Luis Díaz-Santana Garza
Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, México

Cultural History of the Guitar in Latin America

News from Argentina, Guatemala, México, and Perú

Edited by Luis Díaz-Santana Garza

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Luis Díaz-Santana Garza
Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, México

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Preface

Despite great public interest in the guitar, few books are dedicated to the instrument's history. In the Spanish-speaking world, we can find few publications, especially in Argentina and Spain, but not even one about the Latin American guitar in English. Such a lack of research prompted me to propose to several academics the preparation of a book that serves as a first approach to the social, cultural, and economic role of the instrument in Latin America, seen mostly from the perspective of the inhabitants of the Spanish-speaking countries on the American continent.

This book aims to disseminate the rich and complex history of the guitar in Latin America, with emphasis on México, covering a period that goes from the viceregal epoch to the second half of the twentieth century. The collaborators are some of the most outstanding guitarists and researchers of the instrument from Chile, Guatemala, México, and the United States. The chapters explore the importance of composers, performers, repertoire, and guitar construction in Latin America and the US, but also seek to comprehend the instrument's cultural and social role and its economic ecosystem. Due to the long chronology proposed, this book not only deals with the modern guitar but also with the baroque guitar, and there is even a chapter dedicated to the traditional instruments that have historically been heirs to the Spanish guitar.

The originality of this work resides in the use of historical and humanistic tools: it is based on a current bibliography and archive references, and it is one of the first books published in English on the history of the guitar in Latin America. The first chapter, *The Guitar in the Viceroyalty of Perú*, written by Alejandro Vera, offers us a general overview of the instrument in the powerful Viceroyalty of Perú, seeking to give visibility to the social, economic and cultural role that the guitar had, and providing first-hand information about musicians, amateurs, builders, and merchants, in a little-studied region. Before getting into the subject, the author highlights an idea that is very important throughout this volume: that the guitar was assimilated and modified in Spanish America, and consequently, sometimes, it is difficult for researchers to be sure if the instrument mentioned in a certain manuscript or book is a Renaissance or Baroque guitar, a *vihuela*, *bandurria, guitarrilla* or *discante*. The importance of this chapter lies in the fact that the author makes a critical review of the historical bibliography that mentions the guitar or music tangentially in the Viceroyalty of Perú, but also, much of the information that he presents about the instrument is taken of important historical archives, highlighting the Municipal Archive of Lima, the General Archive of the Nation of Perú, and the

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National Historical Archive of Chile. At the end of the chapter, Vera includes a valuable appendix where he mentions the sources of guitar music in the Perúvian Viceroyalty.

Alejandro Vera notes that "the knowledge about its cultivation (of the guitar) in colonial America is still insufficient," and quoting the late Mexican guitarist and music historian Antonio Corona Alcalde, he emphasizes that "most testimonies in this regard come from the Viceroyalty of New Spain, and even for this region, there is relative poverty of sources." Indeed, the knowledge we have about the guitar since colonial times in México is scarce, and in the case of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, most of these testimonies exclusively mention México City, thus Juan Frajoza, in chapter 2, *Diego Risueño, A Peninsular Musician Before the Novohispanic Inquisition*, tries to shed light on events far from the viceregal capital, in this case in the region of Guadalajara, in the west of the current Mexican territory, a city that was the head of the *Real Audiencia de la Nueva Galicia* (Royal Court of New Galicia) during colonial times. It is true that both the Mexican researcher Gabriel Saldívar and the American musicologist Robert Stevenson mentioned Risueño in their writings, but, considering the extensive document regarding his trial by the Inquisition, Frajoza affirms that both "made a poor reading of their sources." This chapter proposes an insight into the private life of Diego Risueño, a Spanish guitarist and harpist who settled in New Spain during the sixteenth century.

In chapter 3, *Scale Exercises for Five-course Guitar from a Late Guatemalan Manuscript*, Juan Pablo Pira Martínez writes about a small manuscript for a five-course guitar kept in the Museo del Libro Antiguo (Old Book Museum), in Antigua, Guatemala. This work, known as *Regla de Entrastar* (*Rules to put frets*), includes an explanation of music notation, music theory, tablature, and guitar chord notation. Many different music notations appear in this manuscript: *alfabeto* chord notation like Joan Carles Amat's, Italian guitar tablature, and modern guitar notation are found in proximity. No date is provided, but an arrangement of *La Marseillaise* suggests that this manuscript was probably written in the late eighteenth century or early nineteenth century. The document also includes repertoire and exercises, which are this chapter's main interest. While most guitar tutors for the five-course instrument focus on chord notation and strumming patterns, *Regla de Entrastar* includes a set of seven major and minor scales followed by a small arpeggio. Even though this is a common feature of modern methods, this is unusual for the baroque-type instrument. An edition both in tablature and modern notation is provided with the intention of making "period exercises" available to students of baroque guitar.

Chapter 4, titled *Perceptions of the Guitar in Mexican Periodicals, Poems, and Chronicles: From the End of Viceroyalty to the Nineteenth Century*, hopes to give an account of the spread of the guitar in all social strata through periodicals

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and writers in nineteenth-century México. Based on cultural history, I analyze the factors related to the social perception of the instrument and the categories in which it was located by the chroniclers of the time, highlighting its relationship with popular culture. Thus, I propose that the guitar became a *symbol* of identity and incipient nationalism, despite the unequal perception that society had of the instrument.

Researchers have written about the cultural importance of musical instruments, the ritual function of the culture that produced them, or as objects representing extensions of the mind, body, and emotions. However, to remedy the lack of information about the *economy* of musical instruments in the Mexican and American contexts, in chapter 5, *Builders and Importers of Guitars in México and the United States During the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Sonia Medrano Ruiz and I seek to underline the status of builders and traders of instruments in the economy: "The importance of these builders and importers lies in the fact that they made the widespread use of this cultural artifact possible; the public then endowed it with new and heterogeneous meanings, promoting the dissemination and democratization of music among sectors of all social classes, contributing to education, sociability, and the transmission of ideas among the societies of the American continent."

