulations.<sup>3</sup>

Gil includes five small lessons on a bass clef with figures which can be considered the first *partimenti* on the six-string guitar demonstrating how to practise the rules of accompaniment taught throughout his method.<sup>4</sup> Gil's solo bass accompaniment lessons

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<sup>2</sup> See page 58 footnote 11, page 94 and 110.

<sup>3</sup> 'Por ser la guitarra un instrumento armónico es preciso tomar algún conocimiento de los tres modos que hay de acompañar, que son: por acompañamiento hecho, por el bajo, y por partitura. El primero consiste en ejecutar exactamente lo que el autor hubiese escrito; esto se consigue conociendo el instrumento con perfección, y leyendo correctamente la música.

El segundo, que es para acompañar por el bajo de una composición, se ejecuta aplicando las armonías que le correspondan, lo que se logra con el conocimiento de las posturas o acordes más necesarios, así consonantes como disonantes, las resoluciones de éstos; la aplicación de las posturas a las cuerdas de las escalas del modo mayor y menor, y las modulaciones del bajo.' Salvador Gil, *Principios de música aplicados á la guitarra 2nd ed* (Madrid: Bajada de Santa Cruz: Imprenta de D. E. Aguado, 1827), 19.

<sup>4</sup> 'Para hacer alguna demostración práctica sobre las reglas antecedentes, he compuesto cinco pequeñas lecciones de bajo en esta forma: la primera que es de nota contra nota se ejecuta dando igual valor a las posturas que a las notas del bajo.' 'To make some practical demonstration on the antecedent rules, I have composed five little bass lessons in this way: the first one being note against note, it is executed by giving equal value to the postures as to the bass notes.' Gil, *Principios*, 27.



begin with scales in the bass clef showing suitable octave transpositions on the guitar, followed by exercises resembling *partimenti* in figures 2-4 (Example 4.1).

Example 4.1: Gil, 'Partimento' Lesson, 1829

LAMINA 17<sup>a</sup>

The image displays a musical score titled 'LAMINA 17<sup>a</sup>' from Gil's 'Partimento' Lesson, 1829. It consists of four figures (Fig 1a, Fig 2, Fig 3, and Fig 4) written in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). Fig 1a shows a scale with various octave transpositions. Fig 2, 3, and 4 show exercises with specific fingering and fretting instructions such as x4, x6, x7, and x3.

If this practice were more widespread it would be possible to compare the *partimenti* written by guitarists with those of the Neapolitan authors, but comparisons are not possible unless more examples written by guitarists are found. Despite the lack of *partimenti* exercises for guitar, authors of keyboard methods who certainly trained in *partimenti* were mentioned in the guitar methods, notably the attribution to André Ernest Modeste Grétry found in the appendix of Aguado's 1825 *Escuela*. The educational material for piano is quite explicit in its representation of improvisation and the guitarists were often no less explicit. This comparative analysis will contextualise the guitar-

centred improvisation pedagogy more broadly with the teachings and rules written explicitly for the keyboard.

## 4.2 Towards a Taxonomy of Nineteenth-Century Improvisation

### Pedagogy

Giorgio Sanguinetti organises *partimenti* training into five different classes.<sup>5</sup> Class I consist of basic axioms including general voice leading principles, cadences and the harmonisation of small movements of the bass, specifically one that travels up or down by semitone. Class II contains the harmonisation practices for the rule of the octave, class III regards suspensions and dissonances, class IV involves bass motions and class V contains scale mutations. These classes are a useful point of departure for organising the material by guitarists as, despite many similarities, there are several instances where these classes do not neatly describe what guitarist wrote. As indicated by Moretti, cadences were usually synonymous with prelude material (*dar el tono*) and only in a few instances did authors such as Dionisio Aguado and Francois de Fossa provide a disambiguation.<sup>6</sup> Very little deviation exists between the guitarist's presentations of 'cadences' after Moretti, with almost every author using the term to refer to a set of I, IV, and V chords. When compared to the *partimento* tradition the differences are significant; because instruction of cadences was intended as prelude material, guitarists largely dispensed with the nuances found among the rules of *partimento* authors such as the simple vs compound

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<sup>5</sup> Giorgio Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento: History, Theory, and Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 99-164.

<sup>6</sup> See section Chapter 2 section 2.7.

distinction. This significantly reduced abstract material down to only what is tailored for use in an improvised performance context. To create a taxonomy relevant to twenty-first-century students, grouping simple cadences in with the resolution taught by authors like Federico Moretti, and Ferdinando Carulli is useful. If the short cadences and resolutions are practised to a point of automaticity, they can be utilised more like harmonic embellishments or punctuation upon longer material like a prelude canvas or the rule of the octave. This classification resembles the different prelude styles of P. A. Corri (1784-1832), and his second style is near analogous to the simple cadences found in the guitar methods.<sup>7</sup> This is also conceptually linked with the organisation of materials by A. F. Kollman's (1756-1829) who placed major chords, I-IV-V cadences, and the arpeggiated variations of them, in the first two lessons.<sup>8</sup>

The rule of the octave on the guitar stretches at least as far back as François Champion.<sup>9</sup> Champion is often credited as the first to use the term, however, sets of harmonised major scales exist in many treatises throughout Europe in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>10</sup> They were commonly found in *zibaldone* written by students who studied in the Neapolitan conservatories, and they served many pedagogical purposes. It was both a type of finger exercise and a compositional shorthand for reading basso continuo. It involved major and minor scales with a set of tonally cohesive harmonies on

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<sup>7</sup> Philip Antony Corri, *L'Anima di Musica, Book 4: Original System of Preluding* (London: Chappell & Co., c1810), 86.

<sup>8</sup> Augustus Frederic Christopher Kollmann, *An Introduction to the Art of Preluding and Extemporizing op. 3* (London: R. Wornum, n.d.), 4-7.

<sup>9</sup> François Champion, *Traité d'accompagnement et de composition* (Paris: G. Adam, 1716), fol. 14-15.

<sup>10</sup> For more information about the history of this teaching device and its uses see Thomas Christensen, 'The Règle de l'Octave in Thorough-Bass Theory and Practice', *Acta Musicologica*, 64 (1992), 91-117.

top of each bass note. The prime reason for mastering the rules was so that a performer could efficiently accompany a figured bass. By learning the rules, a student would have a physical impulse to form a particular type of harmony above a scale degree in any context.

Examples of the rule of the octave are found frequently enough in the guitar methods of the nineteenth century to warrant a comparison of fingerings and chosen harmonies. The following analysis will also group the ‘vocal scales’ found in solfège methods as a variant of the rule of the octave. Like the rule of the octave, these vocal scales provide a type of shorthand for which chords could be used to harmonise a scale degree of the major scale — the difference is that in the rule of the octave the scale is found in the bass while in the vocal scale it is found in the soprano voice and is usually sung. This tool provides opportunities for the instructor to create various harmonisations below a scale or repetitive series of intervals. Suspensions are largely absent in the guitar methods except for their mention in de Fossa’s appendix in the *Escuela*.<sup>11</sup> Instead of developing suspensions as a technical device, guitarists typically only teach the topic implicitly when they appear in bass motions.

After the 1830s, methods transitioned towards a framework centred around triadic root motion rather than specific bass motions, but, despite this framework, the realisation of the bass motions mentioned by de Fossa still appeared in exercises and études throughout

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<sup>11</sup> Dionisio Aguado, *Escuela de Guitarra* (Madrid: 1825), 109.

the nineteenth century. This transition from bass-centric to root-centric pedagogy is expressed in the guitar methods with many authors often using both frameworks on the same page. Aguado uses *movimientos* to refer to bass driven harmonic schemata, Salvador Gil referred to them as *modulación del bajo*,<sup>12</sup> and Marziano Bruni, despite not mentioning bass motions explicitly, discusses four classes of seventh chords whose resolutions sometimes resemble bass motions. Bass motions can be considered in the same class as the rule of the octave as they often result in establishing a stable tonal context. This serves a separate function from the modulations that many authors presented which move away from a tonal centre.

The large emphasis that the methods place on teaching modulation takes the place of Sanguinetti's fifth class, scale mutations. Since the nineteenth-century guitar methods operated within a transitioning framework that incorporated functional harmony, bass motions were in some instances viewed through a lens that emphasises the underlying root movement. Because of this, collections of modulations written by guitarists are always organised by their root movement, presenting the starting root and the target root (for example, C major to Ab major). In this framework, collections of modulations are the natural consolidation of the scale mutations through a functional-harmony lens. In the

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<sup>12</sup> 'El segundo, que es para acompañar por el bajo de una composición, se ejecuta aplicándole las armonías que le correspondan, lo que se logra con el conocimiento de las posturas o acordes más necesarios, así consonantes como disonantes, las resoluciones de éstos; la aplicación de las posturas a las cuerdas de las escalas del modo mayor y menor, y las modulaciones del bajo.' 'The second, which is to accompany the bass of a composition, is executed by performing the corresponding harmonies, which is achieved with the knowledge of the postures of the most necessary chords, consonant as well as dissonant, their resolutions; the application of the postures to the strings of the major and minor scales, and bass modulations.' Gil, *Principios*, 19.

presence of a more well-defined tonal system found in the mid-nineteenth century modulations were often divorced from specific bass movements with the exception of one: the bass which descends by third.

This comparative analysis compiles the teaching materials of nineteenth-century guitarists and my own adaptations of *partimento* rules when it is useful to compare complimentary schemata. One fourth class will be added to those extracted from Sanguinetti, and these are the collections of chord sequences that Carpentier called *prelude canevas*.<sup>13</sup> Don \*\*\* calls these sequences *préludes d'accords parfait*, and *préludes sur chaque ton*.<sup>14</sup> *Prélude canevas* were highly developed among guitarists but were also common among other melody instruments.<sup>15</sup> These *canevas* often moved beyond the more formulaic sense of a cadence and were harmonically more complex. Examples of similar *canevas de prelude* can be found in most nineteenth-century methods and are most often simply called cadences, but Francesco Bathioli provides the fitting name *cadenze prolungate*.<sup>16</sup> Both the *cadenze prolungate* and the *canevas* are conceptually linked to Moretti's explanation of *dar el tono* acting as written examples of material over which to improvise a prelude. They always ended on the tonic, ensuring it

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<sup>13</sup> See page 63

<sup>14</sup> Don \*\*\*, *Méthode Pour Apprendre à Jouer de la Guitare* (Paris, c1760) Facsimile reprint in *Méthodes & Traités Guitare: France 1600-1800* Vol.1 (Courlay, France: Editions J. M. Fuzeau, 2003), 12-13.

<sup>15</sup> For examples of prelude canvas on other instruments see Betty Bang Mather, *The Art of Preluding: 1700-1830 For Flutists, Oboists, Clarinetists and Other Performers* (New York, N.Y.: McGinnis & Marx Music, 1984).

<sup>16</sup> Bathioli, *Gemeinnützige Guitareschule*, (Vienna: A Diabelli und Comp., c1827), 24.

served the typical function of a prelude, but included progressions that utilise more harmonies than the I, IV, and V.

Moretti and many authors had amateurs as their target audience which affected the organisation of their materials. The following classifications are more useful for twenty-first century-conservatory training. This creates four essential classes of rules:

#### Class I - Cadences and Resolutions

Short tonal utterances consisting ordinarily of only two chords. This includes diminished sevenths, I-IV-V-I cadences, augmented sixths and other two-step schemata like Aguado's various cadences.

#### Class II - Rule of Octave and Bass Motions

Longer tonal phrases which serve to establish a key centre. These often move outside of the tonal centre when it sets up a stronger resolution to the dominant. Most bass motions will have modulating variations.

#### Class III – Modulations

Tonal phrases of short to medium lengths which serve to move from one tonal centre to the next.

#### Class IV - *Canevas de Prelude* or *cadenze prolongate*

Longer chord progressions which served as a backdrop for variation, they establish a tonal centre and prolong it through short tonicizations of other scale degrees.

## 4.3 Class I: Cadences and Resolutions

### 4.3a *Dar el tono* with IV-V-I

The teaching of cadences and resolutions as a technical ability was prevalent in the five-course guitar tutors. Resolutions arguably grew out of the tradition of presenting cadences on all the tones in Santiago de Murcia's *Resumen* which emphasised the qualities of each mode.<sup>17</sup> Murcia's text is designed for learning to accompany basso continuo and is written in mostly bass clef and tablature. Vargas y Guzman echoes this style of teaching, and his cadences borrow terminology from theoretical texts and organ traditions of the older sacred style. Vargas y Guzman is concerned with extensively adapting the various bass motions on the guitar demonstrating the *clausula interrupta* and *clausula finale* taught in all the eight modes. Other theoretical discussions of cadences include Aguado's five different types of cadences which he credits to Jerome Joseph de Momigny, the *perfect*, *imperfecta*, *evitada*, *interrumpida*, and the *burlada o rota*.<sup>18</sup> Aguado conceptualises cadences through affectual names and provides general technical patterns for each one with a few suggested contexts, and Cano continues the use of these terms in his *tratado de armonía*.<sup>19</sup> Despite these attempts by Moretti, Aguado and Cano to provide more varied examples of cadences, the most consistent material labelled 'cadences' found in the method books are harmonic progressions consisting of the IV-V-I chords in major and minor keys. Moretti was the first guitarist to exhaustively

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<sup>17</sup> Santiago de Murcia, *Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra* (Madrid: 1714), 6–28.

<sup>18</sup> 'Cours complet d'harmonie et de composition d'après une théorie' nouvelle et général de la musique basée sur des principe incontestables puisés dans la nature, par Jerome Joseph de Momigny.' 'Complete course of harmony and composition according to a new general theory of music based on indisputable principles drawn from nature, by Jerome Joseph de Momigny' Aguado, *Escuela*, 71.

<sup>19</sup> Antonio Cano, *Método completo: con un tratado de armonía aplicada a este instrumento* (Madrid: Antonio Romero, c1869), 19.



teach these, and like many others, organised cadence structures based on the physical position of the guitar of which Moretti indicates three ‘hands.’<sup>20</sup> Aguado indicates chord positions based on what string the tonic is on and whether the chord is complete or half while Anton Gräffer offers transposable shapes in which the bass and soprano voices both start and end on the tonic. Bruni’s cadences are the most exhaustively organised so that each I-IV-V is presented in three different inversions and with an additional one to two variations. These differences in priority — physical position on the guitar, position of the soprano, and position of the bass note — reflect the diverse attitudes about the function of cadences and learning chords found in the late eighteenth to the nineteenth century.

Moretti’s 1792 method was the first to teach IV-V-I cadences in every position and, because it was written for five-course guitar and then re-written for six-string guitar, his cadences differ slightly to accommodate the new instrument. The differences are slight but, since Moretti’s technique is rooted in the five-course guitar, two priorities are evident — accommodating the new sixth string and maintaining sonorities across all strings. Moretti expects students to be capable of executing *barres* with both the second finger and the third finger resulting in chord shapes that can be quite difficult for a six-string classical guitarist. This technique is commonly found in the twentieth century in the chord vocabulary of jazz guitarists. Moretti’s notation of chords places numbers on

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<sup>20</sup> Federico Moretti, *Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis órdenes* (Madrid: 1799), 50.

the right of the chord indicating the left-hand fingers and numbers on the left representing the frets of the guitar (Example 4.2).

Example 4.2: Moretti, *Barres* with the 2nd and 3rd finger, c1799



Moretti introduces these generalised chord shapes for major, minor, dominant seventh and diminished seventh chords revealing a thorough attempt to provide material for prelude. Instead of exhaustive cadences on each tone, most French methods published before 1799 featured freely-arpeggiated preludes which often included more complex schemata.<sup>21</sup> Moretti's cadences represent a clear transitional bridge between the chord systems found in the Spanish tradition by de Soto, Vargas y Guzman and eventually the guitarists of the nineteenth century. The ability to prelude and modulate on each tone was a hallmark of good technique prior to 1800 and Moretti's method may have earned praise because it was one of the first thorough technical explorations of the instrument's harmonic capabilities.

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<sup>21</sup> See page 72.

### 4.3b Marziano Bruni's Position Catalogue

Bruni combines different learning outcomes in an exercise on how to resolve the 'chord of the ninth' in the form of a *giro de armónico*. This *giro* is a fantasia-like composition with twenty labelled positions and Bruni specifically instructs students to transpose each position up the neck so that they may learn all the positions (Example 4.3).<sup>22</sup>

Example 4.3: Bruni, Presentation of a chord system, c1834

The image displays a musical score for guitar, consisting of three systems of music. Each system contains four measures, each representing a different chord position. The positions are numbered 1 through 12. The chords and their characteristics are as follows:

- 1<sup>st</sup> Position: C with 7<sup>th</sup>
- 2<sup>nd</sup> Pos: F Major
- 3<sup>rd</sup> Pos: F with 7<sup>th</sup>
- 4<sup>th</sup> Pos: Bb Major
- 5<sup>th</sup> Pos: Dim 4<sup>th</sup> fund: Bb, D
- 6<sup>th</sup> Pos: G Minor
- 7<sup>th</sup> Pos: Bb with 7<sup>th</sup>
- 8<sup>th</sup> Pos: Eb Major
- 9<sup>th</sup> Pos: Dim 4<sup>th</sup> fund: Bass G
- 10<sup>th</sup> Pos: C Minor
- 11<sup>th</sup> Pos: Eb with 7<sup>th</sup>
- 12<sup>th</sup> Pos: Ab Major

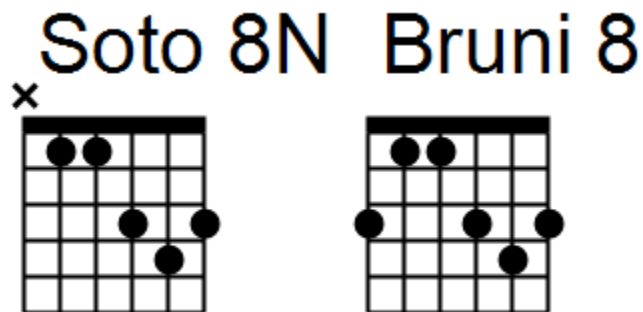
The score is written in a single treble clef with a common time signature (C). Each measure shows a sequence of notes with fingerings indicated by numbers 1-4. The bass line is indicated by a double bar line and a 'b' symbol, suggesting a simplified or implied bass line.

Bruni's device offers a parallel between the chord vocabulary taught in eighteenth-century *alfabeto* lists and his own chord positions. Although the *alfabeto* system and Bruni's chord positions are designed for different application, the overall effect of practising and transposing these two chord systems is largely the same: it develops the

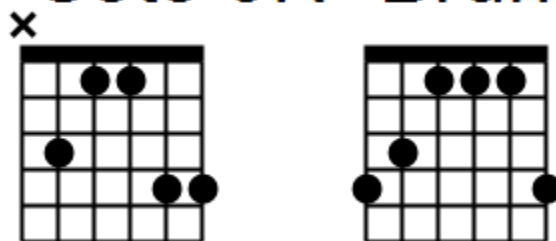
<sup>22</sup> Bruni's section on ninth chords refers to a previous section where he once again advises 'the pupil to begin with No.1 ... and to play this very same position on all the 10 frets in order to learn the names of the different chords situated on each fret.' Bruni, *Treatise on the Guitar Embracing the Rules of Harmony with Examples for the Guitar, Piano and Harp* (London: O. J. c1834), 22.

performer's technique around contemporary compositional style. By comparing Bruni's positions with the *alfabeto* shapes and the chord compendiums often used by jazz and rock guitarists in the twentieth century a shared framework of sense knowledge on the instrument emerges. Bruni integrated a positional system designed to be transposed into a *giro* which proceeds in dominant-tonic modulations through the circle of fifths. This has numerous learning outcomes, but Bruni's specific calls for transposition makes the exercise useful for improvising variations on V7 to I resolutions. If a student transposed each chord position in succession (from 1-20) up and down the neck with right-hand variations, then they have effectively practised improvising modulations through every key. This type of teaching makes abstract knowledge both physical and practical, and it is useful for further reinforcing the kinaesthetic connection between physical movements and sound. A pedagogical concern for musically relevant left-hand vocabulary can be seen evolving over seventy years (Example 4.4).

Example 4.4: De Soto and Bruni, Comparison of left-hand chord shapes



## Soto 9N    Bruni 12



Bruni significantly expands the chord vocabulary to more dissonant harmonies and provides advanced shapes for diminished seventh, and dominant seventh chords (Example 4.5).

Example 4.5: Bruni, Chord shapes for dominant seventh and fully diminished seventh



### 4.3c Dominant Sevenths Resolutions

Many authors indicated ways of transposing the shapes associated with the most fundamental chord progression, V7 to I. Most are grouped by keys in large collections while others emphasise transposition and provide left-hand templates to be moved up and down the neck. Bruni identifies four classes of seventh chords:

The first class is resolved into the tonic. The second class is generally resolved into the chord of the seventh of the first class or dominant seventh, which leads into the major tonic. The third class

is generally resolved into the chord of the seventh of the first class or dominant seventh, which leads into the minor tonic. The fourth class is generally resolved into the Chord of the seventh of the third class, which leads into the chord of the dominant seventh, - and the latter into the minor tonic.<sup>23</sup>

Bruni specifically advises the pupils to ‘transpose these 4 Examples into several keys and to practice them carefully.’<sup>24</sup> The differences between a ‘resolution’ and a movement are obscured by Bruni in his treatise. Although Bruni considers the second class a two-step resolution, class three and four are three-step chains of resolutions which resolve into either class one or two. In practice, these strings of resolutions create longer tonal passages that resemble the *movimientos del bajo fundamental* written by de Fossa, but they are totally derived from the underlying root motion and not the movement of the bass.<sup>25</sup> Bruni has a tendency for a clearly defined bass and treble register and attempts to leave plenty of ‘room’ for the bass voice by having treble voicings more densely clustered on the highest three strings. This often leads to chord shapes that allow the student to create a more dynamic bass line (Example 4.6).

