

AGUSTÍN BARRIOS MANGORÉ:
A STUDY IN THE
ARTICULATION OF CULTURAL IDENTITY

by

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Moisés Caciél, *O Violonista (The Guitarist)*, 1999.
Based on a poster of Barrios' concert at the Theatro Municipal,
São Paulo, 13 October 1929.
Source: mocasale.blogspot.com/ (accessed: 24 May 2009)

Contents

Abstract	v
Declaration	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
Introduction: The Articulation of Cultural Identity through Guitar Performance	1
Guitar Performance and Cultural Identity	6
The Protagonist	11
Literature Review and Sources	13
Chapter Outline	15
Barrios and Segovia	16
Chapter 1: Theory of Cultural Identity	18
Theory of Identity	20
National and Cultural Identity	26
Authentic Identity	29
From Cultural Identity to Cosmopolitanism	32
Cultural Identity and Ethnomusicology	34
The Self, Personal Identity and the Idea of Genius	36
The Solo Guitarist and Heroic Individualism	39
The Cultural Identity of Instruments	43
Summary	45
Chapter 2: Latin American Culture, Music and the Guitar in the Early Twentieth Century	46
Introduction	
I: Latin American Politics and Culture from 1900	51
Paraguayan Theatre and the origins of Mangoré	61
II: Musical and Artistic Trends	63
Musical Nationalism	64
Barrios and Romanticism	68
Themes in Latin American Music	70
From Magic to Magical Realism	72
III: The Guitar in Latin America	76
Summary	89

Chapter 3: Agustín Barrios as ‘Cacique Nitsuga Mangoré’	90
Historical origins of Mangoré	
Reception History	94
Latin American Perspectives	97
Mangoré and Cultural Independence	102
Barrios and Pan-Americanism	105
Barrios-Mangoré and the European Tour of 1934	106
The Urge to Primitivism	112
Summary	115
Chapter 4: The Folkloric and Tremolo Works of Agustín Barrios Mangoré	117
Case Study: <i>Aconquija</i>	130
Barrios’ Tremolo Works and the Significance of Guitar Tremolo	134
Precursors to Barrios: Regondi and Tárrega	136
Barrios and the Tremolo	138
Case Study: <i>Un Sueño en la Floresta</i>	144
Conclusion	152
Appendix: Barrios and Segovia	156
The Guitarist as Prophet	160
Segovia and the Repertoire	162
Segovia and Mangoré	164
Segovia as Maestro	166
Bibliography	170

Note: The printed version of this thesis includes a CD on the inside back cover. The CD contains historical recordings of pieces composed and played by Agustín Barrios, and accompanies the discussion of his works in Chapter 4.

Abstract

The notion of cultural identity as a crucial constitutive element of guitar performance was powerfully expressed in the career of Agustín Barrios, a major but neglected figure in the development of the guitar in the twentieth century. Barrios' adoption in the 1930s of the persona of Mangoré, a Guaraní Indian from the sixteenth century, provided both a theatrical persona of musical exoticism and primitivism, and a potent statement of Latin American cultural independence. The concept of cultural identity, which has been central to the development of the discipline of ethnomusicology, is here adopted as a theoretical framework against which Mangoré is discussed. The cultural and musical environment of Latin America in the early decades of the twentieth century, and the iconic status of the guitar in those countries, is considered as the background to the case study proper, that of Barrios as Mangoré between 1930 and 1934. It is argued that as Mangoré, Barrios personified Latin American cultural identity in dramatic fashion, that Mangoré aligned with the European fascination with the primitive during this period and that, moreover, Mangoré retained an authentic and enduring value for Barrios to the end of his life. The significance of Mangoré is then revealed through a discussion of two categories of Barrios' compositions: the folkloric works which exemplified his treatment of Latin American musical genres; and the tremolo works which expressed the fantasy and romanticism that were integral to his musical imagination. Finally, the relationship between Barrios and Segovia is considered, both in terms of the latter's self-proclaimed role in the creation of the modern guitar repertoire, and of his criticism of Mangoré and the light this throws on Segovia's own cultural identity.

Declaration

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Introduction: The Articulation of Cultural Identity through Guitar Performance

In August 1929 the Paraguayan guitarist and composer Agustín Barrios (1885-1944) arrived in Brazil. Barrios was continuing the restless artistic path which he had followed since 1910, during which time he traveled throughout Latin America, concertising, teaching and composing. Barrios' Brazilian venture followed a disappointing period for the artist in Argentina, with the poor attendance at his first concert in Buenos Aires in July 1928 forcing him to cancel a planned second concert. Barrios' music, including original compositions in both classical and folkloric style, was seen as unfashionable and retrospective, in marked contrast to the acclaim accorded to Andrés Segovia, who had played to packed houses in Buenos Aires just prior to Barrios' own concerts. The impact of this damaging reception in the most cosmopolitan of Latin American countries was demoralising for Barrios, who vowed to abandon Argentina, just as he had been rejected by her audiences. Searching for an alternative aesthetic with which to counter these reactions, Barrios now turned to a radical means of expressing his musical identity.

Thus, when Barrios ventured into the remote regions of Brazil the following year, he began to adopt the persona of Mangoré, an identity taken from a Guaraní chief who had died resisting the Spanish invaders in Paraguay, circa 1528. This was a notion which had played in Barrios' imagination for some 20 years and, augmented by theatrical effects of make-up and costume, it now assumed a much sharper focus. The northern province of Bahia marked the first appearance of this alternative persona, in which the guitarist was advertised as 'Agustín Barrios portraying the caricature of

Nitsuga'.¹ Over the next five years the 'caricature' was transformed into a fully developed, theatrical presentation integral to Barrios' identity, such that it became inseparable from his regular performance persona. In his portrayal of Nitsuga Mangoré the stage would be adorned with scenic elements from the jungle, draped with palm leaves and bamboo, onto which Barrios appeared in full Indian dress, including head-dress with feathers.

Often Barrios would preface these concerts with his poem, *Profesión de Fe* (Profession of Faith), in which he depicted the origin of the guitar as a gift from the gods, with his own role being that of a prophet or divine messenger, charged with revealing its mysteries. The *Profesión* offers revealing insights into the nature of Barrios' aesthetics and the sources of his Mangoré identity:

Tupá, the supreme spirit and protector of my people
Found me one day in the middle of the greening forest,
Enraptured in the contemplation of Nature.
And he told me: 'Take this mysterious box and reveal its secrets.'
And enclosing within it all the songs of the birds of the jungle
And the mournful sighs of the plants,
He abandoned it in my hands.
I took it and obeying Tupá's command I held it close to my heart.
Embracing it I passed many moons on the edge of a spring fountain.
And one night, Yacy (the moon, our mother),
Reflected in the crystal liquid,
Feeling the sadness of my Indian soul,
Gave me six silver moonbeams
With which to discover its secrets.
And the miracle took place:
From the bottom of the mysterious box,
There came forth a marvelous symphony
Of all the virgin voices of America.²

¹ Nitsuga = Agustín spelled backwards. Quoted in Richard Stover, *Six Silver Moonbeams: The Life and Times of Agustín Barrios Mangoré* (Clovis, CA: Querico Publications, 1992), 111. Stover later adopted the Spanish form of Richard and referred to himself as Rico.

² Stover, *Six Silver Moonbeams*, 111. Note also the description of the guitar in the *Profesión* in orchestral terms. Just as Segovia later described the versatility and tonal variety of the guitar as an 'orchestra seen through the wrong end of a pair of opera glasses', Barrios depicted his instrument as containing the promise of a symphony, implying the widest possible range of colour and expression. See Andrés Segovia, 'A Note on Transcriptions', *Guitar Review*, 63 (Fall 1985), 15, originally published in the same journal, 3, 1947.

In the *Profesión* Barrios thus depicted his association with the guitar in mythological terms. The divine figures of Indian culture, represented by Tupá and Yacy, present to Barrios a guitar – this ‘mysterious box’ with ‘six silver moonbeams’ (the six strings of the guitar) – as the vehicle with which to express the musical spirit of Latin America.

Critical reaction was initially dubious as to Barrios’ intentions. At a concert in Guatemala in 1933 the critic of *Nuestro Diario* wrote that the audience, confronted by Barrios’ startling appearance, ‘... expected a disaster, a fatal musical calamity’. But after hearing some more of Barrios’ original compositions,

... the enthusiasm mounts. Little by little the audience warms up. The guitar becomes a piano, violin, flute, mandolin, drum. There is nothing that the man cannot do on the guitar. At times it seems the guitar plays itself ... The applause increases with each piece until at the end of the performance the public is shouting “Encore!” to which he replies “thank you”, simply “thank you.”³

This sequence of critical incredulity followed by acclaim was repeated in Barrios’ concerts throughout Latin America during the five years of his Mangoré period. Curious audiences were attracted by the advertisements for his concerts, depicting Barrios as the exotic figure of Mangoré, ‘the Paganini of the guitar from the jungles of Paraguay’ [Figure 1].⁴ In the later years of his Mangoré concerts he would perform one half in conventional attire [Figure 2] and the second half in Indian dress, thereby heightening the dramatic impact of his primitive transformation.

³ Quoted in Richard D. Stover, ‘Agustín Barrios Mangoré, His Life and Music, Part III: Cacique Nitsuga Mangoré’, *Guitar Review*, 100 (Winter 1995), 18.

⁴ Luis Szaran, ‘Agustín Pío Barrios [Nitsuga Mangoré]’, Emilio Casares Rodicio (ed.), *Diccionario de la Música HispanoAmericana* (Madrid: Sociedad de Autores y Editores, 1999), v.2, 266.

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Figure 1: An advertisement for Barrios' concert as Mangoré,
in El Salvador, 10 September 1933.

Source: www.mangore.com (accessed: 20 September 2005)

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This image is included on page 5
of the print copy of the thesis held in
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Figure 2: Barrios in his conventional concert attire, which he contrasted with his Mangoré persona. This photo was taken later in Barrios' life, at the Olmedo Conservatory of Music, San Salvador, circa 1941.
Source: Richard D. Stover, *Six Silver Moonbeams: The Life and Times of Agustín Barrios Mangoré* (Clovis, CA: Querico Publications, 1992), 168.

Barrios persisted with Mangoré until another disappointing reception, this time in Mexico in 1934, impelled him to abandon his exotic characterisation. The guitarist received a savaging from the Mexican critics, who regarded his Guaraní representation as a travesty of Indian heritage, one that dishonoured indigenous traditions.⁵ With this disheartening experience, and following the advice of the Paraguayan ambassador to Mexico, Tomás Salomini, Barrios laid aside his Mangoré identity prior to his European debut that same year. Unfortunately for Barrios, his long-awaited tour of Europe was aborted in Spain at the outbreak of the Civil War there, after which Barrios returned to his homeland, where he remained until his death in 1944. Yet even in these final eight years of his life Barrios continued to refer to himself in concert as Nitsuga Mangoré, implying a quasi-reconciliation of his assumed alter-ego within his personality.⁶

Guitar Performance and Cultural Identity

With the above background in mind, the current thesis utilises the theoretical framework of cultural identity as the methodology for illuminating a neglected episode in twentieth century guitar performance. The term ‘cultural identity’ refers to the ways in which groups and individuals define and represent themselves – as members of nations, groups and as individuals – through the music they perform and value. In ethnomusicology the

⁵ Sila Godoy and Luis Szaran, *Mangoré, Vida y Obra de Agustín Barrios* (Asunción: Editorial Nanduti, 1994), 94.

⁶ It is worth noting two other examples in the twentieth century of Latin American guitarists who adopted an Indian persona: Atahualpa Yupanqui (1908-1992) a poet/singer/guitarist from Argentina who, like Barrios, toured throughout Latin America, adopting a spiritual ancestry of Indian nobility based on the last of the Inca rulers, Atahualpa; and Los Indios Tabajaras, a guitar duo from the 1950s who presented themselves in Indian attire. On the former, see Fernando Boasso, *Atahualpa Yupanqui: Campeador de Misterios* (Buenos Aires: Editions Consudec, 2002); see also the bibliography, ‘Some books about Atahualpa Yupanqui’ at www.atacris.com/ata/books2.html (accessed: 28 July 2009). On the latter, see Thérèse Wassily Saba, ‘Nato Lima of Los Indios Tabajaras’, *Classical Guitar Magazine*, Part 1, 25.7 (March 2007), 35-37; Part 2, 25.8 (April 2007), 30-33.

concept is articulated in numerous studies of musical styles and traditions, and is paraphrased by Julian Gerstin thus, ‘We are the x, and this is our music, and it expresses our politics’, where x is a particular cultural group.⁷ This assertion describes real associations with other performers and audiences, but also idealised relationships involving diffuse groupings, what Benedict Anderson refers to as ‘imagined communities’.⁸ National anthems are a ubiquitous example of how music represents a powerfully held identity – a nation’s character and individuality – which is more imagined than real.⁹

Barrios’ adoption of Mangoré crystallises this concept of cultural identity. From 1930 Barrios, as Mangoré, revealed to his audiences an exotic and confronting image from Paraguay’s colonial history, clothed in the mythology of his ancestors in which he presented the guitar as the authentic instrument of American music and himself, Barrios as Mangoré, as its divine messenger. For Barrios, Mangoré signified a break with the past, not only from his previous conventional performing persona but also as a radical differentiation from the restrained classicism of Segovia, with whom he had been unfavourably, if tacitly, compared. At the same time, Barrios’ celebration of his Indian heritage was a conscious participation in the wider political and social agenda of the time. As Mangoré, Barrios presented a potent statement of musical nationalism which aligned with prevailing movements of cultural independence, a trend which had preoccupied Latin American societies ever since the achievement of political

⁷ ‘Reputation in a Musical Scene: The Everyday Context of Connections between Music, Identity and Politics’, *Ethnomusicology*, 42.3 (Autumn 1998), 386.

⁸ *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1983).

⁹ Philip Bohlman, ‘Music as Representation’, *Journal of Musicological Research*, 24 (2005), 223.

independence from Spain in the 1830s. His championing of indigenous Indian traditions was an assertion of the culture of the New World against what he, and many other artists and intellectuals of the period, viewed as the tired decadence of the Old World which Europe represented.

The current study is also intended as a contribution to the key question posed in a recent work examining the diversity of guitar styles in both local and global contexts, namely ‘... how, why and in what ways people use the guitar in the musical construction of self, others and communities’.¹⁰ In response to this question, it is argued that Barrios as Mangoré constitutes a significant illustration of the theme of cultural identity. In addition to illustrating this key concept, this study is grounded in the practical activity of guitar performance, and in particular the concentrated aspects of playing which are revealed in the ritual of solo performance. The solo concert or recital, which has always been so central to the culture of the guitar, typifies what Edward Said refers to as the exaggerated, *extreme* nature of performance, and which he elaborates by reference to famous pianists such as Glenn Gould and Maurizio Pollini: the radical separation of performer from audience; the histrionic spectacle of the lone instrumentalist which has parallels with sporting events; and the demonstration of virtuosity which has the effect of an onslaught on the audience’s senses, rendering them speechless.¹¹ And while the guitar may lack the overwhelming sonorities of the piano, it also hides nothing from the audience. The pianist is always partly concealed, side-on to the public, protected by the imposing presence of wood, keys and steel wires. By contrast, the dramatic presence of

¹⁰ Kevin Dawe and Andy Bennett, ‘Introduction: Guitars, Cultures, People and Places’, Andy Bennett and Kevin Dawe (eds.), *Guitar Cultures* (New York: Berg, 2001), 1.

¹¹ Edward Said, ‘Performance as an Extreme Occasion’, *Musical Elaborations* (London: Vintage, 1991), 3-4.

the guitarist is fully revealed through the directness of his posture and the unimpeded contact of player with the vibrating string. Moreover, this theme of the divine communicative powers of the lone performer on plucked string instruments has an intense reverberation in Western music, dating back in Greek mythology to Orpheus, whose lyre playing had the reputed magical power of subduing animals. That idea recurs through other key figures in the history of the guitar and its predecessors: in the Renaissance with John Dowland; and in the Baroque with Sylvius Leopold Weiss, both of whom had the reputation of inducing a divine rapture in their audiences.¹²

Cultural identity, it is argued here, is a fruitful methodology for the analysis of performance, although it has been more common in the discourse of ethnomusicology and popular music. For Philip Bohlman, cultural identity has a paradigmatic significance for ethnomusicology, informing the intellectual history of the discipline and inviting endless juxtapositions with case studies of traditional music.¹³ In the area of popular music, scholars have insisted on the *constitutive* role of music in shaping identity, in contrast to a homologous model in which music merely *reflects* that identity.¹⁴ That is, the act of musical performance reveals cultural values which are immanent in the music and revealed through performance. In this discourse, performance itself gives meaning, rather than representing external values.¹⁵ Another way of putting this, again taken from

¹² Anthony Rooley, *Performance: Revealing the Orpheus Within* (London: Element Books, 1995), Chapter 1.

¹³ Philip Bohlman, 'Traditional Music and Cultural Identity: Persistent Paradigm in the History of Ethnomusicology', *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 20 (1988), 37-38.

¹⁴ Georgina Born and David Hesmondalgh 'Introduction', Georgina Born and David Hesmondalgh (eds.), *Western Music and its Others: Difference, Representation and Appropriation in Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 31-32.

¹⁵ Simon Frith, 'Music and Identity', Stuart Hall and Peter Du Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London: Sage, 1996), 111; Simon Frith, *Performing Rites: Evaluating Popular Music* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 270.

the discipline of ethnomusicology, relates to the *transforming* power of music. Aesthetic meaning can never be studied in isolation from its wider social meaning because music's aesthetic is only properly revealed in its power to transform. Music in this sense has, for Bohlman, a 'complex aesthetic embeddedness' in which performance transforms its participants who take on expanded roles.¹⁶

A second, related theme pursued in the current study is the concept of heroic individualism that Barrios as Mangoré epitomised.¹⁷ The idea of artist as hero entered critical discourse through Beethoven in the late eighteenth century, and was followed by the emergence of the performing virtuoso in the early nineteenth century with Paganini and Liszt. The notion of the guitar as a virtuoso instrument, however, took a more circuitous path than that of the violin or the piano. The very self-contained and satisfying nature of the guitar as a solo instrument also facilitated its separation from those traditions of communal and ensemble playing which other instrumentalists enjoyed as part of their normal modes of music making and pedagogy. This process was exacerbated as a consequence of the development of the piano in the nineteenth century as *the* instrument of solo virtuosity and chamber music, as well as its dominance in domestic music making: both developments helped to marginalise the guitar as an instrument of the salon rather than the concert hall. The modern renaissance of the guitar

¹⁶ Philip Bohlman, *World Music: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 13.

¹⁷ The electric guitar can also be interpreted in terms of its emphatic representations of the idea of heroic individualism. As portrayed through figures such as Jimi Hendrix, Robert Plant, Eric Clapton and Eddie Van Halen, the electric guitar soloist assumes a heightened identity individuated from other band members, representing the hopes and fears of their audiences, transformed in that moment of ecstatic virtuosity into a hero or even a god. See Steve Waksman, *Instruments of Desire: The Electric Guitar and the Shaping of Musical Experience* (Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 1999), 243; André Millard (ed.), *The Electric Guitar: History of an American Icon* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 144, 168.

from the late nineteenth century began in Spain with Francisco Tárrega, continued with Miguel Llobet, and reached its spectacular culmination in the career of Andrés Segovia who, in his devotion to the phenomenon of the solo guitar recital, fully embodied the idea of heroic individualism. Similarly, Barrios encapsulated this notion in the way that his career and output were almost totally dedicated to the solo instrument, and in his personification as the divine messenger of music, through the vehicle of the guitar, which Mangoré represented.

The Protagonist

The selection of Barrios as the focus of this thesis is predicated on his crucial place in the development of guitar performance. Recognition of Barrios' contribution is, however, of relatively recent origin, as witnessed by the comprehensive shift in his reputation in the last thirty years. This remarkable phenomenon has seen his standing change from almost total obscurity in countries outside of Latin America, to a position of centrality, such that his works are appreciated as a foundation of the modern repertoire which embody the highest levels of technical and expressive development for the instrument. Yet during his lifetime, and even in Latin America, only a few of his contemporaries played or recorded his music, most notably the Argentinean guitarist Maria Louisa Anido. In the next generation of performers the first steps in Barrios appreciation were taken by Latin American musicians, including Laurindo Almeida and Abel Carlevaro in the 1950s, and more significantly by Alirio Díaz during the 1970s,

who edited various Barrios compositions.¹⁸ The decisive step in the rehabilitation of Barrios occurred through John Williams, who, after performing Barrios' compositions for several years, released a recording of his music in 1977.¹⁹ Critical awareness and interest in Barrios was further stimulated by publications of his works,²⁰ a biography,²¹ and the dissemination of Barrios' own recordings, remastered from the 78 r.p.m. originals to CD.²² These recordings, usually completed by Barrios in one take, had been the source for many of the versions of his music performed since the 1950s, and allowed modern audiences to appreciate for the first time the brilliance and spontaneity of his playing.

¹⁸ Diaz edited selected works including: *Las Abejas*, *Aire de Zamba*, *La Catedral*, *Choro de Saudade*, *Cueca*, *Danza Paraguaya*, *Luz Mala*, *Medallion Antiguo*, and *Oracion* (Padova: Zanibon, 1972-1983). On recordings, refer to *Guitar Music of Spain and Latin America*, guitar, EMI, 1970. See Graham Wade, 'On the road to Mangoré: How Barrios was rescued from obscurity', *EGTA Guitar Journal*, 5 (1994), 41-42.

¹⁹ *John Williams-Barrios: John Williams plays the music of Agustín Barrios Mangoré* (CBS 76662, 1977). Other recordings devoted to Barrios have followed: *Agustín Barrios: Guitar Music, vol.1*, Antigoni Goni, guitar (Naxos 8.554558, 2001); *Agustin Barrios: Guitar Music, vol.2*, Enno Voorhorst, guitar (Naxos 8.555718, 2003); *Agustín Barrios: Guitar Music, vol.3*, Jeffrey McFadden, guitar (Naxos 8.557807, 2008); *Agustín Barrios: Obras Completas para Guitarra*, Lemaigre, Philippe, guitar (Ricercar RIC 148, 2000); *La Catedral – Romantisch Virtuose Gitarrenmusik von Agustín Barrios*, Wulfen Lieske, guitar (Intercord 830.846, 1987); *Classics of the Americas, vol.3: Paraguay, Agustín Barrios*, Jesús Castro Balbi, guitar (Opus Production OPS 49-9209, 1992); *Confesión*, Alexander-Sergei Ramírez, guitar, (Deutsche Grammophon 471 532-2, 2002); *Intimate Barrios* (Music of Latin American Masters), Berta Rojas, guitar (Dorian DOR-93167, 1998); *Music of Barrios*, David Russell, guitar (Telarc CD-80373, 1995). John Williams released a further Barrios recording in 1995; *The Great Paraguayan: John Williams plays Barrios* (Sony SK 64 396, 1995).

²⁰ The growth in recordings of Barrios' music has been matched by a similar revival in publications of his music, offering a wide choice of performing editions for the modern guitarist. The earliest comprehensive collection was edited by Richard D. Stover, *The Guitar Works of Agustín Barrios Mangoré*, 4 vols., (New York: Belwin Mills, 1976-1985). See also Stover's more recent edition, *The Complete Works of Agustín Barrios Mangoré*, 2 vol. (Pacific, MO: Mel Bay, 2006). Other editions include 4 volumes edited by Jesus Benites (Tokyo: Zen-On, 1977-1982); 3 volumes edited by Jason Waldron (Melbourne: Allans, 1985-1987); and 2 volumes edited by Raymond Burley (London: Schott, 1991).

²¹ Stover, *Six Silver Moonbeams*.

²² *Agustín Barrios* (El Maestro Records, EM 8002, 1980); *Agustín Barrios: The Complete Guitar Recordings, 1913-1942* (Chanterelle CHR-002, 1993). Examples from this latter collection are included in the CD as an attachment to this thesis.

Literature Review and Sources

This thesis takes as its point of departure the literature concerning guitar performance in general, and the biographical and critical material on Barrios in particular. Richard Stover's research has provided the major source of information on Barrios in the English language. Yet in his description of the meetings between Segovia and Barrios, Stover does not draw any significance from the respectful attitudes revealed in Barrios' own correspondence concerning these encounters. By contrast, the current thesis interprets the deference which Barrios afforded to Segovia in the context of postcolonial subordination, in which the New World continued to look to the Old for confirmation of cultural endeavour. Most telling for the subject of this thesis, Stover is also ambivalent in his treatment of Barrios' Mangoré period. While recognising the function of Mangoré which allowed Barrios to participate in the cultural independence movements of Latin America,²³ Stover nevertheless asserts that, 'What Barrios wore, or what he called himself, mattered little'.²⁴ This thesis argues the opposite, that Mangoré represented a crucial and enduring significance for Barrios' cultural and performing identity.