Chapter 6, *Más allá de la Guardia Vieja: Tango Guitar in the Long Nineteenth Century*, written by Eric Johns, is part of recent studies that highlight the Afrodescendant contribution to Ibero-American culture, observing the specific case of *tango*, a musical genre that is usually associated with white immigrants. In fact, Johns found the first reference to the word tango in a document by the governor of Louisiana, in which it is used as a synonym for "Black dances," and in this chapter, he "work towards understanding tango within this lineage and the guitar's role in that history."

Chapter 7, *"Sin guitarra no hay canción:" Mexican Rural Culture in Canción Ranchera*, deals with the *cultura ranchera* that gave rise to the birth of the *canción ranchera*, a music inseparable from nationalism and Mexican identity. Here we see the way in which the Mexican state, the mass media and public opinion shaped a musical genre that has very ancient roots, and the important role that the guitar plays in its interpretation.

For his part, Alejandro Martínez de la Rosa has carried out extensive fieldwork on various traditional musical instruments from the west and south of México, particularly instruments that have a great relationship with the five-course Spanish guitar. In Chapter 8, *Two Jarana Models from Western and Southern México: Tierra Caliente and Mixteca, Twentieth Century*, Martínez de la Rosa addresses "the organological characteristics of two variants of "jarana," a term given to several chordophone instruments in México, to be compared and define their shared and dissimilar characteristics."

On the other hand, it is unquestionable that the artistic career of the Spanish performer Andrés Segovia was a milestone in the history of Western concert music, particularly for the classical guitar. However, his international career was promoted by various myths, stimulated by writers, fans, and the guitarist himself. Therefore, in chapter 9, *"If the guitar hadn't existed, I would have invented it:" Andrés Segovia and His Debut in México in 1923*, I analyze the *reception* that Segovia had in the recitals that marked his debut in México, comparing his concert programs with those of other musicians who were active during that period. My proposal is that thanks to the "self-fulfilling prophecy" and the "Matthew effect," there were important communities of guitarists in Latin America who were rendered invisible.

And if Segovia made many Mexican guitarists invisible, something similar happened with the case of the Mexican composer Manuel María Ponce, who produced an important musical corpus for the guitar. Surely, thanks to the "Matthew effect," Ponce acquired extraordinary prestige as a guitar composer, making almost all contemporary Mexican composers invisible. For this reason, in chapter 10, *The Hidden Repertoire of the Mexican Guitar, 1923–1960*, Enríque Salmerón brings us closer to a group of creators whose works for guitar are little known. A large section of literature cited includes a variety of sources showing the author's expertise in the field, and he mentions little-known information like the relationship of Mexican guitar players and composers with avant-garde movements such as *Sonido 13*.

As I mentioned, this book tries to be a first approach to the complex and rich history of the Latin American guitar. Our intention is that the topics we include are discussed to open new lines of research around our beloved musical instrument, a European musical instrument that nevertheless has deep roots in the cultural identity of our continent.

Luis Díaz-Santana Garza

Autumn 2024

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Guitar in History

Luis Díaz-Santana Garza
Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, México

Luis Díaz-Santana Garza
Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, México

Luis Díaz-Santana Garza
Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, México

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Luis Díaz-Santana Garza
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Luis Díaz-Santana Garza
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Luis Díaz-Santana Garza
Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, México

Chapter 9
"If the Guitar Hadn't Existed, I Would Have Invented It:" Andrés Segovia and His Debut in México in 1923

Luis Díaz-Santana Garza
Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, México

To Robert Guthrie,
in Memoriam

Abstract

Andres Segovia's career was supported by various myths. Taking the concepts of "self-fulfilling prophecy" and the "Matthew effect," this chapter analyzes the *reception* at the recitals that marked his debut in México in 1923.

Keywords: Guitar, Andrés Segovia, Self-Fulfilling Prophecy, Matthew Effect

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In 1973, fifty years after his Mexican debut, Spanish guitarist Andrés Segovia gave an interview to María Antonia Iglesias (1973, 225-52), who wrote:

> "If the guitar hadn't existed," Andrés Segovia once told me, "I would have invented it." Words that summarize the meaning of a lifetime dedicated to a revolutionary art that removed the popular instrument from amateur hands to carry it to the concert hall to engender a new sound, which has traveled the world between his broad and powerful hands, impossibly tender among the six clean, sharp strings, with no protection against stumbling or falling off-key. The guitar already existed, yes; but the new voice for singing Bach and Haydn, Scarlatti and Vivaldi was invented by Andrés Segovia.

In this quote, we can observe some elements of the "founding myth" that drove Andrés Segovia's international career. From the outset there is the notion of Segovia having been the first to introduce the guitar to concert venues, belittling the use of the instrument played by "amateur hands" in the popular sphere. Second, the author mentions that Segovia created a "new sound,"

referring to the fact that he frequently compared the guitar to an orchestra and claimed he could generate the resonances of the various instruments that make up a symphonic ensemble. Finally, while "the guitar already existed" before Segovia, there is the claim that he "invented" a new voice to interpret the works of the most outstanding composers. Such ideas were repeated by Segovia and his admirers for decades, so, in this chapter I want to analyze some of them, in particular the claim that he was the first to play works by canonical Western composers. For this, the corpus found in the National Newspaper Archive of México is invaluable, as are the newspaper archives of *El Informador* of Guadalajara and Monterrey's *El Porvenir*.

Andrés Segovia gave his first concerts on Mexican soil in the spring of 1923. After disembarking at the port of Veracruz, the guitarist was captivated by the "unique panoramas" that the country offered, but what caught his attention most was that "everyone, without exception, wore a conspicuous bandolier and, at his side, an enormous gun" (López Poveda 2009, 177), as a consequence of the long and violent nineteenth century and the recent revolution. Before exploring the reviews that he received in México, a brief expedition of Segovia's reputation is in order, along with a look at the early reviews published in his native country.

The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy and the Matthew Effect

Analysis of the development of Andrés Segovia's career reveals clearly that his triumphs were not the products of chance, but of scrupulous planning, which I can divide into three main areas: 1) technical and musical training; 2) use of the press and help from "friends;" and 3) preparation of tours. His public image was constructed on these elements and articulated through the self-fulfilling prophecy and the Matthew effect, as we will see.