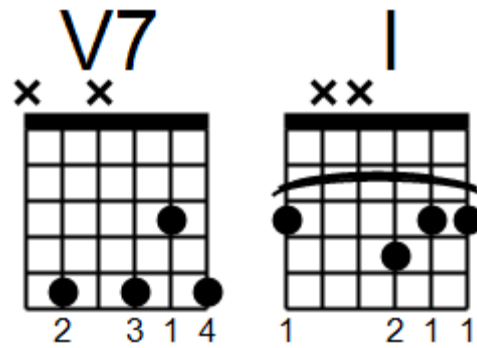
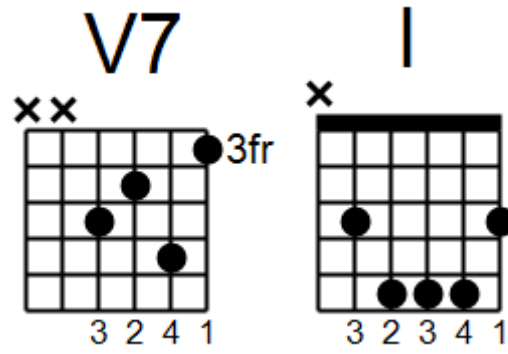
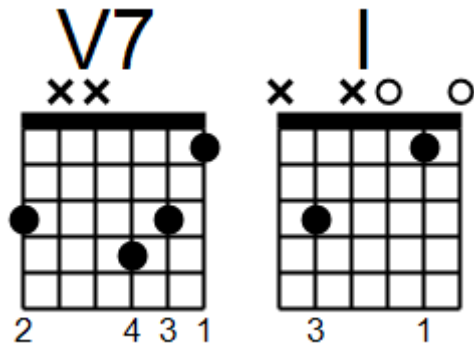
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<sup>23</sup> Bruni, *Treatise on the Guitar*, 54.

<sup>24</sup> Bruni, *Treatise on the Guitar*, 54.

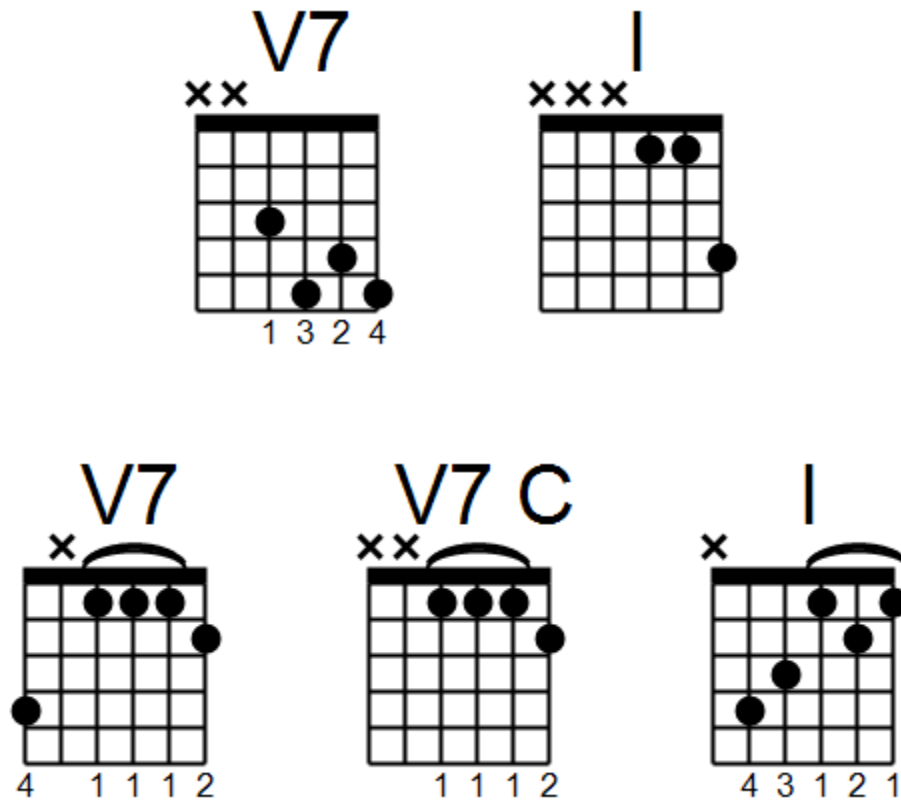
<sup>25</sup> Bruni is an outlier regarding his conception of what a resolution is and so the remaining three classes will be discussed under class II.

Example 4.6: Bruni, Left-hand shapes for dominant seventh resolutions



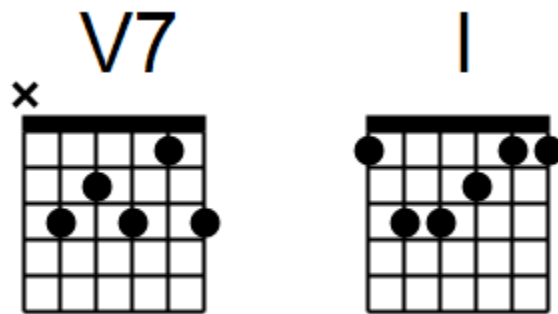
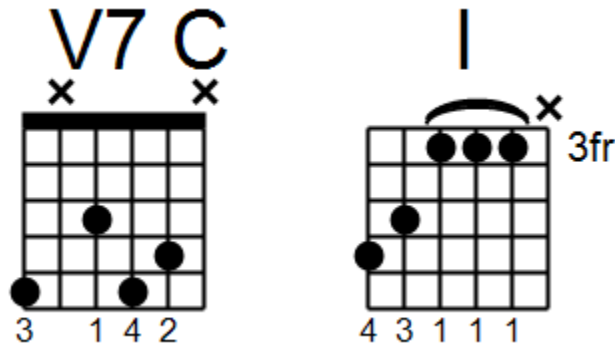
Francesco Bathioli's chapter on transposition in 1827 illustrates the resolutions of dominant and diminished seventh chords. In Bathioli's case the left-hand shapes for chords and resolutions are to be transposed, implying that transposition is a fundamental aspect of developing technique.<sup>26</sup> There are many similarities between Bruni's chord shapes and those proposed by Bathioli and other authors, but an incredibly diverse and sophisticated approach to harmony appears with many individual styles arising between composers.

Example 4.7: Bathioli, Left-hand shapes for dominant seventh resolutions



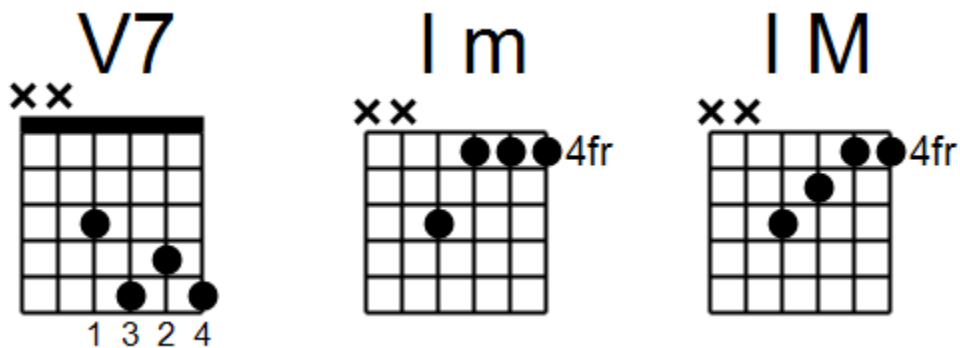
<sup>26</sup> Bathioli, *Gemeinnützige Guitareschule*, 35.



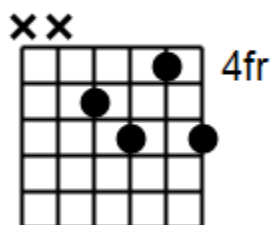


Aguado offers a comprehensive and transposable system for the resolution of the dominant seventh as well as several other non-standard resolutions for them. Aguado's shapes are more constrained to the top four strings, but he does offer short examples of forms that may be transposed down an octave (Example 4.8).

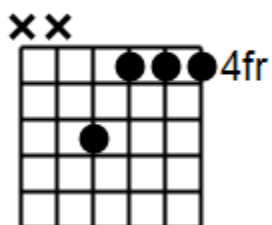
Example 4.8: Aguado, Left-hand shapes for dominant seventh resolutions



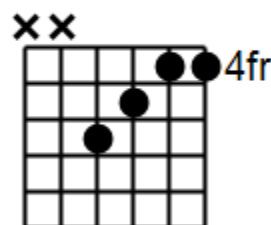
V7 b



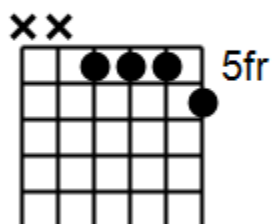
I m



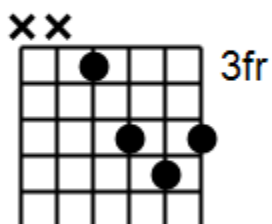
I M



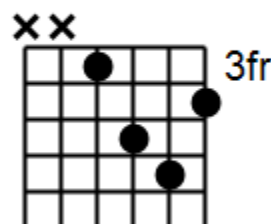
V7 c



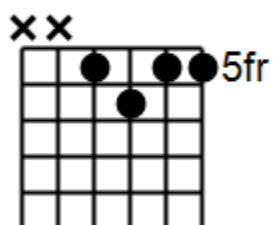
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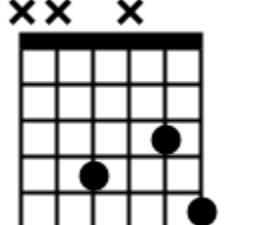
I m



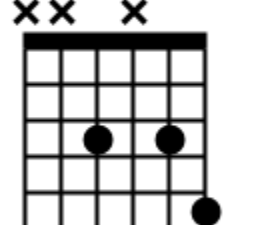
V7 d



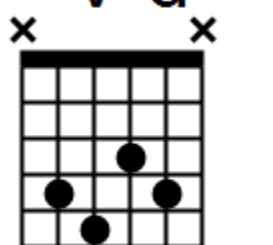
I b M



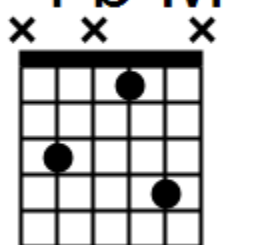
I b m



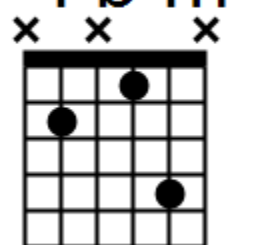
V d



I b M



I b m



A catalogue of these cadences and resolutions as they differ across the authors has the added benefit of being able to approximate the approach of a specific author in their preludes. This compiling of resolutions as a corpus of technical exemplars is unique and has clear applications for teaching nineteenth-century improvisation in the twenty-first century. Students do not need to approximate the physically disconnected teachings of a twenty-first-century theory classroom but can draw harmonic precepts directly from the idiosyncratic guitar techniques of nineteenth-century authors.

#### 4.3d *Imperfecta, Evitada, Interrumpida* and *Burlada o Rota*

Aguado mentions four other types of resolutions by name and provides clear examples for their realisation. The imperfect cadence, according to Aguado fits neatly into the twenty-first conception of the plagal cadence, with a clear designation that the first chord is the subdominant and the second chord is the tonic. But Aguado's examples also include possibilities which allow the subdominant to be minor, and the tonic to be major (Example 4.9).<sup>27</sup> This allows a multitude of possibilities that cannot be accounted for in either the Rule of the Octave or most bass motions. This kind of minor IV to I resolution is frequently employed in twenty-first century pop music.<sup>28</sup>

Example 4.9: Aguado, Imperfect Cadences, 1825



Aguado's evaded cadence is a specific instance in which the leading tone of a V7 chord descends by semitone to avoid the standard resolution. The root motion of the associated harmonies (V-I) is still maintained but in the *evitada* both harmonies are dominant seventh chords. In the *evitada* cadence, the 6-5 chord built on scale degree seven evades

<sup>27</sup> Aguado, *Escuela*, 71.

<sup>28</sup> 'Blackbird' by The Beatles, 'Creep' by Radiohead, or 'I Believe I Can Fly' by R. Kelly all feature this cadence, and a similar effect happens at the end of 'Recuerdos de la Alhambra' by Francisco Tarrega, where the introduction of F natural and D suggest a D minor chord which resolves to A major.

its traditional cadence to a 6-4-2 chord built on flattened scale degree seven (Example 4.10).

Example 4.10: Aguado, *Cadencia Evitada*, 1825



The *interrumpida* cadence is like the so-called deceptive or interrupted cadence in that its primary goal is V7 eventually cadencing a step above on vi. But the interruption occurs not by the V7 cadencing up by tone, but by the V7 moving to the secondary dominant V7/vi chord (Example 4.11).<sup>29</sup>

Example 4.11: Aguado, *Cadencia Interrumpida*, 1825



The *burlada o rota* (mocked, pranked, or broken) cadences are the terms used by Aguado to describe the V7 chord moving up by tone or semitone, resolving to a minor and major

<sup>29</sup> The deceptive cadence is explicitly named but the existence of an interrupted cadence is only implied in a section on secondary dominants in Stefan Kostka and Dorothy Payne, *Tonal harmony, with an introduction to twentieth-century music* (New York: McGraw-Hill 3rd edn, 1995), 262.

chord respectively (Example 4.12). This is nearly identical to the interrupted or deceptive cadence commonly taught in twentieth-century college level theory classrooms except Aguado accounts for a wide variety of target chords including major chords built on the flattened submediant.<sup>30</sup>

Example 4.12: Aguado, *Cadencia Burlada o Rota*, 1825



#### 4.3e Diminished Seventh Chord Resolutions

It was common for guitarists to instruct the resolutions of fully diminished seventh chords. Some authors choose to include these in sections on transposition while others have more specific uses and provide contextual data to inform when and how to best use them. Aguado offers several alternate resolutions of seventh chords providing insight into when and where such a resolution may be used. This sort of contextual information is a necessity when learning to improvise and is usually imbued only via statistical learning

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<sup>30</sup> See footnote 29.

either by listening to or studying a particular style. Not only is it useful for composing or improvising accompaniments as they were often intended, but it also served the purpose of training motor skills in the left hand to respond to cues both visually and aurally.

Moretti was the first to teach chord shapes of the diminished seventh chords and their resolutions. For nineteenth-century musicians, the by-product of a secure instrumental ‘technique’ is a highly automated set of compositional tools. The ability to transpose chords and to perform stock harmonic phrases in a variety of keys was a hallmark of a knowledgeable and proficient player.

Bruni considers the diminished seventh chord a harmony belonging to the minor ninth chord, which allows him to name the root of the diminished seventh a note not actually contained in the chord. Instead, the fundamental bass notes of a diminished seventh chord is the root note of the ‘chord of the ninth’ to which the diminished seventh belongs. By omitting the root of the ninth chord a diminished seventh chord is produced (Example 4.13).<sup>31</sup> Bruni indicates that there are only three different sounding diminished seventh chords which, if written using enharmonically equivalents and supplied with one of the twelve fundamental bass notes, can accommodate all twelve chords of the ninth.

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<sup>31</sup> Bruni, *Treatise on the Guitar*, 56.

Example 4.13: Bruni, Diagram on ninth chords, c1834

the following Example shows .

The image shows a musical score for Piano or Harp and Guitar. It consists of two systems of staves. The top system is for Piano or Harp, and the bottom system is for Guitar. Each system has two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The Piano/Harp staff shows three examples of diminished seventh chords, labeled 1<sup>st</sup> EX, 2<sup>d</sup> EX, and 3<sup>d</sup> EX. The Guitar staff shows the same three examples, also labeled 1<sup>st</sup> EX, 2<sup>d</sup> EX, and 3<sup>d</sup> EX. Below the Guitar staff, there is a section labeled 'Fundamental Bass Notes' with an asterisk. At the bottom of the page, there is a footnote: '\* As the Inversion of this Chord of the Diminished Seventh for the Guitar is given in Page 27, it would be superfluous to insert it here.'

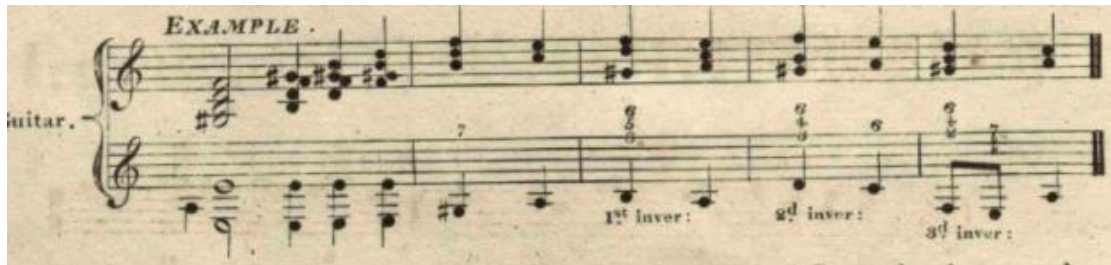
Each individual respelling of a diminished seventh chord has a specific fundamental bass note and a specific resolution. There are no fingerings for these ninth chords, and it is unlikely that Bruni intended any of the notes on the lower staff to be played simultaneously with the notes on the higher staff. This is further clarified by an indication that Bruni will not explore the inversions of the diminished seventh since he covered them earlier in a section entitled ‘Relative Minor Chords.’<sup>32</sup> Bruni provides four resolutions for the diminished seventh — one for each inversion — three of which are playable and easily transposed. The third inversion would be impossible on the guitar without either changing the bass note or reconfiguring the chord altogether (Example 4.14).<sup>33</sup> From these examples, and with one transposition of an upper voice, four moveable shapes can be extracted (Example 4.15).

<sup>32</sup> This section is not as exhaustive as some of Bruni’s other collections and is presented as a collection of ‘typical modulations.’

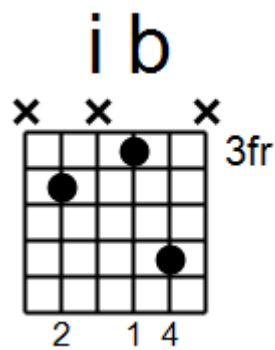
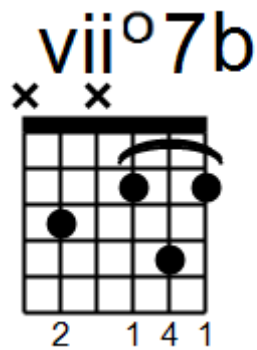
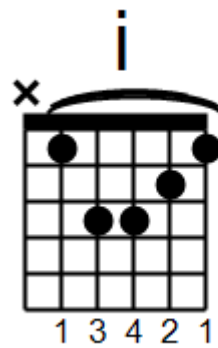
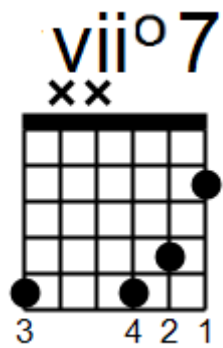
<sup>33</sup> Bruni, *Treatise on the Guitar*, 56.

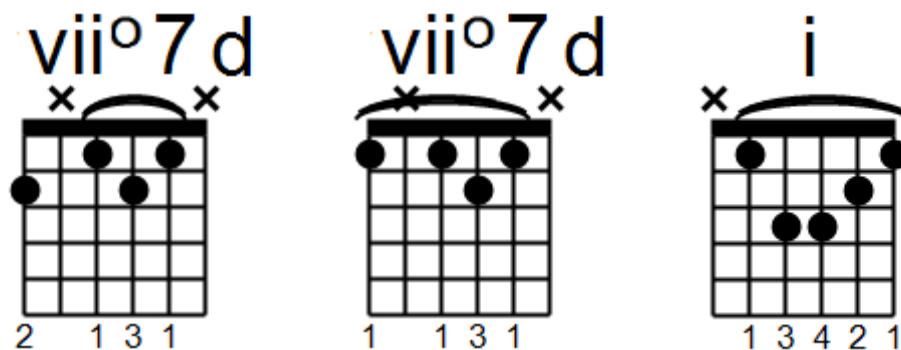


Example 4.14: Bruni, Resolutions of diminished seventh chords, c1834



Example 4.15: Transposed diminished seventh chord shapes





Carulli, too, offers a list for the resolution of diminished seventh chords but makes no mention of their genesis in the chord of the ninth. Carulli is not concerned with exhaustive lists of chords and leaves much responsibility in the hands of the student. Carulli offers a few of the diminished seventh's resolutions in common keys and does not include resolutions on all pitches. In this respect the overarching components that make up the resolution are contained in the examples and students are left to only memorise the general progression of sound and motion, most likely by creating or transposing additional examples themselves (Example 4.16).<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Ferdinando Carulli, *l'Harmonie appliquée à la Guitare* (Paris: Ph. Petit, 1825), 18.

Example 4.16: Carulli, Resolutions of diminished seventh chords, 1825

The image displays seven staves of musical notation, each representing a different minor key. The keys are labeled as follows: TON de LA MINEUR., TON de MI MINEUR., TON de SI MINEUR., TON de RE MINEUR., TON de SOL MINEUR., TON d'UT MINEUR., and TON de FA MINEUR. Each staff shows a sequence of chords and melodic lines. Asterisks (\*) are placed above certain notes in the lower staves, likely indicating specific harmonic features or fingerings. At the bottom of the page, the number '560. F.' is printed.