Similarly, Robert Tucker, who has also figured large in the Barrios revival through published editions and recordings of the Paraguayan guitarist, assigns minimal significance to this episode of Barrios' career. Compared to Barrios' compositions and recordings, Tucker asserts that, 'Steel strings, Indian attire, Romanticism and humble origins are no longer important'.²⁵ The current study challenges this view through an

²³ *Six Silver Moonbeams*, 146.

²⁴ 'Agustín Barrios Mangoré, His Life and Music, Part III: Cacique Nitsuga Mangoré', 18.

²⁵ Notes by Robert Tucker to Agustín Barrios, *The Complete Guitar Recordings, 1913-1942*. Barrios is often described as a Romantic figure, and this thesis acknowledges the validity of that approach in the way that the themes of nineteenth century Romanticism relate to Barrios' philosophy. The emphasis on

historically informed evaluation of the impact of Barrios' Mangoré persona. The significance of Mangoré is revealed, first, in the context of those wider nationalist movements in music flourishing at the turn of the twentieth century, and second, in terms of the impetus for cultural independence which preoccupied Latin American civilisation since the gaining of political independence in the early nineteenth century.

Spanish language studies are also of particular relevance for this thesis, notably the research of Paraguayan guitarist and composer, Sila Godoy, who has preserved the manuscripts of many of Barrios' works. Godoy offers some profound analysis of the pan-American cultural basis of Barrios' style, and his remarks on Barrios' integration of Spanish with Latin American musical forms point to the iconic nature of the guitar in representing cultural identity.²⁶ The literature from Paraguay and El Salvador, where Barrios spent his final years, is also particularly illuminating for the various interpretations which it offers for the Mangoré phenomenon, including, respectively: a blatant commercialism;²⁷ an expression of artistic whim on Barrios' part;²⁸ a proud acknowledgement of Indian heritage;²⁹ and an integral aspect of his aesthetic approach to Latin American folklore.³⁰

individuality, the primacy and intensity of the artist's feeling, and the notion of music as an escape from reality, specifically from industrial society to a simpler life in harmony with nature: all of these resonate strongly in Barrios' life and music. See Rey M. Longyear, *Nineteenth Century Romanticism in Music*, 2nd ed., (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 3-6.

²⁶ 'Ha Muerto el Poeta de la Guitarra: Agustín Barrios', Godoy and Szarán, *Mangoré*, 131-132.

²⁷ Szaran, 'Agustín Pío Barrios', 266.

²⁸ Bacón Duarte Prado, *Agustín Barrios: Un genio insular* (Asunción: Editorial Araverá, 1985), 123-124.

²⁹ José Roberto Bracamonte Benedic, *Mangoré, el Maestro que Concoció* (San Salvador: Fundación María Escalón de Nuñez, 1995), 17.

³⁰ José Cándido Morales, *Agustín Barrios Mangoré: Genio de la Guitarra* (San Salvador: Fundación María Escalón de Nuñez, CVI Editores, 1994), 75.

Chapter Outline

The four chapters of this thesis are structured around the pivotal episode of Barrios-Mangoré as a case study in the articulation of cultural identity, both in a theoretical sense and from the perspective of key compositions by Barrios. Chapter 1 is an account of current theory concerning the central theme of cultural identity as applied to its representation through music. The explication of the concept of cultural identity provides the theoretical framework in which the Barrios-Mangoré case study is situated. A second essential concept pursued here relates to the idea of individualism, both in the sense of heroic individualism which has characterised the performing virtuoso, and its more introspective manifestation in the history of guitar and plucked string performance.

Chapter 2 explores the guitar in the cultural and musical environments of Latin American societies in the 1930s, prior to Barrios' radical experiment in musical identity as Mangoré. In particular, the function of the guitar as a vehicle of musical nationalism is discussed against the background of intellectual debate during the Belle Epoque of 1870 to 1920, which embraced the opposing themes of attraction to European culture on the one hand, and celebration of indigenous traditions on the other.

Chapter 3 deals with the case study of Barrios as Mangoré and positions him as the embodiment of these tensions. The rationale for this approach is twofold. First, he showed his deference to and deep respect for European culture in his attitude to Segovia and in his classical compositions such as waltzes, mazurkas and minuets. Second, he is revealed as a figure of cultural independence and as the paramount representative of the iconic power of the guitar in Latin American culture. Finally, the persona of Mangoré is evaluated against the context of the primitivism which pervaded European culture in the first decades of the twentieth century. Primitivism as a cultural movement profoundly

influenced literature, music, dance and the visual arts during this period, and provides an illuminating frame of reference for the emergence of Barrios-Mangoré.

The final chapter takes up the theme of Mangoré as illustrated through Barrios' compositions. First, it discusses examples of his folkloric works as music which epitomised his cultural identity as an exemplar of various Latin American musical styles. Second, it goes on to discuss a particular subset of his compositions, the tremolo works, as illustrative of the strong fantasy element inherent in his musical philosophy and which was articulated through the theatrical identity of Mangoré.

Barrios and Segovia

A thorough treatment of this topic is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, as with other biographical studies of both Barrios and Segovia,³¹ it is appropriate to consider the relationship between these two major figures who were so influential in the development of the classical guitar in the twentieth century. Moreover, Segovia also posits a striking illustration of the theme of cultural identity and in that way, provides an intriguing counterpoint to the case study of Barrios as Mangoré. The Appendix therefore discusses Segovia's influence, albeit indirect, in both the introduction of Mangoré in 1930, and in Barrios' decision to cast aside Mangoré in 1934. The question of Segovia's attitude to Barrios' music, which was one of ambivalence and neglect, is also considered in the context of Segovia's emphatic and oft-repeated declaration that one of his greatest achievements was the development of a substantial and suitable repertoire for the guitar.

³¹ Godoy and Szaran, *Mangoré*, 40-48. Graham Wade and Gerard Garno, *A New Look at Segovia: His Life, His Music*, 2nd ed., 2 vol., (Pacific, MO: Mel Bay, 2000), v.2, 479-81, quotes this passage as an Appendix.

Finally, Segovia's view of Mangoré is also discussed against the background of the former's own cultural identity, which he personified through the figure of the Spanish maestro.

Chapter 1: Theory of Cultural Identity

The current chapter pursues two major themes. First, it discusses current thinking about the concept of cultural identity in relation to musical performance, incorporating contributions from musicology, ethnomusicology and popular music scholarship. In so doing it acknowledges the central position which this concept occupies in contemporary debates, which according to Georgina Born and David Hesmondalgh, centres on ‘how particular social and cultural identities may be evoked, articulated, and represented in music, whether in processes of composition, performance, or consumption’.¹ By necessity any discussion of cultural identity must also touch on the field of cultural studies, and while the latter tends towards an abstract level of commentary, it is also valuable because of the way that cultural studies tackles the notion of cultural identity head-on, rather than being merely assumed, as is arguably the case in musicology.

The second theme explored in this chapter is that of heroic individualism as historically realised through the emergent concept of selfhood and the idea of genius in the late eighteenth century. The belief in the composer as genius or hero was logically followed by the development of the notion of performing virtuosity in the early nineteenth century, which reached its apogee in the early to mid-twentieth century. It is this concept which is powerfully embodied in modern guitar performance in both classical and popular forms. However, it is argued that by virtue of its more elusive and intellectualised nature, the notion of virtuosity as exemplified by Barrios (and later by Segovia) posits a qualitatively different mode of rarified performance than that

¹ Georgina Born and David Hesmondalgh, ‘Introduction’, Georgina Born and David Hesmondalgh (eds.), *Western Music and its Others: Difference, Representation and Appropriation in Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 31.

associated with the extrovert tradition of showmanship deriving from Liszt and Paganini.

The two themes outlined above are related, both intrinsically and for the purposes of this thesis. Concepts of the performing self are irreducibly bound up with social considerations, including audience reception and constructed performing traditions.² Moreover, the particular historical genesis of the Romantic concept of self, epitomised in the criticism and appreciation of Beethoven's style, gained intellectual support and stimulus from the incipient nationalism of the early nineteenth century. This trend derived most significantly from the German tradition of theorising about the nature of art, in particular the emphasis attached to its folk origins. The modern theory of cultural identity, besides being strongly articulated and elaborated through musicology – whether from the perspective of Western art music, ethnomusicology or popular music – thus also rests on a solid intellectual heritage in the allied historical currents of Romanticism and nationalism. From this theoretical background, the articulation of cultural identity is then elaborated in Chapter 3 through the case study of Barrios-Mangoré.

Twenty three years ago Joseph Kerman challenged musicologists to engage more fully with musical works as cultural experiences rather than as objects of analysis.³ He referred to recent studies which had extended the concerns of traditional musicology to include areas of inquiry as diverse as musical social history, cultural history and the history of ideas. Cultural identity is another fertile field of inquiry by which musicology

² Simon Frith, *Performing Rites: Evaluating Popular Music* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 275.

³ Joseph Kerman, *Musicology* (London: Fontana, 1985), 171.

can participate in related disciplines, including the possibility of mutidisciplinarity. As discussed below, this is particularly so from the perspective of ethnomusicology, in which cultural identity has assumed a paradigmatic significance.⁴ Indeed it is music's unique signifying power that enables its capacity to reflect and articulate identity, and some of the most important and interesting contemporary work in the field of identity theory derives from musical studies.

Theory of Identity

Identities define people by placing them in groups of individuals with similar traits.⁵ Exactly which traits make up one's identity – of physicality, gender, ethnicity, nationality, beliefs, religion, occupation, social class, cultural practices (including music) or indeed other characteristics – is, however, largely contingent or arbitrary. This is not to deny the role of human freedom in forming identity, but rather to emphasise that the choices people make are circumscribed by the social conditions into which individuals are born. As Linda Alcoff notes, 'Individuals make their own identity, but not under conditions of their own choosing'.⁶ Furthermore, although identities are always only partially constitutive of individuals they are nevertheless the crucial means by which people relate, and in this sense identities can be regarded as the medium of social relationships. People therefore have multiple identities comprised of combinations

⁴ Note that Kerman's distinction between musicology – as the historical study of Western art music – and ethnomusicology – as the study of non-Western music – has come to be viewed as problematic, not least because of the somewhat artificial exclusion of ethnic and cultural influences from musicology; Alistair Williams, *Constructing Musicology* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 2.

⁵ Simon During, *Cultural Studies: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2005), 145. This paragraph is indebted to During's book as one of the clearest statements of a difficult topic.

⁶ 'Introduction, Identities: Modern and Postmodern', Linda Martín Alcoff and Eduardo Mendieta (eds.), *Identities: Race, Class, Gender and Nationality* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 3.

of the above traits, but which assume different weight according to circumstances, and of which some identities, including gender and ethnicity, have an enduring relevance.⁷ Finally, there is the sphere of individuality which is hidden from the world, and which takes the form of desires and practices which are non-social and thus lie outside identity as explained above.

Cultural identity, as a category of identity theory in general, incorporates the notion of culture, itself a highly disputed and perennially analysed concept which has occupied a central importance in the fields of aesthetics, sociology and political theory for over two hundred years. In adopting the notion of cultural identity as its central analytical scheme, this thesis therefore utilises culture in the inclusive sense of incorporating artistic – specifically musical – practice, but embodying wider social and political connotations. In this inclusive and admittedly ambiguous meaning, culture is conceived by David Held and Anthony McGraw as

the social construction, articulation and reception of meaning ... a lived and creative experience for individuals as well as a body of artifacts, texts and objects; it embraces the specialised and professionalised discourses of the arts, the commodified output of the culture industries, the spontaneous and unorganised cultural expressions of everyday life, and, of course, the complex interactions of all these.⁸

The utilisation of the cultural identity model in musical studies is a recognition of its affinities both to specifically artistic practice and, in the same process, to analyses which attribute social meaning to that practice through its representations, and formations, of wider groupings of ethnicity and nation.

⁷ During, *Cultural Studies*, 146.

⁸ David Held, Anthony McGraw, David Goldblatt and Jonathan Perraton, *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1999), 328-329.

From this perspective we can turn to the ways that musicologists have defined cultural identity. A useful initial distinction here is that between individual self-identity and collective identity. Both are crucial for this study, for two reasons: first, in the individualised concept Barrios exhibited as the historical figure of Mangoré, and second, as a means of comparing the representations which he also made to those larger groupings of ethnicity and nation. As indicated above, a performer may adopt several identities exhibiting differing musical tastes or styles, which may exist in apparent tension or even contradiction.

But to distinguish individual from collective identities is also to acknowledge that these two modes may be in conflict. Stuart Hall notes that, 'Identities are never unified and ... increasingly fragmented; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses practices and positions'.⁹ A major challenge of cultural studies is developing the nature of the relationship between the strictures of cultural norms and individual identities.

Discussions of the origins of cultural identity in music often distinguish so-called homology or structural models from a concept of music as process which informs the self. In the former scheme, music is taken to reflect or represent social groupings, such that identities set up a structural relationship with musical expression. This notion is rejected, however, by popular music theorists who assert the variety of roles which music attains following its original production by people of particular ethnic and cultural groups, and assumes an independent life. Rather than merely reflecting social conditions, music here is taken to have an active *constitutive* role which shapes

⁹ 'Introduction: Who Needs "Identity"?' , Stuart Hall and Peter Du Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London: Sage, 1996), 4.

identity.¹⁰ This latter view aligns with the cultural studies agenda which insists on the nature of identity as process rather than structure. Here music itself becomes central to the formation of identity, revealed in all those situations of listening and performing which position people socially and inform their communal values. For Simon Frith, it is a short but logical step from this perspective to the unity of aesthetics and ethics, where music, the act of performance, itself imparts social meaning by articulating personal and group relations. Frith refers to the judgements of African musicians who evaluate performance in terms of its effects on relationships, and again to the example of amateur music makers who express their ethics through aesthetic considerations.¹¹ Such arguments relate to the notion of the transforming power of music, what was referred to in the Introduction as its 'complex aesthetic embeddedness' in which performance transforms the participants through musical rituals which reveal aesthetic meaning, and invest those people with expanded social functions and values.¹²

Adopting this conceptual framework, Born and Hesmondalgh propose a four-part scheme for articulating modes of identity, accepting that music both constructs new identities while continuing to reflect existing ones.¹³ First, music can operate as an imaginary identity, typified in musical associations with primitivism and exoticism. This immediately suggests one of the functions which Mangoré fulfilled for Barrios: a characterisation which functioned at one level as a play or fantasy figure for his own delight, the vivid alter-ego expressing the theatrical sentiments which were inseparable

¹⁰ Simon Frith, 'Music and Identity', Hall and Du Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, 111; Frith, *Performing Rites*, 270.

¹¹ Frith, 'Music and Identity', 111.

¹² Philip Bohlman, *World Music: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 13.

¹³ Born and Hesmondalgh 'Introduction', 35-36.

from his personality. Yet the 'imaginary' figure of Mangoré was also strongly grounded in practical considerations: its derivation in Paraguay's colonial history, its undeniable commercialism with the aim of stimulating Barrios' career through its evocation of the primitive and the exotic, and its resonance with movements of Latin American cultural independence.

The second function of music in Born and Hesmondalgh's paradigm is the process model, in which music can give form to emergent identities, for example through the political function of music in reforming existing relationships and giving rise to, or crystallising, new ones. In short, music also functions as protest. Third, music reproduces existing identities, as described in the homology or structural model where music is conceptualised as reflecting reality. Here music can serve a differing political function by repressing change or reinforcing current sociopolitical categories. Fourth and finally, music allows for historical interpretation by which identities are read back into particular situations which then stimulates reappraisal of current practice and scholarship. This last theme also applies to the current thesis through the particular historical interpretations assigned to the figure of Barrios as Mangoré.

In elaborating the related distinctions which are associated with the notion of cultural identity, it is also relevant to refer to Göran Folkestad's tripartite classification of musical identity, which assigns significance through national, cultural and ethnic dimensions.¹⁴ All of these notions partake of a 'common sense' view of identity which recognises the common origins or shared characteristics among the members of a

¹⁴ Göran Folkestad, 'National Identity and Music', Raymond A R MacDonald, David J Hargreaves and Dorothy Miell (eds.), *Musical Identities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 152-154.

group.¹⁵ In this scheme, *national* identity is a ‘top down’ approach through which cultural and ethnic differences are unified under a notional or official construct of the nation. The case of national anthems is an overt manifestation of nationalism imposed on musical sentiment. This is not to deny, however, the real sense of belonging that the members of a community maintain by virtue of their membership of a nation. For Benedict Anderson, it is precisely this meaning that lends weight to the concept of nationhood by uniting disparate ethnic and cultural groupings under the concept of the nation. In fact, all modern communities are imagined in this sense, as opposed to the villages of traditional societies that allowed direct contact between all members.¹⁶

By contrast, *cultural* identity in this scheme is defined as a ‘bottom up’ approach, in which music originates from popular impulses which circumvent national boundaries. This also raises the possibility of multiple cultural identities, each the result of encounters with diverse influences from various national and ethnic traditions. An individual’s cultural identity, as expressed through listening to or performing music, typically involves just such a diversity of influences, even for performers associated with a particular style. As Martin Stokes observes, musicians ‘often appear to celebrate ethnic plurality in problematic ways. Musicians in many parts of the world have a magpie attitude towards genres, picked up, transformed and reinterpreted in their own terms’.¹⁷

Finally in this scheme, *ethnic* identity is a fluid concept comprising both national and cultural dimensions, participating variously as a marker of national significance,

¹⁵ Hall, ‘Introduction: Who Needs “Identity”?’ , 2.

¹⁶ *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 6.

¹⁷ ‘Introduction’, Martin Stokes (ed.), *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place* (Oxford and Providence, RI: Berg, 1994), 16. The paradigm of such a magpie approach in relation to the guitar is John Williams, whose career has embraced a myriad of traditions and styles.

strongly equated with nationality, and alternatively as one of cultural affiliations expressed through folk and popular traditions.¹⁸ Thus, in Folkestad's analytical scheme, Barrios' personification as Mangoré displayed a *national* identity through his commemoration of his native Paraguay's history and music, a *cultural* identity which participated in the cultural independence movements of Latin American societies in the 1930s, and an *ethnic* identity directly representative of the Guaraní people.

National and Cultural Identity

Folkestad's classification is a useful starting point for distinguishing the levels of analysis which may be subsumed under the label of cultural identity, and in particular the functions of nationalism and national identity which have played such a crucial role in the history of music. Because of this, and the way that expressions of national and cultural identity are so closely related – crucially, for example, in relation to Barrios' conception of Latin American culture – it is necessary to explore these ideas more closely. One of the earliest and most influential accounts of the theory of national identity derives from Johann Gottfried Herder, whose *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache* [Treatise on the Origin of Language]¹⁹ argued for the formative function of language and culture in the construction of nationhood. In particular, Herder emphasised the importance of those shared beliefs, practices and customs which we call culture, and which find expression in stories and myths. For Herder, the ultimate expression of a nation's culture is language, because it is in and through language that those qualities

¹⁸ Folkestad, 'National Identity and Music', 154.

¹⁹ *Treatise on the Origin of Language*, originally published Berlin: C. F. Voss, 1772, in Johann Gottfried Herder, *Philosophical Writings*, Michael N. Forster (ed.), (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

which distinguish nations from one another are expressed. In that way, language and culture are actually constitutive of human identity and are articulated by the members of a community who share similar beliefs and the same language.

The overt political and ideological expressions of nationalism in the nineteenth century had a profound and enduring impact on music, manifesting itself through distinctive expressions in – for example – America, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Russia and Spain. This process often led to a renaissance of those countries' musical heritages as a source of inspiration for contemporary composers. At the same time, and as the discourse of cultural studies argues, music displays the power both to articulate emergent social movements and identities, for example in revolutionary or anti-colonial contexts, and also to reinforce existing relations, for example when music accompanies parades of military strength.²⁰

Yet, as Richard Taruskin observes, the respective roles of music in national and cultural identity can be disturbed through political imperatives. Under Soviet cultural policy of the Cold War period, for example, composers were obliged to demonstrate an organic connection with folk tradition through the music and songs of the Russian people. Aesthetic value, while thus imposed from above via a rigidly centralist system, was nonetheless officially presented as popular in origin, with Soviet composers supposedly acting as the vehicle and mouthpiece of popular sentiment.²¹

In similar fashion, recent Chopin scholarship has revealed the diverse and contradictory functions that composer's music has been made to serve in competing

²⁰ Born and Hesmondalgh 'Introduction', 32.

²¹ Richard Taruskin, 'Nationalism', Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 17, 703.

political agendas. Following his death in 1849, Chopin's extra-musical reputation in Poland developed such that he attained a status in Poland of a national hero, embodying in artistic form those struggles for national sovereignty that were seen to define the Polish nation.²² In the aftermath of World War Two, communist leaders in Poland upheld the music of Chopin as a means of promoting their own political legitimacy. The rationale was identical to that of the Soviet cultural authorities during the Cold War, in the way that Chopin was presented as the authentic representative of Polish folk culture. The undeniable stature of Chopin in European musical culture was employed as a means of presenting and interpreting the Polish nation as embodied through the culture of peasant and worker, rather than of the elite classes.²³

Yet, as with many instances in which composers are appropriated for political ends, this was a simplification of Chopin's actual compositional method. His stylisation of the mazurkas for example, derived as much, if not more, from exposure to a strong tradition of urban based art-music prevalent in early nineteenth century Warsaw, as it did from any direct contact with rural musical practice. That former tradition, including opera, ballet and parlour music for the piano, itself incorporated Polish folk themes and stylistic features, and was an essential and formative part of Chopin's development from which he drew his own creations.²⁴

National identity also carries with it an ethical dimension, what Ross Poole terms a moral agenda, which is distinct from the responsibilities accruing to personal

²² Zdzislaw Mach, 'National Anthems: The Case of Chopin as a National Composer', Stokes (ed.) *Ethnicity, Identity and Music*, 64.

²³ Mach, 'National Anthems', 66.

²⁴ Barbara Milewski, 'Chopin's Mazurkas and the Myth of the Folk', *19th Century Music*, 23.2 (Autumn 1999), 135.

morality.²⁵ That agenda entails, by virtue of citizenship, moral implication in a nation's past which may be a cause for celebration, but equally for shame and sorrow. One cannot glorify a nation's achievements – whether political, cultural, sporting or scientific – while simultaneously denying any moral involvement in the past which witnessed dispossession, exploitation or persecution.²⁶

Authentic Identity

Questions of personal and national identity have also assumed a particular urgency in the context of extreme nationalist expressions and movements in the last decade.²⁷ For Vincent Cheng, that concern manifests itself in an anxiety over 'authentic' cultural identity in which the unique, distinctive elements of national character are in danger of being whitewashed by the relentless trends to transnationalism and globalisation.²⁸ The quest for distinctive and authentic cultural identity thus becomes an assertion against this perceived loss of personal meaning.²⁹

²⁵ Ross Poole, *Nation and Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 70-74.

²⁶ The ethical consequences of national identity are of particular relevance in relation to Segovia, whose overt sympathy with the Francoist regime has cast a shadow over his role as the representative of Spanish culture; Miguel Alcazar (ed.), *The Segovia-Ponce Letters*, trans. Peter Segal (Columbus: Editions Ophee, 1989). See also Appendix, 167-168.

²⁷ Refer, for example, to the continued appeal of extreme political parties in Europe such as the British National Party, the German People's Union, the Freedom Party (Austria) and the National Alliance (Italy) or the xenophobic reactions in Australian politics concerning refugees which has been exploited by conservative political forces for electoral advantage.

²⁸ *Inauthentic: The Anxiety over Culture and Identity* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 3-5.

²⁹ As Cheng also observes, the pursuit and intense interest in cultural identities which are alternative to one's own assumes an ironic significance where the other culture has been victimised or even obliterated, the process of popularisation acting as a pacifier to the oppressor's conscience. The United States' interest from the late twentieth century in native American culture (and to a lesser degree, the British nostalgia over the Raj), have parallels to contemporary Australian concerns over celebrating and rehabilitating Aboriginal culture and history. It is only at the point where these alternative cultures have almost disappeared that the dominant culture professes a concern about the former's preservation. See Cheng, *Inauthentic*, 175.

Reference to authenticity in the discussion of cultural identity immediately posits a relationship with musicology's invocation of that term in relation to authentic performance. The key features of the authentic performance movement have been the advocacy of performance on instruments of the composer's time, together with their associated playing techniques; an appreciation of style pertaining to the relevant period deriving from historical research; and an elaboration of the composer's intentions. While the concept reached its apogee in the 1970s, during the last twenty years the pursuit of authenticity as a guiding principle has faded in performance theory and practice. This has occurred as a result of the questioning of key concepts, such as the problematic nature of determining the composer's intentions, or the reassertion of the legitimacy of modern instruments played expressively rather than seeking to imitate the timbre of original instruments for its own sake. The pursuit of an illusory authenticity has been replaced by the trend to an historically informed performance that utilises current knowledge of style, instruments, and technique to present modern performances, in contrast to the accretion of Romantic performance practice³⁰ which had a pervasive and ultimately stultifying impact on twentieth century performance.³¹

In that regard, musicology reveals a more advanced stage of theoretical development in the study of cultural identity than other fields of the humanities and social sciences, in which the notion of authentic identity is still debated. Musicologists

³⁰ By this term I mean an approach to performance which emphasises the performer's individuality and emotional expression, often at the expense of rhythmic integrity. For a relevant critique of a revered virtuoso from the tradition of early twentieth century performance, see John H. Planer, 'Sentimentality in the Performance of Absolute Music: Pablo Casal's Performance of Sarabande of Johann Sebastian Bach's Suite No. 2 in D Minor for Unaccompanied Cello, S 1008', *Musical Quarterly*, 78 (1989), 212-248.