Segovia was born in the city of Linares, Andalusia, on February 21, 1893. He pursued no formal conservatory studies, but from the age of five, he took private lessons with music teachers, being his first guitar mentor a blind instructor known as Macareno. In adolescence, he studied music theory and already had a "special little room" in which he locked himself to practice guitar, so it is clear that he already had a strong artistic vocation and good technical preparation by the age of sixteen, when he gave his first public concert in Granada (López Poveda 2009, 34-65). The young guitarist was sure of the effects of the incessant practice of his instrument, so when preparing for important concerts, he "reinforced his studies," remaining "totally isolated" for weeks, and even losing weight and getting sick as a result of hard work and stress. Naturally, his path to the summit of concert performance was full of doubts and uncertainties, as he revealed to a friend before his debut in Madrid: "I have certain fears of launching into the definitive battle that must [either] cover me

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in glory or cast me into a dark corner of the masses, teaching music theory to children and giving flamenco lessons." (López Poveda 2009, 79-93).

On the second point—the role of the press and Segovia's friends in his success—Segovia discovered from a very early age the importance of the media in the symbolic construction of his image; the press built him and helped him to forge a larger-than-life public figure. For example, after his first public recital, he slept little and woke up early, looking for news of the event in the Granada press. The splendid chronicle he read was fundamental to his aspirations, encouraging him to create a myth: at that moment, he decided to be an "apostle of the guitar." Thus, and despite his scant professional experience, reviews of his first recitals in the southern province of Andalusia describe him as a "remarkable guitar soloist," "great performer," "prodigy of mastery and good taste," and "eminent artist," among many other superlatives (López Poveda 2009, 70-80). But how educated was the Spanish music critic of that era? A reasonable answer is offered by guitar maker Manuel Ramírez, who confessed to Segovia that "the writer of the bullfighting column is usually the one who writes about music, and he understands about as much as my grandmother" (López Poveda 2009, 95).

But the press was only one of the pillars with which he fortified his incipient artistic career. The other was a group of "friends," his *social networks*, particularly aristocrats, cultural promoters, and artists, who were of great significance to his professional practice. From his earliest years, Segovia knew how to surround himself with wealthy allies and admirers who supported him unconditionally and brought him great social prestige. These benefactors favored him, for example, by signing the theaters in which he wished to perform, funding tour travels, or paying for private concerts, at which they also put him in contact with the most prominent personalities of the city in which he was playing. One of the first and most important patrons was the Sevillian Rafael de Montís, who "urged him first to leave Cordoba and then Spain. His advice and offers kept him [Segovia] awake many nights in a row" (López Poveda 2009, 58-72).

Third is the matter of the careful selection of dates and places for his initial concert tours. These performances first led him through cities and towns in his native Andalusia. He subsequently decided to make a name in the Spanish capital then to gain experience in many parts of the country throughout the 1910s. In the following decade, he began to tour internationally: first, Uruguay and Argentina, countries that Segovia considered an "extension" of Spain for "equality of language, religion and customs;" then Cuba and México; and, ultimately, Europe. All these concerts were aimed at preparing him for his first tour in 1928, to the United States, the country that offered artists the most lucrative contracts. Segovia had envisioned this earlier, as he had had the

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opportunity to tour the US since 1918, but rejected it so as not to alter his project (López Poveda 2009, 15-8). We may assume that he planned to go from a familiar culture to a more distant ones and wanted his career to move toward more economically and culturally developed countries.

It is notable that the advertisements and reviews of Segovia's concerts in different parts of the world used the same superlative adjectives that had been applied from his earliest performances, and México would be no exception. What was the purpose of spreading a public image that, at least at that time, did not correspond to the artist's reality? A feasible explanation is found in two parallel ideas that the American sociologist Robert K. Merton (1948, 193-210) developed in the 1940s. The first dubbed the self-fulfilling prophecy, which would come to be known in pedagogy and psychology as the Pygmalion effect, refers to "a false definition of the situation evoking a new behavior which makes the originally false conception come *true*." The self-fulfilling prophecy is based on the Thomas theorem, which states that "if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences."

The second idea, called the Matthew effect, was coined by Merton based on the first book of the New Testament, the Gospel according to Matthew, and specifically on the answer Jesus gave to his disciples when they asked him why he spoke in parables: "For unto everyone that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath." Merton applies this notion to the realm of scientific research, stating that the Matthew effect is the "accruing of large increments in peer recognition to scientists of great repute for particular contributions in contrast to the minimizing of such recognition for scientists who have not yet made their mark" (Merton 1988, 606-23). If we extrapolate these two concepts to the quest for prestige in the artistic world, we can begin to understand Andrés Segovia's project. But before delving into this matter, I must emphasize that among the most revered and well-known of the guitarist's critics, Segovia's friend, the philosopher Max Nordau, stands out. An Austrian based in Madrid, he wrote in his journal a passage that I will later quote at length.

Reviews in México

In 1923, Andrés Segovia was barely thirty years old and was enjoying a very favorable reception, including from a professor at the University of México, philosopher Pedro Henríquez Ureña: "Segovia merits all enthusiasm. A singular connoisseur of the extremely varied expressive resources of the guitar, he makes it one of the richest, the most orchestral, in which everything from the simplest popular airs to the most complete classical inventions fits and gains dazzling brilliance." For his part, composer Rafael J. Tello admitted that he was not a fan of the guitar, but revealed that "by the end of the concert I was a

sincere admirer of Segovia, committed to his instrument, grateful for his art, which had awakened delicate emotions, new, very agreeable and unexpected, the empire of Segovia's guitar is tailored to the size of each heart" (López Poveda 2009, 179).