Aguado also offers contextual information regarding the alternate resolutions of diminished seventh chords in a section on the subdominant chord (Example 4.17).<sup>35</sup>

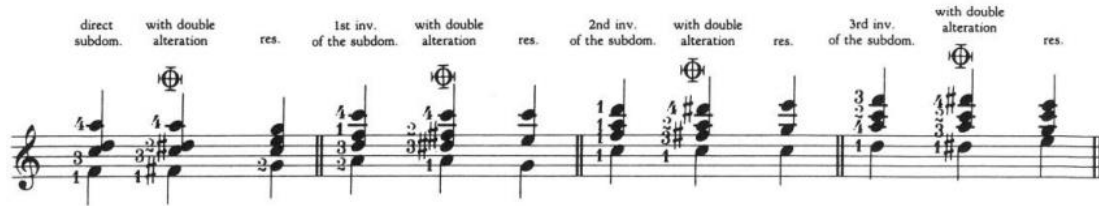
Aguado's understanding of the appropriate harmony for the subdominant chord is not a 5-3 harmony but a 6-5 chord. By raising the root and the sixth of the Subdominant chord

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<sup>35</sup> Dionisio Aguado, *New Guitar Method trans. Louise Bigwood* (London: Tecla Editions, 1981), 157.

a semitone, a ‘more elegant resolution’ to the 6-4 chord (second inversion of the tonic) can be created.<sup>36</sup>

Example 4.17: Aguado, Alterations of the Subdominant and their resolutions, 1849



This resolution provides further impetus for varying cadence points found in the rule of the octave when the bass ascends from 4 to 5. Practising this alternate resolution to a V6/4 chord is also useful for approximating early-nineteenth-century sounds where the cadential 6-4 is common. That the diminished seventh can be conceived of as a derivative, or ‘double alteration,’ of the subdominant chord gives further statistical data as to when to use such a resolution either in a prelude or as a means of strengthening a modulation. By practising these alternate resolutions, a type of impact-realisation response is physically automated, where one physical and aural catalyst (the IV chord) can have a few different stylistically restrained realisations (moving to V as in the rule of the octave, a compound cadence, or using a diminished seventh.) It is these alternate resolutions which are ideal for developing the sense knowledge required to improvise in this style.

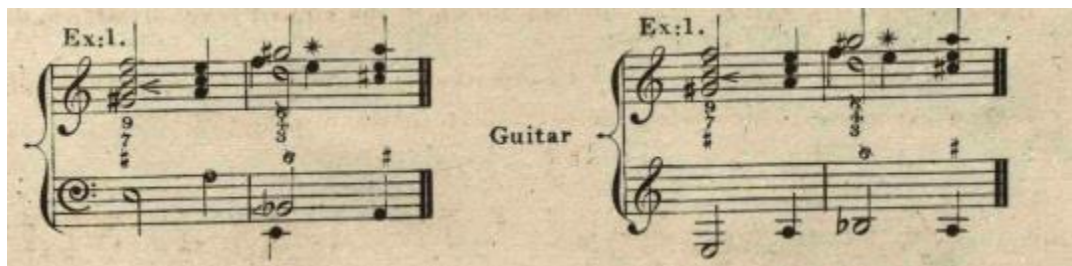
<sup>36</sup> Aguado, *New Guitar Method*, 157.

### 4.3f Augmented Sixth

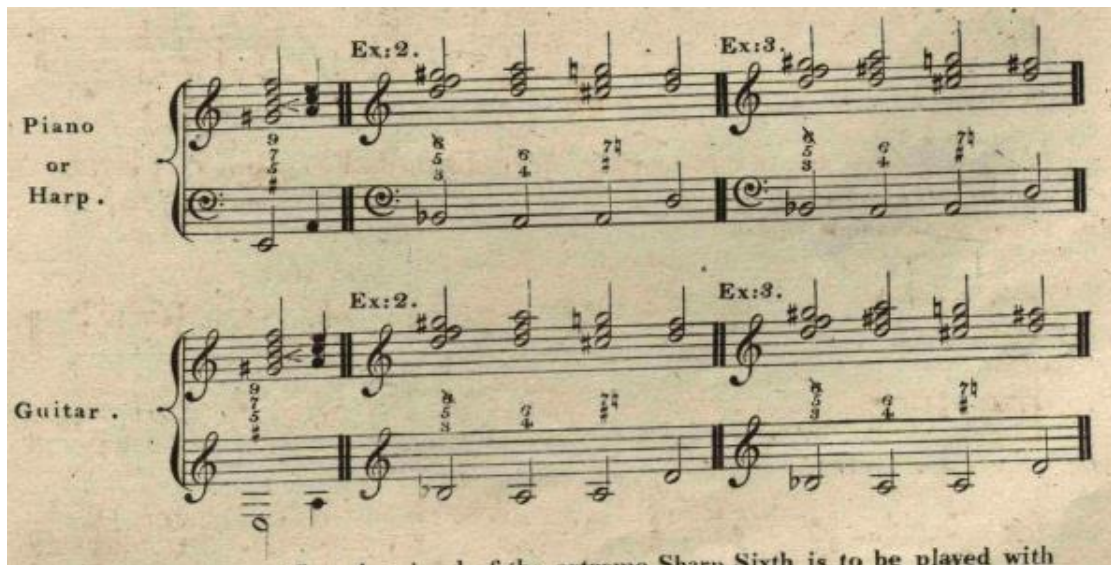
The augmented sixth chord, or extreme sharp, has various explanations for its origin.

Bruni describes the augmented sixth as an inversion of the minor ninth chord where the fifth has been lowered by a semitone. In twentieth-century forms of classification, it is the second inversion of a dominant seventh chord which has a flattened fifth and a flattened ninth. Bruni also indicates two common resolutions of the same augmented sixth chord (Example 4.18).<sup>37</sup>

Example 4.18: Bruni, Resolutions of the Augmented Sixth, c1834



Example 1 shows two resolutions of the augmented sixth chord. The left side is for Piano and the right side is for Guitar. Both show the augmented sixth chord in the treble clef and its resolution to the dominant seventh chord in the bass clef. The Piano part uses a 9 7 9 9 fingering, and the Guitar part uses a 9 7 9 9 fingering. The resolution is shown in two measures, with the augmented sixth chord resolving to the dominant seventh chord.



Examples 2 and 3 show resolutions of the augmented sixth chord for Piano or Harp and Guitar. Example 2 shows the augmented sixth chord in the treble clef and its resolution to the dominant seventh chord in the bass clef. Example 3 shows the augmented sixth chord in the treble clef and its resolution to the dominant seventh chord in the bass clef. The Piano or Harp part uses a 9 7 9 9 fingering, and the Guitar part uses a 9 7 9 9 fingering. The resolution is shown in two measures, with the augmented sixth chord resolving to the dominant seventh chord.

<sup>37</sup> Bruni, *Treatise on the Guitar*, 57.

Bruni indicates that for both resolutions the ‘tonic’ is A, but, in the second and third examples the tonic contains a seventh which ‘must be resolved like all sevenths.’<sup>38</sup> The ‘tonic’ or goal of an augmented sixth resolution can be either a major chord, or a dominant seventh chord whose resolution is delayed with a 6-4 chord upon the same bass note. Bruni uses a methodology with two, sometimes competing, analytical frameworks. Although he indicates all chords using typical continuo interval indications (stressing a concern with the bass, its motions and the intervals above it) he also organises resolutions based on the inversions of a fundamental root chord or tonic (concerned with root motion harmony divorced from the movement of the bass). In Bruni’s method, the augmented sixth is difficult to accurately contextualise because its presence in pedagogical material before the nineteenth century came primarily from the rule of the octave which is concerned with the motion of the bass and the intervals above it. Practising the rule of the octave provides a sense knowledge of how to stylistically contextualise different harmonies above a scalar bass in a complete tonal context. In the minor rule of the octave, the augmented sixth chord is found in the harmonic progression that is created when scale degree 6 descends to 5, which, while utilising chromaticism, envelops the fifth chord and strengthens its relationship to the tonic. Prior to Bruni and de Fossa, the augmented sixth chord was taught implicitly in guitar methods through the rule of the octave in the minor mode (Example 4.19).<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> ‘In this case the bass or lowered fifth descends a degree, while its sixth ascends a semitone, by which the Chord is resolved into the tonic. See the 1st example below, which begins with A, as tonic, E being the dominant. Besides this method [ex. 1] there are two others frequently used to resolve this Chord of the Augmented Sixth, viz: Ex: 2 & 3, when the chord modulates by way of suspension first into the chord of the 6/4 major or minor, then into the tonic which containing a seventh, must be resolved like all sevenths.’ Bruni, *Treatise on the Guitar*, 57.

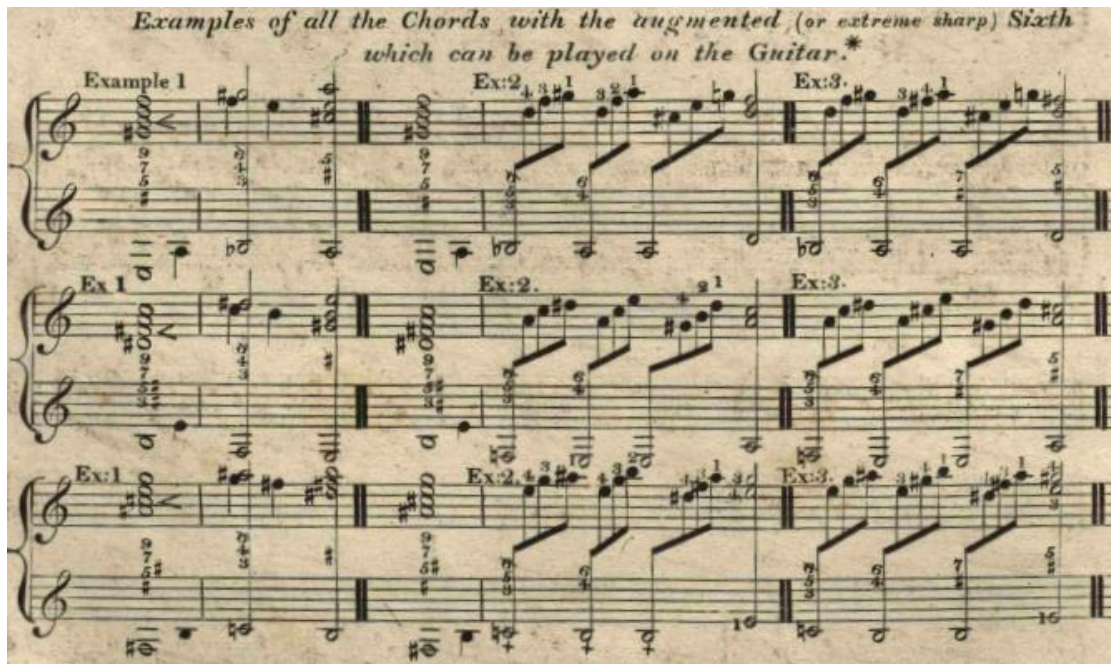
<sup>39</sup> Charles Doisy, *Principes généraux de la Guitare à cinq et à six cordes, et de la lyre* (Paris: Chez l’auteur, c1801), 45.

Example 4.19: Doisy, Rule of the Octave with Augmented Sixth Resolution, c1801



Bruni presents a table of augmented sixth chords on fourteen pitches in major and minor and in doing so strips the augmented sixth of its context (Example 4.20).<sup>40</sup> This presentation accounts for an augmented sixth that descends directly into a major tonic, which is identical to what twentieth-century theorists call the ‘French Augmented’ sixth chord (#6-5-4). It also accounts for the ‘German Augmented’ Sixth chord (#6-5-3) which appears in both major and minor.

Example 4.20: Bruni, Resolutions of the Augmented Sixth, c1834



<sup>40</sup> Bruni, *Treatise on the Guitar*, 66.

Aguado's understanding and construction of the augmented sixth chord nearly thirty years after Bruni's reveals the mid-century interpretation of this chord. For Aguado, the augmented sixth chord is formed by adding an augmented sixth onto a perfect chord explaining the #6-5-3 sonority, but he further obscures the tonal context of this chord by suggesting it can resolve to a major and/or minor chord which never appears in the rule of the octave (Example 4.21).<sup>41</sup>

Example 4.21: Aguado, Resolutions of the Augmented Sixth Chord, 1849



No mention of the rule of the octave is made in Bruni's treatise and no attempt to contextualise where it may occur in a longer harmonic schema is made. In the eighteenth century, the augmented sixth is a fragment of the rule of the octave which resolves to a major or dominant seventh chord built on scale degree 5. Bruni and Aguado interpreted the augmented sixth as a two-to-three stage, contextually ambiguous resolution, and suggests they can be used to resolve towards a major, minor, 6-4 or even dominant seventh chord. Without providing any stylistic context in which these are most probable it leaves the performer to find an appropriate context through play or composition.

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<sup>41</sup> Aguado, *New Guitar Method*, 158.



The easiest application of Class I resolutions is when performing embellishments upon longer harmonic schemata like the rule of the octave or a bass motion. When learned without a broader harmonic context the augmented sixth chord's immediate use as an improvisational tool is difficult to incorporate. This difficulty comes mainly because of the specific motion of the bass which is required to execute the resolution effectively. This is where Class II and IV serve their largest pedagogical function. Class II and IV are idiomatic harmonic material extracted directly from the method books of the period. The beginning stages of improvisation in this style entails learning a Class II or IV canvas and first varying with right-hand arpeggios. Once a Class II or IV device is learned, students can easily identify appropriate contexts to insert Class I resolutions. Having Class I resolutions automated leads to a variation-impulse where alternate resolutions or embellishments in longer sequences can be spontaneously recalled when using a Class II or IV device.

#### **4.4 Class II: Rule of the Octave and Bass Motions**

##### **4.4a Rule of the Octave**

In one exercise, the rule of the octave establishes one complete 'world' of tonality, incorporating moves to the dominant and the tonic, and is a useful device for learning to prelude in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century style. From the rule of the octave twenty-first-century theorists have extracted smaller schemata and the walking variants of Strobbe's schemata *Lancia* (motion towards V) and *cadenza* (motion towards I) primarily

use the syntactical elements of the rule of the octave.<sup>42</sup> Strobbe is correct in separating the rule of the octave based on the direction towards scale degree V or I as without either of these two, a strong tonal centre cannot be established. The rule of the octave, however, cannot explain other melodic schemata even if they remained in the same key, and these schemata are often learned through additional patterns which de Fossa calls *movimientos del bajo fundamental*.<sup>43</sup> Bass motions are used to organise any other schemata that featured a bass line which moved by intervals larger than a second. Many guitar preludes or exercises feature these formulaic sequences but only de Fossa's appendix explores the term *movimientos* in any detail.<sup>44</sup> De Fossa's appendix identifies six *movimientos* and a section on suspensions, alterations and bass pedals.<sup>45</sup> No version of the rule of the octave appeared in the first edition of Aguado's *Escuela*, but the second expanded edition features a short presentation of it in C major and A minor.<sup>46</sup> De Fossa made clear that the appendix on harmony is meant to teach a practical skill set: to modulate on the guitar (*reglas para modular en la guitarra*) and to exercise one's fantasy in modulating preludes (*ejercitar su fantasía en preluviar con modulaciones*), and gives credit to Grétry's *Méthode de Prelude* as a source.<sup>47</sup> Grétry's method is one of a number of

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<sup>42</sup> See chapter 1 for a brief introduction to Strobbe's component categories *lancia* and *cadenza*. For more information about the walking varieties *sbarco*, *reverence*, *overture*, and *finale* see Lieven Strobbe, *Tonal Tools for Keyboard Players* (Antwerp: Garant Publishers, 2012), 97, 103, 123, 128.

<sup>43</sup> Aguado, *Escuela*, 105-110.

<sup>44</sup> See page 134.

<sup>45</sup> Gjerdingen has coined the phrase *Quiescenza* for schemata involving bass pedals and this term was used again by Strobbe. Robert Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (Oxford University Press, 2007), 181; Strobbe, *Tonal Tools*, 61-69.

<sup>46</sup> Aguado, *Escuela*, 441-442.

<sup>47</sup> 'Movimientos del Bajo fundamental (Grétry, Méthode de Prelude)' Aguado, *Escuela*, 110.

theoretical texts dedicated to preluding and improvisation on the keyboard.<sup>48</sup> Many of these texts make frequent use of harmonised scales, and Grétry is no different.<sup>49</sup>

In comparing the rule of the octave on the guitar, categorising each example by key first was necessary, but for this analysis only C major and A minor will be compared here as they were the most common keys to find this device presented in. The guitar is an instrument which, while fully chromatic, due to its open strings often opens certain key areas to specific and unique fingerings or positions that might be inaccessible in key areas a few semitones away. Doisy's rule of the octave will be the starting point as it is the earliest written example that does not utilise figured bass and Doisy begins his rule of the octave with A minor.

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<sup>48</sup> See page 14.

<sup>49</sup> Grétry includes the rule of the octave and includes a third staff in which the 'root' of each chord is displayed below each scale degree indicating that the rule of the octave could be harmonised using only a I, ii, and V chord (16) and only the I and vii<sup>7</sup> chord in minor. André Ernest Modeste Grétry, *Méthode simple pour apprendre à préluder* (Paris: l'imprimerie de la République, c1801), 13-14, 16-22.

Example 4.22: Collation of the Rule of the Octave in C Major found in the guitar methods 1800-1869

The image displays ten musical staves, each representing a different guitar method for the Rule of the Octave in C Major. The methods are listed on the left side of each staff:

- Doisy - 1800
- Molino - 1814
- Carulli - 1825
- Fossa - 1826
- Salvador 1 - 1827
- Salvador 2
- Salvador 3
- Kirkman - 1844
- Cano 1869

Each staff shows a sequence of chords and fingerings for the Rule of the Octave in C Major. The notation includes treble clefs, common time signatures, and various chord voicings and fingerings. The methods show different approaches to voicing the chords and the sequence of notes in the octave.

Example 4.23: Collation of the Rule of the Octave in A Minor found in the guitar methods 1800-1869

The image displays eight staves of musical notation, each representing a different guitar method's version of the Rule of the Octave in A minor. The methods are: Doisy (1800), Molino (1814), Canlli (1825), Fossa (1826), Salvador 1 (1827), Salvador 2, Salvador 3, and Kirkman (1844). Each staff shows a sequence of chords in A minor, demonstrating the 'Rule of the Octave'.

The first similarity to address is the general cohesion of positions among key areas. C major and A minor always appear in first position instead of fifth or eighth (Example 4.22, 4.23). Only Kirkman, Doisy, and Molino wrote this device in keys other than C major and A minor — and only Kirkman presents them on twenty-four pitches. Gil, being more concerned with *basso continuo*, accounts for having fingerings in a variety of different ranges and provided three versions of the rule of the octave to account for this.

What is immediately apparent from this collation is the function and use of the augmented sixth chord as a means of setting up an arrival on the dominant from the flattened sixth scale degree. The major iteration would never result in this harmony as there is no descending semitone leading to scale degree five. There is also no context where the augmented sixth would resolve to a minor chord but, using Bruni's resolutions, it could be used to set up a minor chord in second inversion, leading to a compound cadence.

In his 1849 method Aguado only explicitly teaches the so-called 'German' augmented sixth consisting of a #6-5-3 harmony and never identifies a tonal context for it. Doisy and de Fossa provide context by employing the 'German' augmented sixth on scale degree five in minor. Molino and Carulli only employ the 'Italian' augmented sixth #6-3, but Gil and Kirkman both employ the 'French' Augmented Sixth #6-4-3. The latter two authors agree more with their Neapolitan counterparts writing for the keyboard — Fedele Fenaroli (1730-1818), Giacomo Insanguine (1728-1795), Giovanni Furno (1748–1837), Saverio Valente (fl.1780) and Carlo Cotumacci (1698–1785) all instruct that a #6-4-3 for this scale degree is appropriate.<sup>50</sup> Bruni claims that when moving down to a major chord, a #6-4-3 chord must be used to avoid parallel fifths.<sup>51</sup> Having a variety of different fingering patterns for different scale degrees provides the technical assurance to begin

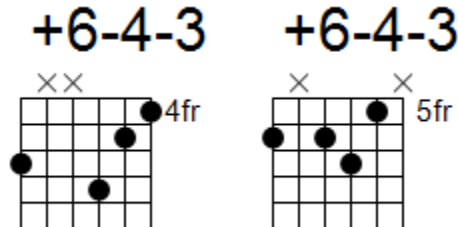
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<sup>50</sup> Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, 123.

<sup>51</sup> 'When the chord of the extreme sharp sixth is to be played with four notes, and is immediately resolved into Major tonic, it must be taken with the 4th as Ex: no. 1. Indicates.' Bruni, *Treatise on the Guitar*, 57.

variation. Bruni and Gil provided unique fingerings for the augmented sixth chord with the root placed on the sixth string (Example 4.24).