³¹ Richard Taruskin provided a trenchant critique of the concept of authentic performance that contributed to its reassessment in 'The Pastness of the Present and the Presence of the Past', *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 90-154.

and performers worked through the debate over authenticity some thirty years ago and have moved beyond the strictures of that concept to a more flexible and historically aware appreciation of performance practice. Similarly, this thesis eschews the idea of a singular authentic identity that performers should seek to determine and maintain, whether in terms of a personal identity which reflects an unchanging core over one's lifetime, or in the sense of a stable cultural identity which embodies a genuine collective sense shared by those with a common history.³² Instead, the current study adheres to the concept of created cultural identities as a process, formed through historical experience but flexible and subject to continual transformation. As Stuart Hall observes, identities

are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from', so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves.³³

Moreover, identity is constructed through difference, to what it lacks, or in the language of cultural studies, its relation to the Other. It is this notion of the Other which fuelled Europe's embrace of the primitive and exotic, as typified by the popularity of jazz in France during the early decades of the twentieth century.³⁴ Those associations have particular relevance for this work in the meanings which Barrios revealed in his

³² Therefore this work also rejects the validity of the 'debate' which Bonnie Wade poses, over whether a musician can authentically participate in multiple traditions. Such a view would be particularly problematic in relation to the guitar repertoire which includes many historical and national strands. It would mean, for instance – in regard to a prominent part of the repertoire – that a non-Spaniard is incapable of giving a convincing account of Spanish music. See Wade, *Thinking Musically: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 142. Where the argument attains a certain validity is in the idea of appropriation, where a dominant group performs and profits from the music of another culture, especially under the guise of collaboration, while oblivious to the political circumstances influencing the formation of that music, or to the economic rewards from the project which are denied to those groups with original creative responsibility; Louise Meintjes, 'Paul Simon's Graceland, South Africa and the Mediation of Musical Meaning', *Ethnomusicology*, 34.1 (Winter 1990), 37-73.

³³ 'Who Needs Identity?', 4.

³⁴ 'Alterity', David Beard and Kenneth Gloag, *Musicology: The Key Concepts* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 9.

performances. As the Paraguayan chief Mangoré, Barrios presented a startling portrait of the Other to Latin American audiences. Here was a confronting vision of their own history which Barrios simultaneously and consciously offered both as marker of Latin American cultural independence and as a contrast to decadent European culture. Ironically, and as discussed in Chapter 3, he never assayed this figure in Europe where, following the wild success of Josephine Baker's *Danse Sauvage* with Parisian audiences in the 1920s, the presentation of Mangoré would have been most potent.

From Cultural Identity to Cosmopolitanism

This thesis argues that Barrios as Mangoré embodied a strongly nationalist expression of cultural identity. Yet the idea of cultural identity, in the sense of a strongly articulated nationality, can be said to have been eroded in the latter decades of the twentieth century through the context of relentless globalisation mediated through mass communication, which has worked to erase national and ethnic boundaries. Whereas cultural identity depends on shared experiences – what Anthony Smith defines as a sense of continuity between generations, shared historical memories and a common destiny – a global culture lacks precisely these unifying elements.³⁵

The current attention given to globalisation is a recognition of these decisive changes in the late twentieth century arising from the growth of mass-media communication and other developments which have encouraged cultural interaction.³⁶ This has occurred through qualitative shifts in the technology of telecommunications,

³⁵ Anthony Smith, 'Towards a Global Culture?', David Held and Anthony McGrew (eds.), *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000), 241.

³⁶ Held and McGrew, *Global Transformations*, 363.

which have in turn drastically and irrevocably changed the reach of the music industry. These shifts have come about via radio and subsequently through the internet, as well as television and cinema; through the rise of multinational corporations with their global reach and capacity to influence international markets; and through the growth of international tourism which offers tangible, immediate experience of cultural diversity. All of these developments have given enormous impetus to processes of cultural diffusion. A positive aspect of that phenomenon has been the simultaneous awareness in the interconnectedness of environmental, political and ethical systems which speaks of a common humanity, that is, of a cosmopolitan approach in all spheres of life.³⁷

The growth of the genre of ‘world music’ is but another manifestation of these irrevocable global developments, as is the participatory approach to cultural diversity by musicians which, for example, John Williams has championed. The revival of Barrios’ music in the late twentieth century should also be viewed in this context of a cosmopolitanism that is representative of these crucial developments of recent decades. The trend to globalisation provides further theoretical evidence for the narrative strand which is provided by the key figure selected for this thesis, in which ethnic and national manifestations of cultural identity are ultimately transcended by a cosmopolitan perspective which characterises the Barrios renaissance. None of this is to deny the tensions, divisions and violence which continue to be manifested in real political struggles as a result of fiercely contested national sentiments. It does, however, argue for the crucial significance of international connectedness, as summarised under the

³⁷ Held and McGrew, *Global Transformations*, 363-369.

globalisation debate, in promoting cultural diffusion and the promise, at least, of understanding and toleration.³⁸

Cultural Identity and Ethnomusicology

The incorporation of cultural identity as a discursive methodology for music has been most prominent in the field of ethnomusicology. For Philip Bohlman it is depicted through what he terms the ‘persistent paradigm’ which informs the intellectual history of the discipline. Deriving from the revolutionary impact of anthropology on musicology in the 1950s, the newly designated field of ethnomusicology regarded data collection of recorded and transcribed traditional musics as the primary means of illuminating the meanings of cultural identity. This data provided the impetus for theoretical analysis, which in turn demanded more detailed data that gave rise to more sophisticated theories. In this symbiotic relationship which characterised the new discipline, traditional music and cultural identity allowed, indeed invited, endless juxtapositions to which its practitioners were eager to contribute through their field work and analysis.³⁹ The interaction, moreover, offered a current and vigorous historical impetus for

³⁸ Finally, it is worth noting that, at particular historical junctures, the concept of cosmopolitanism has assumed radically different connotations from its current and normally positive associations of broad-minded sympathies for humanity and a concern for international, rather than local, national, or indeed parochial issues. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the term had specific racial applications in regard to the Jews, for whom cosmopolitanism was viewed in derogatory terms of non-belonging and rootlessness. That perception had its roots in German legends of the Wandering Jew, condemned to perpetual migration and stigmatisation for their part in the Crucifixion of Christ, and which found virulent expression in the persecutions of the Russian pogroms and Nazi exterminations. As Cheng observes, in the twentieth century, the concept was also adopted for purposes of disparagement in opposing political agendas: Stalin employed the term in the 1930s for propagandistic purposes, presenting his opponents in the Russian Communist Party as cosmopolitans in the negative sense of dilettantism, devoid of moral or intellectual fibre. Conversely, in the infamous anti-communist witch-hunts in America in the 1950s, Senator McCarthy referred disparagingly to ‘cosmopolite’ influences as a marker of communist degeneracy. See Cheng, *Inauthentic*, 51-52.

³⁹ Philip Bohlman, ‘Traditional Music and Cultural Identity: Persistent Paradigm in the History of Ethnomusicology’, *Yearbook of Traditional Music*, 20 (1988), 37-38.

ethnomusicology, an expanded field of historical research which benefited from ever more sophisticated treatments of the theme of cultural identity.

Cultural identity is, of course, revealed in other practices besides music. But Bohlman's analysis retains a broad validity through its recognition of the central signifying power of music in traditional societies. That analysis also highlights the critical function that cultural identity has assumed in ethnomusicological research, both as a focus of study and as a mode of operation which has structured the theory and practice of ethnomusicology itself, that is, as a paradigm. That treatment also aligns with the recognition in the discipline in recent decades of the crucial constitutive role of music in relation to social relationships, including the construction of identity. This is also what Anthony Seeger referred to when he wrote in the 1980s of the structural shift in ethnomusicology from an anthropology of music which situates music within an existing culture, characteristic of the discipline in the 1960s, to a musical anthropology in which music itself creates culture.⁴⁰

The veracity of the cultural identity/traditional music correlation is borne out by an examination of the ethnomusicological literature of recent years. Latin American music has provided a particularly rich source for analysis of cultural identity, a manifestation of the resistance offered by diverse ethnic and national groups to both modernisation and the legacy of colonialism. That scholarly interest is variously illustrated, for example, in the influence of Cuban music on the development of salsa as an expression of Puerto Rican identity through music;⁴¹ the use of *aleke* music (a hybrid

⁴⁰ *Why Suyá Sing: A Musical Anthropology of an Amazonian People* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), xiii-xiv.

⁴¹ Peter Manuel, 'Puerto Rican Music and Cultural Identity: Creative Appropriation of Cuban Sources from Danza to Salsa', *Ethnomusicology*, 38.2 (Spring-Summer 1994), 249-280.

genre between traditional and popular) among the Maroon peoples of Suriname and French Guiana in the articulation of new forms of identity;⁴² the embodiment of identity among the Chayantaka people of Bolivia through musical performance which also inscribes a sense of place and landscape;⁴³ and the depiction of the gaucho tradition in opera and other genres as the expression of Argentine national identity.⁴⁴

The Self, Personal Identity and the Idea of Genius

These ideas of personal identity and their implications for performance assumed full significance in the emerging concept of self from the late eighteenth century. The intellectual movement that provided the foundation for this new worldview developed through the efforts both of the English Romantic poets (including Keats, Wordsworth, and Coleridge) and from German writers and philosophers (including Hegel, Kant, Schiller and above all, Goethe). In reaction against the Enlightenment's idealised pursuit of rational knowledge, the Age of Goethe celebrated an 'ennobling and all-embracing concept of self'⁴⁵ characterised by the upholding of human freedom and destiny. The further crucial element of this humanistic system was the idea of struggle, of the self heroically overcoming difficulties to achieve freedom and actualisation.⁴⁶

⁴² Kenneth Bilby, ' "Aleke": New Music and New Identities in the Guianas', *Latin American Music Review*, 22.1 (Spring-Summer 2001), 31-47.

⁴³ Thomas Solomon, 'Dueling Landscapes: Singing Places and Identities in Highland Bolivia', *Ethnomusicology*, 44.2 (Spring-Summer 2000), 257-80.

⁴⁴ Deborah Schwartz-Kates, 'Argentine Art Music and the Search for National Identity Mediated through a Symbolic Native Heritage: The "tradition gauchesca" and Felipe Boero's "El Matrero" (1929)', *Latin American Music Review*, 20.1 (Spring-Summer 1999), 1-29; Deborah Schwartz-Kates 'Alberto Ginastera, Argentine Cultural Construction, and the Gauchesco Tradition', *Musical Quarterly*, 86.2 (Summer 2002), 248-281.

⁴⁵ Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), 112.

⁴⁶ Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*, 113.

Beethoven's music has long been regarded as the embodiment of the artist as hero, realised through certain key works including the *Eroica* Symphony and the Fifth Symphony. Such a view has been supported by the composer's own correspondence proclaiming the fate of the artist as inescapably consigned to suffering, and leading to the interpretation that it is this process of perpetual struggle culminating with momentary triumph which constitutes not merely aesthetic value, but human destiny itself. Allied closely to this view of the artist as hero was the cult of genius, again with Beethoven as the figurehead and initially elaborated through the critical writings of E.T.A. Hoffmann.⁴⁷ This theory was carried to its extreme by Wagner in the mid-nineteenth century who, even more than Beethoven, promoted his own stature of the composer-genius, charged with the historic task of heroically leading music towards a glorious future.⁴⁸

The crucial development in the history of performance in the nineteenth century was that instrumentalists now also assumed the mantle of genius.⁴⁹ Genius in performance was realised through the act of virtuosity, and demonstrated initially by Paganini. His sheer technical accomplishments on the violin, and his presentation of executive ability for its own sake, were so incomprehensible to his audiences that he was ascribed supernatural powers, a judgement which his own alarming appearance and

⁴⁷ Carl Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism*, trans. M. Whittall (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1989), 2.

⁴⁸ 'The Art-Work of the Future', *Wagner on Music and Drama: A Selection from Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, arranged & with an introduction by Albert Goldman and Evert Sprinchorn (London: Victor Gollancz, 1970). See also Jack Stein, *Richard Wagner and the Synthesis of the Arts* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1960) for a discussion of Wagner's notion of the Gesamtkunstwerk, or total work of art. Thomas Mann famously critiqued the concept in *Pro and Contra Wagner* (London: Faber and Faber, 1985), 101-104.

⁴⁹ Jim Samson, *Virtuosity and the Musical Work: The Transcendental Studies of Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

concert attire assisted in promoting. Liszt further developed the concept and practice of virtuosity in critical aspects, but more than this, he realised as performer the conception of artist-as-hero which Beethoven embodied as composer.⁵⁰ Like Paganini, Liszt in his performances extracted the maximum sonority from the instrument, sometimes reducing the piano literally to a wreck. But his approach was also one of universalism, first in the way that his compositions and etudes extended the boundaries of musical structure by ignoring existing technical limitations; and second through his transcriptions and arrangements by which he attempted nothing less than to encompass *all* of music and capture it for the piano, with himself as the solitary interpreter of this musical universe to the world. His transcriptions of the complete Beethoven symphonies for piano were thoroughly characteristic of this perspective, and his own central, heroic role in that enterprise, with which he viewed the expanded, limitless potentialities of the piano.⁵¹ Such a practice argued for a new conception of virtuosity which placed the pianist as master of ceremonies, firmly centre-stage. In this act of dramatic assertion over the entire repertoire, the pianist emphasised his feats of technical and imaginative accomplishment through the only medium on which a lone performer could realise such phenomena – the piano.

⁵⁰ Wilfrid Mellers, *Man & His Music: The Story of Musical Experience in the West, vol. 4, Romanticism and the Twentieth Century* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1962), 32.

⁵¹ Berlioz poetically characterised the effect of Liszt's universalism, also capturing the idea of performer as artist-hero and the tremendous effect this had on audiences, asserting that Liszt could well say: 'I am the orchestra! I am the chorus and conductor as well. My piano sings, broods, flashes, thunders ... [it] can conjure on the evening air its veiled enchantment of insubstantial chords and fairy melodies, just as the orchestra can and without all the paraphernalia ... I simply appear, amid applause, and sit down. My memory awakens. At once, dazzling inventions spring to life beneath my fingers and rapturous exclamations greet them in return ... What a dream! A golden dream such as one dreams when one's name is Liszt'. See *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, trans. David Cairns (New York: Norton, 1975), 283.

Liszt's contribution to performance practice also had a significant social function in the way that he established the phenomenon of the solo recital. The ritual of the recital, with its own conventions of mute listeners and the heightened attention directed towards the individual artist, added a new dimension to the concert occasion which enhanced the intimacy between performer and audience. But it also brought extra-musical associations that were closer to the spectacle of a sporting event, with the audience thrilling to the purely physical exploits of musicians performing as superbly skilled executants.

In the early to mid-twentieth century the role of the virtuoso reached its zenith, supported by the media, recording technology and transportation, all of which allowed travelling artists exposure to international audiences far beyond that which Paganini and Liszt enjoyed. Segovia, along with performers such as Vladimir Horowitz, Artur Schnabel, and Jascha Heifetz fully participated in this trend, as did Barrios on the Latin American stage.

The Solo Guitarist and Heroic Individualism

It is these concentrated aspects of music making which Edward Said had in mind when he referred to performance as an 'extreme occasion'.⁵² Said drew attention to the development of the concert performance, its 'narcissistic, self-referential and self-conservative qualities' and the development of the concert – especially in its rarified form of the recital – through complex historical and social processes which established the

⁵² 'Performance as an Extreme Occasion', *Musical Elaborations* (London: Vintage, 1991), 3-4.

traditions of the performer's specialised skills and the utter subordination of the audience.⁵³

In Said's analysis of performance and the exaggerated sense of display which is offered through the virtuoso transcription, it is the piano which assumes a pre-eminent role as the medium for the development of instrumental virtuosity. As discussed above, the idea of the piano as the instrument of all music was initiated by Liszt and continued by Ferruccio Busoni, Artur Schnabel and Sergei Rachmaninoff, who practised a similarly all-embracing and majestic view of the instrument. This approach was revealed in the massive nature of their recitals, which encompassed the complete history of the keyboard, and also followed Liszt in the practice of the virtuoso transcription which attempted to realise the entire orchestra through the piano. Glenn Gould can also be viewed in this tradition by virtue of his performances of the Liszt-Beethoven transcriptions, and his own contributions to the field through paraphrases of Wagner's *Götterdämmerung* and *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*. These were formidable arrangements in every sense and again served to emphasise the heightened nature of virtuosity which carries performance to the extreme. Gould's efforts here acted as a commentary on performance through the performer *asserting* the capabilities of the instrument, coupled with his imagination in conceiving such a project and his mastery of execution, which elevated the pianist to a position radically differentiated from his listeners. This last attribute was, in Gould's case, entirely appropriate not only because of his rarified pianistic talent but also owing to his quasi-religious devotion to the art of

⁵³ Said, 'Performance as an Extreme Occasion', 11.

piano playing and the unusual and eccentric qualities of his personal life, which separated him from the everyday world.⁵⁴

Yet this thesis argues for a comparable, but distinctive, place for the guitar in the history of individual instrumental virtuosity. The extreme, exaggerated aspects of modern performance that Said discerns in the piano recital operate with even greater effect in the field of guitar performance. The literature of the guitar and its predecessors and relatives – the vihuela, the baroque guitar and the lute – is suffused with accounts of the quasi-magical effect which these lone performers exerted on their audiences. As Anthony Rooley observes, such depictions of the power of the supremely gifted performer on plucked string instruments have their origin in the legend of Orpheus. The power of divine communication attributed to Orpheus, his ability as singer and lyre player to move the soul of both human and animal, is echoed in the accounts of famed lutenists from the sixteenth century onwards. Francesco da Milano was known as ‘Il Divino’ for his capacity to transport audiences to a state of rapture or contemplation, while John Dowland attained the title of the ‘English Orpheus’ for the same reason.⁵⁵ Similarly, in the eighteenth century, Sylvius Leopold Weiss, in addition to his compositional and improvising skills (which were compared favourably to his contemporary J. S. Bach), also attained a legendary reputation as a performer such that critics judged him to be comparable with the finest lutenists of any era.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Said, ‘Performance as an Extreme Occasion’, 7, 23.

⁵⁵ ‘Renaissance Attitudes to Performance: A Contemporary Application’, John Paynter, Tim Howell, Richard Orton and Peter Seymour (eds.), *Companion to Contemporary Musical Thought*, v. 2 (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 952-953. See also the same author’s *Performance: Revealing the Orpheus Within* (Shaftsbury: Element Books, 1990).

⁵⁶ S. L. Weiss, *Intavolatura di Liuto*, Trascrizione in Notazione Moderna di Ruggero Chiesa, 2 vol., (Milano: Edizioni Suvini Zerboni, 1968), Introduction, 1.

Much attention has been given to the way that Segovia personified this tradition and exemplified its final flowering through the guitar in the mid-twentieth century, coinciding with the waning of the age of the virtuoso. In the myriad accounts of his performances there is the recurring theme of his ability to draw in audiences to the tiny sound world of the guitar and hold their attention through the expressiveness, conviction and sensitivity of his playing. This thesis argues for a comparable place for Barrios, as evidenced by the reaction of critics and audiences throughout Latin America. Barrios offers an exemplar of what Rooley depicts as the highest purpose of Renaissance performance, possessing that ‘divine frenzy’ by which the performer communicates directly with the soul of the listener via the senses.

It is important to recognise here that the style and effect of performance which Rooley detects in figures such as da Milano and Dowland and which this study ascribes to Barrios, is not that of extrovert virtuosity understood as mere executive ability. That conventional notion, by definition, has a strident quality which commands attention, or in Said’s account, renders the audience speechless in the face of the performer’s assertive display of almost superhuman technique.⁵⁷ The alternative conception of instrumental virtuosity alluded to in the previous paragraph has a more subtle and elusive quality. That aspect is captured in the nature of the guitar as a solo instrument of restrained sonority, which invites rather than demands attention, and in the quality of the

⁵⁷ *Musical Elaborations*, 3. One is reminded here of the advice which George Bernard Shaw gave to the nineteen year old Jascha Heifetz after the latter’s London concert: ‘My dear Heifetz, your concert filled me and my wife with apprehension. If you challenge a jealous Godhead with such superhumanly perfect playing, you will die young. I earnestly advise you to play something badly each night before going to bed, instead of saying your prayers. No mere mortal should have the audacity to play so immaculately.’ From the notes by Paul Brainerd to the recording *Johann Sebastian Bach: 6 Sonaten & Partiten für Violine Solo*, Jascha Heifetz violin, (RCA, SMA 25092-R, 1957).

plucked string, in which notes are constantly fading into silence only to be sounded again.⁵⁸ It is moreover, encapsulated in those introspective works which embody a dream-like quality and which utilise the guitar's idiomatic devices such as tremolo, harmonics, and arpeggios exploiting the open strings of the instrument. This latter technique has been employed by composers to create a drone effect, as played on the string instruments of Asian and Middle Eastern music with their associated meditative qualities.⁵⁹ Such works are characteristic of the guitar, in that they reveal qualities of timbre and expression which cannot be realised on any other instrument. As discussed more fully in Chapter 4, Barrios' music exemplifies this aspect of guitar performance and several of his most significant works embody this meditative quality, such as the opening to *La Catedral* and the tremolo works, notably *Un Sueño en la Floresta*, *Contemplación* and *Una Limosna por el Amor de Dios*.

The Cultural Identity of Instruments

Throughout the present discussion of cultural identity it is argued that, in addition to the key figure of Barrios-Mangoré and the larger collective groupings in which he participated and which he represented, instruments also embody a cultural identity. That is, instruments themselves become markers or icons of cultural significance. Thus the

⁵⁸ It is this aspect which Julian Bream refers to in his description of the unique sound qualities of the guitar through which the guitarist is continually bringing new notes to life just as the old ones are dying, engaged in an endless cycle of rebirth; Julian Bream, *Guitarra: The Guitar in Spain* [videorecording] (United States: Third Eye Production for RMArts/Channel Four, 1985). See also Chapter 4, 134.

⁵⁹ Examples abound in the guitar literature, but for tremolo refer especially to: Francisco Tárrega's *Recuerdos de la Alhambra* in *Opere per Chitarra*, revisione di Mario Gangi, collaborazione di Carlo Carfagna, vol. 3, Composizioni Originali (Milano: Edizioni Berben, 1971) and Barrios' *Sueno en la Floresta*. For harmonics, refer to Yuquijiro Yocoh's *Sakura: Theme and Variations* (San Francisco: GSP, 1990). For arpeggios, refer to Carlo Domeniconi's *Koyunbaba* (Berlin: Edition Margaux, 1990).

koto expresses Japanese culture, a facet which composers exploit, for example, in those works that they present to international audiences featuring the koto as a recognisable Japanese instrument with its own history, repertoire, technique, mode of presentation and cultural associations.⁶⁰ In Peruvian music, the panpipe occupies an emblematic position in relation to indigenous culture, but also one that relates most strongly and recognizably to Western musical aesthetics.⁶¹

The guitar similarly embodies its own cultural significance, as elaborated through the case study of this thesis. Barrios powerfully exemplified this significance of the guitar for Latin American audiences in the pan-Americanism of his approach. This was evident through his compositions encompassing various national styles, and also in his philosophical view of the instrument as articulated in the statement with which he introduced his concerts, his *Profesión de Fe*. In that poetic utterance, characteristic of his artistic temperament and approach to music, Barrios situated the guitar in the mythology of Latin American folk tradition and emphasised his own quasi-divine role as the messenger of the guitar. In all these ways Barrios employed the guitar as the vehicle of expressing Latin American culture through its emblematic musical significance in various national traditions, allied to its function as the representative of social change via the incipient movements of cultural independence.

⁶⁰ Kimi Coaldrake 'Negotiating Tradition into the 21st Century: Miki and the Japanese Koto', Presentation for the Musicological Society of Australia, South Australian Chapter (University of Adelaide, 24 May, 2005).

⁶¹ Thomas Turino, 'The History of a Peruvian Panpipe Style and the Politics of Interpretation', Stephen Blum, Philip V. Bohlman and Daniel M. Nueman (eds.), *Ethnomusicology and Modern Music History* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 125, 136.

Summary

The current chapter provides a rationale for the concept of cultural identity adopted in this thesis as the methodological framework for illustrating the case study of Barrios-Mangoré. From the above discussion it is apparent that there is no simple, accepted definition of cultural identity, and that the term has wide application across various disciplines and embraces national, ethnic and personal dimensions. Nevertheless, the idea of cultural identity functions as a crucial concept in the nexus between music and its social and political contexts.