But, without a doubt, the best-known review of his performances in México was the one by composer Manuel M. Ponce, who joined the list of promoters of the Segovian myth with an article published in *El Universal*, on May 6, which was reproduced in the programs of Segovia's subsequent concerts:

> To hear the notes of the guitar played by Andrés Segovia is to experience a feeling of intimacy and homely well-being; it is to evoke distant and gentle emotions wrapped in the mysterious charm of past things; it is to open the spirit to fantasy and live some delicious moments in an environment of pure art, which the great Spanish artist knows how to create as his fingers delicately pluck the strings of his guitar. Andrés Segovia's technique is perfect; its admirable harmonics, combined with natural sounds, produce the impression of simultaneously hearing two instruments of different kinds: its portamentos, employed discreetly, imprint on the melodic phrases deep accents of pain, of prayer, of infinite tenderness; the clarity of its scales, arpeggios and progressions reveals an iron will to dominate the enormous difficulties offered by the mechanics of the guitar, and the varied and irresistible dynamic effects speak very loudly not only of the technique, but of the deep musicality and the exquisite artistic temperament of Andrés Segovia (Historical Archive of Zacatecas 1923).

The guitarist gave eleven concerts in México City, then proceeded to Puebla and Monterrey, ending his Mexican tour in Guadalajara, Jalisco (López Poveda 2009, 175-82). However, in *El Porvenir*'s newspaper library, I found no news of his performances in Monterrey; he did not visit the city or, if he did, his concerts were private. Segovia's first public appearance in the northern Mexican city was on April 4, 1949 (*El Porvenir*), when he was world-renowned, with a successful concert sponsored by the recently formed Sociedad Artística Tecnológico de Monterrey A. C (*El Porvenir*, November 10, 1948). The musicians who performed in the capital of Nuevo León in May and June 1923 were the pianists Josef Lhevinne and Camille Martin. The former was a prominent Russian pianist who was well-received by the press.

Lhevinne's concerts give us the opportunity to compare two aspects of Segovia. First, reviewers indicated that both musicians had small audiences at their performances, so we cannot attribute the lack of listeners at Segovia's concerts to the supposed negative or "popular" image of the guitar. Generally, concerts featuring "classical" instruments did not generate great enthusiasm in

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Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, México

the Mexican public; there was an attraction of bullfighting and sports in general, as well as the novelty of the cinematograph, which had already spawned half a dozen venues in Monterrey alone. Second, Segovia stated that he wanted to "raise" the guitar to the same artistic level as the instruments of the Western "classical" canon—that is, violin, piano, etc. His early concert programs, however, included short and relatively simple pieces. At his Mexican debut, for example, the main work was the *Sonatina* by Federico Moreno Torroba, and he concluded with short études and brief pieces. Meanwhile, Lhevinne played two concerts in Monterrey with different music, the main works including Schumann's *Symphonic Etudes* and Beethoven's Piano Sonata No. 14 (*Quasi una fantasia*), in addition to other virtuoso pieces by Liszt, Chopin, and Brahms (*El Porvenir*, May 30, 1923). Another element to consider is that Segovia was 30 years old and making his first relatively extensive concert tour, while Lhevinne was 49, and had established a solid international career as a virtuoso.

Segovia in Guadalajara

The day after Andrés Segovia's first concert at the Degollado theater in Guadalajara, on the first of July 1923, the newspaper *El Informador* published an article by Pierre Noziere, titled "Andrés Segovia, the greatest guitarist in the world," which reproduced the text I mentioned earlier by the "exalted German writer" Max Nordau, taken from his journal and appearing in concert programs and European newspapers:

> I say, and I do not think I blaspheme, that you renew, in your own way, the Gospel miracle of the multiplication of the breads [and fishes]. For to obtain, as you do, from a humble guitar all the sonority, brilliance, movement, variety of nuance, impressions of vigor and feeling of a complete orchestra is no less prodigious than feeding thousands of hungry Galileans with your loaves. The Middle Ages would have burned you like a sorcerer, unless they venerated you as a saint: less fanatical, our age is content to admire you, as it does, deeply impressed, your Max Nordau (*El Informador*, July 1, 1923).

Noziere then mentioned that "it can be said in summary that Segovia is the most exalted guitarist of this era," but not before he criticized local audiences: "If the financial success [of the concert] does not correspond to the artistic, as I already suspect in advance, given the refractory nature, shamefully refractory, of our public regarding these high manifestations of art, at least Segovia takes away the impression of the warm applause of the scanty audience, as well as mine, very cordial and sincere." The author was not wrong: the public did not attend the second and last concerts as expected, because, despite the fact that

Luis Díaz-Santana Garza
Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, México

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Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, México

the "eminent Spanish guitarist puts a fine and subtle feeling into all his music," the audience that "was lucky enough to hear it" was "unfortunately, sparse" (*El Informador*, July 3, 1923).

Noziere did not have time to modify his review before the newspaper was published since on either side of his column, the program for the third concert, which Segovia would offer the next day at the Museo del Estado, appeared. It highlighted that "a group of music lovers begged the great Iberian guitarist to give a final concert before leaving this city, since many families in Guadalajara had not had the opportunity to hear him." On the day of the concert, the newspaper included the program and the photograph of Segovia, but the guitarist canceled at the last minute, stating that, due to "family obligations, he had to leave suddenly for the city, from where he will continue to Veracruz to embark for Spain" (*El Informador*, July 5, 1923). But Alberto López Poveda's extensive biography of Segovia does not mention any family problem that justified the "sudden departure for the city," or the cancellation of his last concert in Guadalajara, as on his return to Spain, he had the luxury of vacationing in Bayonne with his family. Is it possible that the proud Spanish musician ended his tour in México due to his snubbed performances and the small audiences that heard him? In fact, the guitarist was never humble, as the Brazilian composer Heitor Villa-Lobos emphasized, recalling the day he met Segovia in Paris: "I met Segovia in 1923 or '24, I don't quite remember, I saw a young man with long hair, surrounded by women. I found him vain, pretentious, but amusing" (mentioned in Achondo 2014, 47).