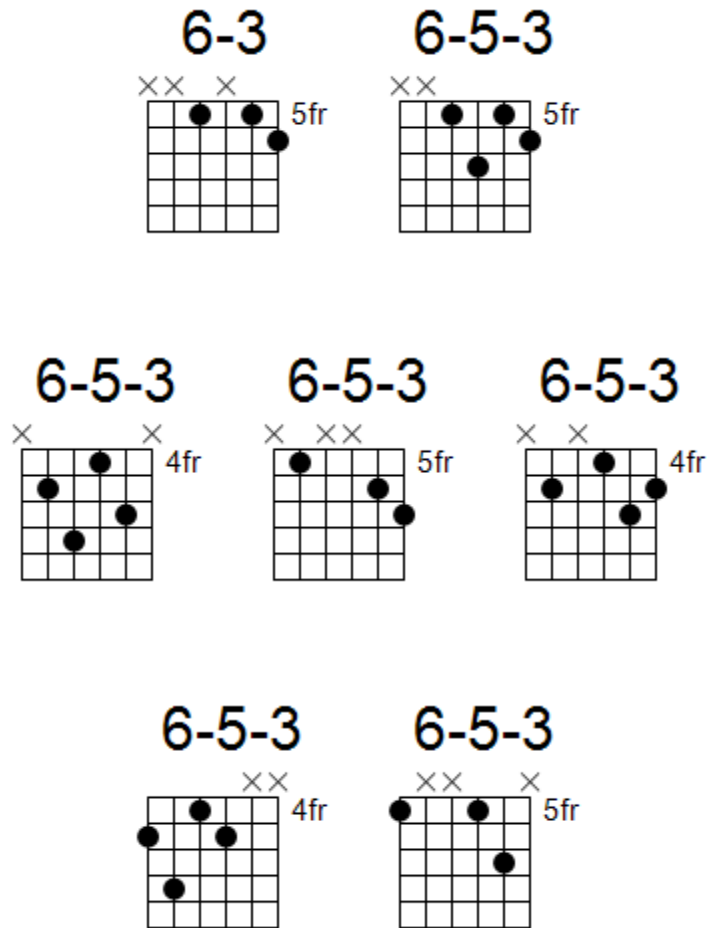
Example 4.24: Bruni and Gil, Fingerings for the Augmented Sixth



#### 4.4b Scale Degree Four and Six

Guitarists throughout the nineteenth century largely followed the same conventions concerning ascending harmonies built on scale degrees four and six. The harmony built on the subdominant is not a perfect chord, but a 6-5-3 chord, and guitarists provided a wide diversity of fingerings for this sonority (Example 4.25). Kirkman offers the most comprehensive selection of chords and offers a variety of demanding shapes for both major and minor. Molino and others preferred three voice shapes that omit the fifth which are easier to play and feature smoother voice leading at the risk of losing the brilliant clash between the sixth and fifth.

Example 4.25: Fingerings for Scale degree Four on different string-sets

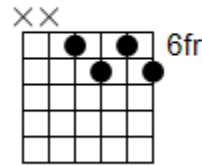
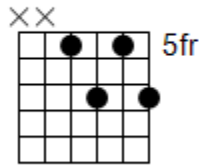


The subdominant harmony in major is where Aguado's 'more elegant resolutions' can be utilised (Example 4.26). With Class I resolutions learned they become variations of the rule of the octave, and this is more useful in improvisation but also contributes to learning how to compose more accurately in this style as it connects the variation with more appropriate contexts.

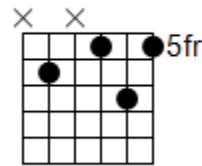
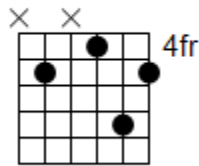


Example 4.26: Aguado, Subdominant Harmony with variations instructed

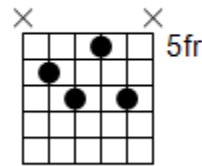
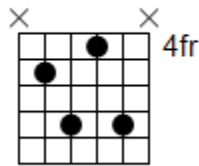
**6-5-3**



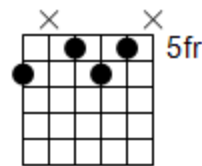
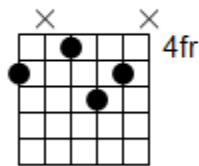
**6-5-3**



**6-5-3**



**6-5-3**



The harmony built on the submediant in the ascending form is also a place for diversity, as it must have a sufficient predominant function to scale degree seven but must not be a

jarring departure from the home key. This schema is called the *finale* by Strobbe and each author provides an individual way of conducting this schema with the most variation occurring on the submediant harmony.<sup>52</sup> Because the harmonies built in minor come from the melodic minor scale, the harmony built on raised scale degree six can often sound abrupt to twenty-first century ears — either sounding like a modulation or a brief change of ‘mode’ (Example 4.27).

Example 4.27: Submediant Harmony found in the Rule of the Octave

The image shows five musical examples of submediant harmony in A minor on a single staff. Above the staff are the names and dates of the composers: Doisy - 1800, Molino - 1814, Carulli - 1825, Salvador - 1827, and Kirkman - 1844. The notation shows various voicings of the submediant chord (F#6) in A minor, with some examples including a major sixth above the bass.

Doisy and Carulli both place a major sixth above the bass in A minor<sup>53</sup> and this is most likely to create a stronger pull to the harmony built upon scale degree seven. Placing a major sixth on this harmony forces an upper voice to either alternate by semitone or to descend chromatically (Example 4.28).

Example 4.28: *Finale* variant with a major sixth for the subdominant harmony

The image shows two musical examples of a finale variant with a major sixth for the subdominant harmony. Above the staff are the names and dates of the composers: Doisy - 1800 and Carulli - 1825. The notation shows various voicings of the subdominant chord (F#6) in A minor, with a major sixth above the bass.

<sup>52</sup> The *finale* is a walking variant of the *cadenza* schema as its essential motion moves from V to I. Strobbe, *Tonal Tools*, 128.

<sup>53</sup> Doisy is inconsistent with this harmony — in A minor he uses the major sixth and in all other keys utilises the minor sixth.



#### 4.4c New Interpretations of the Rule of the Octave

Using the examples of the rule of the octave found in the guitar methods as a starting point it is possible to draw a line up to the present day where improvising musicians frequently create their own harmonised versions of entire scales, or scale fragments.<sup>56</sup> I have created a few formulations of the rule of the octave based on the principles taught from the *partimento* authors, and with inspiration from the guitar technique from nineteenth-century guitarists (Example 4.30).

Example 4.30: New arrangements of the Rule of the Octave

The image displays five musical staves, labeled 'a' through 'e', each showing a different harmonic arrangement of the Rule of the Octave. The staves are written in treble clef and contain various chords and intervals, illustrating different ways to harmonize a scale or scale fragment. Staff 'a' is in C major, 'b' is in D major, 'c' is in E major, 'd' is in F major, and 'e' is in G major. Each staff shows a sequence of chords and intervals that represent a specific harmonic interpretation of the rule of the octave.

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<sup>56</sup> Harmonising major and minor scales in increasingly more complex ways has become a common way of teaching jazz harmony and can be found across the internet ‘7 “Dope” ways to Harmonise a Major scale tutorial/ exercises’, <[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gAkJJQPv\\_xQ](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gAkJJQPv_xQ)> [accessed 9 March 2021]. ‘The Harmonised Minor Pentatonic Scale’, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wUw4k2Jid-s>> [accessed 9 March 2021].

It was a common practice in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to liberally transpose bass notes up and down when performing off a bass part when it would create smoother voice leading or easier fingerings for the upper voice.<sup>57</sup> However, Kirkman attempts to create a completely moveable system by shying away from bass transpositions. All the examples are completely transposable using no open strings and utilise octave transpositions where it may create smoother voice leading or lead to a chord shape that is taught by other authors. Example 4.30a keeps the bass line in one octave while 4.30b and 4.30c embrace octave transpositions to create harmonies and voice leadings that would otherwise jump too much due to the physical constraints of the instrument. 4.30a and 4.30c place the root on the sixth string which can be used to create a stable ascending line with no octave transpositions or position shifts. 4.30e places the root on the fifth string, and, like Kirkman, creates a version which changes position but maintains proper voice leading. 4.30b and 4.30d place the root on the fifth string and fourth string respectively and utilise frequent octave transpositions. 4.30d uses a sonority on scale degree four which most authors of the nineteenth century avoided despite having marginally smaller guitars. Following the principle of using static voices to create dissonance 4.30d builds on Kirkman's *finale* and places an entirely stylistically 'inappropriate' 7-6-3 sonority on the submediant. Strobbe calls this oblique inner voice *tertia quiescenza*.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> See page 161-162, Carulli and Gil's rule of the octave on page 212 and Gil's bass lessons page 175.

<sup>58</sup> Strobbe, *Tonal Tools*, 20.

#### 4.4d Vocal Scales

A peculiar pedagogical device appears in many guitar methods of the nineteenth century in the form of a vocal scale, or as they were commonly known in Italy, a *solfeggio*. Vocal scales appear in the solfege methods of Carulli and Francesco Molino, as well as the guitar methods of Bathioli, Kirkman, and an instance by Cano where the major scale is in the soprano voice (*en lo agudo*).<sup>59</sup> None of these methods utilise the ‘usual Italian solfege’ (*ut-re-mi-fa-sol-re-mi-fa*).<sup>60</sup> Most instead utilise the French fixed seven-note system (*do-re-mi-fa-sol-la-si*) but Bathioli and Cano include no solfege. The occurrence of these vocal scales gives evidence that accompanied solfege was an important aspect of a guitarist’s tutelage. Many of these vocal scales extend beyond the octave and often feature instances of chromaticism (Example 4.31).<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Cano, *Método completo*, 41.

<sup>60</sup> The typical Italian solfeggio was a term used to describe an entirely separate solfege system in use for nearly two decades which was a moveable do system. The French solfege systems utilised seven syllables and was largely fixed to each pitch. Nicholas Baragwanath, *The Solfeggio Tradition: A Forgotten Art of Melody in the Long Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 6, 303-305.

<sup>61</sup> Louisa Kirkman, *Improved Method for the Guitar, designed to facilitate the progress of the pupil and to diminish the labour of the teacher* (Mrs Joseph Kirkman, c1840), 42.

Example 4.31: Kirkman, Vocal Scale, c1840

44  
42

VOCAL SCALE.

Do Re Mi Fa .....

Voice.

Accomp.

Sol ..... La La

Si ..... Do ..... Re .....

(2<sup>d</sup> Pos.) ..... (2<sup>d</sup> Pos.)

The significance of this small part of guitar instruction was that vocal training and accompaniment training were still not yet divorced as they would be in the twentieth century. They train not only how to sing but also provide insight into when and how to change the accompaniment for certain melodic fragments or scale degrees. The most commonly used device was a harmonisation of the major scale, often with contextually appropriate chromatic variations, but collections of solfege from Carulli, Molino and

Bathioli also included accompaniments for figures that rise by thirds, fourths, fifths, sixths, and sevenths (Example 4.32).<sup>62</sup>

Example 4.32: Bathioli, Vocal Scale in Fifths, c1827



The harmonisations of major scales, and other interval patterns resemble a vocal counterpart to the bass motions described by de Fossa and found in collections of *regole* from the *partimento* tradition, but such resemblances are only superficial. No guitarist outlined any substantial set of rules, and even the manner of harmonising a major scale contains noteworthy variety among guitarists (Example 4.33).

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<sup>62</sup> Bathioli, *Gemeinnützige Guitareschule*, 34.



Example 4.33: Comparison of the first six notes of vocal scales which ascend by step

Major Scale

Molino - ca. 1820

Carulli - 1822

Bathioli - 1827

Kirkman - 1840

The variety that does exist predictably features smaller cadences and resolutions found in the guitar methods of Bruni or Aguado. Bathioli inserts a *cadencia evitada* exactly as described by Aguado when accompanying *re* to *mi*. Kirkman inserts chromatic leading tones into the soprano voice and implicitly instructs what acceptable chromaticism could be inserted into a major scale along with the correct way of harmonising it using bass movement three.<sup>63</sup> The harmonisations used in Kirkman's vocal scale are probably

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<sup>63</sup> See Section 4.3b for an explanation of bass motion three and how it was used by guitarists to accompany ascending chromatic lines.

examples of the types of modulations trained vocalists and accompaniments felt comfortable inserting into their accompaniments.

## 4.5 Bass Motions

‘A significant amount of *partimento* theory is devoted to bass motions occurring in a regular series of intervals.’<sup>64</sup> Though this practice was widespread in *partimento* collections bass motions received little attention in guitar methods outside of de Fossa’s appendix. De Fossa credits Grétry for these bass motions and Grétry probably came across them while studying *partimenti* with Giovanni Battista Casali in Rome.<sup>65</sup> De Fossa discusses six fundamental bass motions.<sup>66</sup>

Movement 1 - Up by fifth or down by fourth

Movement 2 - Up by fourth or down by fifth.

Movement 3 - Down by third then up by fourth

‘3 B’ - Down by third then up by step

Movement 4 - Down by fifth, then up by fourth

Movement 5 - Up by third, then down by fifth

Movement 6 - Down by thirds, and to remote keys.

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<sup>64</sup> Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, 135.

<sup>65</sup> M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet and David Charlton, ‘Grétry, André-Ernest-Modeste’ in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.43361>> [Accessed 7 January 2021].

<sup>66</sup> I have separated bass motion 3 into two different movements. Fossa mentions a seventh bass motion but does not officially introduce it nor name it. Aguado, *Escuela*, 105-110.

Movement 1 is used by de Fossa mostly as a tool to introduce new key signatures.<sup>67</sup> The explanation of this motion is short, and no variations are introduced upon it. Gjerdingen calls this motion a ‘Monte Romanesca’ while Lieven Strobbe classifies it as ‘Lancia’ — movement to the dominant.<sup>68</sup>

#### **4.5a Movement Two**

‘Up by fourths or down by fifths’ is the first movement de Fossa develops as he treats movement 1 as a means to introduce new key centres. Movement 2 is typically accompanied by two major chords and de Fossa demonstrates how altering these two sonorities into dominant seventh chords create a descending chromatic line (Example 4.34). When these chromatic lines are placed in the soprano, the fundamental bass motion is maintained, but it can be inverted to create a descending chromatic bass motion. The first variation features a V7 chord alternatively resolving down to another V7 chord, and this closely resembles Aguado’s *cadencia evitada* but chained together by the logic of the fundamental bass motion (falling by fifth).<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Aguado, *Escuela*, 105.

<sup>68</sup> Strobbe, *Tonal Tools*, 89-110.

<sup>69</sup> ‘Se formara una serie de cadencia evitadas.’ Aguado, *Escuela*, 146.

Example 4.34: De Fossa, Movement Two Variations, c1825



Variation two inverts the bass motion and creates an *evitada* chain where each harmony is either a first or third inversion dominant seventh chord.<sup>70</sup> This series of chromatic steps down, in isolation, resembles what Gjerdingen calls the *passo indietro*.<sup>71</sup> The standard *passo indietro* is best demonstrated by the harmonies that occur when descending by semitone from scale degree four to three in the major version of the rule of the octave. The fourth scale degree receives the harmony of the dominant seventh (in third inversion) and resolves to the third scale degree which receives the harmony of the tonic (in first inversion). If the harmony on the third scale degree is further altered to have a diminished fifth, as de Fossa presents it, the *passo indietro* becomes the *paseo evitada* and this became a staple of chromatic guitar harmony for the next century. The practical ease on the guitar of the *paseo evitada* led guitarists to develop their own variations of harmonised chromatic scales which were featured in several collections of exercises. Ferdinand Pelzer was a well-established German guitarist who emigrated to London and

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<sup>70</sup> See an identical passage above in Aguado's *cadencia evitada*, page 196.

<sup>71</sup> '... a Passo Indietro (It., "a step to the rear"). The most strongly characterized form of the Passo Indietro carried the pair of thoroughbass figures 6/4/2 and 6/3, usually shortened to 4/2 and 6.' Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 167.

was the father and teacher of the esteemed Madame Sidney (Josepha) Pratten.<sup>72</sup> In a collection of exercises dedicated to Mrs Felix Horetzky and Mrs Elizabeth Mounsey, Pelzer included many unlabelled exercises which are all variations of de Fossa's bass motions (Example 4.35).<sup>73</sup>

Example 4.35: Pelzer, Variations on bass motion two, c1836

The image shows a musical score for four exercises by Ferdinand Pelzer. Exercises 71 and 72 are grouped together, as are 79 and 80. Each exercise is written on a single staff in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). Exercises 71 and 79 consist of chords. Exercise 72 consists of a melodic line and a bass line. Exercise 80 consists of chords.

Pelzer's 71<sup>st</sup> and 72<sup>nd</sup> exercise are typical examples of bass motion two, each major chord is heard before being turned into a dominant seventh chord either harmonically or

<sup>72</sup> 'Obituary: Sydney Pratten', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 36 (1895), 765.

<sup>73</sup> Ferdinand Pelzer, *One Hundred and Fifty Exercises for Acquiring a Facility of Performance upon the Spanish Guitar* (n.p., c1836).

melodically. The 6-#4 chord built on the E $\flat$  in Pelzer's 79<sup>th</sup> exercise omits the 2 (in this case the root of an F dominant seventh chord) but then descends by semitone creating a second variation of the *paseo evitada*. The omission of the 2<sup>nd</sup> above the bass creates an ambiguity as it is an omission of the fundamental bass motion. Kirkman largely follows de Fossa's example but she is more explicit in her instruction to use the harmonic canvas as a means of practising right-hand variations (Example 4.36).<sup>74</sup>

Example 4.36: Kirkman, Harmonisation of a descending chromatic line, c1840

The image displays a musical score for guitar, divided into three sections. The top section shows a descending chromatic line in treble clef, with fingerings (1, 2, 3, 4) and positions (8<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>) indicated below the staff. The middle section continues the chromatic line, with positions 2<sup>d</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> indicated below. The bottom section is divided into two variations, labeled 'Nº 1.' and 'Nº 2.', each showing a descending chromatic line with fingerings and accents (^) above the notes.

The *paseo evitada* is a ubiquitous pattern for guitarists, it can appear in softer modulatory harmonic figures or in more jagged passages. Many variations can be created that feature

<sup>74</sup> Louisa Kirkman, *Improved Method for the Guitar*, 11.

the fundamental root motion and less than a century later this schema was still employed with slight variation by Heitor Villa-Lobos in *Etude no. 6* (Example 4.37).<sup>75</sup> Villa-Lobos presents first the standard variation with nineteenth-century bass movement, and then another in which Villa-Lobo creates a unique-twentieth century *evitada* variation.

Example 4.37: Villa-Lobos, *Paseo Evitada* variation, *Etude 6*, c1929



#### 4.5b Movement Three

‘Down by thirds and up by fourths’ or ‘Down by sixth and up by fifth’ is considered by de Fossa to be the fundamental bass responsible for several common ascending schemata and is his third bass motion. This schema is responsible for both an ascending 5-6 scale, as well as an ascending chromatic line. There are three harmonisations for this pattern found in the *partimento regole*: one variation where 5-3 chords are given to each root note, another where the second chord receives a 6-3, and a third variant where the sixth above the second chord is suspended by a seventh.<sup>76</sup> De Fossa uses some of these

<sup>75</sup> Villa-Lobos’s *paseo evitada* variant includes root motion that descends by diminished fifth and can also have a 6-5-3, which Villa-Lobos spells as a second inversion fully diminished seventh chord. Heitor Villa-Lobos, *12 Estudios* (Paris: Max Eschig, 1953), 14. Bar 15, and 23.

<sup>76</sup> Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, 157.

*partimento* realisations particularly one variation utilising 5-3 chords and another where each bass receives a dominant sonority (7-5-3) creating a chromatic line in an upper voice (Example 4.38). Like bass motion two, this chromatic line can be placed in the bass creating a schematic unity between two very different bass lines.

Example 4.38: De Fossa, Bass Motion Three, c1827

In its ‘modal’<sup>77</sup> form (Example 4.38e) it is identical to what Gjerdingen calls the *monte principale*.<sup>78</sup> Lieven Strobbe classifies this as a ‘Cadenza Chain’ via *Passo Tedesco*; each successive target chord is a step above the last target.<sup>79</sup> Sanguinetti’s compilation of rules

<sup>77</sup> Modal form is used here to refer to a form where only the harmonies from the major or minor mode are employed — that is not utilising any secondary dominants or the V7 chord in minor.

<sup>78</sup> The prototype Gjerdingen uses for the *monte* is a fragment of an ascending chromatic line, and the ascending 5-6 schema had apparently not yet been obliterated in educational material even by 1825. Robert Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 90, 95-98.

<sup>79</sup> Strobbe, *Tonal Tools*, 119-121.



considers this a variant of the 5-6 ascending motion while de Fossa sees the ascending 5-6 as a tonal variation of bass motion three. Variation 4.38a and 4.38e make this relationship clearer — they maintain the fundamental bass — while variation 4.38c and 4.38d alternates the fundamental bass between the soprano voice and the upper voice. De Fossa’s and Kirkman’s examples are identical, choosing a sequence that uses a 6-5-3 chord ascending to a 5-3 chord. Pelzer’s treatment is fundamentally no different from de Fossa’s, but Pelzer provides new fingerings where the root of each harmony falls on the E, A, and D string (Example 4.39).<sup>80</sup> This type of motion is indicative of what Gjerdingen calls a ‘comma’ whose local bass motion is 7 to 1.<sup>81</sup>

Example 4.39: De Fossa, Kirkman, Pelzer, Harmonisation of ascending chromatic scale

The image displays three musical staves, each representing a different composer's approach to harmonizing an ascending chromatic scale. The top staff is labeled 'De Fossa', the middle 'Kirkman', and the bottom 'Pelzer'. All three are in common time (C) and use a treble clef. The De Fossa and Kirkman versions are identical, showing a sequence of chords that move up stepwise, with some chromatic alterations. The Pelzer version uses a different voicing for the chords, with roots on the E, A, and D strings, as indicated by the lower positions of the notes on the staff.

<sup>80</sup> Ferdinand Pelzer, *One Hundred and Fifty Exercises*, 14.

<sup>81</sup> Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 156.

De Fossa's fourth variation is the product of a different bass movement entirely, one that descends by third, and rises by step ('3B').<sup>82</sup> Both Fenaroli and Giovanni Paisiello (1741-1816) offer many harmonisations of this schema but the most basic is an alternation between 5-3 and 6-3 chords.<sup>83</sup> I have provided guitar transcriptions of this schema using Fenaroli's rules and have attempted to utilise fingering patterns from the chord vocabulary of Kirkman, Pelzer and Aguado (Example 4.40).