The notion of personal identity was also traced through English and German Romanticism, through its development of the idea of the artist as hero, to the concepts of performing virtuosity and heroic individualism which characterised Paganini and Liszt. The central position accorded to the piano in the history of instrumental virtuosity is challenged in this thesis by advocating for a comparable position for the guitar through its development since the early twentieth century, and which Barrios exemplified through his career.

The next chapter explores the cultural environment of the guitar in Latin America in the early decades of the twentieth century, and serves as the background for investigating the case study in the articulation of cultural identity in guitar performance: the emergence of Mangoré from 1930.

Chapter 2: Latin American Culture, Music and the Guitar in the Early Twentieth Century

Introduction

This chapter investigates Latin American culture in the early decades of the twentieth century, including major musical developments in the region at that time and the role of the guitar specifically in those countries. The chapter serves as a prelude for the detailed case study of this thesis, Agustín Barrios' experiment in cultural identity during 1930 to 1934 realised through his adoption of the figure of the sixteenth century Indian chief, Mangoré. Placing Mangoré against the social and political milieu of Latin American culture enables a proper understanding of the factors which influenced Barrios initially to adopt this persona, the impetus for his decision to abandon it in 1934, and the meaning of the quasi-reconciliation of Mangoré in Barrios' psyche in the final period of his life. The chapter also provides a sketch of the environment in which he travelled, composed and concertised in Latin America during the 1930s, and the markedly differing receptions he received in countries such as Argentina and Mexico, as compared to Brazil, Costa Rica and Venezuela.

The chapter adopts a three stage methodology, moving from the general to the particular. First, the main cultural developments in Latin American society are outlined with reference to the critical political, intellectual and artistic debates and movements at the time. The socio-political issues which impacted on Barrios' career derive from the political struggles between the New and Old worlds in the early nineteenth century, and the consequent debates surrounding the definition of national identity. Paramount here was the preoccupation with cultural independence which followed the successful

movements of political independence between 1810 and 1825. In Latin America the ensuing intellectual debate, which flourished from the mid-nineteenth century and continued into the twentieth century, was pivotal in exposing the tensions between the proponents of European versus Latin American culture. These tensions were crystallised in the debate over ‘civilisation versus barbarism’.

For Barrios, the civilisation/barbarism theme exerted its influence in the critical reception to Mangoré in Latin America during the early 1930s. The rejection of Mangoré by audiences in some countries caused Barrios to question his new performing identity and *raison d'être*, and led to his crucial decision to abandon his primitive characterisation prior to his European tour. But Barrios' attitude to the civilisation/barbarism debate was problematic and contradictory at various times in his career. He adhered to the traditions of European culture which he championed through his own classical compositions, but also asserted the value of indigenous culture via his Mangoré presentation, which he maintained in principle, if not overtly, to the end of his life.

The impact of modernism on Latin American artistic life is also discussed, in particular the disjunction between the impact of these artistic developments in the larger metropolitan centres which were receptive to international influences, as opposed to other areas with a significant indigenous population, where the question of national identity was more urgent. These cosmopolitan centres, pre-eminently Buenos Aires and Mexico City, were naturally most receptive to modernist artistic developments, and it is these cities which proved most unsympathetic to Barrios' adoption of Mangoré and gave him the most hostile reception. The civilisation/barbarism argument of the nineteenth

century was thus reworked in the early twentieth century in the modernist debate between cosmopolitanism and nativism.

A final relevant issue in this first section is the tradition of Paraguayan theatre to which Barrios was exposed in his youth, and from which he drew in the construction of his own dramatic role. A significant link with Mangoré emerges via the prominent Guaraní tradition of the Paraguayan theatre, with its explicit message of indigenous language and culture presented as the authentic and popular alternative to the dominant Spanish culture.

Second, the chapter then examines the major musical trends of the time, with particular attention paid to those currents of musical nationalism which had a significant impact on the development of Latin American composers. Again, this was of particular relevance for Barrios, both in the way that he portrayed and encapsulated various national traditions in his guitar compositions and also in his overt presentation of an adopted Indian ancestry.

Here again, the oppositional attitudes to the New and the Old Worlds were played out in the debates over musical developments. The advocacy of nationalist and Indian styles is contrasted in this section with the continuation of European tradition, in particular the persistence of nineteenth century musical Romanticism which was a vital aspect of Barrios' compositional style. In his nostalgia for Romanticism, Barrios reflected the tensions of this ongoing and prevalent intellectual debate, characterised by the striving for national identity which simultaneously attempted to cling to the artefacts and prestigious associations of European culture. For in addition to his folkloric and popular works, Barrios continued to write waltzes and mazurkas (and Baroque dance forms such as gavottes and minuets) up to his death in 1944, decades after the passing of

these styles in Europe. Barrios reflected here the trend of Latin American composers to persist with stylistic movements when such developments had become unfashionable in Europe. Thus the other main opposing musical trend, nationalism, also continued to exercise a powerful influence on Latin American composers into the mid-twentieth century, at a time when European composers had moved beyond the confines of nationalism to the exploration of modernist and avant-garde trends.

Mangoré is then discussed against the background of the enduring concerns of Latin American music, including the themes of nostalgia for homeland, political commentary, and the celebration of heroic figures. Mangoré is also analysed as personifying another vital characteristic of Latin American music: the role of ritual, myth and magic in indigenous culture. Since the time of the ancient Indian civilisations, the ritualistic nature of musical performance embodied wider conceptions of the relationship of humans to the natural world, and indeed to the cosmos. Barrios realised these elements in his striking portrayal as Mangoré, not merely through exotic paraphernalia of the jungle and Indian costumes, but rather in the way that he situated the significance of the guitar in Latin American culture, and his own quasi-divine role as its messenger. He provided a dramatic interpretation of this in his *Profesión de Fe* through which he presented to his audiences a mythological account of the origins and significance of the guitar, a message which gained its force from the potent image of Mangoré.¹

The third and final topic considered in this chapter concerns the specific role of the guitar in Latin American culture, in particular the cultural significance historically

¹ The guitarist as divine messenger also assumed particular relevance for Segovia in terms of his conscious and explicit presentation of his own self-appointed role as prophet of the modern guitar. Refer Appendix, 159-161.

assigned to the guitar by composers and audiences. In this argument, the guitar is represented as an iconic bearer of Latin American culture and Barrios, above all guitarists, embodied this concept through his popular compositions, his concertising throughout Latin America and his self-styled career as a wandering, bohemian musician. From an historical perspective, Barrios has come to be viewed by Latin American audiences and critics as the embodiment and quintessence of various national styles, who used the guitar as his medium of communication. All of this, however, was realised or made concrete through the act of performance, via Barrios' supreme abilities as a guitarist. Ultimately it was Barrios' impact as a performer which indelibly effected audiences, both through his interpretive and virtuosic abilities, and in his revolutionary demonstration of the guitar's capabilities.

It is necessary to consider all three factors – the cultural, the musical and the guitaristic – in order to appreciate the function which Barrios fulfilled as Mangoré. It should be noted, however, that this chapter does not attempt a comprehensive survey of cultural and musical history of Latin America, or even of the development of the guitar in each of these countries. Such a treatment lies far beyond the scope of this thesis as each topic would require multiple volumes. Rather, the chapter serves as a searchlight, highlighting relevant cultural and musical themes during this period of Latin American history. These themes, which influenced Barrios in his construction of Mangoré and which he exemplified, provide the setting for the case study proper of Chapter 3.

The unifying thread which weaves throughout these topics, and which gives an overarching structure for the entire chapter, is the exploration of Latin American identity which has exerted an enduring fascination on its intellectuals and artists throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In this context, the quest for identity is

acknowledged as a preoccupation of Latin American thinkers, addressed formally and explicitly through the ‘identity essay’, informally and implicitly in its realisation in specific literary, artistic and musical works.² Moreover, this theme well illustrates the topic around which this thesis is based. Cultural identity is not an artificial construct of purely abstract interest; rather it represents for Latin American civilisation a vital intellectual current, a source of ideas which both propels social and cultural change, and reflects that reality.

I: Latin American Politics and Culture from 1900

The origins of Latin American cultural developments in Barrios’ Mangoré period have their genesis in the political upheavals of a century earlier. In the aftermath of the Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian peninsula in 1807-08, the legitimacy of the Catholic monarchy collapsed, first in Spain and then in the Americas. During this critical period, the Latin American colonies disengaged, in social revolutions of varying intensity and violence, from a Spain which was weary and preoccupied from its own struggles against the Napoleonic armies.

The outstanding benefit of the monarchy to both Spain and its colonies was its inclusiveness, which served to unite all classes and races into a coherent cultural identity. The stability which Latin America enjoyed as a consequence of colonial rule for three centuries was dissolved, yet the social solidarity which was now lacking was precisely what was desperately needed by the fledgling Latin American states.³ The

² See the survey by Richard Morse, ‘The Multiverse of Latin American Identity’, Leslie Bethell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Latin America, X, Latin America since 1930: Ideas, Culture and Society*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1-127.

³ Edwin Williamson, *The Penguin History of Latin America* (London: Penguin, 1992), 164, 166.

intellectual crisis evoked by this political schism was no less traumatic, and the main proponents in the debate were riven by contradictions. The liberal intellectuals who wished to embrace the values of the Enlightenment to create a new Latin American cultural identity were apparently oblivious to the fact that those values were irrelevant to the vast mass of the population. Aligned against the liberals were the traditionalists, who clung to the Catholic heritage of the mother country, even though the protective framework of the monarchy was now absent.⁴

The debate over the future of Latin American culture was given vital impetus from Domingo Sarmiento's presentation of a crucial dialectic confronting its citizens. Sarmiento's analysis, which was to have enormous impact on the course of Latin American thinking over the next century, differentiated the civilised city exemplified by European society from the barbarous country whose people lived in a semi-primitive state:

The inhabitants of the city wear the European dress, live in a civilized manner, and possess laws, ideas of progress, means of instruction, some municipal organisation, regular forms of government, etc. Beyond the precincts of the city, everything assumes a new aspect; the country people wear a different dress, which I will call South American, as it is common to all districts; their habits of life are different, their wants peculiar and limited ... the countryman, far from attempting to imitate the customs of the city, rejects with disdain its luxury and refinement.⁵

Sarmiento was depicting the gaucho caudillo (leader), Facundo, a representative of the rough and untamed Argentina, which he contrasted with the education, order and progress – in short, the civilisation – which Buenos Aires embodied. Yet Sarmiento's main concern was not with matters of taste or style, but rather with the dangers that

⁴ Williamson, *Penguin History of Latin America*, 285.

⁵ Domingo F. Sarmiento, *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants: Or, Civilization and Barbarism* (New York: Hafner, 1845), quoted in E. Bradford Burns (ed.), *Latin America, Conflict and Creation: A Historical Reader* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1993), 79.

barbarism held in terms of the lack of legitimate authority posed by the absence of stable government, the risk, that is, of anarchy. The stark alternative which Sarmiento was actually posing was thus between the rule of law and democratic political institutions versus the political instability, lawlessness and crushing of human rights which predictably and inevitably accompanied populist dictatorships. In this sense he prophesied the dangers which faced the newly independent Latin American countries and which continued to plague their development into the twentieth century.⁶

The idea of the gaucho as the embodiment of Argentine national identity also received its iconic statement in José Hernández' *El Gaucho Martín Fierro* (1872).⁷ In this work the gaucho, the cowboy of the Argentinean pampas, attained a quasi-mythic status by representing an entire way of life which was under threat of extinction – the sense of freedom, independence and rural simplicity. In that sense *Martín Ferro* stood for every Latin American society which faced the challenge of preserving national identity in the face of modernisation.

Works such as *Martín Ferro* gave rise to the *tradition gauchesca* which used the idea of the gaucho as an iconic figure of nationalist expression. Those sentiments, like all myths of national identity, became increasingly powerful as the gaucho way of life faded into historical obscurity. Its artistic consequence lay in evoking powerful expressions of nostalgia in literary and operatic works. The resonance of that myth was embodied in later works such as Ricardo Güiraldes *Don Segundo Sombra* (1926), which again explored the notion of the gaucho's vanishing way of life in the face of relentless

⁶ Williamson, *Penguin History of Latin America*, 290.

⁷ José Hernández, *The Gaucho Martín Fierro*, translated Frank G. Carrino, Alberto J. Carlos, Norman Mangouni (Delmar, N.Y.: Scholars Facsimiles & Reprints, 1974).

modernisation.⁸ Barrios' Mangoré, while representing a defiant statement of cultural independence, also embodied this nostalgic view of the colonial past which celebrated the purity of Indian society.

The history of the civilisation versus barbarism thesis in its political and social contexts provides another illustration of the way that debate over cultural values continued to cause dissent long after the political issues had, to a large extent, been resolved. The remnants of the old Latin American monarchies were eliminated in Mexico in 1869 with the execution of the Habsburg ruler Maximilian, and in Brazil in 1889 with the abdication of Pedro II. These developments signified the transition from the barbarous condition which Sarmiento had depicted as the ominous future of Latin America, to the rule of law as articulated through constitutional government and representative political institutions. They marked the realisation of the liberal ideals which Latin American elites had nurtured during the nineteenth century.⁹ Yet the struggle of ideas continued, with the awareness that Latin America should not merely follow the European experience, but that the New World now had unique opportunities to achieve social and political advances that had been frustrated in the class distinctions and national rivalries of Europe. Thus the civilisation/barbarism argument was rehabilitated and embraced again by those cultural critics and artists who ignored the distinctions of Sarmiento's original thesis, and who instead used it as the framework for evaluating European culture versus indigenous traditions.

⁸ Ricardo Güiraldes, *Don Segundo Sombra*, translated Patricia Owen Steiner (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995).

⁹ Charles Hale, 'Political and Social Ideas in Latin America, 1870-1930', Leslie Bethell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Latin America, IV, c. 1870-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 368.

Latin American literature of the 1920s and 1930s reveals this preoccupation with the hostile forces of nature, in particular the jungle, in which heroic protagonists struggle with the primitive conditions and threat of savagery posed by the natural environment. The image of the jungle is a recurring theme in Latin American narrative in the early decades of the twentieth century, what Gerald Martin depicts as the ‘most dramatic and intense version of the natural world which is the context of American social and economic reality’.¹⁰ Literary critics refer to this theme as *la novela de la tierra*, illustrated in the short stories of the Uruguayan Horacio Quiroga, and above all in José Eustasio Rivera’s *La Voragine (The Vortex)*,¹¹ which depicted the protagonist’s brutal descent into savagery as represented by the rubber plantations of the Amazon.

As an autodidact, a poet and graphic artist, Barrios would have been exposed to these developments and preoccupations of Latin American literature. In this context, Barrios’ presentation of Mangoré and his *Profesión de Fe* in the locale of the jungle gains added significance. Rather than a mere commercial tactic, the environment for Mangoré becomes connected to the enduring themes of Latin American culture.

In the decades following the final stage of political independence, the period known as the Belle Epoque, from around 1870 to 1920, is especially pertinent for Barrios’ own cultural attitudes as it witnessed contradictory developments in the attitudes of Latin American social classes to these European traditions. This was a period of increasing urban concentration in which the elite classes followed the consumption patterns and taste of European culture, especially France. They also embraced the pastimes, sports and fads of Europe and America; activities such as

¹⁰ ‘Latin American Narrative since c. 1920’, Bethell (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Latin America, X, Latin America since 1930*, 136.

¹¹ José Eustasio Rivera, *La Voragine*, Edition: 10. ed. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1968).

baseball, soccer and bicycling became fashionable among the urban populations of Latin America. At the same time, these new pastimes had strong moral overtones as they were intended as a positive alternative to the crude activities of the masses such as gambling, drinking and bullfights.¹²

On the other hand, the Belle Epoque also saw the growth of a national pride which rejected the perennial tendency to follow the lead of Europe in cultural affairs, and instead proclaimed an independent Latin American identity. In the case of Argentina in the early twentieth century, this implied a rejection of cosmopolitanism in favour of the essential or authentic national identity which was discerned in the folk or common people. This was another curious reworking of the civilisation/barbarism theme, one which, in this case, critiqued the European influences on Buenos Aires as superficial and adhered instead to a vision of Latin American identity which was realised in a collective and indigenous culture.¹³

The new romantic nationalism of the Belle Epoque, labelled *costumbrismo*, celebrated historical Indian ancestry (particularly that of the Aztecs and Incas), in a movement described by William Beezley as 'archaeological patriotism',¹⁴ which Barrios would later realise in the most direct fashion by integrating a supposed Paraguayan ancestor into his own persona. The trend found cultural expression in the visual arts, literature and music, and was adopted by the elites in Mexico and other cultural centres. Yet *costumbrismo* was not merely a xenophobic rejection of all things European in favour of asserting national identity. Rather, it entailed a mixing of cultures in which

¹² William H. Beezley and Colin M. MacLachlan, *Latin America: The Peoples and Their History* (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace, 2000), 22.

¹³ Jean H. Delaney, 'Imagining El Ser Argentino: Cultural Nationalism and Romantic Concepts of Nationhood in Early Twentieth Century Argentina', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 34 (2002), 657.

¹⁴ Beezley and MacLachlan, *Latin America*, 267.

cultural forms and traditions were subsumed in new styles, a process typical of the complex interaction which has characterised the relationship between Spanish and Latin American cultures since colonisation.

Barrios' career as Mangoré offers a revealing illustration of the way these intellectual divisions of Europe versus Latin America, of civilisation versus barbarism, were played out in the cultural landscape of the early twentieth century. Barrios' concerts during his Mangoré period provided a stark realisation of the two themes. He would often perform the first half in full concert dress, to play nineteenth century repertoire and his own transcriptions of classical works. In the second half he would switch to Indian costume to play his own popular and folk compositions. And although Barrios discarded his *alter ego* after 1934 in preparation for his European tour, towards the end of his life Barrios achieved some measure of reconciliation of the two personalities, in the way that he incorporated Mangoré into his full name and used that identity in advertising for his concerts.

The influence of European modernism in the aftermath of the First World War transformed the folkloric nature of *costumbrismo* into a movement of *indigenismo*, which sought to explore the intrinsic value of ancient cultures. This occurred as Latin American artists followed the mainstream modernist fascination with primitivism, in particular the appeal of African art and African-American music which served, for example, to direct attention back onto Brazilian culture and give that country's music a renewed legitimacy. Thus Europe had once again provided an impetus for Latin American artists to study and appreciate their own cultures. At the same time

indigenismo contained a social reform agenda which aimed to challenge the negative views of Indian cultures and incorporate them into the mainstream of national life.¹⁵

The critical effect of modernism on Latin America was such that for the first time the region was at the vanguard of international cultural developments, rather than imitating or catching up to Europe.¹⁶ It also represented a culmination in the attitudes of Latin American intellectuals towards European culture, a transcendence of the recurring dichotomy between imitation and rejection in favour of a process of absorption and syncretisation. Modernist trends found their most fertile ground in the great metropolises of Latin America: São Paulo, Buenos Aires, Mexico City. The Modern Art Week, held in São Paulo in 1922 to celebrate the centenary of Brazilian independence, provided a stage for Brazilian artists, including Heitor Villa-Lobos, to challenge the artefacts of European culture. A measure of this rejection and the accompanying celebration of the primitive were later revealed in Oswald de Andrade's *Manifesto Antropofágico* (1928).¹⁷ This work proclaimed the concept of 'cultural cannibalism', which idealised the primitive purity of Indian society, coined in Andrade's phrase 'Tupi or not Tupi', after the Tupinambá, the original inhabitants of Brazil.¹⁸ That notion also embodied a voracious consumption of European style which would invigorate national culture in the pursuit of a distinctive Brazilian identity. In this way the physical cannibalism of the Tupinambá was evoked in the modernist celebration of primitivism and recreated as the notion of cultural cannibalism. The strength of the Indianist movement in Brazil in fact

¹⁵ Jorge Larrain, *Identity and Modernity in Latin America* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2000), 98-99.

¹⁶ Gerald Martin, 'Literature, Music and the Visual Arts, 1870-1930', Leslie Bethell (ed.), *A Cultural History of Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 130.

¹⁷ Oswald de Andrade, *Do Pau-Brasil à Antropofagia e às Utopias: Manifestos, Teses de Concursos e Ensaios*, 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1978).

¹⁸ Martha de Ulhôa Carvalho, 'Tupi or not Tupi MPB: Popular Music and Identity in Brazil', David J. Hess and Roberto A. DaMatta (eds.), *The Brazilian Puzzle: Culture in the Borderlands of the Western World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 159.

dated from as early as the mid-nineteenth century, when the Tupi were depicted as the embodiment of Brazilian identity. This movement had been notably reflected in José de Alencar's novel *O Guarani* (1857)¹⁹ in which the union of the Indian Pery and the white girl Cecilia provided an enduring myth of Brazil's national origin.

Undeniably, Mangoré represented another aspect of this trend to primitivism in Latin American culture, one that simultaneously appropriated European culture. There are echoes of this defiant primitivism in Mangoré as an assertive statement of cultural independence. The Tupi provided Barrios with further inspiration for his own primitive identity, in the way that he invoked the god Tupá in his *Profesión de Fe* as the divine being who presented the guitar to Barrios, to communicate the instrument's message throughout the Americas. Yet, as argued in the next chapter, Barrios' motivation was to an extent also instinctive, partly motivated by more immediate economic imperatives, and a lack of awareness of the full extent of Europe's fascination with the primitive. It was this latter aspect which caused him to abandon Mangoré in 1934, just at the time when he may have brought his primitive alter-ego to one of the centres of modernism, Paris, where there was an excellent opportunity to find an enthusiastic reception.

Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that Brazil was critical in terms of the genesis of Mangoré. Brazil's long-held appreciation of Indian culture was evidenced in the elevation of the Tupi as the bearer of national identity and the idealised presentation of Brazil's colonial past through a Romanticised literature. These factors provided a strong impetus and a most sympathetic environment for Barrios to introduce his own experiment in cultural identity.

¹⁹ José Martiniano de Alencar, *O Guarani: Romance Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1958).

In summary, Latin American intellectuals and artists were engaged in a continuous quest concerning the definition of national identity from the mid-nineteenth century. There was an undeniable tension in this process as they struggled with an ambivalent attitude towards Europe, the legacy of cultural attitudes dating from the mid-nineteenth century.²⁰ Yet on the whole, these developments had tremendously positive results, most notably in the broadening of cultural awareness, the focus on popular art and the elevation of indigenous traditions which rediscovered the cultures of Indian societies subsumed since the Encounter.²¹ The phenomenon of Mangoré, initially startling or even grotesque, assumes a clearer logic when viewed in the context of this long-standing cultural and intellectual movement.

The other distinctive aspect of this process as it relates to Barrios-Mangoré was that it was Latin American artists themselves, and not only public intellectuals, who were crucially involved in the identity debate. The role, indeed obligation, of artists to assume a major role in public life was made strikingly evident throughout the twentieth century. In Chile, the Nobel laureate poet Pablo Neruda ran for presidency in the 1940s; the Cuban composer and musicologist Alejo Carpentier was appointed by Castro as ambassador to Paris in 1970s; and the Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa participated in presidential elections in the 1990s. As Mangoré, Barrios thus participated in a pattern of Latin American social life in which musicians, poets and novelists articulated the national destiny. Moreover, that process implied a democratisation of the identity question which had previously been the domain of the elite classes in the post-

²⁰ Hale, 'Political and Social Ideas in Latin America, 1870-1930', 369.

²¹ This term is used in line with current Latin American scholarship which challenges the veracity of the term 'Conquest', and instead refers to 'Encounter' to signify the meeting of Spanish and Indian cultures in the sixteenth century.

independence period of the mid-nineteenth century.²² In the literature and music of the new century, artists demonstrated a concern with the presentation of everyday life which was constitutive of cultural identity as popularly conceived.

Paraguayan Theatre and the origins of Mangoré

A further expression of Latin American culture crucially influenced Barrios in the formation of Mangoré: the tradition of Paraguayan theatre. In fact it was the two historical performing traditions of that country which reflected in microcosm the wider cultural concerns of Latin American intellectuals and audiences.²³ The tension between the two official languages of Paraguay – Spanish and Guaraní, with the latter being discounted or even prohibited at times during the nation’s history – provided the dynamic which informed Barrios’ explicit statement of cultural independence. By presenting himself as the Guaraní chief Mangoré, Barrios asserted the position of Paraguayan indigenous culture and language over the dominant Spanish idioms.

Both theatrical traditions – the Spanish colonial and the indigenous Guaraní – contributed to the vitality of Paraguayan theatre in the twentieth century. As with other Latin American nations, Paraguay benefited from the period of economic prosperity commencing in the 1870s, and became increasingly open to diverse social and political ideas. In this environment Paraguayans were confident of embracing again the best of European practice in the pursuit of a distinctive Paraguayan cultural identity, and to that end a national theatrical tradition emerged which welcomed the presence of foreign

²² Larrain, *Identity and Modernity in Latin America*, 9.