Returning to Noziere's music criticism, he considered himself a music scholar, or at least more knowledgeable about music than "our public. . . which is of a shamefully refractory nature." His accounts, however, are too vague; as an example, he mentions that, during the second concert, Segovia knew how to "awaken unique enthusiasms and produce unexpected emotions," without specifying what those enthusiasms and emotions were. Similarly, he stressed that Segovia's "way of playing the guitar is unique… underlining the musical passages with marvelous skill." He took advantage of his second column to disdain the local popular culture, considering Segovia's technique against that of local musicians: "He puts a fine and subtle feeling into all his music that has nothing in common with the vulgarity with which mediocre guitar players usually usurp fame." In his first column, Noziere devoted much space to quoting Max Nordau, while helping to amplify the Segovian myth by adding superlatives addressed to the artist, making the odd reference to the concert he had supposedly witnessed the night before. Among the myths he promotes, there is a reference to the artist being able to produce absolutely all the sounds of an orchestra. As if that were not enough, he plagiarized other critics, such as

Ponce, from whom he took the "singular and inimitable idea of combining harmonics with natural notes" (*El Informador*, July 3, 1923).

Despite the mythical publicity that already accompanied Segovia, we have seen that his concerts in México were snubbed by the public, which did not fill the venues where he performed. This contradicted a myth that Segovia himself promoted, as when he said in the interview he gave to Iglesias (1973): "All my concerts have always been full. And from the time of my debut in the United States, I've had the freedom that financial ease provides, the freedom that the artist needs to not have to think exclusively about providing for his family."

Guitarists Rendered Invisible by the Matthew Effect

Other critics, such as Ricardo Lozano García (1923) in his *Crónicas de arte* ("Chronicles of Art"), published in the magazine *Orientación*, agreed on Segovia's mastery of the guitar, but he was the only one to point out that the Spaniard was not the first to present this instrument in concert: "In truth, we had heard little on guitar before Andrés Segovia. Octaviano Yáñez was the first to appear before the public playing classical music on that instrument, but we heard little of him due to the rheumatism that developed in his hands." The writer was referring in this article to the concerts that Segovia presented at the Arbeu theater, where Lozano García asserted that the guitar "in his hands is sometimes lute, sometimes harp, and sometimes cello, such is the sound he achieves." And he ended by mentioning that it is a pity "that the public has not responded to the call to hear something truly new among us."

But Lozano García indicated that it was not Segovia who was the first to play classical music on the guitar, but the Veracruz native Octaviano Yáñez, who, from the final years of the nineteenth century, had included in his performances works by Weber, Mussorgsky, Chopin, and Paderewski (Olavarría y Ferrari 1968, 2016). By 1900, the national newspapers were already describing Yáñez as a "truly remarkable guitarist," and during the first decade of the twentieth century, two young Mexican virtuosos also performed in public: José L. del Castillo Velasco, who played music by Beethoven and Mendelssohn at various events, such as on the evening of January 19, 1903 at the Ateneo Mexicano (Olavarría y Ferrari 1968, 2412-4); and E. A. Pacheco, from Nuevo León, who played arrangements of popular music and concert works (Romero 1964, 177-8). Lozano García was not aware of earlier concerts, including those that had been put on by other outstanding Spanish guitarists in México since the mid-nineteenth century, such as Narciso Bassols, who remained in México, and Antonio J. Manjón, who was known as *The Paganini of the guitar* and played his own works (*El Tiempo*, June 11, 1895; see chapter 4). The Catalan Bassols had already enjoyed triumphs in Europe and America, and his debut at the Gran Teatro de Santa Anna in 1852 was praised by the newspaper *El Universal*

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(June 21, 1852) for "that admirable cleanliness of execution that has earned him such a high reputation." This remark generated debate with the influential newspaper *El Monitor Republicano* (June 25, 1852), which did not deny the "cleanliness, ease and execution" of Bassols' style, but affirmed that "it is not a wonder for México, where we have heard better guitarists, like Arsinas, Sayas, Valadés, Ocadiz and many others." Here, several national guitarists active in the mid-nineteenth century were listed whom they considered of equal or higher quality, although unfortunately, I have found no information on these musicians.

And if Manjón was known as *The Paganini of the guitar*, this title was also held in the 1870s by another guitarist from Jalisco: Ignacio A. Alarcón, whom the *Periódico Oficial del Estado de Zacatecas* (December 27, 1875) called "the famous Mexican Paganini of the guitar." Similarly, in 1873, *El Monitor Republicano* described Alarcón as a "celebrated national guitarist," commenting that "he has returned to the capital, but he will soon depart for Oaxaca, with the aim of leaving later for his native Guadalajara. Mr. Alarcón, whom we have already discussed in another issue, citing him as a notable person for having been the first to have overcome the difficulty of playing two and three guitars, has made a new study consisting of playing the fretless guitar."

The journalist was amazed that Alarcón already played "two and three guitars;" one must assume he meant that Alarcón performed a melody with accompaniment and bass, or two melodies and bass, a revelation confirmed in other reviews: "Don Ignacio Alarcón, who is from around Morelia, is a guitar prodigy. Rather, he is not one prodigy, but three, because he plays three guitars at the same time. Here you have a man who must have six hands and who can thus do all this at the same time: eat, scratch, play the guitar, brush off his coat and put on his socks." Alarcón toured across the country and experimented with innovative fretless instruments (*La Gacetilla*, November 25, 1877).

This was the landscape of the Mexican guitar before the advent of Segovia, although he also had rivals during his career. Two reviews bear this out, the first of a concert in Monterrey by the Argentine composer and guitarist Rafael Solé in 1931. The local newspaper *El Porvenir* (May 23, 1931) announced the performance as a great artistic event, noting that "the magician of the guitar" could play "2,300 notes per minute; he is thought of as Paderewski, Rubinstein, Kreisler or Herfet would be, we have never had the opportunity here to listen to concert performers of the stature of Mr. Solé." The second review is from a concert given by the Catalan guitarist Emilio Pujol in 1928 at the Salle Érard in Paris, where the journalist disapproved of the division between classical and popular guitar, although the structure of the text is very similar to the idealized criticisms directed at Segovia, another example of the Matthew effect:

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> Emilio Pujol is a great guitarist, like all great guitarists, he seems to feel a great disdain for the sighs and moans of the popular guitar. To me this disdain seems unfair, but the wisdom of Pujol is stronger than the rebellion of the guitar. His is like a sweet, vibrant piano, whose warm, passionate voices take pleasure in arousing chills on our skin—a piano that sings melodic secrets in our ears. Pujol's fingers caress his guitar with the same tenderness as a woman's (*El Porvenir*, March 15, 1928).