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<sup>82</sup> 'Para bajar esta escala del mismo modo se usa otro movimiento del bajo fundamental bajando de tercera y subiendo de segunda.' 'To descend in the same way [as variation 3] another fundamental bass is used, going down by thirds and up by second.' Aguado, *Escuela*, 107.

<sup>83</sup> Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, 152.

Example 4.40: Guitar adaptations of the descend by third than ascend by step sequence using the rules of Fenaroli, compared to de Fossa

Fenraoli - 5-3 and 6-3

Fenaroli - 5-3 and 6-5-3

7-6 and 8-3

7-6 and 5-3

De Fossa 7-6 and 5-6

The image displays a musical score for guitar, organized into two systems. The first system consists of five staves, each with a title and musical notation. The titles are: 'Fenraoli - 5-3 and 6-3', 'Fenaroli - 5-3 and 6-5-3', '7-6 and 8-3', '7-6 and 5-3', and 'De Fossa 7-6 and 5-6'. The notation includes chords and melodic lines on a six-string guitar. The second system consists of five staves of musical notation without titles, continuing the sequence.

There are no fingerings for the type of  $\flat 6-5-\flat 3$  chord found in Fenraoli's 5-3 to 6-5-3 variation in any of the guitar method books of the nineteenth century, but they are common voicings found in the twentieth century for major seventh chords. The seventh chord as a harmonic entity is expanded upon in movement four, but in any of the bass motions that employ it, the 6-5-3 chord is not a 'true' seventh. In twenty-first-century functional harmony, it is an inversion of a seventh chord, but in typical eighteenth-century practice, because it lacks a seventh above the bass, is not treated as a seventh chord and functions as sonority with its own identity. In the mid- to late-nineteenth century the 6-5-3 sonority as the practical harmony for scale degree four declined, and it was replaced by the 5-3 which is now the more commonly-taught harmony for the subdominant. The 6-5-3 harmony as a chord, both on scale degree four and in larger schemata, fell out of use among guitarists, despite its prevalence in Fenaroli's teaching. De Fossa demonstrated this decline in use when he included the sixth as an inner melody note in his 7-6 and 6-5 variation. By performing the 6-5 dissonance as a melodic neighbour tone, the dissonance is largely evaded and the need for a difficult chord is avoided but the essential notes are preserved.

De Fossa introduces a new bass movement in his discussion of movement three (Example 4.41a) and he teaches this device as an answer to the ascending 5-6 variation of bass movement three. De Fossa indicates the bass motion in solfege below both presentations of the ascending 5-6 and descending 7-6. When the bass notes indicated in solfege by de Fossa are placed on the staff, the schema in its entirety is revealed (Example 4.41b).

Example 4.41: De Fossa, Descending by third then ascending by step motion with and without fundamental bass motion

De Fossa - Descending 6-7

With Bass Motion

De Fossa creates this variation by passing the bass motion between an upper voice and the bass resulting in a descending scale that can be completely diatonic. Although all of the material for the bass motion is provided in some form, the intention seems to be focused on providing the most probable ‘answer’ to the bass motion of movement three. This is the kind of contextual information that the rule of the octave offers for harmony, and de Fossa offers explicit teaching of the contextual relationship of these two schemata. By presenting these two bass movements side by side without a thorough explanation of ‘3B’s fundamental motion de Fossa implicitly prioritises this contextual relationship — that bass movement 3b is the most appropriate response to bass movement 3. By reinforcing this relationship which de Fossa perpetuates almost verbatim from Grétry,<sup>84</sup> he divulges to amateur guitarists a schema relationship transmitted directly from the *partimento* tradition.<sup>85</sup> This sequence is demonstrated in Horetzky’s first prelude of his

<sup>84</sup> Grétry is more detailed and provides a breakdown of the generative harmonies of these two schemata side by side. Grétry, *Méthode simple pour apprendre à préluder*, 34.

<sup>85</sup> ‘The descending 7-6 is the standard descending compliment to the ascending 5-6.’ Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, 141.

‘Preludes, Cadences and Modulations in every key for the guitar.’<sup>86</sup> A brief schema analysis of this prelude reveals a short descending 6-3 progression after which Horetzky embarks on a typical pairing of movement 3 followed by movement 3b which Horetzky varies with passing tones (Example 4.42).

Example 4.42: Horetzky, Prelude no. 1 with schema analysis, c1830

The image shows a musical score for Horetzky's Prelude no. 1, consisting of four staves. The first staff is labeled 'Nº 1.' and begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The second and third staves have red annotations: 'Down by Third up by Fourth' and 'Down by third up by Step' respectively, indicating specific intervallic movements. The fourth staff is marked 'a piacere' and shows the end of the piece with a fermata.

Once movement 3 concludes its final up by fourth, it is elided into the beginning of movement 3b which descends by third. As de Fossa illustrated, one is an ascending modulatory gesture while the other is primarily a descending gesture. With the Roman numeral analysis commonly taught in twenty-first-century college curricula, the nuance and direction inherent in these schemata are lost. Despite being an essential part of the

<sup>86</sup> Felix Horetzky, *Preludes, Cadences and Modulations op. 21* (London: Metzler & Son, n.d.), 1.

schema, the F major chord, to B diminished chords in bar seven (an example of the schema's 'modal variant') is identified as the IV chord in C major and breaks the relationship with the prior bar. Roman numeral analysis of this passage, without both a conceptual and visceral knowledge of this schema, provides no real use for potential improvisers. Roman numeral analysis can only loosely explain relationships on the micro-level (secondary dominants moving from chord to chord) and does not explain the organisation on a macro-level (how Horetzky juxtaposes one ascending schema with a descending one). In the act of improvising, surface details like individual chord shapes or melodic fragments are largely recalled procedurally, and it is the combination of them, or the desire to instantiate and string together larger gestures that is more consciously directed.

One of the most important skills an expert improviser has developed is not only the ability to improvise harmonic or melodic variations, but also the ability to combine and string schemata together. The statistical knowledge provided by de Fossa, the knowledge of which schemata are likely to follow each other, provides a sense of stylistic context used to inform improvisational judgements. In a living improvised tradition like jazz this is often developed aurally by listening to others routinely and mimicking others through aural transcription/transposition either in group improvised settings or in solo practice. De Fossa, Grétry, and the *partimento* authors explicitly teach the context-relationship between schemata (how one schema may follow another), and since instructions to transpose schemata are ubiquitous in the nineteenth-century methods transposition and recombination were probably widely used practice techniques. The context-relationship

must be cultivated in order to identify and execute the underlying schema from an aural stimulus. When practising alone this aural stimulus would be self-created, and only by varying and practising chaining schemata together could prelude flow in the act of performance. De Fossa's appendix is a rare example of improvisation pedagogy providing both the material and context-relationships necessary to begin the art of prelude.

#### 4.5c Movement Four

'Down by fifth then up by fourths,' is the bass motion concerning seventh chords and de Fossa presents it in its modal form (Example 4.43). Bruni discusses seventh chords extensively and his class II seventh chords are fundamentally a subset of bass movement four. Placing Bruni's remaining three classes of seventh chords below de Fossa's fourth fundamental bass motion reveals the connection between these two different organisations (Example 4.44).

Example 4.43: De Fossa, Bass Motion Four, 1825

De Fossa - 1825 Movimiento 4

The musical score consists of three staves. The top staff shows four chords in a sequence, each with a bass line. The middle and bottom staves show a melodic line with eighth-note patterns and a bass line with a descending fifth followed by ascending fourths.



Example 4.44: De Fossa's bass movement four compared with three classes of Bruni's seventh chords

The image shows a musical score with four staves. The top staff is titled "De Fossa - Movimiento 4" and contains a sequence of seven chords in bass clef, connected by a line. The second staff is titled "Bruni - Class II" and shows a sequence of seven chords, with the first three being whole rests and the last four being chords. The third staff is titled "Bruni - Class III" and shows a sequence of seven chords, with the first three being whole rests and the last four being chords. The fourth staff is titled "Bruni - Class IV" and shows a sequence of seven chords, with the first three being whole rests and the last four being chords. The chords in all staves correspond to the same sequence of notes: G2, A2, B2, C3, D3, E3, F3.

The *partimento* authors describe de Fossa's bass motion four as ascending by fourths or descending by fifths. In this manner, root position seventh chords are an important part of the nineteenth-century guitar vocabulary, used frequently enough to be taught explicitly here. In practice it is often not utilised in its complete form but in fragments, and Bruni's method provides a guide for where the most probable instances of seventh chords may appear. By comparing the two sources, insights appear into why particular chords in de Fossa's fourth movement are often changed to dominant seventh chords in practice.

Using both methods as a guide for improvisation, playing a seventh chord on either the super tonic, submediant, or leading note chords and creating dominant seventh chords on the submediant (V7/vi) could be seen as stylistically appropriate. Bruni's second class of seventh chords are minor seventh chords built on scale degree two and usually resolve to the dominant (class I) making this resolution identical, in both implementation and

conception, to the ubiquitous twentieth-century jazz progression ii7-V7-I. Bruni utilises many fragments of the twenty positions he illustrates earlier in his method but none of Bruni's twenty positions are designed for the minor seventh chord. This means these shapes must be discovered by the student independently if they are to be utilised at all. That Bruni felt the ii7 chord was important enough to illustrate how to resolve them but not important enough to include in his twenty positions is unfortunate given the detail he uses to investigate the augmented sixth and other sonorities.

Although Bruni used figured bass signs to indicate harmonies above the bass, he still operated in a framework concerned with fundamental root motion, offering inversions for nearly all the seventh chords he illustrates. This emphasis on root motion probably accounted for why Bruni does not mention bass movements specifically. By presenting the seventh chord resolutions with their inversions Bruni presents a wide variety of bass motions but seems wholly unconcerned with categorising them (Example 4.45).<sup>87</sup> Class II, when placed in first inversion, reveals an identical pattern from the rule of the octave when scale degree four moves to five. Class III shares this feature but in the minor mode. In presenting seventh chords in this way he incidentally arrives at new and interesting bass motions, and he even indicates continuo numbers above the bass, but, mainly, Bruni directs the investigation towards uncovering the fundamental root motion in as many ways possible.

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<sup>87</sup> Bruni, *Treatise on the Guitar*, 55.

Example 4.45: Bruni, Table of Four Classes of Seventh chord resolutions, c1834

The image displays a musical score for guitar, titled 'Table of Four Classes of Seventh chord resolutions'. It is organized into four horizontal sections, labeled I, II, III, and IV. Each section contains two staves: the top staff is for the guitar, showing chord voicings with fingerings (numbers 1-4) and a treble clef; the bottom staff is for the bass, showing the underlying bass motion with fingerings (numbers 0-3) and a bass clef. The bass line includes markings for '1st inver:', '2nd inver:', and '3rd inver:'. The guitar part shows various chord voicings, including triads and dyads, with some chords marked with a '+' sign. The overall structure is a table of resolutions, showing how different seventh chords can resolve to other chords through various bass motions.

As a tool for practising spontaneous composition these chord progressions lack the impetus to ‘chain’ schemata together primarily because the sequential nature of the underlying bass motion is not prioritised. Bruni builds his resolutions from the shortest resolutions (Class I or V7-I) to the longer ones, and this lacks the explicit sequential nature of de Fossa’s bass motion despite it being implicit in the harmonies. De Fossa’s bass movements point the student towards a more continuous almost endless repetition by focusing on the underlying bass realisation and by immediately introducing variations. With just a mastery of a handful of chords and a knowledge of key signatures it is

possible to both intuitively find the next chord in one of de Fossa's sequences, and also to immediately imagine other possibilities. Bruni's Class IV resolutions are similar to de Fossa's fourth bass movement, but because they do not clearly present the underlying bass motion — and in some cases obscure it — Bruni's resolutions have a sense of finality to them. For creating stylistically appropriate improvisations de Fossa's tools will prove more useful, but for inspiring new variations Bruni's seventh chords provide interesting alternatives and more contextual information.

#### 4.5d Movement Five

'Up by third then down by Fifth '(or down by sixth and up by fourth) effectively creates a sequence of perfect cadences whose tonic is a third lower than the previous tonic which Strobbe calls a Cadenza Chain '*alla romanesco*' (Example 4.46).<sup>88</sup>

Example 4.46: Strobbe, Cadenza Chain, 2013

The musical notation for Example 4.46, 'Cadenza Chain', is presented in a grand staff. The right hand (treble clef) contains five chords, each with a whole note duration. The chords are: C major (C4, E4, G4), F major (F4, A4, C5), B-flat major (Bb4, D5, F5), E-flat major (Eb4, Gb4, Bb4), and A-flat major (Ab4, Cb5, Eb5). The left hand (bass clef) contains a single-note bass line with five notes, each with a whole note duration: C4, F4, Bb4, Eb4, and Ab4. The sequence of chords and bass notes illustrates the 'Cadenza Chain' concept, where the tonic of each chord is a third lower than the previous one.

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<sup>88</sup> Strobbe, *Tonal Tools*, 122.

Example 4.47: De Fossa, Bass Movement five, 1825



In de Fossa's movement five, the harmonic 'goal' of the sequence is clearly shown (Example 4.47). Following de Fossa's precedent, if the second chord is placed in second inversion a stepwise descent in the bass would be found which essentially moves from local scale degree two to one. Strobbe refers to this syntactical structure as a 'scalino down' but the motion has a historical root.<sup>89</sup> In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the step down of the tenor voice from 2 to 1 was called a *Clausulae Tenorizan* and when placed in the bass was called a tenor cadence.<sup>90</sup> Gjerdingen calls this schema the *clausula vera* and this is useful when referring to passages that are not part of a final cadence.<sup>91</sup> Utilising the *clausula vera* and chaining them together 'alla romanesca' results in the exact same variation that de Fossa demonstrates for his first variation (Example 4.48).

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<sup>89</sup> Strobbe, *Tonal Tools*, 72.

<sup>90</sup> Elam Rotem, *Cadences* <<https://www.earlymusicsources.com/youtube/cadences>> [accessed 23 October 2020].

<sup>91</sup> Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 164.

Example 4.48: De Fossa, Variation of bass movement five, 1825

The image shows three staves of musical notation. The first staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It contains a series of chords with a bass line that moves stepwise. The second staff is also in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). It continues the chordal progression with similar stepwise bass movement. The third staff is in treble clef with a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#). It concludes the sequence with a final chord and a bass line that ends on a whole note.

This variation of bass motion five is useful for introducing dynamic bass lines into a prelude because of the entirely stepwise motion. If aware of the fundamental root motion, an enormous number of possibilities are open to improvisors who are interested in stretching the limits of this system. If the second chord is placed in first inversion it becomes what Strobbe calls a chain of *scalino* up (Example 4.49).<sup>92</sup>

Example 4.49: De Fossa, Bass motion five demonstrating the *scalino* up

The image shows a single staff of musical notation in treble clef. It illustrates the 'scalino up' technique with a sequence of six chords. The first chord is a triad with a sharp sign above it. The second chord is a triad with a natural sign above it. The third chord is a triad with a flat sign above it. The fourth chord is a triad with a sharp sign above it. The fifth chord is a triad with a sharp sign above it. The sixth chord is a triad with a sharp sign above it. The bass line moves stepwise between the roots of these chords.

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<sup>92</sup> *Scalino* up is the model for an ascending semitone and is characterised usually by a 6-5-3 chord moving to a 5-3. Strobbe, *Tonal Tools*, 76-89.

## 4.6 Class III: Modulations

De Fossa's sixth movement descends by major or minor third where the bass leads to the most remote tones.<sup>93</sup> This movement is a departure from the format for the other five bass movements. De Fossa does not really introduce a bass movement so much as a collection of modulations to varying different tones with a loose cohesion of bass patterns (Example 4.50) The collections of modulations that appear in the works of many other guitar authors follow this convention and are not bass motions in the same way as the other five. For this reason, de Fossa's sixth movement will be grouped into Class III of the four components of nineteenth-century improvisation pedagogy: modulations.

Example 4.50: De Fossa, Transcription of bass motion six, 1825

Movimiento 6 - Bass drops by thirds and modulates to remote keys

The musical notation consists of three staves, each containing four measures of music. The first staff shows modulations to Db, D, Eb, and E. The second staff shows modulations to F, F#, G, and Ab. The third staff shows modulations to A, Bb, and B. The notation is arranged in three staves, each with four measures. The first staff shows modulations to Db, D, Eb, and E. The second staff shows modulations to F, F#, G, and Ab. The third staff shows modulations to A, Bb, and B.

Collections of modulations were prevalent among educational material for guitarists and they outnumber the instances of the rule of the octave, bass movements, and even

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<sup>93</sup> 'Movimiento 6. Bajando por terceras mayores o menores, el bajo conduce a los tonos más remotos. En el ejemplo siguiente, desde el tono de Do se hacen resoluciones en todos los semitonos de su escala.' Aguado, *Escuela*, 149.

resolutions of dominant or diminished seventh chords. De Fossa writes ‘If the exploited disciple wants to exercise his fantasy in prelude with modulations ... he needs to know the brief elements of harmony ...’<sup>94</sup> Given the number of methods which include modulations many students must have been eager to learn to improvise modulatory preludes and it must have been seen as a legitimate and vital skill for a guitarist to cultivate.

Modulations, when compared to the rule of the octave or bass movements are peculiar as tools to teach improvisation. They serve the same type of temporal function as class I cadences and resolutions and are often not much longer than two to three chords. Some authors like Bruni include the ‘most used modulations’ found in each key, while also offering modulations which target any scale degree and any modality.<sup>95</sup> Bruni offers four general rules in which a modulation can be enacted. The first rule is made by way of the first inversion of scale degree two of the target key, this leads to a compound cadence (cadential 6-4) in that key. Rule two involves introducing a V7 chord of the new key immediately, and then re-affirms the tonic with a small cadence of which the typical first inversion ii chord is used. Rule three is the same as rule two but instead of the V7 chord a ninth chord may be used without preparation, but a short follow-up cadence is still

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<sup>94</sup> ‘Si el discípulo aprovechado quiere ejercitar su fantasía en preludiar con modulaciones, además de la destreza de sus manos y del conocimiento del diapasón de la guitarra, necesita saber también los sucintos elementos de armonía que voy a indicar.’ Aguado, *Escuela*, 103.

<sup>95</sup> Bruni, *Treatise on the Guitar*, 26, 60.



required to affirm tonic. The last rule utilises the augmented sixth chord, which always moves to a 6-4 harmony built on scale degree five (Example 4.51).<sup>96</sup>

Example 4.51: Bruni, Transcription of selected Modulations, c1834

Into the Fourth Major

Into the 6th Major

Into the Fourth Minor

Into the Fifth Major

Bruni later introduces a fifth rule that creates modulations by having the bass descend by a major or minor third reiterating the description de Fossa's uses for bass motion six.<sup>97</sup>

Using Bruni's terms it is possible to analyse the modulations of other composers to

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<sup>96</sup> 'Rule 1. ... If, however we wish to render the transition more agreeable to the ear, we generally take, for all the major keys, the first inversion of the minor chord situated on the second note of the scale, and in all the minor keys, the first inversion of the imperfect chord (with a false fifth) situated upon the second note of each minor scale, and in both these cases the chord of the 6/4 either major or minor, follows these two chords of the sixth. This chord of 6/4 is only used as a chord of suspension of the next following chord, with dominant seventh which leads into the tonic. ... Rule 2 The pupil may pass from one key to another by means of the chord of the dominant of the key in which he wishes to pass, and after this last chord a short cadence is necessary in order to a close as seen. ... Rule 3. Another method of passing ... by means of the minor ninth or rather its derivative chord, the diminished seventh. ... Rule 4. A modulation may likewise be made ... by means of the chord of the augmented sixth. All these rules serve to modulate in every key, except for their being transposed into the different keys as shewn.' Bruni, *Treatise on the Guitar*, 58.

<sup>97</sup> Bruni, *Treatise on the Guitar*, 65.

search for a consensus on what is most probable which will greatly help when improvising, developing a certainty of the most predictable types of modulations. This guidance also gives more contextual data on where an augmented sixth chord can be used which was missing in Bruni's discussion of the chord.<sup>98</sup> Most authors write their modulations in a way similar to de Fossa, with C major as the beginning chord with indications of the target tonality. Some modulations are no longer than two chords, and these most often follow de Fossa's sixth bass motion whereas others are longer and utilise fragments of Bruni's rules (Example 4.52).

Example 4.52: De Fossa, Bruni, Pelzer, Kirkman, A collation of modulations which utilise the bass dropping by a third

The image displays five staves of musical notation, each representing a different historical source for a modulation technique. The notation is in 4/4 time and shows a sequence of chords where the bass note of each chord drops by a third from the previous one. The sources are: De Fossa (1825), Bruni (1834), Bruni (Position 2), Pelzer (1836), and Kirkman (c.1840). The target tonalities for the first staff are labeled as To Db, To D, To Eb, To E, To F, and To F#.

<sup>98</sup> See section 4.3f on Bruni's investigation of the augmented sixth, page 204-208.

For modulations that rise by a semitone, most authors opt to introduce this key via a drop in the bass by a major third. Bruni offers no solution utilising either of his four rules for this motion. As de Fossa demonstrated with the variations he presents, the fundamental bass motions do not have to be found in the bass and placing the fundamental motion in an upper voice is an acceptable form of variation. The variations that the authors present explore how best to prepare this change of harmony and in which voice to place the minor third. If this ‘descend by third’ motion can be freely moved to some upper voice than many variations are possible which may fit into this category. Some authors like de Fossa choose to prepare the major third descent in the bass with another chord, while some, like Kirkman and Pelzer, place the third in an upper voice and create variations that would fall under Bruni’s other rules (Example 4.53).