²³ This section is indebted to the excellent discussion by the Paraguayan actress and theatre director Raquel Rosas, ‘A Survey of Guaraní Theatre: A Modern Experience’, Birgitta Leander (ed.), *Cultural Identity in Latin America* (Paris: UNESCO, 1986), 118-132.

companies. The alternative tradition was sponsored through the Jesuit missionaries, who respected the Guaraní language. The Indians educated in this system used their own language and adapted sacred allegories and themes to incorporate their own dramatic stories, which were more playful, satirical and colourful than the religious traditions of the Jesuits. It was this latter tradition which gave rise to a genuine Guaraní theatre which was adopted by the mestizo (mixed-race) population, and practised by actors and dramatic reciters.

Through the work of key figures including Julio Carrea (1890-1953), the growth of Paraguayan indigenous theatre was such that it achieved a respectability and reconciliation with the classical tradition, thereby earning the respect of the elite classes. Moreover, the period of the 1920s and 1930s witnessed a concomitant wider resurgence of Guaraní culture in music and literature. This trend was a broad-based artistic movement in which indigenous creative artists combined talents to promote and demonstrate the value of their native culture.²⁴

All of these factors were significant when Barrios came to construct the figure of Mangoré in 1930. Barrios learnt the craft of makeup in his youth from a theatrical colleague, Paravicini, and he clearly adopted the ostentatious, even melodramatic aspects of Paraguayan theatre in his recitation of the *Profesión de Fe* as a prelude to his concerts.²⁵ As part of the explanatory publicity surrounding his theatrical presentation, he further incorporated the history of the Jesuit missionaries in Paraguay into his assumed identity by claiming to have been rescued from the jungle and raised under

²⁴ Rojas, 'Survey of Guaraní Theatre', 125.

²⁵ Stover, *Six Silver Moonbeams*, 38.

their care and tutelage. Finally, his Mangoré period coincided with the wider celebration of Guaraní culture embraced by other Paraguayan artists at this time.

II: Musical and Artistic Trends

The diversity of cultures, languages and traditions in the countries of Latin America should caution against Eurocentric or reductionist analyses of their music which assign a cultural homogeneity to such a vast geographical region. Writing in 1958, Gilbert Chase looked forward to the time when, ‘... articles will no longer be written about Latin American music but rather about the music of Argentina or Brazil or Mexico, just as we write and think about the music of France or Germany or Italy rather than about European music’.²⁶ Yet, as with many analysts of Latin American culture, Chase recognised the convenience of classificatory schemes and therefore offered his own survey of musical trends. Chase grouped together those countries such as Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile, which have a strong European-influenced culture; the Andean countries of Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador, which have a significant Indian population and a sense of colonial history; and Columbia and Venezuela, which are marked by a combination of indigenous, Afro-American and criollo, or neo-Hispanic elements. Brazil, by virtue of its Portuguese culture, and its geographical and ethnic diversity, occupies a separate position in Chase’s classification.²⁷ Chase concluded that the key developments of Latin American music in the twentieth century were provincialism, nationalism and universality.

²⁶ ‘Creative Trends in Latin American Music – I’, *Tempo*, New Ser., 48 (Summer 1958), 28.

²⁷ ‘Creative Trends’, 28-34.

More recently, Gerard Béhague has lamented the fact that musicologists continue to regard Latin American music as monolithic, peripheral or exotic, and that much writing lacks adequate research experience into, and even empathy for, the separate and diverse cultures on the continent.²⁸ For Béhague, the cultural value of music in elucidating its function as identity marker is inextricably bound up with particular modes of social stratification. Thus, in discussing the function of music in Indian cultures, it is necessary to discriminate traditional hunter-gatherer societies from those which are sedentary and agricultural, or enclave groups in close contact with mestizo culture, or those which are highly integrated into modern Western culture.²⁹ The articulation of cultural identity, in other words, is always bound up with particular social contexts in which groups use music (and other activities) in the construction of that identity. The preoccupation of Latin American ethnomusicologists with descriptive and classificatory methods has also served to obscure theoretical studies which would provide this kind of broader understanding of the functions that music fulfils in particular social situations.³⁰

Musical Nationalism

The debates over Latin American nationalism and internationalism that preoccupied discussion in the cultural, social and political spheres from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century naturally also had a profound impact on musical developments. Musical nationalism in this sense can be regarded as a subset of cultural nationalism,

²⁸ 'Recent Studies on the Music of Latin America', *Latin American Research Review*, 20.3 (1985), 219.

²⁹ 'Boundaries and Borders in the Study of Music in Latin America: A Conceptual Re-Mapping', *Latin American Research Review*, 21.1 (Spring/Summer 2000), 22-23.

³⁰ Gerard Béhague, 'Reflections on the Ideological History of Latin American Ethnomusicology', Bruno Nettl and Philip V. Bohlman (eds.), *Comparative Musicology and Anthropology of Music: Essays on the History of Ethnomusicology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 60-61.

using diverse forms of expression, including music, dance and visual arts, in supporting and defining nationalism. As the previous chapter on identity theory has asserted, music itself has a profound effect in formulating and determining cultural and national identity. For Thomas Turino, 'Cultural nationalism is not a celebratory or entertainment-orientated frill attached to serious political work; it is one of the essential pillars upon which the entire nationalist edifice stands'.³¹

In Latin America the assertion of musical nationalism served as a precursor to further stages of twentieth century musical development in which composers began to explore neo-classical styles from the 1930s, and subsequently the experimental and avant-garde from the 1960s.³² This impetus towards musical nationalism encompassed historical, regional and ethnic dimensions.³³ In the earliest examples of musical nationalism, opera incorporated folkloric sources while at the same time representing Indian culture thematically, as in Carlo Enrique Pasta's *Atahualpa* (1877, named after the last Incan emperor),³⁴ and Carlos Gomes' *Il Guarany* (1870).³⁵ These early endeavours foreshadowed the more strident expressions of Indianism in the mid-twentieth century by composers such as Carlos Chávez (1899-1978) and Silvestre Revueltas (1899-1940), and which Mangoré himself also represented. Gomes' work was highly significant for Brazilian nationalism because it was the first opera which

³¹ 'Nationalism and Latin American Music: Selected Case Studies and Theoretical Considerations', *Latin American Research Review*, 24.2 (Fall/Winter 2003), 175.

³² Gerard Béhague, 'Music, c. 1920-1980', Bethell (ed.) *A Cultural History of Latin America*, 311. Béhague sees the period of musical nationalism as flourishing from 1920 to 1950, but this seems somewhat restrictive, given that expressions of nationalist sentiment in opera emerged from the mid-eighteenth century.

³³ Gerald Martin, 'Literature, Music and the Visual Arts, 1870-1930', Bethell (ed.), *A Cultural History of Latin America*, 74.

³⁴ Carlos Enrique Pasta, *Atahualpa: Drama Lírico en 4 Actos* (Lima: Impr. de La Patria, 1877).

³⁵ Carlos Gomes, *Il Guarany: Ópera em Quatro Atos*, Edition: Edição comemorativa do sesquicentenário do compositor (São Paulo, SP: Ricordi, 1986).

proclaimed an Indianist stance. Moreover, the way in which *Il Guarany* positioned the Guaraní inhabitants of Brazil at the heart of a myth of national origin, and the setting of the opera's action at the crucial time of colonial encounter, foreshadowed Barrios' own mythical account of cultural regeneration which he created through Mangoré.³⁶

In this first stage of musical nationalism European musical forms were transformed through a movement which Béhague terms 'Romantic nationalism'.³⁷ In addition to the recasting of Indian themes and styles in European genres such as the opera and symphony, it also encompassed the adaptation or 'creolisation' of the nineteenth century European salon dances. The process in which Latin American composers assimilated nineteenth century forms – such as the waltz, mazurka, polka and gavotte – into local styles was again of particular importance for Barrios' own compositions.³⁸ In Cuba, the *contradanzas* of Manuel Samuell (1817-1870) and *Danzas Cubanas* of Ignacio Cervantes (1847-1905), incorporated Cuban rhythms into the form of salon piano pieces. Similarly in Argentina, Alberto Williams (1862-1952) wrote his *Aires de la Pampa*, which included characteristic pieces of *gatos*, *zambas* and *milongas* for the piano, a trend continued by Julian Aguirre (1868-1924) in his *Aires Nacionales Argentinas*. In Brazil the growth in the forms of urban popular music, such as the *tango*, *modinha* and *maxixe* were especially prominent, notably the *tangos* of Ernesto Nazareth (1863-1934).

³⁶ Maria Alice Volpe, 'Remaking the Brazilian Myth of National Foundation: *Il Guarany*', *Latin American Research Review*, 23.2 (Fall/Winter 2002), 179-181. The Tupinambá and the Guaraní peoples are both regarded as original inhabitants of Brazil, and Barrios incorporated both in the construction of his alternative identity: Mangoré as an historical Guaraní figure, and Tupá as the godhead who instructed Barrios-Mangoré in his mission.

³⁷ 'Latin American Music, c. 1920-1980', 308.

³⁸ Gerard Béhague, 'Latin America', Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 14, 352.

Mexico had its own very strong tradition of salon music, exemplified by Juventino Rosas (1864-1994) in his *Sobre las Olas* (1890),³⁹ the popularity of which was sufficient for the composer to be mistaken for Johann Strauss Jr. Mexican composers were further encouraged in their nationalist endeavours by the patriotic sentiments unleashed in the Mexican Revolution (1910 to 1920). Manuel Ponce (1882-1948), regarded as a pioneer of musical nationalism in that country, integrated the Romanticism practised by nineteenth century Mexican composers with the expression of traditional themes, by elaborating popular melodies and rhythms. In addition to the substantial body of guitar compositions which resulted from his collaboration with Segovia, Ponce also embodied that sentimental and nostalgic strain of Mexican nationalism illustrated in the *cancion*, and captured in his most famous composition, *Estrellita*.

The generation that followed Ponce continued the growth of musical nationalism in Latin America, as composers adopted a more independent approach to European tradition and, consequently, a stronger Indianist stance. Chávez typified this deepening of indigenous practice by invoking the music of pre-Columbian Mexico, most notably in his *Sinfonia India* (1935-36).⁴⁰ Chávez achieved this not by any attempts at direct imitation of Indian forms, but rather through a process of distillation which incorporated exotic elements such as parallelism, ostinato and cross rhythms. In his combination of modernist and primitivist elements Chávez demonstrated a commitment to indigenous culture for its own sake rather than as a flavour to be added to European forms, and in so doing he exerted a great influence on Mexican musical life in the mid-twentieth century.

³⁹ *Sobre las Olas* (New York: C. Fischer, 1890).

⁴⁰ *Sinfonia India* (New York: G Schirmer, 1950).

Finally, Chávez theorised extensively on the significance of Indian music, including the ritual uses of music in primitive societies.⁴¹ The trend to dissonance, rhythmic complexity and abstraction of nationalist elements represented by Chávez, and for example, Alberto Ginastera (1916-1983) in Argentina, were foreign to Barrios' aesthetic. Yet the central cultural concern of this new generation of Latin American composers – that Indian music expressed the essence of national identity – resonated with the persona that Barrios expressed as Mangoré.

In summary, nationalism for Latin American composers was of more enduring significance than for their European counterparts. Music nationalism continued as a central preoccupation of Latin American musical life into the 1950s, whereas in Europe that movement had largely passed by 1930. Barrios' contributions both to the forms of popular urban music such as the tango, and to the folkloric forms of various regional traditions, were thus entirely representative of the pervading influence that nationalism signified for Latin American composers during this period.

Barrios and Romanticism

The concept of Romantic nationalism is most appropriate in describing a central component of Barrios' compositional style, as exemplified in his own adaptations of nineteenth century forms. This is revealed, for example, in the Chopinesque *Mazurka Apasionata* and *Vals no. 3*, the *Vals Op. 8 No. 4* which adopted the characteristic guitaristic device of campanella⁴² in a stylisation of the waltz form, and other works

⁴¹ See Chávez' *Musical Thought* (Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 1961), and *Towards a New Music: Music and Electricity*, translated from the Spanish by Herbert Weinstock (New York: Da Capo Press, 1975).

⁴² This 'bell-like' effect is achieved on the guitar through the repeated vibration of the open strings which function as a pedal.

which display an overtly sentimental approach, such as the *Madrigal-Gavotte, Junto a tu Corazon (Close to your Heart)* waltz and *Julia Florida-Barcarolle*. Villa-Lobos, another key figure in twentieth century Latin American guitar music, also extended this process of translation of nineteenth century forms to Latin American guitar styles, most successfully with his *Suite Populaire Bresilienne* (1908-1912), merging the waltz, gavotte, mazurka, and schottische with the distinctive rhythms of the Brazilian *chôro*. Barrios also excelled, however, in producing more extended classical works (*La Catedral, Preludio en Sol menor, Un Sueño en la Floresta*), in addition to his popular and folkloric compositions.

In fact, it is the ‘out of period’ nature of Barrios’ Romanticism which imparts a particular nostalgia and intensity to his music, written decades after this movement had been overtaken in Europe by modernist trends. In this manner too, Barrios was thoroughly representative of the way that nineteenth century Romanticism continued to be influential in Latin America well into the next century. This has been explained by virtue of Romanticism’s elevation of the instinctive, passionate and spontaneous and the primacy which it accorded to the artist’s self-realisation. These were concerns which were intimately related to the post-independence quest for defining and articulating cultural identity in Latin America. Indeed, the pursuit of individual realisation in Romanticism merged with these national and continental concerns over cultural identity.⁴³

The other crucial aspect of Barrios’ Romanticism is the way that his life embodied Romantic ideals. The themes of individualism, intensity of feeling and the

⁴³ Gerald Martin, ‘Literature, Music and the Visual Arts, 1870-1930’, 48.

escape from reality⁴⁴ are all illustrated in Barrios' career and particularly through the figure of Mangoré. Barrios' adopted characterisation bespeaks an artist with a profound sense of individuality, reinforced by his *Profesión de Fe*, in which he assumed the prophetic task of carrying the guitar's message to Latin American audiences. Barrios communicated an intense emotion through his music (for example in *Mazurka Apasionata* and *Una Limosna por el Amor de Dios*) but also through his other poetical statements, in which he characterised himself as a semi-tragic figure doomed to a bohemian existence, like the wandering minstrels of past ages, forever separated from his homeland. In his poem *Bohemio* he depicted himself thus: 'I am a brother to those medieval troubadours who, in their glories and despairs, suffered such romantic madness'.⁴⁵ And in regard to escapism, the genesis of Mangoré which followed bitter disappointments in Argentina in 1928 reveals a repudiation of the society that had rejected him and the pursuit of an alternative reality which would nourish his artistic spirit.

Themes in Latin American Music

In surveying the diversity of music in Latin American cultures, distinctive themes emerge which elucidate the function that music plays in these nations. One enduring subject of Latin American music is the idea of nostalgia for the past, and one's homeland in particular. As a musician who spent almost his entire life concertising and travelling throughout Latin America, Barrios maintained a strong sense of connection to

⁴⁴ Rey M. Longyear, *Nineteenth Century Romanticism in Music*, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 3-5.

⁴⁵ *Bohemio*, quoted from Godoy and Szarán, *Mangoré*, 76.

his birth-place, and it is clear from his writings that the path that he chose for himself as a wandering performer caused him some anguish. Certainly his love of homeland was reflected in works such as *¡Cha Che Valle!* (My Homeland), a nostalgic tribute to his own country. As John Schechter observes, the associations of musical instruments with particular regions and countries also contributes to this sense of nostalgia.⁴⁶ Barrios expressed this through the very strong sense of cultural identity which the guitar represented in Paraguay as a national instrument (together with the harp), and in his entire conception of the guitar which he elaborated as the authentic medium of Latin American music. The depiction of significant figures, such as leaders and heroes, in music also had a special significance for Latin Americans since the time of the pre-Columbian Indian civilisations, for example in songs composed in commemoration of Inca and Aztec chiefs. Barrios' adoption of the Guaraní chief Mangoré thus fits this pattern of celebration of famous historic figures, with its reference to heroic indigenous resistance against colonial invasion.

Finally, the idea of political commentary is of relevance to Barrios as Mangoré. The tradition of protest against injustice is a strong theme in Latin American music, from the Mexican *corridos* describing the issues of labour migration and cultural conflict in border regions, right up to the emergence of the continent-wide *Nueva Cancion* movement in the 1960s.⁴⁷ And although Barrios' performances were not explicit protests, his Mangoré portrayal contained an implicit message of dissent with his elaborate, startling and provocative attire, and the context of his performances in which

⁴⁶ 'Themes in Latin American Music Culture', John M. Schechter (ed.), *Music in Latin American Culture: Regional Traditions* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1999), 5-7.

⁴⁷ Schechter, 'Themes in Latin American Music Culture', 16. See also J. Tumas-Serna, 'The 'Nueva Canción' Movement and its Mass-Mediated Performance Context', *Latin American Research Review*, 13.2 (Fall/Winter 1992), 139-157.

he presented himself as the embodiment of Indian music and cultural independence. There is, moreover, the explanation that he later offered in justification of Mangoré, linking it unequivocally to the centrality of indigenous culture, the association with other disadvantaged Indian cultures in North America, and the related commentary on the decadence of European culture. Mangoré, in other words, represented an intensely nationalistic stance by Barrios in the indigenous, as opposed to the dominant Spanish, tradition. The paradox or tension in this presentation was that concurrent with his Mangoré role, with all its associations of protest, celebration of indigenous culture and links to the instinctive and magical aspects of Latin American culture, Barrios was also preserving his links to European culture. He displayed this alternative allegiance in his conventional performing attire, his championing of the Classical and Romantic repertoire, and most significantly through that aspect of his compositional style which paid homage to the figureheads of musical Romanticism, including Chopin.

From Magic to Magical Realism

To Western audiences, one of the most striking and puzzling aspects of the Mangoré phenomenon is its derivation not merely from a cultural tradition but from a particular historical figure. Barrios did not simply adopt indigenous costume and the paraphernalia of the jungle as part of a generic Indian representation. Rather, he assumed the concrete identity of a Guaraní chief who had a specific historical representation through his role of Indian leader resisting Spanish invasion. And in one sense, it seems clear that the further Barrios travelled down the path of Mangoré in his concerts, and the more elements of historical detail and costume he added to the profile of his alternative

persona, the more he *assumed* or *became* the figure that he portrayed. What started as impersonation and fantasy later assumed elements of reincarnation, and the links to the magical and mythical elements of his role became more explicit.

The psychological implications of Mangoré for Barrios will be explored in detail in the next chapter, but here it is noted that Mangoré provides a link to another crucial function of Latin American music: the central significance which music plays in magic and ritual. Ethnomusicological studies of Latin American music in Indian societies, together with historical research into the pre-colonial period, have elaborated on the fundamental power of music in revealing truths on a number of levels: personal, social, environmental and cosmological.⁴⁸ In this system, it is the act of performance which bears the crucial function of realising the power of music by uniting sound with ritual meaning. All of this relates closely to the significance with which Barrios invested Mangoré: the symbolic aspects of costume and poetic recitation which are actualised through the heightened act of solo performance. As is argued in Chapter 4, these ritualistic aspects of Barrios' performances are achieved most fully in the tremolo works, where the elements of trance-like repetition, reverie and fantasy are thoroughly realised. Contemporary accounts of Barrios' performances as Mangoré attest to his powers of totally capturing his audiences' attention.⁴⁹ In this sense also, Barrios as Mangoré continued that tradition of the quasi-magical ability of the uniquely gifted solo performer of plucked stringed instruments to entrance audiences, and produce in them a sense of divine rapture.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ E. B. Basso, *A Musical View of the Universe: Kalapalo Myth and Ritual Performance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 8.

⁴⁹ Introduction, 3; Chapter 3, 94.

⁵⁰ Chapter 1, 42.

From a later historical period and in retrospect, the movement known as magical realism also throws light on Mangoré. The roots of magical realism in Latin American fiction are traditionally traced to Alejo Carpentier, the Cuban musical critic and writer.⁵¹ Carpentier portrayed what he referred to as the ‘marvellous real’ as a pervasive aspect of Latin American society, deriving from key historical themes. These included the ethnic mixing of Indian, Spanish and African races, their associated cultural practices with fantastic and supernatural themes such as voodoo, and the sense of unreality and astonishment which struck the conquistadors on encountering Indian civilisations, such that their European vocabulary was simply inadequate to describe what they saw. To this we could add the point just elaborated, namely the powerfully ritualistic function which music itself fulfils in Latin American society, explaining the relationship between humans and the natural – and supernatural – world. Magical Realism also manifested itself in modernist visual art, surrealism in particular. Surrealism, in fact, had a particular resonance in Latin American culture through its affirmation of the role of the hidden psyche, and its rejection of rationalism and the capitalist mode of production.

In this respect, Carpentier’s novel *Los Pasos Perdidos* (*The Lost Steps*) is particularly suggestive in both subject matter and structure.⁵² The narrator who ventures into the jungle on a quest for ancient musical instruments also begins a voyage back in time in search of personal and cultural identity. The journey along the Orinoco river

⁵¹ Although Mario de Andrade’s novel *Macunaíma* is also depicted as one of the earliest examples of magical realism. The anti-hero of this work traverses a series of fantastic adventures across time and space, incorporating fragments of Brazil’s history; Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma: O Héroi sem Nenhum Caráter* (Rio de Janeiro: Livros Técnicos e Científicos, 1978). See also Martin, ‘Literature, Music and the Visual Arts, 1870-1930’, 122.

⁵² Alejo Carpentier, *The Lost Steps*, translated from the Spanish by Harriet de Onís, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968).

represents the passage of time and also the connecting link which unites and posits the phases of Latin American civilisation in synchronicity, rather than historical opposition.⁵³ The journey also becomes a quest for a kind of ‘primitive purity’, which is provided by the primordial function of music which the narrator discerns in the inhabitants of the jungle, the discovery of which also inspires him to return to his own musical vocation.⁵⁴ The subjects of *Los Pasos Perdidos* – the reinterpretation of contemporary music by reference to the ancient past, the actual co-existence of these historical phases as a revelatory attribute of Latin American civilisation, the magical power of instruments revealed by shamanistic or ritualistic means, and the crucial role of the protagonist who discovers this meaning in terms of his new role as messenger of the divine – thus provide a later literary realisation of the themes which Barrios achieved with Mangoré. An intriguing question, to be explored in the next chapter, is the interpretation of these themes in the context of other more prosaic concerns of Barrios which were bound up with the question of sheer survival as an itinerant performing musician.

The connections of Barrios’ alternative persona with the literary movement which later came to be known as magical realism should, however, not be overplayed. To view Mangoré in the context of later literary developments in Latin America is an *ex post facto* interpretation.⁵⁵ Moreover, there is the danger of reductionism and neo-colonialism in characterising the irrational and fantastic elements of magical realism as

⁵³ Lisandro Otero, ‘Navigating the Ages’, Leander (ed.), *Cultural Identity in Latin America*, 92.

⁵⁴ John Martin, Kathleen McNerney, ‘Carpentier and Jolivet: Magic Music in *Los Pasos Perdidos*’, *Hispanic Review*, 52.4 (Autumn 1984), 491.

⁵⁵ The attribution of meaning or the construction of an ideology to explain historical events which was not entirely apparent at the time is an *ex post facto* or ‘after the event’ interpretation.

inherently Latin American, as opposed to the rationality and scientific method assigned to European intellectual tradition.⁵⁶

III: The Guitar in Latin America

The central symbolic significance of the guitar in Latin America is revealed in the pervasive cultural and historical roles which the instrument has fulfilled in different national styles. As Nestor Guestrin suggests, ‘The guitar is present in the musical life of all South America, which from the time of the Encounter up to the present day, has been a kind of common denominator which serves as the entrance gate to understanding the music of this region of the world’.⁵⁷ The primary influence of Spanish culture on the development of the guitar in Latin America derived from the early sixteenth century with the Encounter between Old and New Worlds. Thus, in addition to the violence, death and destruction which the conquistadors brought to Latin America, a more beneficent consequence was the mixing of cultural influences via musical instruments, including the vihuela.⁵⁸ And from this early stage, the vihuela, like the European lute, was valued for its reflective and nostalgic qualities, as opposed to the strident trumpet and drums, which, on account of their warlike associations, were employed for military occasions.⁵⁹ As indicated previously, these nostalgic aspects have signified an enduring concern of Latin American music in the songs and pieces which evoke memories of homeland. They also have a particular resonance in the guitar compositions of Barrios

⁵⁶ Maggie Ann Bowers, *Magic(al) Realism* (London: Routledge, 2004), 84.

⁵⁷ ‘La Guitarra en la Musica Sudamericana’, <http://sudamer.nestorguestrin.cjb.net/>, 3 (accessed: 20 September 2007).

⁵⁸ The legacy of the vihuela in Latin America survives in the Brazilian *viola*, an instrument of five single or double courses of strings, while the *violao* is the standard six-stringed guitar.