Conclusion

The texts discussed here show an incipient guitar movement in México in the period studied, to which I can add that I have verified practically from the time of Mexican independence extraordinary sales of guitars and their strings, sheet music for the instrument, and announcements of local and foreign teachers offering their services, (see chapter 4 and 5), so it is possible to corroborate that Andrés Segovia's performances were not entirely new for Mexican society. As is the case with México, if we review concert programs in many countries in North America and Europe, we will see that there were important communities of guitarists who were rendered invisible (See Page, Sparks & Westbrook, 2023; in the case of Argentina, see chapter 6), and eventually forgotten, as a result of the Segovian myth implanted by the Matthew effect and self-fulfilling prophecy. Following Segovia's example, many of these musicians promoted their concerts with superlatives, but thanks to the Matthew effect, they gradually lost prestige while Segovia continued to accrue it.

All the reviews that Andrés Segovia received in México were similar, telling of his great musicality and talent, but they were also punctuated with fabulous and mythical characteristics, echoing the myths that the Spanish musician himself promoted in his conversations and interviews. All these reports owe a debt to the first articles published about Segovia, particularly the one that appeared in *El Heraldo de Madrid* on June 5, 1913, on the occasion of Segovia's debut in the Spanish capital: above the guitarist's picture can be read in capital letters the phrase, "A great artist." Nevertheless, more than a hundred years before, in times of the European *guitaromanie*, guitarist Ferdinando Carulli had already been called "a great artist" (Torta 2023, 177). In any case, we can accept that Segovia was the father of a new *guitaromanie* in the twentieth century.

Thanks to the promotion of his founding myth, Segovia became the archetype of the modern guitarist throughout the world, and the support he received from the press in promoting himself was imitated by many musicians. An example of the use of the Matthew effect to garner prestige supported by Segovia's fame is that of the Mexican guitarist Francisco Salinas, who during World War II was promoted in the media as "a true master" of the instrument, "whose perfect

technique and great agility" resulted in critics comparing him to Andrés Segovia (*El Porvenir*, January 20, 1944).

Among all the fantastic stories that gradually attached themselves to the Andalusian guitarist, one is true: Segovia encouraged the composition of a new repertoire for guitar, known today as the Segovian repertoire. And yet, the diffusion of this collection of new works was mediated by the conservative aesthetic tastes of the guitarist, who played, recorded, and published only the pieces of interest to him, and consigned to oblivion the avant-garde creations that exceeded the limits of harmony and melody accepted by the "classical" canon of Western music. An example is that of the Mexican composer Carlos Chávez, whom Segovia suggested to create works for guitar. In the summer of 1923, Chávez composed and dedicated "to the marvelous Segovia," the third movement of what would be his *Three Pieces for Guitar* (Attademo 2008), but, due to Segovia's lack of interest, the work remained unfinished for about thirty years, until the Mexican guitarist Jesús Silva encouraged Chávez to finish it (See chapter 9).

Finally, it is likely that Segovia's 1923 concerts promoted in México a chauvinist nationalism that desired the professionalization of guitarists because while it is true that the first chair of guitar in México was occupied by Juan González Belaunzarán at the National Conservatory of Music in 1921, this position lasted only until 1925. It was not until 1929 that he was definitively integrated into the National Autonomous University of México, and not until 1935 that the National Conservatory permanently established the position under Francisco Salinas (Rodríguez Maciel 2018, 64-78).

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About the Contributors

Alejandro Vera is an Associate Professor at the Music Institute of the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. He holds a Ph.D. in "History and Sciences of Music" from the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid and a bachelor's in music education from the University of Concepción. His field of research deals with musical life in Latin America and Spain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. From this broad geographical and temporal framework, he has paid particular attention to the cases of Santiago de Chile, Madrid, and Lima from a sociohistorical and musical perspective. His publications include articles, essays, and reviews in prestigious music journals, such as Acta Musicologica, Anuario Musical, Early Music, Eighteenth-Century Music, and Revista Musical Chilena. Among his books, the most significant is *The Sweet Penance of Music. Musical Life in Colonial Santiago de Chile* (Oxford University Press 2020).

Juan Frajoza Ph.D., has studies in philosophy, hermeneutics, and paleography. He has published twenty books, as well as recordings and academic articles. He coordinated the book/phonogram *Aromas de polvora quemada, Música y cantos de bandidos* (Fonoteca INAH 2019). He is a member of the Editorial Board of the Social Sciences Journal of Los Altos University Center of the University of Guadalajara.

Juan Pablo Pira studied both Mathematics and Music at Universidad del Valle de Guatemala. He received his musical training in private classes with Oscar Putzeys and at the Universidad del Valle Department of Musicology under Dieter Lehnhoff. As a performer, he plays different plucked-string instruments, including classical and baroque guitars. Since 2015, he has helped organize the Orquesta Sinfónica Juvenil Intercultural (OSJI), a youth orchestra in Guatemala.

Luis Díaz-Santana Garza Bachelor of Music, Master of Arts, and *cum laude* Ph.D. in History, has done research on music from the Baroque period until the present, performing with original instruments, such as the baroque guitar and the nineteenth-century Mexican *séptima*. Member of the National Research System, and full-time Professor of guitar, baroque music, and music history at the Arts Department of Zacatecas Autonomous University. He has published articles in journals and wrote the books *Tradición musical en Zacatecas (1850-1930), History of Mexican norteño music*, a dictionary of popular music, and *Between Norteño and Tejano Conjunto: Music, Tradition, and Culture at the U.S.-México Border* (Lexington Books 2021). He also edited the books *La investigación musical en las regiones de México* and *Música mexicana y estudios regionales: Historia, tradiciones y tendencias recientes*.