Example 4.53: Collation of modulations where the bass descends by third

The image displays five staves of musical notation, each representing a different author's approach to modulation where the bass descends by a third. The staves are labeled as follows:

- De Fossa - 1825:** Shows five distinct chord progressions for modulation to G, Ab, A, Bb, and B. The bass line in each case descends by a major third.
- Bruni - 1834:** Provides a more complex variation of the same modulation, with multiple voices and intricate chordal textures.
- Bruni - Pos. 2:** Another variation by Bruni, showing a different voice leading and chordal preparation.
- Pelzer - 1836:** Shows a variation where the third of the new chord is placed in an upper voice.
- Kirkman - c1840:** Shows a variation where the third of the new chord is placed in an upper voice, similar to Pelzer's approach.

The notation includes treble clefs, various chord symbols (triads and dyads), and accidentals (sharps, flats, naturals) to indicate the specific harmonic changes.

Longer examples of modulations that utilised different techniques can be found throughout the method books. Horetzky, Gräffer and Bruni offer simple modulation techniques to related keys, while some chose to teach the technique by publishing collections of modulations or modulatory preludes (Example 4.54).<sup>99</sup>

Example 4.54: Bruni, Verini and Cano, Comparison of extended modulations

The image displays four staves of musical notation, each representing a different composer's approach to extended modulations. The staves are labeled as follows:

- Verini - 1825:** Shows a sequence of chords in C major, with some chromatic alterations in the upper voice.
- Bruni - 1834:** Shows a sequence of chords in C major, with some chromatic alterations in the upper voice.
- Bruni - Pos. 2:** Shows a sequence of chords in C major, with some chromatic alterations in the upper voice.
- Cano - 1869:** Shows a sequence of chords in C major, with some chromatic alterations in the upper voice.

Verini's method is largely devoted to modulations and he offers examples from the key of C major to each chromatic pitch in three positions. Bruni's longer modulations are demonstrations of each rule, and when compared with Cano and Verini a few new modulatory patterns emerge (Example 4.55). Utilising secondary dominants that lead towards either a ii, or a IV chord are common in Verini's modulations whereas Cano prefers to move in more direct ways by having only one chord in between the dominant of the new key.

<sup>99</sup> See pages 144–150.

Example 4.55: Verini, Bruni and Cano, Modulation from C to C# major

The image displays four staves of musical notation for guitar, illustrating modulation from C major to C# major. The staves are labeled as follows:

- Verini - 1825:** Shows a sequence of chords in C major, including a 6-4-2 chord on the flattened scale degree seven (Bb7), which smoothly links to a bass that descends by third.
- Bruni - 1834 Alt.:** Shows a sequence of chords, including a common tone diminished seventh chord.
- Cano - 1869:** Shows a sequence of chords, including a common tone diminished seventh chord.

Verini's use of the 6-4-2 chord on flattened scale degree seven can smoothly link to a bass that descends by third, while Cano demonstrates how to use the 6-4-2 chord on the tonic to create a common tone diminished seventh chord. Using a common tone diminished seventh allows the bass to stay consistent while the other harmonies shift incrementally until a chord powerful enough to resolve up by semitone is found. When practising these shorter fragments with right-hand variations it is the longer forms that are immediately more attractive, serving as technically demanding left-hand patterns. But it is the shorter forms, and the potential for chaining them together, that sustains the continual study of modulation. After only a short time developing these shapes, a modulatory impulse can be developed where each class I or class III device can elide into another or lead into class II or IV techniques. But bass motions and the rule of the octave, as borrowed from the *partimento* tradition, were not the only longer schema taught by guitarists. Guitarists created their own unique improvisation devices in the form of the

prelude canvas which provided students with harmonic material upon which to improvise.

#### **4.7 Class IV: *Canevas de Prelude and Cadenze Prolongate***

As basso continuo died out, practising variations on different passacaglia in the five course guitar methods survived, the most famous being the *folies d'Espagne*.<sup>100</sup> Many methods from the late eighteenth century teach this progression as variation sets, in essence, as a ground to practise right-hand arpeggios. Functionally the *folia* ground is no different from the *canevas de prelude* mentioned by other authors, and in many instances the *canevas* was a precursor to the *folies d'Espagne* pedagogically.<sup>101</sup> The title provided by Bathioli, *cadenze prolongate*, could easily be placed before Horetzky's cadences found in the end of his collection of modulations and preludes.<sup>102</sup> With these various historical descriptions, the requisites for a *canevas* or a *cadenze prolongate* can be loosely defined as a medium-length harmonic progression which start and end in the same key. *Canevas* may tonicise other closely-related degrees and are differentiated from simple cadences in that they must be longer and utilise harmonies beyond the IV-V-I chords which were featured throughout nineteenth-century methods. Carpentier's *canevas* from 1771 were designed for the five-course guitar, or the lyre, and serve as the starting point for a collection of *canevas* and extended cadences which spans a nearly 100-year period (Example 4.56). Three general tendencies tend to occur within the extended cadences that serve to 'prolong' the harmonic movement towards one. Unlike

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<sup>100</sup> See page 56-72.

<sup>101</sup> See page 54-58.

<sup>102</sup> Horetzky, *Preludes, Cadences and Modulations op. 21*, 6.

the rule of the octave which mostly features *Lancia* and *Cadenza* schemata, it is tonicisations to scale degree four and six which serve as the most usual harmonic embellishments of the home key, and these are made stronger by chromatic moves towards their respective dominants. The most common diatonic embellishment utilises the ‘comma’ schema which harmonises a 7-1 bass motion and only František Kníže used walking fragments of the rule of the octave before initiating a longer cadence.

Example 4.56: Collation of Canevas de preludes in C major, 1770-1867

Carpentier 1770

Doisy - 1800

Knize - 1820

Bathioli - 1827

Horetzky - c1830

Kirkman - c1840

Mertz - 1849

Damas - 1867

A wide variety of harmonic embellishments appear, mostly the use of the diminished seventh chord resolution to the dominant as described by de Fossa, and in some cases the so-called Neapolitan sixth chord.<sup>103</sup> The Neapolitan sixth chord is employed both by Kirkman and Kníže and they provide a stronger pull to the V6-4 to I progression in minor (Example 4.57). Having already built in the reflex to perform the 6-5-3 sonority on the subdominant makes improvising Neapolitan substitution easier as it functions the same and contains the same intervals but requires a flattened sixth.

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<sup>103</sup> See section 4.3e Fossa descriptions of diminished seventh resolution.



Example 4.57: Collation of *Canevas de preludes* in A minor, 1770-1867

The image displays eight staves of musical notation, each representing a different composer's 'Canevas de preludes' in A minor. The composers and their respective dates are listed to the left of each staff:

- Carpentier 1770
- Doisy - 1800
- Knize - 1820
- Bathioli - 1827
- Horetzky - c1830
- Kirkman - c1840
- Mertz - 1849
- Damas - 1867

The notation is written in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (A minor). Each staff shows a sequence of chords and melodic fragments, illustrating the evolution of this musical device over time.

*Cadenze prolongate* are useful tools for improvising a coherent tonal context outside of the shorter and simpler cadences found in other methods. The presence of the word ‘cadence’ is the only constant among the descriptions of these devices. Because of this constant, and because of their variety in harmony it is highly likely they were used in the way Moretti describes the word cadence: as harmonic material used to establish the key

of a piece before playing.<sup>104</sup> That a seemingly innocent disambiguation in Moretti's method from 1800 would set the terminology and intention for a teaching device for the next sixty years immediately raises doubts. But since these devices lack any real resemblance from other definitions of the word cadence it seems more likely that Moretti's definition is the only practical way to interpret these devices. It is entirely possible that Moretti's definition was not so much aimed at amateur guitarists but at the more learned students who may have a bit of background with more theoretical writings. This may explain why Aguado provided the more 'learned' definition of cadence in his method. Instead of including *cadenze prolongate* like many other authors Aguado called upon de Fossa to write an entire appendix dedicated to improvisation. *Canevas de preludes* and *cadenze prolongate* were for amateur learners but de Fossa's appendix was for those who wished to truly liberate themselves from the formulaic preludes derived from the *canevas*. The links that de Fossa makes between Aguado's text and the appendix further confirms that even Aguado's more learned definitions of cadences were not included solely to teach abstract theoretical concepts but to provide immediately useable devices in improvised settings.

There is a parallel between the more 'learned' treatises on basso continuo which teach harmonic schemata and the texts for five-course guitars largely concerned with providing alternate notations for popular dances and progressions like *pasacalles* and *folias*. Both acted as a means of perpetuating technical skills revolving around spontaneous

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<sup>104</sup> See pages 108-109.

composition, with the latter using alternative notation formats like *alfabeto* chords and sheets resembling twenty-first-century chord charts. Both inculcate musicians with the musical language of the day. Learning a passacaglia pattern in all keys served the same technical function as learning a variety of different bass motions and is more immediately used in performance as passacaglia were often danced to. This is at odds with twentieth- and twenty-first-century classical guitar methods which are often devoid of style or genre and teach technique as a means of preparation for encountering all musical languages without developing or existing in any musical language.<sup>105</sup> From the viewpoint of typical twentieth-century musical analysis, none of the writings by Bruni, de Fossa or any of the guitarists are exhaustive enough to warrant much remark. The techniques used, when taken in context, are largely reactionary to broader currents in harmonic language, and overall, in terms of harmony and melody, the guitar literature of the early nineteenth century is somewhat conservative in nature. But the writings of guitarists as a collected set of texts reflecting a set of cultural mannerisms provides insight into how instrumental skill was acquired and what those skills were directed towards. In the case of amateurs in the nineteenth century, that skill was overwhelmingly geared towards music making which included substantially more amounts of improvisation than the twentieth or twenty-first centuries. Only around the mid- to late-nineteenth century did guitar pedagogy begin to shift its focus towards the reproduction of musical works. Modernism solidified the adherence to *werktreue* and this new dogma, which extends into the twenty-first century, inhibits the interpretation and application of nineteenth-century methods. The aesthetic adherence to *werktreue* only revealed itself fully in the pedagogical world

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<sup>105</sup> See page 267–275.

in the early twentieth century where it set an indelible mark on the way in which instructors and students conceptualised technique.

# Chapter 5 Idiomatic Pedagogy

## 5.1 The Pedagogy of Interpretation

By the end of the early twentieth century a long shadow was cast by the increasingly influential personality of Andrés Segovia (1893-1987). Segovia became an international public figure and the presence of such an imposing persona in the public light rekindled many of the underlying attitudes of the nineteenth century regarding genius, *werktreue*, and the role of the composer and performer. In many ways this rekindling was an amplified version of what had happened over 100 years before with the popularity and impact of Mauro Giuliani (1781-1829). The modernist aesthetic on twentieth century pedagogy, and the popular performers who embodied it like Segovia, helped centre instrumental instruction around the interpretation and execution of musical works. This mechanist pedagogy is concerned solely with training the physical movements required to play the instrument. This is a clear departure from that found in the nineteenth century which strongly associated technique with a dominant compositional language. Mechanist pedagogy is investigated briefly here to demonstrate, by contrast, that the nineteenth-century guitar methods represent a holistic or idiomatic pedagogy precisely because of their tight relationship with the dominant compositional language in Europe at the time.

Segovia, like a few pianists and violinists of the twentieth century, was thrust to popularity by his skill as an interpreter, a performer and as a curator and creator of ‘the canon.’ The Spanish guitarist was instrumental in vitalising a concern with the canon in the guitar world and he achieved this through his commissions of works by his

contemporaries and through his commanding performances of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century repertoire. But this looming concern with the canon is implicit in ways beyond the typical role of a performer. One famous example is Segovia's attribution of the work 'Suite in A Minor' by Manuel Ponce (1882-1948) to the lutenist Sylvius Leopold Weiss (1687-1750).<sup>1</sup> This attribution is often seen as a sort of musical prank, but the effort is a testament to Segovia's very modernist confrontation with the idea of tradition and canon. Segovia's commission was intended to imitate the compositional style of Weiss and is an explicit attempt to create a sense of historical connection on which Segovia's performances could appear to stand. A similar sentiment to T. S. Eliot's may have rung in Segovia's mind as he confronted his own tradition and the canon he inherited. Eliot says of artists 'The emotion of art is impersonal. And the poet cannot reach this impersonality without surrendering himself wholly to the work to be done. And he is not likely to know what is to be done unless he lives in what is not merely the present, but the present moment of the past ...'<sup>2</sup>

Segovia quite literally attempted to make present the past with his Ponce-Weiss attribution but his concern with tradition as an artist also manifested in his arrangements of eighteenth-century works and through the overall absence of public performances of his own works. Prior to Segovia, the material guitarists performed in concert was largely their own works and a few pieces by their contemporaries. The compositional output and concerts programmes of Segovia's contemporaries reflect that this practice was slowly

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Long liner notes to *PONCE, M.M.: Guitar Music, Vol. 2*, CD, Naxos, 8.554199, 1999.

<sup>2</sup> T.S. Eliot, 'Tradition and Individual Talent' in *The Egoist*, 4 (1919), 73.

changing, and Segovia was at the helm of this change. Segovia never performed his own compositions, and this reflected a severance with the actual tradition of guitarists who occupied the role of both performer and composer. Segovia's output created a new paradigm for the performer in the guitar world — that of the executant interpreter. The performer can enlarge the canon by commissioning new works or by interpreting and performing older works which then become the canon. This is a glimpse of how performers grappled with the concept of genius and *werktreue* in the early twentieth century, for the performer must have their own expression of genius if they are not to be seen as mere automatons at the service of the composer.

The expression of genius changed in the early twentieth century as the precedence of taste and originality within a tonal language was replaced with the awareness of tradition and history. For example, Eliot seemed to contest the romantic metaphysics of genius and aesthetic judgement by attacking the view that an artist should be judged on their originality or 'differences from his predecessors.'<sup>3</sup> Eliot instead seems to follow Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911)<sup>4</sup> by elevating historical consciousness, or the 'great labour of tradition', to the forefront of aesthetic decisions.<sup>5</sup> This shift from aesthetic judgement

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<sup>3</sup> Eliot, 'Tradition and Individual Talent', 55.

<sup>4</sup> Wilhelm Dilthey's work was concerned with justifying the truths produced by the human sciences as objective truths through the process of historical consciousness. For Dilthey '... historical overcoming of metaphysics is linked to the interpretation of great literature, which Dilthey regarded as the triumph of metaphysics.' Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 232, 233-238.

<sup>5</sup> Eliot, 'Tradition and Individual Talent', 55.

(driven by taste) to historically effected consciousness had a profound effect on how musical instruments were taught.

Chapters 2 and 3 detailed the late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century conception of technique — the methods were not concerned with training the physical facets of performing an instrument so that the music from any historical period could be performed. Instead, technique was seen as the complete control of the musical language which pervaded the contemporary musical community. Nineteenth-century genius was defined by the ability to master the nineteenth-century ‘materials’ and to give them form through the vehicle of their originality and refined aesthetic judgement.<sup>6</sup> But the modernist aesthetic amended the definition of genius to be concerned not only with aesthetic judgement but with historical consciousness — through the performers’ ability to remove themselves from the work through their contact with history and tradition. This is obvious with Segovia’s personal obsession to be in touch with the tradition of the ‘Spanish soul’, and he very explicitly demanded that Ponce composed within this tradition.<sup>7</sup> This concern provides a nationalist property to the modernist process of historical de-personalisation. This concern with historical de-personalisation — achieved

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<sup>6</sup> ‘... yet there is no fine art that does not have as its essential condition something mechanical, which can be encompassed by rules and complied with, and hence has an element of academic correctness. ... But directing the work to a purpose requires determinate rules that one is not permitted to renounce ... originality of talent is one essential component [of genius] ... Genius can only provide rich *material* for products of fine art; processing this material and giving it *form* requires a talent that is academically trained, so that it may be used in a way that can stand the test of the power of judgment.’ Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgement* trans. Werner S. Pluhar (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company), 178.

<sup>7</sup> Segovia wrote to Ponce ‘You are Spanish, and your instinct will guide you practically with the certainty of experience. Besides, who knows if that expatriation of your spirit would not liberate you from too much local color, too picturesque, and add the vague enchantment of the background to the interpretation of the Spanish musical soul’, Andrés Segovia, Manuel Ponce and Miguel Alcazar (eds), *The Segovia-Ponce Letters* (Columbus, OH: Editions Ophee, 1989), 85-86.



only through the interpretation of great works — eventually manifests in the pedagogical works of the early to mid-twentieth century with the development of a purely ‘mechanist’ pedagogy.

## **5.2 Mechanist-Executant versus Idiomatic-Holistic Pedagogy**

Mechanist or executant pedagogy is characterised by instrumental instruction which is as ‘style-neutral’ as possible. Mechanist technique does not serve the function of automatising figures which are idiomatic within a musical style but make automatic the general shapes and physical motions that are possible on the instrument. The terms ‘execution,’ ‘independence,’ ‘strength’ or ‘character building’ characterise what Lia Laor calls a mechanist paradigm of pedagogy.<sup>8</sup> Laor outlines a few instances of how these two paradigms were expressed by musicians in the early nineteenth century. It is not surprising that Andre Grétry, the author whose work served as the basis for de Fossa’s appendix on improvisation, commented that ‘Our system of education chains down the pupil to the mechanical branch of art at the very time he ought to be exercising his talents upon that which is essential. I call it the essential, because it is thence that all our pleasure results.’<sup>9</sup> Grétry’s followers, specifically the guitarists Francois de Fossa and Dionisio Aguado, are contextualised by these comments into a debate which appeared to be raging in the world of piano pedagogy. The mechanist paradigm was heavily criticised and

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<sup>8</sup> Lia Laor, “‘In Music Nothing Is Worse Than Playing Wrong Notes’: Nineteenth-Century Mechanistic Paradigm of Piano Pedagogy’, *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, 38 (2016), 5.

<sup>9</sup> Andre Grétry quoted in Laor, “‘In Music Nothing Is Worse Than Playing Wrong Notes’: Nineteenth-Century Mechanistic Paradigm of Piano Pedagogy’, 20.

instead those like Grétry advocated for what Laor calls the ‘holistic’ paradigm.<sup>10</sup> Holistic pedagogy implies that instruction must incorporate the entire range of music making present in a community (performing works, prelude, modulating, accompanying the voice). Laor, however, does not view holistic pedagogy in this sense but instead argues that holistic is an integration of mechanical (physical) and interpretive (imagination or creative) aspects of technique. Regarding early nineteenth-century authors Laor writes: ‘These authors considered technical skills to be simple and primary, whereas interpretative ones were considered more complex and secondary.’<sup>11</sup> Laor reaffirms her point by quoting Beethoven — she says he reflected a holistic position because of the requests he made to Czerny while Czerny taught Beethoven’s nephew Karl. In this matter Beethoven begged:

Once he has acquired the correct fingering and can play in time and reads the notes with reasonable correctness, you then direct his attention to the matter of interpretation; and when you have gotten that far don’t stop him because of trifling mistakes but point them out after he has finished the piece.<sup>12</sup>

But Laor’s holism, or the belief that the constituent parts of instruction must lead to, or are expressions of, an interconnected whole, still seems to espouse that ultimately the interpretation of works is the end goal of that interconnected whole. Laor seems to describe holistic pedagogy as one ‘in which the making of a musician is viewed as the highest goal’ but does so without any mention of the role of the musician as it relates to

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<sup>10</sup> Laor, “‘In Music Nothing Is Worse Than Playing Wrong Notes’”: Nineteenth-Century Mechanistic Paradigm of Piano Pedagogy’, 5.

<sup>11</sup> Laor, “‘In Music Nothing Is Worse Than Playing Wrong Notes’”: Nineteenth-Century Mechanistic Paradigm of Piano Pedagogy’, 10.

<sup>12</sup> Laor, “‘In Music Nothing Is Worse Than Playing Wrong Notes’”: Nineteenth-Century Mechanistic Paradigm of Piano Pedagogy’, 22.

the musical activities of the community.<sup>13</sup> Nineteenth-century guitarists directed their instructional materials towards the interconnected whole of all musical activities undertaken by the broader musical community. These musical activities were varied, often improvised, and were derived from, as Grétry indicated, wherever the members of the musical community ‘found their joy.’<sup>14</sup> In this sense Laor’s holism hints at the holism espoused by nineteenth-century guitarists but does not provide an adequate definition of the whole. A definition of nineteenth-century holistic education must incorporate the broader elements that play within the musical community. Only by recognising the position that pedagogues and instructors occupy in the ‘play’ of musical activities can instrumental instruction be considered holistic. But musical activities cannot exist without musical languages (established or personal) and as Chapter 4 demonstrates, nineteenth-century pedagogy was widely concerned with the technical navigation of an established musical language.

Chapters 2 and 3 show that preluding, modulating, accompanying the voice, performing works, arranging and spontaneously varying other works were the musical activities from which nineteenth-century amateurs derived their joy. That these skills are far broader and more encompassing than the technical skills cultivated in twentieth-century conservatories reflects the modernist impact on pedagogy. But holistic education could equally describe the twentieth-century climate of instrumental pedagogy. In the twentieth

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<sup>13</sup> Laor, “‘In Music Nothing Is Worse Than Playing Wrong Notes’: Nineteenth-Century Mechanistic Paradigm of Piano Pedagogy”, 22.