⁵⁹ Guestrin, ‘La Guitarra en la Musica Sudamericana’, 7.

where he exploited to a previously unknown degree the meditative qualities of the instrument in his tremolo works, with their quality of ritual repetition. The link with Spanish plucked instruments in the Americas was continued with the importation and construction of the seventeenth century baroque guitar, right up to the modern guitar, which was established in its current form by Spanish luthiers in the late nineteenth century. But it is the transformation and adaptation of European instruments that reveals the deep associations of the Latin American guitar with indigenous traditions. This is seen in the great variety of guitar-like instruments throughout the continent which includes, in addition to the Brazilian *viola*, the *cavaquinho* (Brazil), *churango* (Argentina), *cuatro* (Venezuela), *guitarreon* (Mexico), *requinto* (Argentina, Mexico and Paraguay), and the *tiple* (Dominican Republic).⁶⁰

A further impetus to the development of European guitar styles in Latin America was the presence of visiting Spanish virtuosi during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Madrid guitarist Antonio Gimenez Manjon, a contemporary of Tárrega, presented concerts in Central America, Chile and Venezuela in the early 1890s and resided in Buenos Aires from 1893 to 1912. His recitals provided the familiar format which Barrios himself employed, combining nineteenth century guitar repertoire, transcriptions of classical works, and the performer's own compositions. Spanish influence on the Latin American guitar was enhanced in the following decades with the

⁶⁰ For descriptions of these instruments, see Dale A. Olsen and Daniel E. Sheehy (eds.), *The Garland Handbook of Latin American Music* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000). Guitar-like instruments are classified as *chordophones* under the taxonomy of musical instruments originally devised by Erich M. von Hornbostel and Curt Sachs in 'Classification of Musical Instruments', Translated from the Original German by Anthony Baines and Klaus P. Wachsmann, *Galpin Society Journal*, 14 (March 1961), 3-29; Dale A. Olsen, 'The Distribution, Symbolism, and Use of Musical Instruments', Olsen and Sheehy (eds.), *The Garland Handbook of Latin American Music*, 28, 31.

extended visits of Miguel Llobet, Emilio Pujol and Segovia. Especially influential was the presence of Llobet, who resided in Buenos Aires from the 1920s, and Segovia, who fled Spain following the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 and lived in Montevideo for several years. Latin American audiences were thus privileged to hear the two greatest modern Spanish guitarists, and guitar pedagogy in Argentina and Uruguay was also given a tremendous impetus from their presence.⁶¹ This was in one sense beneficial for Barrios as it enabled him to play to audiences who had a conception and appreciation of the guitar's qualities as a classical instrument, rather than as a vehicle of folk music. On the other hand it also created a problematic situation for Barrios in the invidious comparisons which critics and audiences made with these other figures. This was particularly the case in relation to Segovia, whose presence in Latin America intervened with decisive effect at critical times in Barrios' career.

It is the guitar's capacity to mediate between different genres, styles and traditions which has given rise to the rich and varied guitar traditions of Latin America. In the context of Latin American guitar pedagogy, composition and performance, a particularly pertinent form of this mediation has been the syncretisation caused by the meeting of European guitar traditions with regional folk music and popular genres. As a guitarist with strong links to both the classical and popular traditions, Barrios was thoroughly representative of this process, as illustrated by his transformation in concerts from formally attired artist to the primitive figure of Mangoré.

⁶¹ Carlos Barbosa-Lima, 'The Guitar in Latin America: A Personal View', part 1, *GFA Soundboard*, XIX (Spring 1992), 101-15; part 2, XIX (Summer 1992), 13-17. See also Randy Osborne, 'How Buenos Aires Became the World Centre of the Classical Guitar', http://www.finefretted.com/html/world_center_of_the_classical.html (accessed: 25 July 2009).

Especially significant in the European influence on Latin American guitar culture was the tradition of key nineteenth century guitarist-composers: the Spaniards Aguado, Sor and, later in the century, Tárrega; and the Italians Carcassi, Carulli and Giuliani. These figures impacted upon the guitar cultures in each nation of Latin America in diverse ways. In general, those countries where the European model became well established proved the more problematic environments for Barrios to achieve success either as a conventional concert performer or in the guise of Mangoré. With this in mind, it is worth looking briefly at the guitar cultures of the five countries which were important both for the formation of Mangoré, and for the varying receptions which Barrios encountered during this period. In each of these countries the iconic status of the guitar as an instrument capable of mediating between European and indigenous cultures was vital for Barrios' mission, and in turn impacted on his reception as Mangoré.

Paraguay was significant as Barrios' birthplace, where he received his first guitar instruction, and as a source of nostalgic inspiration for his compositions. Brazil was crucial as the location in which Barrios introduced Mangoré in 1930, while Venezuela provided Barrios with great success during the Mangoré period and what he regarded as among his happiest experiences in his entire performing career.⁶² In Argentina and Mexico, however, Barrios encountered severe criticism which proved decisive in terms of the formation and abandonment of Mangoré. But in addition to these countries, it is important to note that he also performed extensively in Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Panama, Trinidad and Uruguay. Of these, El Salvador occupies a central role as the country where Barrios

⁶² Stover, *Six Silver Moonbeams*, 133.

spent his final years, and where some of the most significant research and commemoration of Barrios has been undertaken in recent years.

First, we may consider the musical styles and traditions of Barrios' own country, Paraguay. While the harp is traditionally regarded as the national instrument, the guitar also occupies a prominent role, both in its participation in folk ensembles and also as a solo instrument. Naturally, Barrios' career has provided a tremendous boost to the study of the guitar in Paraguay, particularly from the 1970s since when he has been recognised as one of the most significant cultural figures in the nation's history.⁶³

As discussed above in relation to Paraguayan theatre, Guaraní culture has been preserved in the retention of the Guaraní language spoken by 90 percent of the population. The Jesuits exerted a strong influence in the musical development of Paraguay, chiefly through the introduction of Western instruments and musical instruction to the Guaraní, who then excelled in performing European music.⁶⁴ The favoured instruments of sacred musical instruction during the early colonial period, however, were the harp and violin rather than the guitar, which was regarded as an instrument of secular diversion. In this sense, Paraguay is a microcosm of the pattern of musical influences which occurred after the Encounter. The missionaries used music as a powerful tool in conversion, but this was typically followed by the Indians attaining a proficiency in music that far surpassed its original purpose of sacred and devotional use. In fact it is likely that the sacred context in which the instruments were introduced

⁶³ In June 2005, the Paraguayan government sponsored a week long celebration of Barrios, 'Tributo a Mangoré'; Rico Stover, 'The Music of Barrios, Part Thirteen: On the Trail of Barrios – 2005', *Classical Guitar*, 24.1 (September 2005), 18-21.

⁶⁴ Timothy D. Watkins, 'Paraguay', Olsen and Sheehy (eds.), *The Garland Handbook of Latin American Music*, 289.

explains the acceptance of native Americans to the new styles.⁶⁵ As discussed above, the presence of music in ritual and supernatural functions was a natural feature of Indian cultural practice. The educational function of the Jesuits which permeated Latin American colonial society also carried particularly strong memories in Paraguayan history, so it was not surprising when Barrios introduced into the Mangoré story an episode that he had been raised in a Jesuit *reduccion* (mission).⁶⁶

Brazil was decisive in the development of Mangoré because it was in the northern province of Bahia where Barrios first adopted his alternative persona in 1930. Brazil had a distinctive pattern of musical development in comparison to other Latin American countries, in the sense that it was influenced heavily by the presence of the African slave population with their strong religious musical traditions, which incorporated the use of ritual music and dance, and ceremonial offerings to deities. The African influences in Latin American music can be observed in a highly developed sense of rhythm, an emphasis on improvisation and the incorporation of instruments of African origin.⁶⁷ Conversely, the distinctiveness of Afro-Brazilian music has developed through the incorporation of aspects of European music, such as parallel thirds, and the adaptation of stringed instruments including the guitar. Throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries the guitar occupied a central role in Brazilian national traditions, firstly with the *modinha*, which was a hybridized and syncopated form of the Portuguese

⁶⁵ Dale A. Olsen, 'The Distribution, Symbolism, and Use of Musical Instruments', Olsen and Sheehy (eds.), *The Garland Handbook of Latin American Music*, 36.

⁶⁶ Godoy and Szarán, *Mangoré*, 85.

⁶⁷ Bruno Nettl and Gerard Behague, 'Afro-American Folk Music in North and Latin-America', Bruno Nettl (ed.), *Folk and Traditional Music of the Western Continents*, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice Hall, 1973), 209.

operatic love song favoured in parlour music. The central position of the guitar in Brazilian musical life continued in the late nineteenth century with the growth of the *chôro*, or instrumental street music, originally comprising an ensemble of flute, *cavaquinho* (the small four-stringed ukulele like instrument) and the *violao*, (the regular six stringed guitar).

The stylisation and universalisation of the *chôro* achieved its full realisation in Villa-Lobos, who featured the guitar prominently in a series of *chôros* titled *Suite Populaire Bresilienne* (1908-1912), in addition to his guitar *Études* (1929), and *Préludes* (1940). Much of this music resulted from Villa-Lobos' collaboration with Segovia, dating from their first meeting in Paris in 1924 and, leading, for example, to the *Études* with their overt acknowledgement to the pedagogical tradition of Chopin. Although there is no recorded instance of Barrios and Villa-Lobos meeting, given Barrios' extended sojourns in Brazil it is likely that Villa-Lobos heard Barrios perform. Certainly the two figures shared a great affinity in guitar composition through their syncretisation of Latin American styles with European traditions. As indicated in the previous section, Villa-Lobos' *Suite Populaire Bresilienne* was archetypal in this sense in the way that he utilised the *chôro* within nineteenth century dance genres, such as the waltz.

The guitar continued to figure prominently in the later musical styles which emerged in Brazil from the 1930s, notably with the *samba* movement which had both rural and urban elements. With its connotations of the carnivalesque, the tropical and general Latin American sense of joy for living, the guitar became the favoured

instrument of *samba* composers although it still carried associations of mass culture.⁶⁸ The process of enhancement of the guitar's image in Brazil, both socially and musically, was continued with the *bossa nova* movement which started in the 1950s and embodied a cultural message of urban sophistication. That style also heralded an iconic picture of the guitarist as the central figure in the new musical genre, as Suzel Reilly describes, '... the image of a crooner sitting alone on a bench in the far corner of an intimate night-club, picking out sophisticated chords in smooth, but disjointed rhythmic patterns to the sound of a soft speech-like melodic line that invoked a utopian dream world of "love, smiles and flowers" '.⁶⁹ *Bossa nova* thus reinstated an intense focus on the individual guitarist-performer, an image which represented the emblematic, national significance which the guitar had finally attained in Brazilian culture.

The guitar thus occupied a central position in the musical culture of Brazil from colonial times, providing a fertile ground for Barrios' imagination. The strong ritual element in Afro-Brazilian music provided the ideal environment for Barrios' dramatic presentation of Mangoré and his mythological account of the origin of the guitar. Successive musical movements of the *modinha*, *chôro*, *samba* and *bossa nova* strengthened the prominence of the instrument and the role of the solo performer, thereby contributing to the guitar's iconic status in Brazil.

African influences were also predominant in the musical development of other Latin American countries. Like Brazil, Venezuelan music was strongly shaped by forced

⁶⁸ Suzel Ana Reilly, 'Hybridity and Segregation in the Guitar Cultures of Brazil', Andy Bennett & Kevin Dawe (eds.), *Guitar Cultures* (Oxford & New York: Berg, 2001), 171.

⁶⁹ 'Hybridity and Segregation', 172. The quote marks refer to the title of Joao Gilberto's 1960 album which depicted these key themes of *bossa nova*. For a study of *bossa nova* guitar styles refer to the same author's, 'Tom Jobim and the Bossa Nova Era, *Popular Music*, 15.1 (January 1996), 1-16.

African immigration, and the status of the classical instrument was nowhere near as significant as the role which the guitar played in popular traditions. This was in contrast, for example, to Argentina where the classical guitar had developed prominently since the nineteenth century. The situation in Venezuela changed with Barrios' performances there in 1932, which created tremendous interest with audiences and critics alike. Barrios' concerts also attracted the attention of Emilio Sojo, one of Venezuela's major composers for guitar, and a collector of folklore and director of the Escuela de Musica y Declamacion. This, together with the friendship and support of Raul Borges, the central figure in the development of guitar pedagogy in Venezuela in the early twentieth century, provided a valuable impetus to the development of the guitar in that country.

In both Argentina and Mexico the importation of European music in the nineteenth century strongly influenced the development of national traditions, which had major implications for the way that these audiences reacted to Barrios as Mangoré. In Argentina the status of the guitar as an iconic national instrument derived from its participation in multiple traditions, including the folk music of rural life, the classical repertoire cultivated by the elite classes of Buenos Aires, and also urban popular music where the guitar became part of the tango ensemble.⁷⁰ Equally significant were the complex cultural associations which the guitar denoted in poetry and the visual arts, and which contributed to its emblematic status. In particular, the elite tradition of the classical guitar was contrasted with the negative connotations of the gauchesco guitar, providing in this way another statement of the classic civilisation/barbarism opposition

⁷⁰ Melanie Plesch, *The Guitar in Nineteenth Century Buenos Aires: Towards a Cultural History of an Argentine Musical Emblem*, unpublished PhD Dissertation (University of Melbourne, 1998), 1-3.

which had permeated Argentine, and Latin American, cultural and social life since the mid-nineteenth century. Yet ironically, it was the very dominance of the European cultural model which led, in one sense, to the demise of the guitar. As had already occurred in Europe, the piano began to assume a leading role in Argentine musical life in the late nineteenth century in both professional and domestic contexts, and the guitar suffered a consequent loss of prestige and legitimacy as a concert instrument. Crucially for Barrios, it was the mediation of the classical guitar through Spanish figures, particularly Segovia, which led to a re-evaluation of the instrument in Argentina. The modern acceptance of the guitar mirrored the process which had occurred with the tango, whereby this once disreputable dance form gained approval by the elite classes of Buenos Aires once the genre had been cleansed via the filter of European culture and repatriated to Argentina.⁷¹ It was in this environment that Barrios encountered severe disappointment in 1927, when he was forced to cancel concerts because of insufficient audiences, which in turn led to his drastic decision to adopt an alternative performing identity.

Finally, Mexico signified another crucial stage in the Mangoré story, as it was here that Barrios performed his final concerts in that guise in 1934. In the nineteenth century, Mexican composers were heavily influenced by European fashion and produced numerous waltzes, mazurkas and other salon music. Where the Mexican experience differed from Argentina was in the overt nationalism of the post-revolutionary period from 1910. The revolution signified an end to political dictatorship, but also to the

⁷¹ Deborah L. Jakubs, 'From Bawdyhouse to Cabaret: The Evolution of the Tango as an Expression of Argentine Popular Culture', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 18.1 (Summer 1984), 138; Martha E. Savigliano, *Tango and the Political Economy of Passion* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995).

hegemony of European culture, which was replaced by a reversion to and idealisation of the culture of ancient Indian civilisations. Carlos Chávez championed and embodied this trend of musical nationalism in works such as the *Sinfonia India*, with its explicit references to indigenous tradition. At the same time, the work of these post-revolutionary intellectuals and artists was accompanied by the growth of popular urban based musical movements, symbolised above all by the bolero and the influence of Agustín Lara.⁷²

In the various regional musical styles of Mexico the guitar has occupied a central role through the distinctive genre of the *son*, an instrumental style of marked rhythm and fast tempo which accompanied sung verses or *coplas*, and in which stringed instruments predominate. A vital aspect of the *son* as realised in various regional traditions is the variation of instrumentation, particularly guitars, which together with distinctive repertoire, costumes, speech and song topics, defines that region's culture. In this way, the guitar in its various guises is reflective of various regional cultural identities.⁷³ Thus in the *son huasteco* popular in several eastern provinces of Mexico, the ensemble comprises violin, *guitarra quinta* or deep-bodied eight-stringed guitar and *jarana* or small five-stringed guitar. The guitars play a strummed or rasqueado accompaniment to the violin, with the *guitarra quinta* providing occasional counter melody. In the *son jarocho* of the southern coastal plain of Veracruz, the guitar instrumentation comprises the *jarana* and the *requinto* or four-stringed narrow-bodied guitar in addition to the *arpa*

⁷² Mark Pedelty, 'The Bolero: The Birth, Life and Decline of Mexican Modernity', *Latin American Music Review*, 20.1 (Spring-Summer 1999), 34.

⁷³ Daniel E. Sheehy, 'Mexico', Olsen and Sheehy (eds.), *The Garland Handbook of Latin American Music*, 154.

jarocha or thirty-six-stringed diatonic harp.⁷⁴ The prominence of the guitar is also reflected in folk music ensembles, including the *cancion romantica* with the guitar as the archetypal accompanying instrument to the solo singer. The most prominent form since the 1930s, *mariachi*, typically includes the deep bodied *guitarron* and the *vihuela* in addition to characteristic instrumentation of trumpets and violin.

As a solo instrument, however, the stylistic development of the guitar in Mexico followed a less revolutionary trajectory. Here again, Segovia exerted a key influence through his collaboration with Manuel Ponce from 1923, which gave rise to major works for guitar, including four sonatas and the encyclopaedic *Variations and Fugue on Folia de España* (1932). Ponce's guitar music encompassed genres of folk music in both lyrical style (*Tres Canciones Populares, Preludes*), and rhythmic, extrovert modes (*Sonatina Meridional, Sonata Mexicana*). However, it was the restrained form of classicism evident in Ponce's other large scale works (*Sonata Classica, Sonata Romantica, Sonata III*) which was the dominant feature of his guitar writing, and which Segovia espoused. The existence of this trend of Mexican guitar composition, in which Segovia acted as inspiration for and collaborator in Ponce's efforts, had profound consequences for Barrios when he performed there in the final stage of his Mangoré period in 1934. As in Argentina six years previously, Barrios' style was seen as unfashionable and backward looking. Most damaging, however, was the comparison with Segovia, who had performed there just prior to Barrios. By contrast with the restrained model of classical performance which Segovia offered, the image which Barrios presented as Mangoré was regarded by critics as inauthentic and undignified.

⁷⁴ Sheehy, 'Mexico', 156-157.

In summary, it has been the inclusive, democratic and versatile nature of the guitar which has signified its central position in Latin American society. The guitar, more than any instrument, has the capacity to mediate: between urban and rural areas, between social classes, and between cultural forms – elite, popular and folk.⁷⁵ The guitar has been successful in drawing on European tradition as demonstrated by the way that the Indians of Paraguay, for example, adopted the instrument and quickly became proficient in its techniques and performance. But it is the variations in the development of plucked string instruments, which have occurred since European contact, that illustrate the versatility and inclusiveness of the guitar family. As this brief survey of various national traditions has shown, the guitar in Latin America has also been central to the definition of cultural identity in the differing negotiations between European and indigenous traditions. Barrios therefore must be viewed as a prominent representative of an extremely rich network of national guitar traditions which influenced and shaped his own activities in the early decades of the twentieth century. An awareness of those traditions also assists in explaining the varying reactions to Mangoré which Barrios encountered from 1930 to 1934.

Yet even with Barrios' strong advocacy of indigenous culture, his reputation lapsed into obscurity after his death. Equally significant, the recognition of Barrios' status as the major guitar composer of Latin America has followed the pattern in which European culture was regarded as the repository of style and taste. It was only after the revival of interest in his music in the 1970s from England and North America that Latin

⁷⁵ Ross Mann, 'The Music of South America – and the Guitar', *GFA Soundboard*, XXVII, 1 (Summer 2000), 9.

American critics, guitarists and audiences themselves began to fully appreciate his significance. Yet again it was the process of European validation which allowed a Latin American artist to be appreciated by his own culture.

Summary

This chapter has outlined the cultural environment in Latin America in the early decades of the twentieth century, including the major developments in musical life generally and for the guitar in particular, as realised in various national traditions. It has sketched the background which influenced Barrios' own development and in which he introduced his radical experiment in cultural identity. The next chapter discusses in detail the phenomenon of Mangoré, the reception and significance of that character for Latin American audiences, and its psychological meanings for Barrios himself.

Chapter 3: Agustín Barrios as ‘Cacique Nitsuga Mangoré’

Historical origins of Mangoré

In considering the origins of Mangoré it becomes apparent that this episode in Barrios’ career has a diverse lineage relating not only to Barrios’ personal experience but also to broader trends in Latin American cultural history of the early twentieth century. In a personal sense, it seems clear that Mangoré, far from springing fully formed from Barrios’ imagination in August 1930, actually grew from his own much earlier experiences, including those connected with the harsh realities of earning a livelihood as a guitarist in Latin America in the first decades of the twentieth century. As early as 1910, Barrios had articulated the concept of an alternative performing identity through the idea of Cacique (Chief) Nitsuga, thereby reversing his first name. At this stage Barrios can be seen as tentatively moving towards this alternative persona, without the concept of the actual historical figure, Mangoré. In that same year and on the advice of his friend, the intellectual Viriato Diaz Perez, Barrios moved to Buenos Aires to further his career. While playing incidental music for silent films and for dramatic performances he met the actor Pavricini, from whom he absorbed aspects of costume and make-up, skills which would be fully realised twenty years later in the construction of his alter-ego, Mangoré.

In the *Profesión de Fe* Barrios depicted his association with the guitar in mythological terms. The divine representatives of Indian culture – represented above all by Tupá – present to Barrios the guitar as the vehicle with which to express the musical spirit of Latin America. Barrios’ use of the word *Tupa* is most likely a variation of *Tupi*, the historical leader of the Tupinambá people of Brazil. As Suzel Ana Reily observes,

the figure of Tupi occupied an important place in the artistic imagination of Brazilian artists in the twentieth century, in particular the depiction of the lute playing Tupi, as captured in Mario de Andrade's poem *I am a Tupi Indian Playing a Lute*.¹ In Reily's analysis, the Tupi image emerged at various critical stages in the development of modern Brazilian music in which the guitar itself assumed a central place. The guitar's role as a vehicle of truly national significance lay in its capacity to move between popular and high culture, and between country and city:

The symbolic value of the guitar for the ideologues of Brazilian modernism hinged upon its potential to mediate between cultural spheres on both horizontal and vertical axes. Horizontally, it could mediate between the rural and the urban, the regional and the national, the national and the international; vertically, it provided a link for integrating popular cultural and high art as well as the racially defined social classes related to these social spheres.²

As discussed in Chapter 2, the presence in Brazil of visiting Latin American and Spanish guitar virtuosi capable of demonstrating the guitar's artistic possibilities was also crucial in facilitating this process of mediation.³ And as the pre-eminent Latin American guitarist-composer, Barrios' own contribution was recognised as vital to this process, as was Segovia's in his role as the international representative of the Spanish guitar. Barrios' performances offered a syncretisation of what Reily refers to as these 'universal aesthetic ideals of high art', with the purely national character of the guitar.⁴ In the

¹ Suzel Ana Reily, 'Hybridity and Segregation in the Guitar Cultures of Brazil', Andy Bennett & Kevin Dawe (eds.), *Guitar Cultures* (Oxford & New York: Berg, 2001), 168. For a discussion of Andrade's contribution to Brazilian musical nationalism see the same author's 'Macunaíma's Music: Identity and Ethnomusicological Research in Brazil', Martin Stokes (ed.), *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place* (Oxford: Berg, 1994), 71-96.

² Reily, 'Hybridity and Segregation', 170.

³ Chapter 2, 77-78.

⁴ Reily, 'Hybridity and Segregation', 170. Although, as Reily also observes, the guitar's supplantation of the piano as the national instrument of Brazilian culture and of modernism, was not properly achieved until the *bossa nova* movement of the late 1950s. It was the image of the *bossa nova* guitarist/singer, softly crooning his message of love to gentle syncopated rhythms which finally realised the vision of the lute playing Tupi; 'Hybridity and Segregation', 172.

process of cultural exchange and mediation which characterised Brazil's musical development in the early twentieth century, Barrios was supremely well placed to make a crucial contribution. The very nature of his concerts, with their bipartite structure of classical works and transcriptions, followed by original and popular compositions, illustrated the unique qualities of the guitar as a vehicle of universal appeal, supported and reinforced by his Indian persona. In his metamorphosis from classical virtuoso to the Indian figure of Mangoré, Barrios gave a concrete demonstration of the tremendous versatility, expressive qualities and communicative power of the guitar to the Brazilian public, and to audiences throughout Latin America.

Yet Barrios was Paraguayan, not Brazilian, and his adoption of the historical figure of Mangoré, together with his compositions derived from Paraguayan themes bespeaks a proud expression of his native culture.⁵ Why then did he depict, in poetic fashion, the origins of the guitar in terms of Brazilian culture rather than in the context of Paraguayan musical history? In part this could have been a nod in the direction of Brazilian music as an aid to his performances in that country. For Barrios, the presentation of Mangoré outside Paraguay was facilitated by its mediation through the symbols of national culture. In that sense, for Brazilian audiences the references to Tupi doubtless facilitated the reception of the remarkable figure which Barrios, as Mangoré, offered.