Sonia Medrano Ruiz, Ph.D. in History and singer has dedicated her artistic life to compiling, recording, and disseminating Mexican music of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Professor in the Bachelor of Music at the Autonomous University of Zacatecas, she obtained the distinction of the National System of Researchers in 2022. She is the author of the book *Las orquestas típicas en México. From invention to the consolidation of a tradition* (2021).

Arturo Javier Ramírez Estrada graduated *cum laude* with a PhD in Cultural Studies and obtained the Diploma of History and Sciences of Music, both at the Autonomous University of Madrid. Founder of the Bachelor of Music and currently a Full-Time Professor at the Autonomous University of Nayarit. He has the recognition of National Researcher Level I of SNI-CONAHCYT and was awarded "Medal of Artistic Merit" by the Government of the State of Nayarit for his contributions to culture and arts.

Ericka Beatriz Morales Trejo has a master's degree in Economic Development from the Autonomous University of Nayarit (UAN), currently a PhD student in Social Sciences and collaborates at the Laboratory for Research and Development of Studies with Social Impact. She has published various articles and book chapters related to the topic of her specialty, as well as works on gender and ethnicity.

Alejandro Martínez de la Rosa Ph.D. in Humanities from the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana (UAM). Member of the National System of Researchers in México. His research topics are Traditional Mexican Music and Dance and Intangible Cultural Heritage. He is currently a full time Professor at the Department of Cultural Studies at the Universidad de Guanajuato, campus León.

Eric Johns is a musicologist and education researcher. He currently serves as the Archivist and Curator for the Stone Center for Latin American Studies at Tulane University. He earned his Ph.D. in Historical Musicology from the University of California, Riverside, where he also completed a postdoctoral fellowship at the XCITE center. His scholarly interests encompass critical historiography, nationalism, critical race studies, and the praxis of embodied pedagogy.

Enrique Salmerón has a master's degree in music from the Universidad Veracruzana (UV) and a Ph.D. in Education Sciences from the UNED of Spain. He has performed as a guitarist in important festivals and concert halls in México and abroad. As a researcher, he has focused on the study of Mexican music of the nineteenth century. He has published several articles and is currently a researcher and full-time Professor at the Faculty of Music of the UV.

Notes

Chapter 1

[1] The sources used in this project have been reviewed over several years in successive projects financed by the National Fund for Scientific and Technological Development of Chile (FONDECYT). I am grateful to said body for its support and Gabriel Rammsy for his collaboration in reviewing the "Real Aduana" collection.

[2] Villanueva Carbajal (2001, 113) points out that already in 1541, a musician brought a vihuela to Perú, but does not offer more information about it.

[3] As is well known, the term "vihuela de arco" at the time designated the viola da gamba (see Robledo 1987), while "vihuela de mano" was equivalent to the vihuela as we understand it today.

[4] Archivo Municipal de Lima, Superior Gobierno, Virreyes 1784-1821, Caja 1, Expediente 1, fol. 85v.

[5] Archivo General de la Nación del Perú (hereafter AGNP), Protocolos notariales del siglo XVII, Prot. 2070, fol. 272v.

[6] AGNP, Protocolos notariales del siglo XVII, Prot. 172, fol. 457.

[7] AGNP, Protocolos notariales del siglo XVII, Prot. 1060, fol. 424.

[8] Archivo Nacional Histórico de Chile, Escribanos de Santiago, vol. 20, fol. 12.

[9] Archivo Nacional Histórico de Chile, Escribanos de Santiago, vol. 145, fol. 211.

[10] AGNP, Protocolos notariales del siglo XVII, Prot. 1837, fols. 123-127v (31-01-1621). The dowry also included a guitar valued at 12 pesos.

[11] For instance, AGNP, Protocolos notariales del siglo XVI, Prot. 38, fols. 762-762v; Prot. 42-1, fols. 19v-20; Prot. 73-1, fols. 815-819v; Prot. 119 1-2, fols. 250-250v, 1040; Prot. 138A, fols. 365, 414-414v.

[12] Archivo Nacional Histórico de Chile, Escribanos de Santiago, vol. 653, fol. 31v.

[13] Archivo Nacional Histórico de Chile, Escribanos de Santiago, vol. 351, fol. 617v.

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[14] Archivo Municipal de Lima, Superior Gobierno, Virreyes 1784-1821, Caja 1, Expediente 4, fols. 17v-18, 84. It should be noted that the front page of the file states that the bullfights took place in February, but fol. 3 indicates that it was on January 11, 15, and 22. The difference in the harpist's surname in relation to the 1784 festivals (Gastelo instead of Gastel) is also worth noting. See more about the musical participation in the proclamation of Carlos IV and others held in Lima during the viceregal period in Torre Molina 2007.

[15] Likely, the testimony in question refers to the villancico genre, the sacred equivalent to secular songs of tonos. The use of the guitar to accompany a Spanish villancico in Puebla in the late 17th century has been documented by Omar Morales Abril (2009).

[16] AGNP, Real Hacienda / Real Caja de Lima, legajo 740, partida 462 (no foliation).

[17] AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.798-1067.

[18] AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.803-1094; C 16.799-1073.

[19] AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.834-1266.

[20] AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.581-38.

[21] Archivo General de Indias, Contratación, 5518, N.3, R.19, digitally available at the Portal de Archivos Españoles (PARES), https://pares.culturaydeporte.gob.es/inicio.html.

[22] Although I have not been able to determine when he returned to Spain, there is no doubt that he did, because according to the *Guía política de las Españas para el año de 1813* (Cádiz: Imprenta Nacional, 1813), at this time he was living in Madrid, and worked as an officer of the Department of the General Development of the Kingdom and the Balance of Trade (100).

[23] AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.622-232; and Archivo General de Indias, Contratación, 5523, N.3, R.42, digitally available at PARES.

[24] AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.783-992

[25] Archivo General de Indias, Lima, 751, N.5, digitally available at PARES.

[26] *Catálogo de la Sección Republicana del Archivo Histórico de Hacienda. 1826-1830* (Lima: Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación, 1972), 116.

[27] AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.939-1855.

[28] AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.587-62.

[29] AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.610-166.