<sup>14</sup> See page 265 footnote 16.

and twenty-first centuries the definition of ‘the whole’ has merely been reduced to encompass only the reproduction of musical works. In this sense, the mechanist pedagogy so prevalent in the twentieth century can be equally considered ‘holistic’ as it adequately prepares classical musicians for their sole purpose in the play (that is the cultural presentation) of classical music: the role of the executor of works. Instead, following Derek Bailey’s definition of idiomatic improvisation, I offer the term ‘idiomatic pedagogy’ to describe nineteenth-century instruction.<sup>15</sup> In attempting to instruct the musical activities prevalent in the community, instruction in the nineteenth century was directed towards making automatic the idiomatic gestures of the contemporary musical language. It is this style of instruction that would more likely suggest improvised activities, so long as they are also encouraged and practised using some of the techniques for cultivating improvisation.<sup>16</sup> These practice techniques are explicitly encouraged in the method books of the nineteenth century through frequent calls for transposition, variation in rhythm and melodic content through right-hand variation.<sup>17</sup> Idiomatic pedagogy is not only concerned with offering the ability to improvise but also concerned specifically with making automatic the lexicon of a specific compositional style. Chapter 4 demonstrates this endeavour and compares several authors’ uses of idiomatic material to cultivate technique. Even the so-called mechanical exercises of Carl Czerny maintained idiomatic elements and it shows that the mechanist-idiomatic paradigm can co-exist. Czerny’s treatise on improvisation makes it clear that, although his pedagogical efforts demonstrate

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<sup>15</sup> Derek Bailey, *Improvisation: Its Nature and Practice In Music* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1991), xi-xii.

<sup>16</sup> See pages 41–44 for improvisation practice as theorised by Aaron Berkowitz.

<sup>17</sup> See pages 10, 59, 121, 146.

mechanist concerns, the idiomatic paradigm was at least of equal if not a greater concern.<sup>18</sup>

Laor defines mechanist pedagogy as achieving ‘success by carefully analysing and classifying the various components involved in piano playing and by mastering each one separately, gradually, and systematically.’<sup>19</sup> Although it is true that Czerny conceived of technique through this lens, his total educational output was not wholly concerned with just navigating the mechanical (that is, bodily or physical) aspects of technique. Czerny instead provides an example of a systematic investigation into piano technique, but his material is still firmly dedicated to the idioms of the prevailing compositional style. Idiomatic pedagogy is widely practised in the twentieth and twenty-first century by the jazz community which directs its attention towards making automatic the idiomatic gestures of the jazz style and encourages the development of a personal voice within that style. Chapter 1 highlights some of the examples of idiomatic pedagogy and similar instrumental teaching is found in flamenco, Persian music, and the teachings of the *partimento* masters — these pedagogical methods could easily be applied to any style which shares a common idiom. Even twentieth-century compositional tools like 12-tone technique or pitch-class sets can be used for instrumental instruction to develop a twentieth-century idiomatic pedagogy. The early modernist style could easily encourage improvisation if it integrated compositional technique into the instruction of instrumental

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<sup>18</sup> See page 14 footnote 7.

<sup>19</sup> Laor, “‘In Music Nothing Is Worse Than Playing Wrong Notes’: Nineteenth-Century Mechanistic Paradigm of Piano Pedagogy’, 9.

technique. Creating devices similar to the prelude canvas found in nineteenth-century methods but using stylistic elements of a particular composer is just one of the many applications of nineteenth-century teaching techniques that could be used.

The paradigms of idiomatic and mechanist pedagogy can be and are often expressed in the same historical period and often by the same person as rarely is one intention ever expressed in such a degree of black and white. But mechanist pedagogy shares a philosophical link with the depersonalisation of the artist as it now de-personalises technical development. In the early twentieth century mechanist pedagogy developed into a hegemonic mode of instrumental instruction. Pianist Ernő Dohnányi (1877-1960) wrote just one of the many examples of the type of non-idiomatic mechanist pedagogy that became prevalent in the twentieth century.<sup>20</sup> His essential finger exercises are solely derived from the physical and mechanical operations of the hands, and his intentions were explicitly to reduce the number of technical studies a student must prepare.

Dohnányi remarks that ‘above all else, the amount of studies must be reduced ...’ and that ‘finger exercises are preferable to studies, if only for the reason that they can be practiced from memory, and consequently the whole attention can be concentrated on the proper execution, which is most important.’<sup>21</sup> As a result of this effort, Dohnányi’s studies are devoid of any unified musical language because they are solely conceived by the mechanical movement of the fingers. Dohnányi remarks: ‘It is absolutely unnecessary

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<sup>20</sup> Ernő Dohnányi, *Essential Finger Exercises* (Budapest: Rózsavölgyi és Tarsa, 1929).

<sup>21</sup> It is no coincidence that he eventually remarks ‘Everything else — even Czerny, is superfluous.’ Dohnányi, *Essential Finger Exercises*, 5-6.

to practise the very difficult scales in double sixths in all keys. The chromatic scale in major and minor sixths is sufficient.<sup>22</sup> The musical material is irrelevant, and the sound produced is incidental to the mechanical movement and this results in a disconnect between the ears and the hands.<sup>23</sup> This could not be any further from the comments made by guitarists in the early nineteenth century where harmonic versatility on all keys was of the utmost importance. This disconnect is the direct result of abandoning musical schemata as the building blocks of technique. This conception of technique is the pedagogical equivalent to the depersonalisation of the artist. It removes any particular musical style from technical development so that the development of an aesthetic judgement does not get in the way of skill development, and thus in interpretation. These pedagogical endeavours characterise the mechanist or executant paradigm of instruction and it finds its strongest expression in late-modernist guitar pedagogy.

Guitarist Emilio Pujol (1886-1980) had a strong concern with the mechanist paradigm and, although he still maintained many idiomatic elements of the late-romantic style, was a strong precursor to the mechanist methods which were published later in the century.<sup>24</sup> Pujol demonstrated idiomatic concerns in his exhaustive lists of grammatical elements such as diminished sevenths and does not abandon musical schemata for mechanics entirely, but even in most cases the idiomatic material of western tonality is exploited

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<sup>22</sup> Dohnányi, *Essential Finger Exercises*, 46.

<sup>23</sup> See comment by Carulli page 155.

<sup>24</sup> Examples of mechanist methods include Luigi Biscaldi, *Esercizi Speciali di Virtuositismo: per chitarra* (Ancona, Italy: Bèrben, 1988); Scott Tennant, *Pumping Nylon: The Classical Guitarist's Technique Handbook* (Van Nuys, Ca: Alfred Publishing, 1995); Ricardo Iznaola, *Kitharologus: the path to virtuosity: a technical workout manual for all guitarists* (Heidelberg: Chanterelle, 1995); Abel Carlevaro, *Serie Didactica: para guitarra* (Buenos Aires: Barry, 1975).

mostly for its mechanical use.<sup>25</sup> Despite his partial adherence to tonal idioms, Pujol's concern with finger independence and control is seen most explicitly with his exercises on shifting which exhaust all the combinations of substitutions and extensions of the hand.<sup>26</sup> Despite a concern for exhausting mechanical operations, Pujol, demonstrating his simultaneous conservatism and paradoxical detachment from nineteenth-century practices, provides harmonisations of major and minor scales, not according to the rule of the octave, but in root position chords and organised them by different groups of string. Not unlike nineteenth-century methods, Pujol still utilised harmonised major scales as a canvas to practise different right-hand arpeggios, but the intended utilisation of this activity could not be further from the ones intended by Carulli or Molino. Twentieth-century pedagogy became fixated on producing 'executant artists' which G. W. F. Hegel described 150 years previously.<sup>27</sup> It was Abel Carlevaro (1916-2007) who realised this approach most fully with a pedagogical method focused entirely on body mechanics.<sup>28</sup> Subsequent publications such as *Pumping Nylon*, *Kithralogus*, and *Esercizi Speciali di Virtuosità: per chitarra*, are the most obvious examples of executant pedagogy, and it seems a trend developed for this type of pedagogy in the late 1970s that has continued into the twenty-first century.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Emilio Pujol, *Escuela Razonada de la Guitarra Basada en los Principios de la Técnica de Tarrega Libro 2* (Buenos Aires Ricordi Americana, 1952), 73-74.

<sup>26</sup> Emilio Pujol, *Escuela Razonada de la Guitarra Basada en los Principios de la Técnica de Tarrega Libro 3* (Buenos Aires Ricordi Americana, 1952), 23-47, 52, 71-79.

<sup>27</sup> G. W. F. Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art* Vol. II trans. T. M. Knox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 955.

<sup>28</sup> Carlevaro, *Serie Didáctica*.

<sup>29</sup> Biscaldi, *Esercizi*; Tennant, *Pumping Nylon*; Iznaola, *Kitharologus: the path to virtuosity: a technical workout manual for all guitarists*.



It is clear that if there was a broader debate between mechanist and idiomatic pedagogy than Grétry, and by extension, de Fossa, Aguado and other guitarists of the early nineteenth century all firmly exhibited idiomatic concerns. ‘The essential’ from ‘thence that all our pleasure results,’ as described by Grétry, can only be the specific and particular musical activities of the music community. Preluding, creating accompaniments, modulating, performing works are the essential musical activities of the community and they are essential to instruction. It then follows that if the most venerated musical activity in which a professional instrumentalist could engage was the faithful interpretation of musical works, all pedagogy would be focused on only the ‘essential.’ The hyper fixation on interpretation and execution is so engrained in twentieth-century views of instruction and method that it can impede interpretation of past works. Matanya Ophee (1932-2017) demonstrated this fixation when he suggested his readers ‘ignore all the music theory mambo-jumbo’ found in the 1825 *Escuela* written by Aguado and de Fossa.<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately Ophee abandoned his translation of the *Escuela* remarking ‘... in the case of Aguado, the emphasis is not on technique or interpretation, but on music theory, and a fairly arcane and archaic version of it, a subject that Sor avoided like the plague.’<sup>31</sup> His remarks suggest a belief that ‘music theory’ serves only the function of analysis, and that technique only serves execution, and makes a clear value judgement about the *Escuela* because of this belief. Ophee’s comments suggest an implicit bias against the function of de Fossa’s ‘archaic music theory’, that is, to encourage students to improvise modulatory preludes. To prelude is a decoration in the modernist aesthetic

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<sup>30</sup> Matanya Ophee, ‘I have had enough!’, <<https://matanya.livejournal.com/107592.html>> [accessed 23 February 2021].

<sup>31</sup> Ophee, ‘I have had enough!’.

determined by aesthetic taste and is not essential and belongs to the realm of craftsmanship not the inspiration of genius.<sup>32</sup>

## 5.2 On the Hermeneutics of Method

Ophee's understanding of Aguado's *Escuela*, and the interpretation of historical methods as a whole, can be seen as a type of re-creation of the text. In the case of Ophee, he does not merely misunderstand the intention of the text, but in doing so creates a new mode of experiencing or learning from the method. For interpreting a pedagogical text, and engaging in reoccurring sessions of practice from them, requires having intentions that move beyond the intentions of the text. Every utilisation of a method, historical or otherwise, involves an inherent recreation of that text via the understanding and application of the text in practising. Ophee's interpretation of the work through the mechanist paradigm affects how Aguado's method can be used to learn the guitar. Any utilisation of the text for practice, even if the text was utilised exactly as intended by the author, entails a recreative understanding of the text that is cemented in the resulting musical skills acquired. Ophee's mechanist interpretation of Aguado, and the whole mechanist interpretation of many methods of the nineteenth century, creates a new application for the texts and this application reflects the interpretive prejudices of the modernist aesthetic.

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<sup>32</sup> Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 158.

This becomes a question for hermeneutics as it relates to pedagogy, and a short critique of interpreting instructional methods will bring the overarching ideas of this thesis to an end. Interpreting methods or works of art with an emphasis on the reproduction of intentions has come under heavy criticism in the past half century. Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900-2002) poses a valid question which is relevant when attempting the investigation undergone in this thesis.

Reconstructing the conditions in which a work passed down to us from the past was originally constituted is undoubtedly an important aid to understanding it. But we may ask whether what we obtain is really the *meaning* of the work of art that we are looking for, and whether it is correct to see understanding as a second creation.<sup>33</sup>

Gadamer goes further to suggest that understanding, interpretation and application are more of a unified whole.<sup>34</sup> This is clearly demonstrated in the performance of works, but equally so for pedagogical texts. The reutilisations of Giuliani's famous 120 right-hand studies according to mechanical principles in the twentieth century is probably the best example of this.<sup>35</sup> As is necessary in Gadamer's account of the production of works of art, so too is it necessary in the utilisation of pedagogical texts to interrogate and even embrace one's own prejudices. He writes 'No one can ... perform a piece of music without understanding the original meaning of the text and presenting it in his reproduction and interpretation. But, similarly, no one will be able to make a

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<sup>33</sup> Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 166.

<sup>34</sup> 'Understanding is always interpretation, and hence interpretation is the explicit form of understanding. ... Thus we are forced to go one step beyond romantic hermeneutics, as it were, by regarding not only understanding and interpretation, but also application as comprising one unified process.' Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 318-319.

<sup>35</sup> Tennant, *Pumping Nylon*, 80-89. Christopher Davis, *Giuliani 120+*, <<https://www.classicalguitar.org/freemusic/exercises/Giuliani120.pdf>> [accessed 25 February 2021].

performative interpretation without taking account of that other normative element — the stylistic values of one's own day.<sup>36</sup> It is impossible to successfully interpret a musical work without understanding the meaning of the work and, most importantly, the meaning of one's own dogmatic stylistic values. The same is true of methods — where we fail to take account of the standardising power of one's own interpretive dogmas in the process of application, we fail to understand the text. This thesis, in its consideration of pedagogy directed towards the reproduction of musical works, has taken account of the modernist prejudice and its effect on the application of interpreting methods.

With this brief consideration of the hermeneutic process, twentieth-century interpretations of pedagogical texts are not only separate creations but function similarly to appropriation. The lack of awareness of the implicit intentions of nineteenth-century methods, and the lack of awareness of the normative force of mechanist pedagogy is the mark of this appropriation. This appropriation explains the exclusion of other nineteenth-century teaching methods such as the preludes canvas, modulation collections, and, most egregiously, the rule of the octave which was widespread in many popular guitar methods. One could easily imagine other re-organisations of collections of *batteries*, that suit the cultivation of the ability to vary songs and other works spontaneously. The right-hand studies taught by Carulli which explored more diverse key areas could have been collated similarly.<sup>37</sup> Moretti's remarks to practise preludes on all time signatures and key areas were never repeated throughout the twentieth century, and his collection of nearly

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<sup>36</sup> Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 321.

<sup>37</sup> See pages 139-141.

200 right-hand arpeggios never received the re-interpretations that Giuliani's Op. 1 did.<sup>38</sup> Gadamer's sense of the relationship between application and understanding is demonstrated clearly in the application of so many nineteenth-century methods for purely mechanical purposes.

Chapter 3 demonstrated that Giuliani's Op. 1 began a shift in pedagogical intention that was geared more towards the execution of musical works.<sup>39</sup> But that Giuliani's Op. 1 displayed this concern does not imply that the implicit spirit of his age did not contain more holistic or idiomatic concerns. The manuscripts of Christopher de Monte and Giuliani found in a storeroom of a London bank display Giuliani's more concerted efforts for 'idiomatic' or holistic pedagogy.<sup>40</sup> In the article detailing the contents of the bank box the author writes 'Upon first seeing the unknown Giuliani manuscript material at Coutts, the initial excitement of this author quickly gave way to disappointment over the contents: seemingly endless repetitions of tonic and dominant chords in the keys of C and F, and nowhere a melody in sight ... Only a few first-position chords are employed. Arpeggios are rarely called for, most of the pieces being of the 'oom-pah' variety, where the three upper strings are sounded simultaneously after the thumb has played the chord's root. ... The manuscripts contain simple themes taken from popular operas and ballets (most of which are long forgotten), in arrangements for two guitars by Giuliani. At

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<sup>38</sup> See page 132 footnote 47.

<sup>39</sup> See pages 130–134.

<sup>40</sup> Paul Pleijsier, 'Found: A Giuliani Guitar, Kept in a London Bank Since 1816', *Soundboard*, 29 (2001/2002), <[https://www.paulpleijsier.nl/assets/pdf/soundboard\\_2001.pdf](https://www.paulpleijsier.nl/assets/pdf/soundboard_2001.pdf)> [accessed 25 February 2021].

Coutts, only the accompanying, chordal part survives.’<sup>41</sup> The author’s disappointment in the lack of direction in the manuscripts is reasonable if one derives value from pedagogical material only through the mechanist paradigm. Without scrutinising the pedagogical interpretations, one may see endless repetition of tonic and dominant chords which are of no use to the mechanist, or an effort to cultivate fretboard knowledge that could aid in other musical activities such as accompanying, preluding or modulating. Contrary to what the author suggests, musical skill sets and activities were far broader than just executing musical works and not all pedagogical intentions were directed in this effort.<sup>42</sup> The presence of such material, and the judgement of it being simple, led the author to conclude that Giuliani’s *Grand Concerto*, Op. 36 could not possibly have been dedicated to a guitarist of such limited abilities.<sup>43</sup> Giuliani’s arpeggios were not merely meant for cultivating facile right-hand strength in execution of works, and it is very possible the manuscripts in this collection were actually dedicated to teaching de Monte the ability to harmonise melodies, vary those accompaniments, or maybe even how to create competent preludes. When considering the aims of nineteenth-century methods as a whole, any of these pedagogical intentions was more probable than merely the performance of a piece of music.

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<sup>41</sup> Pleijsier, ‘Found: A Giuliani Guitar, Kept in a London Bank Since 1816’.

<sup>42</sup> ‘While copying them out in manuscript, however, the student would learn the elements of music writing and pick up some theory. While practicing them, he would get acquainted with basic chords. Indeed, after diligently practicing a prescribed dose of Giuliani’s Studio, Opus 1, to teach his right-hand fingers some independence through repetitive arpeggiations, our student would have been ready to tackle a genuine little entry-level composition.’ Pleijsier, ‘Found: A Giuliani Guitar, Kept in a London Bank Since 1816’.

<sup>43</sup> ‘Judging from the printed music in Christopher’s possession, he was not a virtuoso guitarist capable of tackling the concerto. But then, among Christopher’s printed music are three copies of said concerto, all bearing the Artaria plate number 2251.7’. Pleijsier, ‘Found: A Giuliani Guitar, Kept in a London Bank Since 1816’.

Pedagogical materials hold a peculiar place in the history of music. They simultaneously express knowledge through a textual or philosophical mode, but also through a sensuous mode through the study and reproduction of their musical examples. They contain physical instruction aimed at long-term skill development, and the interpretation of such texts requires consideration of so much more than historical consciousness. The interpretation of instruction for physical movements is entirely dependent on the intentionality in which the physical movement is directed. This intentionality is directly shaped by the performance practices, the culture in which music is performed and the customs surrounding that culture. This is, in some ways, separate from interpreting philosophical works, for although one may read something with the intention of coming to an understanding of the meaning of the text, the technique developed from practising the materials from a method entails a more automated and physical understanding. The fulfilment of a musician's unconscious prejudices are both the means and end of interpreting a method as one ultimately uses a method for the fulfilment of their long-term technical development. The application of the text to achieve these goals are not solely dictated by the text, nor is the application ever just a mere understanding of the material, for the same material can be used to achieve different technical outcomes.

Improvisation declined as a widespread practice in the late nineteenth century because the implicit instruction of it, which was so prevalent in the mid-nineteenth century, eventually disappeared under the new definition of technique through the modernist prejudice. There could be no place for 'exercising one's fantasy in modulations' if the artist's chief goals were 'surrendering himself wholly to the work to be done' and to live

in the ‘present moment of the past.’ Improvisation declined in guitar pedagogy because the musical activities present in the community that would have cultivated its teaching, precluding vocal accompaniment etc., declined. This process occurred simultaneous to, not because of, the shifting attitudes towards musical works and the relationship with tradition and canon. Robin Moore argues that improvisation thrives in a cultural environment in which a given musical style is intimately learned and practised.<sup>44</sup> This is true of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century pedagogy in that it was focused on teaching idiomatic properties of the style. But the abilities of many twentieth-century improvisors suggests that actually open musical environments — ones in which a variety of styles can co-exist — still allows for improvisational skill to flourish, Chick Corea (1941-2021) improvising fluently over Gerswhin and Mozart is a testament to this.<sup>45</sup> Improvisation is encouraged when instrumental instruction is conceived as the automatising of the idiomatic properties of a particular musical style. Improvisation thus declines when musical language is removed from the ‘play’ of musical tuition.<sup>46</sup> The ‘play’ of musical tuition is what happens when instrumental instruction, as a cultural entity, organises itself in tandem with the musical activities of the community and the idioms of some prevalent musical language. For these ‘players’, the instructors, the performers, and the listeners engage in a type of play in which rules are defined and in which the participants knowingly engage. Play is not just the free expression of ideas but the setting up of

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<sup>44</sup> ‘Acquiring a familiarity with a particular style of improvisation frequently involves performing the same piece, or limited group of pieces, over and over. This allows the musician time to become intimately familiar with one particular stylistic [groove].’ Robin Moore, ‘The Decline of Improvisation in Western Art Music: An Interpretation of Change’, *Croatian Musicological Society International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 23 (1992), 65.

<sup>45</sup> Chick Corea, ‘Chick Combines Mozart & Gerswhin’ <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hqjEm1jdbTo>> [accessed 1 March 2021].

<sup>46</sup> Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 106-165.



parameters in which audience, instructor, composer, and performer all play against, and within. In the twentieth century, with the influx of new compositional ideas and the elevation of historical consciousness, guitarists were confined to be either performer-interpreter, or performer-pedagogue — the latter of which were confined to composing only pedagogical works. It is no surprise that performers like Augustin Barrios and the many South American guitarists who maintained the performer-composer-improvisor dynamic, were suppressed by the modernist authority of Segovia.<sup>47</sup> That no single guitarist-composer achieved the celebrity or authority that Segovia did between the death of Miguel Llobet in 1938 and Segovia in 1987 speaks to this suppression.