But Barrios was also aware of the powerful significance of the Tupi figure in Latin American culture associated with plucked instruments. For Barrios, the guitar's realisation of this 'marvelous symphony of all the virgin voices of America'⁶ posited the

⁵ *Diana Guaraní, Danza Paraguaya*, for example.

⁶ *Profesión de Fe*; refer Introduction, 2.

instrument as the authentic musical voice of the entire continent. In this way the guitar also offered salvation from the dilemma in which centuries of European cultural dominance had placed the countries of Latin America. Barrios was therefore the true messenger of the iconic nature of the guitar in Latin America, demonstrating in masterly and expressive fashion its unique status as the medium of cultural nationalism. In that way also, his depiction of the origins of the modern guitar and its central function in representing an entire culture looked forward to the role which Segovia promoted for the guitar in combating what he, Segovia, saw as the dangers of musical modernism. Segovia regarded the guitar, by virtue of its quiet, sincere means of communication, as having a crucial redemptive role in rescuing music from experimentalism, indeed in rescuing all art which had been corrupted by the temptations and dangers of modernism.⁷

Brazil was also central to the formation of Mangoré in another way. It was here that Barrios first began to adopt his alternative identity, testing its reception in Bahia in August 1930, where he was advertised as ‘Agustín Barrios portraying the caricature of Nitsuga Mangoré’.⁸ And it was during the journey which Barrios then undertook into the northern reaches of Brazil – to regions such as Recife, Pernambuco, Aracaju, Maceio and Fortaleza – that he assumed more completely the character which would sustain his art for the next four years. Brazil can thus be regarded as the true creative birthplace of Mangoré, where Barrios developed fully his theatrical concept to the extent that fantasy overtook reality and in his performing role, he *became* Nitsuga Mangoré.

⁷ *Guitar News*, No. 99 (June-August 1968), quoted in Graham Wade and Gerard Garno, *A New Look at Segovia: His Life, His Music*, 2nd ed., 2 vol. (Pacific, MO: Mel Bay, 2000), vol. 2, 68.

⁸ Introduction, 1-2.

Reception History

As indicated in the Introduction, Latin American critics and audiences who encountered the exotic figure of Mangoré in concert from 1930 were initially dubious or hostile, particularly when Barrios performed classical compositions in such an apparently anachronistic setting and costume [Figure 3]. Juan de Dios Trejos, who later became a pupil of Barrios during the San Salvador years from 1940, relates his apprehension when he attended a Mangoré concert in Costa Rica in 1933:

When I first saw the announcements for Barrios' concert in Cartago, I thought it would be some kind of clown doing parodies on the works of the great masters for the poster announced works by Bach, Beethoven, Chopin and so on. I went with a sense of trepidation. But upon hearing the magic of this man's playing, I was enthralled! Barrios was a true magician of the guitar and a magnificent musician!⁹

This fear of the grotesque, of an outrage about to be committed against the revered works of the classical repertoire, somehow interpreted through an Indian guitarist transported from the jungle to the concert stage, was a common reaction of the critics. Thus at a concert in Guatemala in September 1933, the critic for *Nuestro Diario* noted the disparity, on the one hand, between the exotic setting of the stage and Barrios' feathered costume, and on the other, the classical repertoire with which he opened the concert. The reviewer's patronising and overtly racist tone emerges strongly: '... the Indian feels he is a musician ... but my God! That savage wants to play Bach, Beethoven, Mozart and Chopin on the guitar. It seems a sacrilege. We expect a disaster, a fatal musical calamity'.¹⁰ But after hearing some more of Barrios' original compositions, the critic and audience were won over by the force and imagination of his playing.

⁹ Stover, *Six Silver Moonbeams*, 140.

¹⁰ Stover, *Six Silver Moonbeams*, 149.

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 95
of the print copy of the thesis held in
the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 3: Barrios as Mangoré, circa 1931.
Source: www.renatospace.it/Scuola/Contenuti/Barrios/Barrios_Foto.htm.
(accessed: 7 July 2009)

It must be acknowledged that Barrios was attempting an heroic task not only in seeking acceptance of the striking figure which he presented as Mangoré, but also in convincing audiences of the guitar's status as a credible concert instrument. That latter function itself carried the additional burden of the problematic nature of the guitar's repertoire at that time, which relied either on original works – primarily pieces from the nineteenth century of slender musical substance – or more controversially, using the guitar to present transcriptions of classical works.¹¹

Modern reception to Mangoré has been similarly ambivalent. It is true that since the 1970s there has been a remarkable posthumous recognition of Barrios, which has radically altered his status from relative obscurity to prominence, such that he is now regarded as the pre-eminent guitarist-composer of the twentieth century. This renaissance in Barrios studies has been accompanied by a proliferation of recordings devoted to his music since 1977.¹²

However, and as argued in the Introduction, much of the attention paid to Barrios in recent years has tended to merely acknowledge in passing his Mangoré episode. From this latter perspective, Barrios' adopted Indian heritage is ultimately irrelevant to our evaluation of his contribution. It is of no more account than Barrios' use of metal strings,

¹¹ An examination of Barrios' concert programs during his Mangoré period of the 1930s reveals a mixture of 1. works composed for the guitar by the nineteenth century guitarist-composers Sor, Coste, Tárrega; 2. transcriptions by Barrios of classical works, comprising both piano works by Beethoven, Chopin, Mendelssohn, Schumann and operatic paraphrases from Verdi and Donizetti in the manner of Liszt; and 3. Barrios' original compositions, comprising a) 'serious' classical works, e.g. in the style of Bach, b) Romantic works (waltzes, mazurkas and tangos) and c) works in various Latin American popular style (*chôros, maxixes, cuecas*). This was also a dilemma with which Segovia was all too familiar: the challenge of leading a modern revival of the guitar while simultaneously building a repertoire, which, until the efforts of contemporary composers were sufficient to make a substantial contribution, had to rely of necessity on transcriptions and arrangements.

¹² For a survey of the Barrios renaissance see Graham Wade 'On the Road to Mangoré: How Barrios was rescued from obscurity', *EGTA Guitar Journal*, 5 (1994), 41-44. See also the references in the Introduction, 12.

a device he employed to gain more brilliance in the guitar's treble register but which attracted severe criticism at the time, even from his supporters, and which differentiated him in an unflattering way from the sweet, full-bodied sound which distinguished Segovia's method of sound production.¹³ For Barrios' biographer Richard Stover, as for most of Barrios' admirers, Mangoré represents a fascinating but ultimately irrelevant stage in Barrios' career, the enduring value of which is to be located in his compositional output, his status as the greatest of Latin American guitarist-composers, and the depth of his artistic vision.

By contrast, this thesis interprets Mangoré as an integral feature of his performing identity, which gains added significance in the context of Latin American cultural independence, and also in relation to the wider modernist currents of the 1930s with their preoccupation with the primitive and the exotic.

Latin American Perspectives

Modern Latin American writers are by no means unanimous in their interpretation of Barrios' assumed Indian identity as a supposed demonstration of his love of Latin American culture. Much of this commentary follows the pattern which greeted the appearance of Mangoré during the 1930s: great enthusiasm on the one hand and fierce criticism on the other.

For the Paraguayan guitarist and composer Sila Godoy (1921-), the phenomenon of Mangoré is the aspect of Barrios that has left the strongest impression of his memory

¹³ The view that regards Barrios' use of metal strings as mere eccentricity is, however, not a universal one. Opposing this is the interpretation that his choice of metal strings constituted a vital feature of Barrios' aesthetics of sound production on the guitar. Refer to the Appendix, 159.

throughout Latin America, such that in some countries he still known by that name rather than Agustín Barrios.¹⁴ At the same time, Godoy recognises an undeniable element of commercialism in the characterisation which exploited Barrios' own indigenous features, exaggerated by the exotic dress and the advertising which promoted him as 'The Paganini of the guitar from the jungles of Paraguay'. For Godoy, Mangoré also conveniently embodied in artistic form the support for indigenous causes which existed throughout Latin America at the time, thereby facilitating the reception of his alternative identity.¹⁵

Former pupils of Barrios are also keen to defend the memory of their master, particularly in relation to the authenticity of his adopted Indian heritage. Jose Roberto Bracamonte Benedic, a student of Barrios in El Salvador from 1940, feels impelled to take issue with Barrios' brother over this crucial aspect of Mangoré:

I must pause and review the ethnic question of Mangoré, because I understand, I love and I respect this "Indian Guaraní" musician, dressed with feathers and the attire of his tribe. I am forced to stop, because his brother Héctor L. Barrios ... has left words that, in my opinion, are discriminative and they give the impression that he [Agustin] felt ashamed to acknowledge the blood of our ancestors and the color of the muddy soil of America.¹⁶

The objectionable sentiments in question were that Héctor claimed emphatically that, 'not one drop of native blood' ran in the veins of their family, an attitude which, for Bracamonte, constituted an act of betrayal of his own race, as well against his own brother.¹⁷ Benedic refutes that charge by Barrios' own confirmation of his racial origins:

¹⁴ Sila Godoy and Luis Szaran, *Mangoré, Vida y Obra de Agustín Barrios* (Asunción: Editorial Nanduti, 1994), 82.

¹⁵ Godoy and Szaran, *Mangoré*, 82.

¹⁶ José Roberto Bracamonte Benedic, *Mangoré, el Maestro que Concoí* (San Salvador: Fundación María Escalón de Núñez, 1995), 16. Translations from this and other Spanish works quoted in this chapter are by the author.

¹⁷ Benedic, *Mangoré*, 16.

Mangoré, like I and many Salvadorians, felt proud to be racially mixed and he knew that he carried in his blood and spirit the collective subconscious of the two races, as well as those racially mixed of 'pipil' origin, amounting thus to three: Indian, black and white. Yes, Mangoré was of mixed race even though Héctor did not like it, and he felt more Indian than white, as shown by the way he speaks of his tribe and of its Indian gods as "Tupa" and "Yacy".¹⁸

Benedic's treatment of the Mangoré issue is passionate in its defence of Barrios' motivations, but not necessarily persuasive. That Barrios – or his disciples on his behalf – affirmed an Indian heritage because he felt it, or that he dressed as an Indian in concert, does not in itself suffice to demonstrate such a link.¹⁹ What the passage does demonstrate is how his El Salvadorean followers have been keen to claim Barrios as one of their own, to 'take ownership' as it were and incorporate him into their historical tradition, in this case by tracing his lineage to the group that inhabited the country in pre-columbian times (the 'pipil').

But there is one other telling aspect of Héctor Barrios' account to which Bracamonte refers, perhaps inadvertently, as it weakens the force of the author's argument concerning the authenticity of Agustin's Indian identity. In his brother's estimation, 'Chief Mangoré or Chief Nitsuga satisfied a mere artistic whim. Everyone here knows that, even if they ignore it abroad'.²⁰ Could such a simple explanation as the capriciousness licensed by artistic freedom actually be at the root of Mangoré?

Further support for this argument is offered by Bacón Duarte Prado, who adopts a more critical perspective on Mangoré than does Bracamonte. In a work

¹⁸ Benedic, *Mangoré*, 17.

¹⁹ Benedic refers to Barrios' Mangoré costume as evidence of how genuinely he regarded his Indian heritage, which is acceptable although debatable, but also comments that Barrios even presented as such in 'large, foreign theatres'. The latter claim is incorrect, as Barrios abandoned Mangoré for his European trip in 1934.

²⁰ Benedic, *Mangoré*, 16. The sentence is however, misleading, because of the same incorrect inference as pointed out in note 19, that Barrios also presented Mangoré in Europe.

commemorating the centenary of Barrios' birth, Prado poses the obvious and critical question concerning the guitarist's rationale for his transformation:

We do not know for sure what was the motivation that led him to fulfill in himself this strange nominal and personal metamorphosis, this capricious change. Was it for economic reasons in the sense that this ingenious expedient would help to enlarge his public and consequently his income ...? But one must bear in mind his indifference to all material things, except those strictly necessary 'to manage', which makes it hard to admit this hypothesis. It is abundantly clear that he lived and worked in poverty, with more riches gained through his art than with a purse of jingling money.²¹

From all the evidence concerning Barrios' character, this is an accurate interpretation of the role that financial considerations played in the construction of his alternative performing identity. That Barrios was never a wealthy man, that he gave generously, for example by donating his works in gratitude to friends or by performing for charity, is confirmed by his contemporaries. Nor would an avaricious person have inspired the poetry and tributes that Barrios attracted throughout his life, and the eloquent eulogies to his memory. Barrios' career embodied the struggle of an artist wandering ceaselessly through Latin America, occasionally wealthy from a successful series of concerts, but most often with the spectre of poverty at his shoulder.²² But Prado continues by questioning the integrity of Barrios' alter-ego:

Did he show in this somewhat unusual form his solidarity, his love, his admiration towards the forgotten race, having to pass through such a figurehead? It is not necessary to doubt the love that Agustín Barrios professed to his land, to the people of his country of origin, but it does not seem very congruent that this affectionate inclination extended to his identifying in such a way with our indigenous ancestors. By elimination from other possibilities, this hypothesis seems to us one that better fits his idiosyncrasy: a humorous gesture, an innocent fraud, a joke done for its own sake, like displaying the pigtail which is done to break certain rules of solemnity and formality, in tribute to a festive spirit, to the will of not taking itself too seriously, above all in matters that are judged proper. In short, a whim of the genius, who follows his own road.²³

²¹ Bacón Duarte Prado, *Agustín Barrios: Un genio insular* (Asunción: Editorial Araverá, 1985), 123-124.

²² Stover, *Six Silver Moonbeams*, 193, 196.

²³ Prado, *Agustín Barrios*, 124.

Prado thus ultimately reaches the same conclusion as Barrios' brother Hector, that Agustín took a frivolous decision, befitting the artist's prerogative, by challenging the strait-jacket of convention which surrounded and stifled the world of classical performance. What can be gleaned from all these accounts is the strong element of fantasy which informed the development of Barrios' performing character, and which he exploited in the promotion of that figure.

Yet in part, the motivation for Mangoré was also pragmatic in orientation, whereby Barrios pursued his dramatic role which generated interest and favourable publicity. Again, Prado paints an evocative picture of Mangoré:

His physical characteristics, his dark and straight hair, his gaze often lost in distant or ancestral dreams, gave sufficient encouragement to the legend of which he was author, adding in this way the enchantment of a certain exoticism and novelty to his artistic and social presence.²⁴

Barrios further contributed to the desired reception by circulating to journalists the story that he was adopted by the Jesuit missionaries in Paraguay and educated in their institutions, although such a system had not existed in his country for 150 years. His brother Francisco Martín collaborated in the campaign as Barrios' secretary and manager, often arriving in the Brazilian towns prior to Agustín and announcing that his brother would arrive following his recent European season, a tour which although much anticipated by Barrios, had not actually occurred.²⁵

²⁴ Prado, *Agustin Barrios*, 123.

²⁵ Godoy and Szarán, *Mangoré*, 85.

Mangoré and Cultural Independence

Mangoré represented the struggle of conflicting patterns both in Barrios' personal life and in the wider context of Latin American culture. One aspect of this conflict lay in Barrios' deferential attitude to Segovia as the supreme maestro of the guitar, whom Barrios was keen to impress and gain his approval, perhaps with the forlorn hope of assistance with his own career. On the other hand, there is the emergence of Mangoré in Barrios' career from 1930 as a conscious differentiation of his previous activities, as a distancing from the orthodox presentation which Segovia personified, and as a strategy of personal fulfillment.

These artistic tensions in Barrios' psyche were themselves reflections of those competing movements for social change which had occupied Latin American societies in the previous fifty years. As discussed in the previous chapter, the intellectual dichotomy of the mid-nineteenth century posed the stark choice between the political stability and cultural achievements derived from European tradition versus the law of the jungle, in other words, between civilisation and barbarism. This was later played out in the tensions of the Belle Epoque era between 1870 and 1920, with its adoption of European morals and attitudes while simultaneously proclaiming a national identity in opposition to European culture. The romantic nationalism of *costumbrismo* itself gave way to a deeper appreciation of ancient American cultures characterised in the *indigenismo* movement which followed the First World War.

The themes of the Belle Epoque, *costumbrismo* and the quest for an appropriate cultural identity have particular relevance in regard to the differing personae that Barrios adopted, first in his relationship with Segovia, and then in his alternative presentation of himself as Mangoré. His highly respectful attitude to his more famous Spanish colleague

– as illustrated by Barrios’ comments concerning their famous meeting of 1921²⁶ – was typical of the way that Latin American elites and middle classes in that period deferred to Europe in matters of taste and cultural judgement. In his other persona as Mangoré, Barrios adopted an independent, nationalistic identity, and thus participated in the wider *costumbrismo* movement through his overt celebration of Indian identity. Furthermore, Barrios’ adoption of these dual personae can be viewed as representative of those broader cultural divisions of the post-independence era, which challenged traditional Hispanic-centred allegiances with a new ideology of independent Latin American identity.

Contemporary Latin American commentators were alert to the significance of Barrios’ Indian persona in the context of his musical journeys throughout the continent:

This compulsory pilgrimage was valuable for his personal glory and for the artistic prestige of his country. Agustín Barrios, transformed into the chief Mangoré, with his masked face, carved in the bodily stone of its pure American substance, with his hands of green iron extended in ten fingers like ten bewitched fireflies, with his tremendous internal treasure of rhythms and sounds; the great and powerful chief Mangoré united the towns of this Continent with the sonorous trail of his guitar.²⁷

The language is poetic, as Barrios himself would have adopted, yet the clear intent is that Mangoré was far more than a theatrical persona; he symbolically united the cultural activity of the entire continent. Nor was Barrios an unwitting actor in this historical movement. Far from his adoption of an Indian identity derived from Paraguay’s colonial background being a happy coincidence with nationalistic sentiments permeating Latin America, Barrios actively voiced his awareness of the broader artistic and cultural movements in which he participated:

²⁶ Godoy and Szarán, *Mangoré*, 40-43. See also the discussion in the Appendix, 155-156.

²⁷ Saturnini Ferreira Perez, *Agustin Barrios, Su entorno, su epoca, y su drama* (Asuncion: Educaciones Cumuneros, 1990), 103.

Throughout the Americas at this time there is a tendency of nationalism. This is observed in South and Central America. In Mexico, from what I understand, the nationalistic feeling is more profound. We are now tired of imitations, and we are returning to that which is ours. Europe indisputably is headed toward decadence while we are on the way to scaling great heights. America has a brilliant future and this is seen manifested in the arts, in literature, sculpture, the pictographic arts and music.²⁸

This marked the high water mark of Barrios as Mangoré. He proudly proclaimed his Indian heritage while situating his activity within the wider sphere of Latin American cultural independence. As part of that assertion of autonomy, Barrios was concerned to offer a critique of Europe, distancing himself, his country and his whole continent from what he saw as the tired decadence of the Old World. In so doing he was also critiquing Segovia, the preeminent representative of the guitar in European culture, and distancing his new identity from his own previous behaviour which had been so obviously in awe of Segovia, and thus in danger of following that imitative model which he now disparaged. Certainly by this time in his career, Barrios had a clear awareness of his own significance, including his status *vis-à-vis* Segovia. It is true that by 1930 the Spanish guitarist had established an enviable performing reputation in Europe and some Latin American countries, had made important contributions in rehabilitating the status of the guitar as a legitimate concert instrument and was beginning to fire the interest of composers in the guitar. But Barrios could legitimately claim that he was the major guitarist-composer of his era, following a great tradition of earlier figures including Fernando Sor (1778-1839), Mauro Giuliani (1781-1829) and Francisco Tárrega (1852-1909).²⁹

²⁸ *La Prensa*, July 12 1933, from Stover, *Six Silver Moonbeams*, 146.

²⁹ In fact Barrios represents the last of this great tradition of guitarist-composers. The Cuban Leo Brouwer (b. 1939), the most significant and prolific composer for the instrument in the second half of the twentieth century, also had a prominent performing career until a hand injury in 1984 forced his retirement.

Barrios and Pan-Americanism

A final aspect of Barrios' stance of cultural autonomy lay in the way that his career was intimately bound up with his relationship to Latin America as a whole. Save for his last few years when he settled in San Salvador, Barrios' life was a constant pilgrimage throughout that continent. Unlike other significant guitarists of the time, Barrios toured extensively in Latin America, and his financial struggle was a consequence of his determination to survive primarily through his concertising activities. Occasionally Barrios adopted an overt attitude of solidarity towards his fellow citizens, in particular the Indians of North America:

If I go to the United States I have my mind made up to make my entrance in the State of Arizona. There are my Indian brothers and I want to visit and play for them. I will charge nothing for my playing since I shall be going to them bringing greetings from my race to the brother race.³⁰

Unfortunately, Barrios never journeyed to North America, perhaps as a result of his unsuccessful European tour which strengthened his resolve to devote his efforts to Latin America because it was more receptive to his music. Barrios' suggestive comments about his relations to his North American Indian 'brothers' therefore remains a tantalising glimpse of the socially significant role which Barrios intended for Mangoré. For Sila Godoy, Barrios embodied the spirit of American art while also capturing the essence of the Spanish tradition which had given rise to the renaissance of the instrument at the start of the twentieth century:

In his instrument there resounded unmistakably the living expression of that which the guitar carries with it from its remote origin to the most recent influx of Spanish blood...The harmonic apex of the guitar of Barrios weds the soul of ancient and modern Spain and the soul of America; that is to say instead of diminishing its expressive value, the guitar is enriched with an enormous spiritual and aesthetic contribution.³¹

³⁰ Interview in *Diario Comercial*, Aug. 29, 1933, from Stover, *Six Silver Moonbeams*, 149.

³¹ Sila Godoy, 'Ha Muerto el Poeta de la Guitarra: Agustín Barrios', Godoy and Szarán, *Mangoré*, 132.

Moreover, his compositions based on folkloric themes of various Latin American countries have assumed an iconic status, comparable to the finest examples of those genres.³² In this sense, Barrios' activities in collecting and adapting folk music were comparable in dedication and skill to that of Bartók or Kodály. And while it is true that, unlike those artists, Barrios' compositions were confined to the medium of the guitar, his work was so idiomatic that it expressed the spirit of the instrument in the same way, for example, as did Chopin for the piano.³³

Barrios-Mangoré and the European Tour of 1934

From a contemporary perspective it may be convenient to dismiss the Mangoré episode as an exercise in opportunism or sensationalism, whereby Barrios capitalised on an artificially adopted Indian heritage in order to promote his career. Certainly the transformation to Mangoré occurred after a bitterly disappointing time for Barrios when he had been rejected by audiences in Buenos Aires, during which time Segovia had enjoyed conspicuous success there. In that sense, the self-made image of Mangoré offered Barrios a radical break with the disappointments of the past, and an opportunity to attract fresh audiences by exploiting the unique appeal of the guitar and its origins. But Mangoré also promised something more to an artist struggling in the shadow of Segovia; it provided a radical and exotic differentiation from Segovia's classically restrained performing persona. The primitivism inherent in Barrios' Mangoré identity

³² Godoy, 'Ha Muerto el Poeta de la Guitarra' 132.

³³ John Williams comments that, 'In this way he has filled that need of every instrument to have its composer who "belonged" to the instrument and at the same time wrote great music'; quoted in Stover, *Six Silver Moonbeams*, 179.

posited a radical, provocative contrast to the image that Segovia was striving to project of the guitar. That latter image projected the guitar as a symbol of the highest aspects of European culture, in equal company with the accepted orchestral instruments with their centuries of performing tradition.

Moreover, the idea that Mangoré was an artificial, commercially motivated creation gains further apparent credibility in the context of Barrios' subsequent decision to abandon his Indian alter-ego. This occurred at the time of Barrios' tour of Europe in September 1934, an adventure which Barrios had long anticipated and which would have actually benefited the guitarist immeasurably more had he undertaken it twenty years earlier. In any case, from this time he suddenly cast off the mantle of Mangoré and assumed a more restrained, orthodox presentation. The theatrical persona which Barrios had assumed for five years in Latin America was laid to rest as he adopted the anonymous performing image which he and his admirers regarded, mistakenly it is later suggested in the case of Mangoré, as *de rigueur* for European audiences. From this perspective, Barrios' desperate quest for recognition in Latin America, which Mangoré represented, was no longer necessary or indeed acceptable. Now Barrios prepared himself for the European stage, where he – and his colleagues and advisors – regarded exoticism, at least in such a theatrical form, as anathema to the conventions and demands of classical performance.³⁴

There is compelling evidence that Barrios bowed to external pressure at this period, regardless of the genuine nature of his own feelings towards Mangoré or of the

³⁴ On Mangoré as a desperate strategy, see David Tannenbaum, 'The Classical Guitar in the Twentieth Century', Victor Anand Coelho (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Guitar* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 188. Yet as this chapter argues, it was precisely the primitivism embodied in Mangoré that would have most appealed to European audiences in the 1930s.

possibilities of success for touring as Mangoré in Europe. That pressure derived from the hostile press reviews which Barrios had received as Mangoré which compared most unfavourably to the praise Segovia had recently enjoyed— and also from the advice of colleagues. For it was at this time also that one of Barrios’ patrons emerged with decisive effect on his career. The Paraguayan ambassador to Mexico, Tomás Salomini, after hearing Barrios play in Mexico in 1934 convinced him to abandon his ‘absurd attire’ and revert to his original name and identity [Figure 4].³⁵ For Salomini, this was a prerequisite for encouraging and assisting Barrios in the realisation of the guitarist’s artistic dream: the European tour.