[30] AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.609-163. See another sending to Ica with 24 guitars in AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.627-257.

[31] AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.627-257.

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[32] AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.1026-2411.

[33] AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.1012-2316. These ports included Arica, among others.

[34] AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.697-596.

[35] AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.789-1018.

[36] AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.977-2094.

[37] Something similar happened in Lima with the harpsichords (see Vera 2020b, 72-73).

[38] AGNP, Protocolos del siglo XVII, Protocolo 1186, fols. 513-513v. Baker 2008, 69, quotes an example from 1754 for the city of Cuzco (Joseph Guaypar settles as an apprentice with the guitar maker "Joseph Otalora" [sic]).

[39] Archivo Nacional Histórico de Chile, Escribanos de Santiago, vol. 100, fol. 363v.

[40] Archivo Nacional Histórico de Chile, Escribanos de Santiago, vol. 240, fol. 474.

[41] Archivo Nacional Histórico de Chile, Escribanos de Santiago, vol. 690, fol. 224v.

[42] Although the Viceroyalty of New Spain deserves an independent study, it is worth mentioning that the "Padrón del Sagrario de México" includes at least two guitarrerías (guitar workshops) in the decade of 1730: that of Juan Joseph de Aguilera in 1730, and that of Eusebio de la Cruz in 1733. Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Parroquia del Sagrario, Rollo 35, "Padrón de 1730" (fol. 54v), and "Padrón de 1733" (fol. 101v).

[43] Díaz Meza (1975, 179) implicitly maintains that this guild already existed in 1764, since he affirms that it participated in Governor Guill y Gonzaga's reception; however, he does not cite any source to endorse it. Other data suggest that the construction of guitars and related instruments in Santiago dates back to earlier times. Pereira Salas affirms that at the beginning of the eighteenth century, there was a harp and guitar maker in the city named Ceferino Trueba (1941, 30). Complementary evidence suggests that vihuelas could be made in Chile as early as the end of the sixteenth century (Vera 2020a, 320).

[44] Table 1, sendings from 25-10-1786 y 23-09-1803.

[45] The exact figure is 5,979,816, following the same criteria as the previous sum.

[46] Estenssoro (1989, 110) already warned that "Lima sent guitar strings to Guayaquil and Guatemala," although citing only the *Mercurio Perúano* as a source and without delving into the point.

[47] Interestingly, the attorney points out that "The string-makers guild does not provide society with those solid advantages needed for establishing rules and arbitrations entailing fixed prices, because it only belongs to the entertainment and adornment of a useful -but not indispensable- culture" (106).

[48] For example, in the "14 grosses of Guitar Strings… at 3 reales" sent by José Álvarez de la Camposa on November 8, 1780. AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.648-367.

[49] AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.745-820; C 16.751-850.

[50] AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.834-1270.

[51] AGNP, Protocolos notariales del siglo XVII, Prot. 730, fols. 783v (April 4, 1615) and 932v (March 31, 1615).

[52] See more information about most of the music sources mentioned here in the Appendix.

[53] It is worth noting the existence of a Mexican equivalent to this Perúvian source: the *Quaderno de Musica de Guitarra* from the Sutro Collection, likely copied in Madrid during the late eighteenth century, and later sent to México (see Segura 2012).

[54] I am grateful to Gonzalo Cuadra for lending me the edition of the "Zuola Codex" published by Carlos Vega in 1931.

[55] I follow the modern foliation written with graphite pencil in the digital copy kept on the website of the Library of Catalonia: https://mdc.csuc.cat/digital/collection/partiturBC/id/2909/rec/1 (Accessed: 14-12-2021).

[56] I am grateful to Francisco Alfonso Valdivia for sending the photograph that serves as figure 6 of the present work.

[57] I follow here the same distinction that is used in customs registers to differentiate Spanish goods from those that came from other parts of Europe. This is not to deny that some danzas and bailes such as the fandango, to be mentioned later, were probably influenced by music of American or African origin or even "appeared almost simultaneously in different points of the so-called Atlantic triangle," as proposed by Budasz (2007, 5). However, if this was the case, the versions included in the extant sources are certainly distinct from their original models. Instead, they seem to be stylized representations or topics of what was considered African or indigenous at the time.

[58] The attribution, however, is considered doubtful in Misón's recently published catalog of works (see Morena 2020, 242).

[59] AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.841-1306.

[60] As for the Viceroyalty of New Spain, it is worth noting that the manuscript 1560 from the Biblioteca Nacional de México includes guitar arrangements of some of Corelli's pieces (see Arriaga 1982).

[61] "Rasgo remitido por la Sociedad Poética, sobre la Música en general, y particularmente de los Yaravíes," *El Mercurio Perúano*, III, 101 (1791), 290. This article is analyzed by Estenssoro (1989, 34-35). More recent studies suggest that this Sicramio was José Rossi y Rubí, a scholar and founding member of the

Society of Lovers of the Country who also had musical knowledge (see among others Solís 2007, 86).

[62] AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.761-895 y C 16.774-953.

[63] AGNP, Real Aduana, C 16.763-903; C 16.774-953.

Chapter 6

[1] *Cortes* and *quebradas*, literally cuts and breaks, are terms used to describe early tango dancing. A *corte* is generally considered to be a sudden stop while *quebrada* means to bend at the waste.

[2] Today, the festivities of January 6th have less to do with the Catholic Epiphany than with devotion to the magus Balthazar (Cirio 2022).

[3] The *centésimo* is a division of the Uruguayan peso.

[4] I use the term white in quotations to indicate that the Rioplatense concept of whiteness differs from U.S. American understandings of whiteness.

[5] *Milonga* is a word that can reference a musical form, a dance, and a place for social dancing. The nineteenth-century *milonga* should not be confused with the *tango-milonga* or *milonga tanguera* of the 1930s, in which tango composers revived the genre in an effort to recuperate tango's Afrodiasporic roots.

[6] The term creole in this context references something or someone of Rioplatense origins. For a more nuanced discussion of creole in Argentina see Chamosa 2010, 196.

Luis Díaz-Santana Garza
Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, México

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