The modernist agenda changed the parameters of play in that it placed tradition and the canon as the ideas which must be fully ‘played with’, and instructors and performers simultaneously organised themselves accordingly. If one must play with the ideas of canon and tradition, the de-personalised execution of that canon must be the sole focus of pedagogy. Chapters 2 and 3 show that improvised musical activities like accompaniment and prelude were central to the interrelated play of instrumental instruction and the language of the music in the nineteenth century. It was the performers’ role to ‘form the mode’ or prepare the listener and teaching devices were created to support these interrelated roles.<sup>48</sup> But the modernist aesthetic highlighted tradition as the most important element of play in which performer, composer and audience directed their behaviour. But this aesthetic should not be wholly discarded when faced with an

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<sup>47</sup> See page 46 footnote 96.

<sup>48</sup> See page 109.

understanding of how improvisation affected eighteenth- and nineteenth-century practice. Instead, a revitalisation of the study of improvisation, its teaching methods and the repositioning of it in the musical activities of western art music can be seen as a re-shaping of the modernist concern with tradition and canon. As it is further revealed that improvisation was vital to the tradition of western art music, the play between instructor, performer, composer and listener re-presents itself. As it re-presents itself a stronger affirmation of tradition is made that the modernist agenda was quite incapable of achieving. The western tradition lives not only through the reproduction of its works, but through the broader activities of its performers, composers, as well as its teachers, students and listeners. This 'present moment of the past' is not felt merely in the enjoyment and performance of its sensuous musical objects but through a broader engagement in the process of its reproduction. The past is also felt through the instruction and the cultivation of the skills necessary for its reproduction. It follows then that improvisation, and the cultivation of the skills necessary for it, may be the element that truly enriches the nature of learning western art music and can reposition those activities 'from thence our pleasure results' to the core of its instruction.

# Conclusion

At its most basic level, this thesis takes stock of the fundamental skills musicians learned in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It began with the questions: what did musicians learn? How did they learn this and for what purpose? However, very early into the research it was apparent that improvisation was not only an extremely prevalent technical skill but was also a central element of the performance culture. As a result, some secondary questions had to be addressed which is why this thesis began with a consideration of modernism and the role it had in shaping instrumental instruction.<sup>1</sup> At a more critical level the question directed itself towards the twentieth century: if improvisation was taught in the so-called classical period why is it not taught in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries? These more critical questions are where the thesis ends: in the exploration of the effect that the modernist movement had on shaping instrumental pedagogy, from one that was centred on training musical idioms to one centred on training physical movements.

The research began predominately through the textual analysis of the late eighteenth-century methods which appeared to use familiar terms in new contexts. Predominately the first clue to the central role of improvisation was the *canevas de prelude* which first appeared in the guitar methods published in France in the late eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> These early methods contained much more implicit efforts to teach improvisation as the practice

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<sup>1</sup> See pages 2–11.

<sup>2</sup> See page 63.

was more expected in the every-day performance practice. Improvising preludes or accompaniments was a vital skill for keyboardists and lutenists in the eighteenth century and the development of these skills is well documented.<sup>3</sup> However, there were no clear links between what was taught in the early nineteenth-century guitar methods and the more researched early eighteenth century. The investigation inevitably led to how improvisation was taught more broadly in the eighteenth century. There is a substantial amount of academic work which has investigated eighteenth-century improvisation and the literature review of Chapter 1 offers a small comparison of improvisation pedagogy in a variety of disciplines. In this analysis, a general idea of the most developed strategies for teaching improvisation became clear and this inevitably led towards the discipline known as schema theory which investigates how musical idioms and structures come to be repeated through composition and pedagogy. By applying schema theory and the existing work in improvisation pedagogy a clear pattern emerged about the guitar methods of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: technique was not the physical control of an instrument but the mastery of musical idioms, that is, of musical schemata. As musical schemata and musical idiom became more synonymous in the pedagogical sphere it presented a different definition for technique in the nineteenth century. This change in perspective eventually led to the realisation that in many instances in the nineteenth century, teaching improvisation is only made more explicit if the language is understood in its fuller context.

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<sup>3</sup> See pages 15-23.

The Spanish methods explored in Chapter 2 are obvious examples of the difference in the concept of technique. Where guitarists in the twentieth century boast of technical control, guitarists in the eighteenth century boast of being able to accompany any voice and in any key.<sup>4</sup> This was due to the way in which musicians trained which predominately began with the materials of tonality, the primary chords and basic right-hand patterns to vary the rhythm.<sup>5</sup> The logical conclusion of a musician's technical aims were to master the harmonic material and to develop the capacity for variation and the skill of accompaniment. If a musician could accompany the voice, they could fulfil the primary role of the guitar, and this requires an entirely different skill set than what was commonly taught in the twentieth century. The early conclusions were that, as solo playing became more popular, the improvisational skills taught in the method books would decline. Chapter 3 demonstrates, however, that as solo playing increased and accompanying the voice began to decline the instruction of improvisation only increased in sophistication. Where the late-eighteenth-century methods were implicit, recognising that a performance would feature improvisation in some degree, the nineteenth-century sources increased the tools by which guitarists would be able to improvise, they became more prevalent before swiftly diminishing in appearance.<sup>6</sup> This teaching can only be seen as becoming more explicit if it is recognised that the devices like the *regole d'ottave*, *cadenze semplice/prolongate* and *circulo d'armonico* are meant to teach improvisation. Only once the so-called 'horizon' has been broadened does this appear as explicit as it was. Devices that were common in the eighteenth century like the *regole d'ottave* and *bassi movimenti*

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<sup>4</sup> See pages 82–101.

<sup>5</sup> See pages 54, 80 footnote 69, 121, 126, and 182–208.

<sup>6</sup> See page 149.

began to appear with more frequency but in a simplified and adapted form.<sup>7</sup> The *regole d'ottave* appeared with more frequency in the nineteenth century than in any other period of the six-string or five-course guitar. In addition to this, collections of solfège methods with guitar accompaniment appeared for the first time as a supplement for the guitarist to develop singing technique and to implicitly learn how to accompany certain melodic patterns.<sup>8</sup> Only upon the understanding that all these pedagogical tools were directed towards a skill that was implicitly understood as a vital element of the performance practice does the 'implicit curriculum' reveal itself. The discovery of these new pedagogical tools led to the need for a collation and comparison of these techniques which ultimately produced the main findings of Chapter 4: a taxonomy and comparison of devices used in the classical period to teach improvisation on the guitar.

The structure of this thesis follows the chronological order of the methods as well as the way in which the pedagogical tools increase in complexity and sophistication. This increase of complexity demonstrates a shared network of understanding between 1760 and 1860 which is crucial to understanding how improvisation declined. The term *cadencia*, for example, remained consistent among the methods between 1760 and 1860, as the term to refer to stock harmonic material with which to improvise preludes.<sup>9</sup> The increase in complexity in this stock harmonic material is demonstrated in Chapter 4 and is useful for understanding how improvisation in a nineteenth-century style can be

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<sup>7</sup> See page 14 and page 206–255.

<sup>8</sup> See page 160–166.

<sup>9</sup> See page 108–110, 136–139 and 256–262.

approached. These classes were organised in a pedagogical manner as well as by the historical increase in complexity and this opens the way for future adaption into developing similar devices to teach preluding in more contemporary styles.

With this historical, pedagogical and socio-economic consideration of how and why improvisation was taught, Chapter 5 concluded the investigation into the philosophical attitudes that influenced nineteenth- and twentieth-century pedagogy. A dichotomy was proposed between mechanist and idiomatic principles of pedagogy.<sup>10</sup> The idiomatic pedagogy indicative of the nineteenth century was concerned with instructing the harmonic materials of the prevalent compositional style. This is in stark contrast to the mechanist pedagogy of the early twentieth century which focused solely on the refinement of the movement of the hands. Chapter 5 explored how the philosophy of historical consciousness led directly to this change in pedagogy.<sup>11</sup> As artists began to see their music as part of a tradition of great works not only did differentiation from one's contemporaries become a priority but so too did the ability to differentiate and respond to the tradition. For the guitar, this meant an influx of music written by non-guitarists as well as arrangements of music from the eighteenth century. This required a technical ability far beyond the mere mastery of nineteenth-century idioms and instead of seeking refuge in the idioms of these competing musical styles pedagogues sought mechanist

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<sup>10</sup> See page 267–276,

<sup>11</sup> See page 263–267.

principles and relegated compositions to *etudes*. The prelude as an improvised activity which built technique disappeared entirely and was replaced by the technical etude.

This research makes a unique contribution into the field of pedagogy in that it collates and analyses several forgotten devices used for teaching improvisation. While *bassi movimenti* and the *regole d'ottave* are being re-introduced into piano instruction, their role in nineteenth-century pedagogy is still unrecognised and they have not yet been adopted by conservatory-level-guitar instructors. This thesis reveals the role that collections of modulations, which are completely absent from guitarists' instruction in the twentieth century, played in nineteenth-century guitarists' technical development.<sup>12</sup> The *canevas de prelude*, and the *cadenze prolongate* are terms that have been completely forgotten in the realm of guitar pedagogy and this thesis reveals their importance and precisely how and why they were found in the methods for guitar. Modulations, and the ability to improvise modulatory preludes between pieces, have been largely undocumented in the academic literature. This thesis demonstrates how the ability to teach modulating preludes was taught using two devices, collections of short modulation patterns and written-out examples of modulatory 'preludes' sometimes called a *giro* or *circulo d'armonico*.<sup>13</sup> The long sets of modulations were examples of the types of modulatory preludes and were devices in which students learned to copy the style of their instructors (most usually the author of the method.) Prior to this research it was virtually unknown whether or not guitarists utilised the device now commonly known as a

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<sup>12</sup> See pages 144–153.

<sup>13</sup> See page 144–149 and 186.



*partimento* and this thesis confirms that guitarists as late as the early nineteenth century knew of them and used them for developing the ability to accompany from the bass. While the use of *partimenti* was very limited by guitarists of the nineteenth century future research may lead to more discoveries of this device. Future research may also uncover a clearer link between guitarists like Federico Moretti, Ferdinando Carulli or Antonio Dominici, who all studied at some point in Naples, and the famous composers and pedagogues in Naples who were responsible for propagating the use of *partimenti* as a teaching device. Finally, this thesis concludes that improvisation cannot just be injected into a musical community without a direct reformation of the relationships between composers, performers, instructors and institutional power. Only if performers and instructors organise themselves and their curricula towards an idiomatic pedagogy can improvisation be reintegrated into the play of classical music. Only in a pedagogical system which defines technical skill as the medium in which the idioms of a given musical language are understood (not as the objects which technical skill is to dominate) can improvisation thrive. This will take much more than historical research, it will take a fundamental shift in the play of classical music, how it is presented, learned and listened to in the twenty-first century. This will require institutions to set up the parameters in which improvisation is seen as a process of understanding, not an incidental anomaly. This restored relationship between technique and language into the play of music is what will revitalise improvisation among so-called ‘classical’ musicians, and perhaps will exorcise from their instruction the discipline’s confining measure of a performer.

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## Chronological List of Guitar Methods 1754-1892

The following chronological list of guitar methods is extended to 1892 and builds from the list offered in Erik Stenstadvold, *An Annotated Bibliography of Guitar Methods, 1760-1860*.<sup>14</sup> While the definition of a ‘method’ has been broadened slightly to accommodate sets of ‘lessons’, and other educational material, this list does not include collections of etudes unless included in the one provided in *An Annotated Bibliography of Guitar Methods, 1760-1860*. Any additions to Stenstadvold’s list have been marked with an \*.

Minguet Y Yrol, P. *	<i>Reglas, y advertencias</i>	1754
Anon., (Don***)	<i>Méthode pour Apprendre ajoure</i>	1758
Dupuitsdes Bricettes, J. -B.	<i>Méthode pour la guitare</i>	1758
de Soto, A.	<i>Arte para aprender con facilidad, y sin</i>	1760
Merchi, G.	<i>Le Guide des écoliers, Op. 7</i>	1761
Corrette, M.	<i>Les Dons d' Apollon</i>	1762
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Anon. (B. D. C)	<i>Méthode de Guittarre</i>	1773
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Corbelin, F. -V.	<i>Méthode de guitarre</i>	1777
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<sup>1</sup> Erik Stenstadvold, *An annotated bibliography of guitar methods, 1760-1860* (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 2010), 1-12.

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Anon.	<i>Méthode de guitare</i>	c1800
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Molino, F.	<i>Nouvelle Méthode Complete</i>	1817
Anon.	<i>Guitarreschule, nebst Probestuecken</i>	pre-1818
Blum, C. L	<i>Neue vollständige Guitarrenschule</i>	1818
Chevessaille	<i>Petite Méthode</i>	1818
Lardies, T.	<i>Arte de tocar la Guitarra</i>	1818
Latis	<i>Méthode de guitare</i>	pre-1818
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Molino, F.	<i>Metodo per Chitarra</i>	1818
Anon. (J. M. G. y E.)	<i>Rudimentos para tocar la Guitarra</i>	1819
Harder, A.	<i>Neue vollständige Gitarre-Schule</i>	c1819
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Aguado, D.	<i>Coleccion de estudios</i>	1820
Blake, G. E.	<i>Blake's New &amp; Complete Preceptor</i>	c1820
Crema, M. G.	<i>Nouvelle Méthode, Op. 6 (Lyon)</i>	c1820
Gatayes, G. P. A.	<i>Seconde Méthode, Op. 26, 3. ed</i>	c1820
Knize, F. M.	<i>Vollständige Gitarre-Schule</i>	1820
Lafleche, J. A. M. De	<i>Méthode de Guitare</i>	c1820
Molino, F.	<i>Nouvelle Méthode Complete, 2. ed</i>	c1820
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Knize, F. M.	<i>Vollständige Gitarre-Schule, 2. part</i>	1822
Lintant, C.	<i>Petite Méthode de guitare ou lyre</i>	1822
Molino, F.	<i>Le Maitre de guitare, Op. 24</i>	1822
Bathioli, F.	<i>Gemeinnutzige Guitareschule</i>	c1823
Douro, R.	<i>A Complete Preceptor</i>	c1823
Henry, B.	<i>Nouvelle Méthode, Op. 21</i>	1823
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Sosson, A.	<i>A Complete Instruction Book</i>	c1823
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Meissonnier, A.	<i>Petite Méthode</i>	pre-1824
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Pollet, L. M.	<i>Méthode de guitare</i>	c1824
Aguado, D.	<i>Escuela</i>	1825
Aubery Du Boulley, P. -L.	<i>Método para la Guitarra, Op. 42</i>	c1825
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Carnaud	<i>Méthode, Op. 24</i>	c1825
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Gatayes, G. P. A.	<i>Méthode, Op. 80</i>	1825
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Marescot, C.	<i>Méthode de guitare, Op. 15</i>	1825
Mathieu, J. -B.	<i>Méthode de guitarre</i>	1825
Medina, O. L.	<i>New Instructions</i>	c1825
Meissonnier, J.	<i>Petite Méthode</i>	c1825
Molino, F.	<i>Le Maitre de guitare, Op. 40</i>	c1825
Mure, G. C.	<i>Méthode complete, Op. 1</i>	1825
Naissant	<i>Nouvelle Méthode</i>	1825
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Aguado, D.	<i>Méthode complete</i>	1826
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Carnaud	<i>Nouvelle Méthode, Op. 26</i>	1826
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Chevessaille	<i>Nouvelle Méthode</i>	1826
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Henry, B.	<i>Nouvelle Méthode, 3. ed.</i>	c1826
Molino, F.	<i>Grande Méthode, Op. 46</i>	c1826
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Varlet, A. H.	<i>Méthode complete</i>	1827
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Defrance	<i>Méthode</i>	c1828
Desrivieres, P. R.	<i>Méthode Complete, Op.18</i>	pre-1828
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Eulenstein, C.	<i>A New Method of Instruction</i>	1828
Heu, A.	<i>Méthode de guitare</i>	1828
Hustache	<i>Méthode de guitare</i>	c1828
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Mollino, J.	<i>Instructions for the Spanish Guitar</i>	c1828
Schneider, C. A.	<i>Neue Gitarrenschule</i>	pre-1828
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Pfeifer, F.	<i>Practische Guitare-Schule, Op. 30</i>	1830
Prucilli, P.	<i>Rudiments for the Spanish Guitar</i>	c1830
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Taylor, J.	<i>A Course of Perceptive Lessons</i>	1832
Hauser, J. E.	<i>Guitarre-Schule</i>	1833
Horetzky, F.*	<i>Preludes, Cadences and Modulations op. 21</i>	pre-1833
Noriega, J. M.	<i>Nouveaux Principes</i>	1833
Nuske, J. A.	<i>Easy Method for the Guitar</i>	1833
Aguado, D.	<i>Nouvelle Méthode, Op. 6</i>	1834
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Rudolphus, C.	<i>A Short and Comprehensive Method</i>	c1834
Seroni, T.	<i>Méthode raisonnée</i>	1834
Torp, O.	<i>New and Improved Method</i>	1834
Coupa, J. B.	<i>Instruction Book</i>	c1835
Lagoanere	<i>Méthode pratique</i>	1835
Meissonnier, A.	<i>Nouvelle Méthode ou leçons, 3. ed.</i>	c1835
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Carcassi, M.	<i>Méthode complete, Op. 59</i>	1836
Pelzer, F.	<i>One Hundred and Fifty Exercises</i>	1836
Plouvier, P-J.	<i>Principes généraux</i>	1836
Aguado, D.	<i>Hints to Guitar Players</i>	1837
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Aspa, S.	<i>Spanish Guitar Instructor</i>	c1837
Eulenstein, C.	<i>A New Practical Method</i>	c1837

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Ballard, J.	<i>The Elements of Guitar Playing</i>	1838
Samans, F.	<i>Praktische Gitarre-Schule</i>	1838
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Wohlfahrt, H.	<i>Kleine Gitarreschule</i>	1839
Aguedo, M. N.	<i>Methodo Geral</i>	1840
Anon.	<i>An Easy Method for the Guitar or Lyre</i>	c1840
Ballard, J.	<i>Ballard's Guitar Preceptor</i>	c1840
Kirkman, L.*	<i>Improved Method for the Guitar</i>	1840
Schultz, L. *	<i>The Indispensable or 9 progressive Exercises for the Guitar, Op.40</i>	1840
Castelacci, I.	<i>Grande Méthode, 2. ed.</i>	c1841
Parrini	<i>Nouvelle Méthode</i>	1841
Roy, C. E.	<i>Petite Méthode</i>	1841
Aubery Du Boulley, P. -L.	<i>Méthode complete, Op. 42</i>	c1842
Phipps, T. B.	<i>Guida di Chitarra</i>	post-1842
Aguado, D.	<i>Nuevo Método</i>	1843
Perez, J. J.	<i>Método de guitarra</i>	1843
Anon. (F. LL. y C.)	<i>Nuevo Método</i>	1844
Padovec, I.	<i>Theoretisch-practische Guitar-Schule</i>	c1844
Perre, A.	<i>Méthode de guitare</i>	1844
Muscarelli, G.	<i>Instructions for the Spanish Guitar</i>	c1845
Culver, R.	<i>The Guitar Instructor</i>	1846
Howe, E.	<i>Howe's Instructor for the Guitar</i>	1846
Siber, F.	<i>Practische Anleitung</i>	1846
Strawinski, F. T.	<i>Strawinski's Guitar Instructor</i>	1846
Legnani, L. R.	<i>Método</i>	1847
Mertz, J. K.	<i>Schule für die Gitarre</i>	1848
Sagrini, L.	<i>A Guide to the Guitar</i>	c1848
Aguado, D.	<i>Apéndice</i>	1850
Curtiss, N. P. B.	<i>A Progressive and Complete Method</i>	1850
White, E. L.	<i>Guitar Without a Master</i>	1850
Henning, C.	<i>Vollständige theoretische Gitarrenschule, Op. 19</i>	1851
Reichardt, C.	<i>Neue Gitarre-Schule</i>	1851
Sor, F. / Coste, N.	<i>Méthode Complete</i>	1851
Sor, F. / Coste, N.	<i>Método completo</i>	1851
Cano, A.	<i>Método completo</i>	1852
Damas, T.	<i>Pasatiempo Espanol</i>	c1852
Weiland, F.	<i>Instructions for the Spanish Guitar</i>	1853
Pelzer, F.	<i>Instructions for the Guitar</i>	c1854

Tucker, H.	<i>Manual for the Guitar</i>	1854
Bauer, A.	<i>Kleine Gitarre-Schule</i>	1855
Converse, C. C.	<i>New Method for the Guitar</i>	1855
Kelley, R.	<i>Companion for the Guitar</i>	1855
Roser	<i>Der praktische Gitarrenspieler</i>	c1855
Anon. (Lhulier)	<i>Willig's Instruction for the Spanish Guitar</i>	post-1856
Keller, K.	<i>Vollständige Gitarren-Schule</i>	1856
Worrall, H.	<i>The Eclectic Guitar Instructor</i>	1856
Butigni	<i>Méthode de guitare</i>	1857
Feder, O.	<i>A Complete Method</i>	1858
Pratten, C. J.	<i>Guitar School</i>	1859
Schultz, L.*	<i>Modulations in Chords for the Guitar, Op.15</i>	pre-1859
Schulz, F. A.	<i>Kleine theoretisch-praktische Gitarre-Schule</i>	c1859
Rubio, M. J.	<i>Nuevo Método Elemental</i>	1860
Rubio, M. J.	<i>Método Fácil</i>	pre-1860
Rubio, M. J.	<i>Modo Practico</i>	pre-1860
Tripeloury	<i>Neue und kurze Anweisung</i>	1860
Ruet, J.	<i>Método de Guitarra</i>	1861
Damas, T.	<i>Método completo y progresivo de guitarra</i>	1867
Cano, A.*	<i>Método completo: con un tratado de armonía aplicada a este instrumento</i>	1869
Horetzky, F.*	<i>Instructive Exercises op. 15</i>	pre-1880
Cano, A.*	<i>Método abreviado</i>	c1891
Cano, A.*	<i>Principios de guitarra</i>	c1892