But instead of the anticipated success on the European stage, Barrios gave only a handful of concerts on the continent. His recital in Brussels at the Royal Conservatoire on November 7, 1934 is the only documented instance of this period and it gives a glimpse of the reception he may have received in the concert halls of Europe. The critic of *Het Laatste Nieuws* displayed an apprehension of the guitar’s slight and introspective nature and feared that,

when it is presented in the large hall of the Brussels Conservatoire, one can wonder if the sounds and chords enticed from the instrument will not be completely absorbed by the mere size of the auditorium, and be lost for the ear. Fortunately it appears that this fear is unfounded, and one listens with increasing pleasure to a masterly performance of a select program containing works by Bach, Beethoven, Chopin, Mendelssohn, Mozart and some pieces especially composed for guitar by Sor, Coste, Malats, Tárrega and Granados. Nitsuga Mangoré is a great virtuoso and his high-level performance was applauded at length and deservedly.³⁶

³⁵ Godoy and Szarán, *Mangoré*, 94. As suggested above (p. 107), the further intriguing question is why Barrios chose to delay his European tour until 1934 rather than some twenty years earlier when he may have benefited more from this experience.

³⁶ Anonymous review of November 11, 1934 quoted in Jan J. de Kloe, ‘Barrios in Brussels’, *GFA Soundboard*, XXVII (Winter/Spring 2000), 24. The reference to Mangoré suggests that Barrios had not quite abandoned his alter-ego for European audiences, instead maintaining that persona, at least in name, for his concert publicity on this occasion.



Figure 4: Barrios in his Guaraní costume in Mexico in 1934.
Source: Stover, Richard D., *Six Silver Moonbeams: The Life and Times of Agustín Barrios Mangoré*, Clovis, CA: Querico Publications, 1992, 148.

In this way, the Belgian critic echoed the reception that Barrios had been accorded as Mangoré in Latin America: incredulity which was quickly overtaken by admiration. Following Brussels, Barrios spent a year in Berlin; however there is no record of him performing a single concert during this period. Eventually arriving in Madrid in December 1935 at a critical moment in Spanish history, just prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, Barrios decided that the safest course was to return home and he spent the rest of his life performing and teaching in Latin America. By the conclusion of the Second World War in 1945, Barrios was too ill to consider international touring. The possibilities for Barrios' much anticipated European tour were thus nullified by historical events which deprived him of the opportunity to reach an international audience, and the debilitating effects of the syphilis which he had contracted as a young man ensured that he was unable to resume his international career after 1945.

Closer examination, however, reveals other aspects of Barrios' personality, and of the prevailing climate of Latin American cultural independence, in which the Mangoré persona assumes a deeper meaning and relevance. Barrios was a genuinely creative musician whose life followed the pattern of the wandering artist's pilgrimage throughout Latin America.³⁷ In his poem, *Bohemio*, he presented himself as '...a brother to those medieval troubadours/who suffered a romantic madness'.³⁸ That Barrios regarded his Indian heritage as something deeply felt is also manifested through his *Profesión de Fe*. The *Profesión* provides a poignant, poetic justification for the concept of Nitsuga Mangoré: 400 years after the Spanish conquest in which Mangoré died,

³⁷ Aside, that is from the 18 month intermission in Europe from September 1934 to February 1936.

³⁸ 'Yo soy hermano, en glorias y dolores; de aquellos mediavales trovadores; que sufrieron romántica locura', quoted from Benedic, *Mangoré*, 64.

Barrios resurrected the spirit of his Guaraní ancestor, and the guitar was the voice through which Barrios-Mangoré communicated his cultural message to a new and receptive audience. Moreover, and as argued in the next chapter, Barrios' compositions offer further support for the authenticity of the Mangoré identity. Compositions such as *Un Sueño en la Floresta* (A Dream in the Forest), *La Catedral*, *Una Limosna por el Amor de Dios* (An Alm for the Love of God) are illustrative of his romantic imagination, while his many works in popular national styles attest to Barrios' devotion to the traditional musical forms of Latin America.

This posits a deeper relevance for Mangoré in Barrios' psyche, and is further supported by the fact that Barrios did not entirely abandon Mangoré following his abortive European adventure. Barrios arrived back in Venezuela in February 1936 and spent the remaining eight years of his life resuming his musical travels throughout the countries of Latin America. Programs from his concerts in Costa Rica and San Salvador during 1939 continued to display the name Mangoré, without, however the accompanying costume and make-up which had marked the zenith of his Indian period between 1930 and 1934. In fact, right up to his last years in El Salvador, Barrios continued to present himself by name as Nitsuga Mangoré. In that sense Mangoré was not a label or mere costume to be taken on and subsequently discarded depending on the author's inclinations, or the reactions of audiences and prevailing cultural trends. It should be viewed instead as the manifestation of a deeper conviction about the sources of his artistic beliefs and his relationship to the American continent in which he traveled and concertised.

The Urge to Primitivism

An intriguing question remains, however, as to the reception which Barrios may have received with Mangoré in Europe. Was Barrios himself unaware of the full implications of his Indian persona for international audiences? In particular, what was the meaning of Mangoré for a Europe which was, precisely at this historical period, so fascinated by the primitive? How, for example, would Parisian audiences, who had recently been entranced by Josephine Baker's display of exoticism (and eroticism) in the 1920s, have reacted to Barrios' Indian figure, what Sila Godoy terms his presentation of the 'savage beauty of Indian art'?³⁹

The previous chapter discussed the enduring concerns of Latin American intellectuals with attitudes to Europe as they worked through the argument of civilisation versus barbarism in the mid-nineteenth century, and which later developed into the themes of *costumbrismo* and *indigenismo*. In Europe itself, the development of primitivism in the early decades of the twentieth century was profoundly linked to a key concern of modernism, the rejection of industrial society, and the related celebration of the energy inherent in peasant and tribal culture.⁴⁰ In this analysis, the primitive embodied a connection with the direct, elemental aspects of nature which modern society had rejected or lost. As an artistic movement, primitivism had enormous impact in the visual arts, ballet, literature, as well as in music. In explaining this enduring fascination, commentators have observed how the West has been preoccupied with the dichotomy of both differentiating from and identifying with the primitive 'Other'. This

³⁹ Godoy and Szarán, *Mangoré*, 132.

⁴⁰ Glenn Watkins, *Pyramids at the Louvre: Music, Culture and Collage from Stravinsky to the Postmodernists* (Cambridge, Ma: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1994), 63.

is achieved through a process of rejecting or denying the irrational, subversive and mystical aspects of Western civilization, and instead projecting these aspects onto so-called primitive peoples. Marianna Torgovnick observes that, 'fascination with the primitive thus involves a dialectic between, on the one hand, a loathing and demonizing of certain rejected parts of the Western self and, on the other, the urge to reclaim them'.⁴¹ In particular, the repression of erotic desire in modern civilisation is projected on to the primitive and thereby gains a renewed power.

In dance, primitivism was integral to the artistic vision of Serge Diaghilev's Ballet Russes. It provided exemplary examples through works such as *Schéhérazade* in which Nijinsky's depiction of the Golden Slave offered audiences a vision of primitive masculinity, its liberated hero fulfilling his lustful desire.⁴² That image was continued in Nijinsky's choreography of Debussy's *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un Faune* where again the dancer scandalised audiences through his display of auto-eroticism at the ballet's conclusion. Nijinsky's half-man, half-animal Faun drew from ancient Greek and Egyptian art to provide another powerful image of primitive desire.⁴³

But the iconic work of twentieth century primitivism to be realised through the Ballets Russes was Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du printemps* which caused a *succès de scandale* at its premiere in Paris in 1913, again with Nijinsky's choreography. The work was based on a Slavic rite involving the sacrifice of a young woman in order to ensure

⁴¹ *Primitive Passions: Men, Women and the Quest for Ecstasy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 8. See also the same author's *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 11. Nor is the use of primitivism always unproblematic, as witnessed by the Nazis' appropriation of the notions of 'blood' and 'folk' in the 1930s which posited a return to a more primitive, purer Germanic civilization; *Primitive Passions*, 12.

⁴² Lynn Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballet Russes* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 32-33.

⁴³ Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballet Russes*, 56-57.

the renewal of nature. It has assumed a central significance in modernism through its savage depiction of the human costs of change, a process which would be tragically illustrated the following year in the convulsions of World War One. In this way Stravinsky's depiction of youthful sacrifice provided a cogent link between primitivism and modernism.⁴⁴

Picasso, who collaborated with Diaghilev in designing the sets for *Parade*, *Le Tricorne*, *Pulcinella* and *Cuadro Flamenco* fully embraced modern art's trend to primitivism, as did Gauguin and Matisse. Picasso displayed his primitivist tendencies as early as 1907 with *Les Femmes d'Alger (O. J. R. M.)* with its mask-like heads derived from African tribal art.⁴⁵

Europe's obsession with the primitive in the early decades of the twentieth century was strikingly illustrated in the phenomenon of Josephine Baker. Leaving behind the racial hostility she had encountered in the United States, Baker toured to Paris in 1925. Here her provocative sensuality was celebrated and she exploited this appeal through her *danse sauvage*, a stylised, ritualistic performance in which her near-nakedness aroused the desires of her white male audience. The dichotomous nature of primitivism was evident in the fascination with which Parisians viewed her exotic display, while simultaneously reaffirming their own civilised status through differentiation from the savageness which Baker represented.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Peter Conrad, *Modern Times, Modern Places* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), 385.

⁴⁵ William Rubin, 'Picasso', William Rubin (ed.), *"Primitivism" in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and Modern* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1984), 248-265.

⁴⁶ Wendy Martin, ' "Remembering the Jungle": Josephine Baker and Modernist Parody', Elazar Barkan and Ronald Bush (eds.), *Prehistories of the Modern: The Primitivist Project and the Culture of Modernism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), 313. Note also, however, that Baker later reconstructed herself from jungle temptress to figure of royalty in the Folies-Bergère, admired by white suitors, and her private life reflected this regal status in an extravagant lifestyle; "Remembering the Jungle", 313-314.

The primitivism which was unleashed by Stravinsky's *Sacre du Printemps* and illustrated in Baker's *danse sauvage* later found further fertile ground in the United States through the African-American jazz of the 1930s, particularly through the music of Duke Ellington, giving rise to a 'jungle music' performed in the Cotton Club. In this way the European fascination with African-American culture, filtered through European culture, was transferred back to its source and re-presented to an American audience.⁴⁷

Summary

It is clear, then, that Barrios as Mangoré aligned with the European – and American – preoccupation with primitivism as a cultural movement which flourished in the early decades of the twentieth century. Barrios' alternative persona embodied themes that were thoroughly illustrative of this movement. In his scenery, costume and makeup which he learnt from the traditions of Paraguayan theatre he appeared as the Indian Chief Mangoré 'from the jungles of Paraguay', a figure which resonated with modern European fascination with the primitive and with tribal art. As we have seen, this also aligned with the preoccupations of Latin American literature, which celebrated the jungle as the authentic representation of the natural world.⁴⁸ It was ironic, then, that Barrios abandoned Mangoré just at the time when he may have enjoyed his greatest success with European audiences.

⁴⁷ Watkins, *Pyramids at the Louvre*, 189. Ellington wrote a series of jungle evocations with titles such as 'Jungle Jamboree' and 'Jungle nights in Harlem'. The authentication of Ellington's jazz style through the prism of European culture was also seen in the jungle costume of Baby Cox who performed at the Cotton Club, with its obvious references to Baker's own exotic outfit which she employed in the *Revue Negre* in Paris.

⁴⁸ Chapter 2, 55.

With his *Profesión de Fe* Barrios further clothed the guitar in incantatory associations, situating the instrument in the context of Indian mythology with Mangoré as the instrument's divine messenger. As the previous chapters have argued, Barrios here synthesised the magical qualities of music in Latin American traditional societies with the specific power of the guitar as the emblematic bearer of Latin American culture.

Above all, through the content of his folkloric compositions, and particularly through the tremolo works, with their mystical qualities invoked through the idiomatic device of repeated notes, he embodied the qualities of meditation, fantasy and the exotic 'Other', which stimulated the primitivist imagination. These key works in the Barrios-Mangoré story form the subject of the final chapter.

Chapter 4: The Folkloric and Tremolo Works of Agustín Barrios Mangoré

This chapter discusses the two categories of Barrios' compositions that are most characteristic of the cultural identity that he displayed as Mangoré: the folkloric works, which exemplify various national traditions of Latin America, and the tremolo works, which epitomise the elements of fantasy and improvisation which were also central to Barrios' musical imagination.

Barrios' folkloric compositions were the natural outcome of his travels throughout Latin America and his affinity with its diverse cultures, and through which his compositional gifts found fertile material in the musical styles of those countries.¹ Indeed, Barrios was so adept at absorbing and synthesising the range of Latin American musical styles, that his works in various national genres are regarded as exemplars rather than mere examples of these traditions.² At the same time, Barrios integrated his folkloric compositions into his adopted identity as Mangoré, through his championing of these works in his concerts, and by assigning titles that alluded strongly to indigenous themes.³

The *Danza Paraguaya* is one of several works inspired by the music of Barrios' homeland, and in this case employs the rhythm of the *galopa*. The *galopa* normally consists of two sections, the first resembling a *polca*, which in Paraguayan music has the

¹ Johnna Jeong, 'Agustín Barrios Mangoré: The Folkloric, Imitative and Religious Influence Behind his Compositions', www.cybozone.com/fg/jeong.html (accessed: 2 October 2007).

² Sila Godoy, 'Ha Muerto el Poeta de la Guitarra: Agustín Barrios', Sila Godoy and Luis Szaran, *Mangoré, Vida y Obra de Agustín Barrios* (Asunción: Editorial Nanduti, 1994), 132.

³ Caleb Bach, 'Minstrel of Magical Strings', *Americas*, 52.5 (September 2002), www.accessmylibrary.com/coms2/browse_JJ_A282-200009 (accessed: 1 September 2008).

prominent feature of a duple meter with a syncopated melody against a triple meter in the bass; the second section is again strongly syncopated, often with percussion.⁴ Barrios' realisation of the *galopa* in *Danza Paraguaya* is highly characteristic of his approach to the guitar in terms of its thoroughly idiomatic guitar writing and delight in virtuosity, as evidenced in his own recordings of the piece [refer audio example 1⁵]. In that way it is also representative of Barrios' development of guitar technique and composition, and his own unique status in the tradition of guitarist-composers.⁶

This work also reveals in its chordal structure a typical feature of his guitar composition. The stretches required for many of Barrios' works embodied a new conception of left hand technique which extended previous guitar composition. *Danza Paraguaya* is typical in this regard, in which the first six measures contain a series of stretches which require the guitarist to 'open out' the left hand. It is Barrios' unusual voicing of parts within chords that transcends the standard intervals of thirds which characterises much guitar writing. In place of thirds, Barrios' chords employ greater intervals which require a corresponding agility and strength for the guitarist's left hand. The opening D6 chord, with its stretch of four frets between the first and second fingers, announces the difficulties which are to confront the performer throughout the piece:

⁴ Timothy D. Watkins, 'Paraguay', Dale A. Olsen and Daniel E. Sheehy, *The Garland Handbook of Latin American Music* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 2000), 297.

⁵ Audio examples from Barrios' own recordings are included in the CD enclosed at the end of this thesis. They were recorded in Buenos Aires on the Odeon label in 1928, with the exception of Vals No. 4, which was recorded in 1929. All examples are taken from the recording, *Agustín Barrios: The Complete Guitar Recordings, 1913-1942* (Chanterelle CHR-002, 1993). Robert Tucker observes in the notes to this recording that, 'As all of Barrios' recordings are fundamental to the history of the guitar, it has been decided to issue them complete – in spite of the fact that some of them are of poor audio quality.' Rico Stover also comments elsewhere, that, 'The recordings of Barrios are a major authentic source of his music ... even though the fidelity is lacking by today's standards.' See 'The Music of Barrios, Part Eleven: The Recordings of Barrios – 2005', *Classical Guitar*, 23.8 (April 2005), 43-45.

⁶ Refer Introduction, 11-12.

Example 1: *Danza Paraguaya*, mm.1-8.

Source: *Barrios: 7 Pieces for Guitar*, vol. 2, Jason Waldron (ed.), Melbourne: Allans, 1986.

Examples of this imaginative use of left hand technique abound in Barrios' music including the *Mazurka Apasionata* which places severe demands on the left hand. In the following example, the left hand extends in both directions: the barre chords require a stretch of four frets between the first and second figures, while the fourth finger also extends three frets beyond the third finger:

Example 2: *Mazurka Apasionata*, mm. 9-13.

Source: *The Guitar Works of Agustín Barrios Mangoré*, Richard D. Stover (ed.), vol. 3, New York: Belwin Mills, 1977.

In the following passage from the same work, the five-fret extension of first and second fingers is unprecedented in guitar composition:

Example 3: *Mazurka Apasionata*, mm. 34-35.

Example 5: *Danza Paraguaya*, mm.34-40.
 Source: *Barrios: 7 Pieces for Guitar*, Waldron, vol. 2.

Again, the *Mazurka Apasionata* offers another illustration of the expressiveness imparted by the third string to the melodic line, which is distinctive to Barrios' writing:

Example 6: *Mazurka Apasionata*, mm. 50-57.
 Source: *The Guitar Works of Agustín Barrios Mangoré*, Stover, vol. 3.

In the *Chôro de Saudade* ('Nostalgic Chôro') Barrios adopted the Brazilian style of the *chôro* in a work which again features significant left hand extensions. Here one senses the delight in instrumental virtuosity in which Barrios takes a device and extends it to the very limits of technique. The stretch required for the moving bass line while holding

the chord on the sixth fret has, Stover suggests, a particular solution in the form of a cross-string barre which is unique in guitar literature.⁸



Example 7: *Choro de Saudade*, mm. 27-28.

Source: *The Guitar Works of Agustín Barrios Mangoré*, Stover, vol. 3.

The use of the G tuning in this work, in which the 5th and 6th string are tuned to G and D respectively, is a device that Barrios employed in some of his most reflective works and here heightens the mood of nostalgic melancholy.

Like the *Chôro de Saudade*, *Cueca* is thoroughly illustrative of Barrios' ability to encapsulate Latin American musical forms through the medium of the guitar, and in that way is representative of the way that he used the guitar to express Latin American cultural identity.⁹ *Cueca* (subtitled *Danza de Chile*) derives from a Chilean popular folk dance¹⁰ and is distinctive for several features of Barrios' compositions as well as being one of his most colourful works [**audio example 2**]. The opening chords utilise the open third string against the melodic line played on the fifth string in the thirteenth position,¹¹ imparting a unique sonority:

⁸ 'The Guitar in Iberoamerica, 6. Barrios's Technique - 2', *Classical Guitar*, 12.1 (September 1993), 31. With the standard barre, the left hand index finger functions as a capo, covering between 2 and 6 strings across the same fret; the cross-string barre in this example requires the guitarist to angle the barre across the first and second frets.

⁹ Refer to 'The Cultural Identity of Instruments', Chapter 1, 43-44.

¹⁰ The *Cueca* is so prevalent in Chilean music that it is often referred to as this country's national dance.

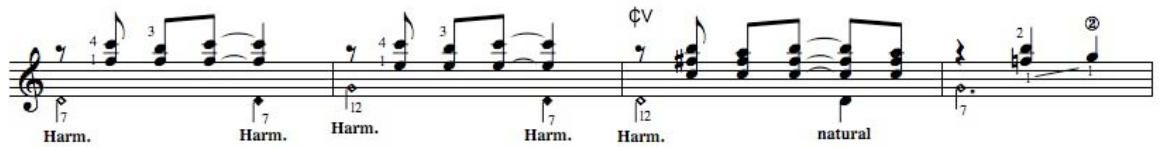
¹¹ This refers to the fret that the left hand first finger occupies on the fingerboard. Thus in the first position, the first finger occupies the first fret, and in the thirteenth position it stops the thirteenth fret.



Example 8: *Cueca*, mm. 1-4.

Source: *Barrios: 7 Pieces for Guitar*, vol. 1, Jason Waldron (ed.), Melbourne: Allans, 1985.

The use of harmonics in the following measures provides another distinctive colour:



Example 9: *Cueca*, mm. 5-8.

while from measures 11 to 15 the strummed bass notes with accompaniment depict the characteristic style of many Latin American guitar rhythms:



Example 10: *Cueca*, mm. 11-15.

Thirds are introduced from measure 20 and, together with the use of octaves from measure 25, provide a series of moveable chords which occur in much Latin American guitar music:¹²

¹² These chords occur for example, in the waltzes of the Venezuelan composers Antonio Lauro (e.g. *Angostura*) and Raúl Borges (e.g. *Vals Venezolano*).

Barrios' use of *tambor* remains one of the most original of his distinctive contributions to guitar technique and composition. In other works where composers employ this feature it is used primarily as a tonal colour rather than a structural device. Joaquín Turina's *Fandanguillo* is typical in this regard, where the *tambor* notes on the 5th and 6th strings announce the introspective mood of the piece, (and provide a similar effect in the chords of the closing measures), without, however, any melodic or rhythmic development of this device as in Barrios' music.¹³

Allegretto tranquillo ♩ = 72
(Percussion con el dedo pulgar junto a la puernte y sobre la VI y la V cuerddas.)

The image shows a musical score for Example 13. It consists of two staves of guitar notation. The top staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 3/4 time signature. The tempo is marked 'Allegretto tranquillo' with a quarter note equal to 72 beats per minute. A performance instruction in Spanish reads: '(Percussion con el dedo pulgar junto a la puernte y sobre la VI y la V cuerddas.)'. The notation includes a dynamic marking 'p' (piano) and various chordal textures with fingerings indicated by numbers 0-4. A 'Percussion' section is marked above the staff. The bottom staff continues the guitar notation with similar chordal textures and fingerings, also marked with 'Percussion' above it.

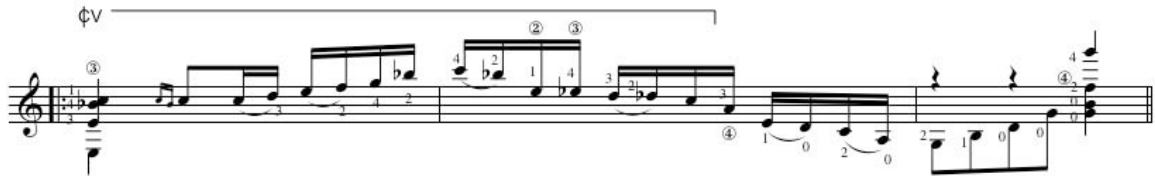
Example 13: Joaquín Turina, *Fandanguillo*, Mainz: Schott, 1926, mm. 1-6.

The image shows a musical score for Example 14. It consists of two staves of guitar notation. The top staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 3/4 time signature. A dynamic marking 'p' (piano) is present. The notation features complex chordal textures with many accidentals and fingerings indicated by numbers 1-4. A 'Pulgar' (thumb) marking is present at the beginning. The bottom staff continues the guitar notation with similar chordal textures and fingerings.

Example 14: *Fandanguillo*, mm. 88-92.

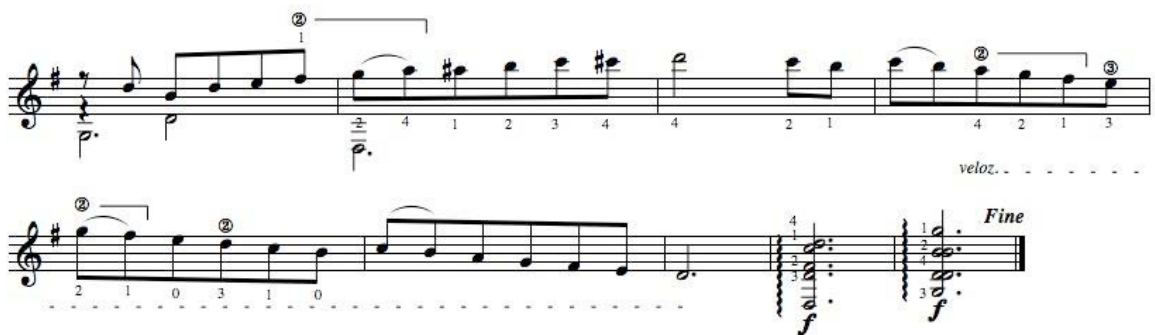
¹³ Nor is this to denigrate the *Fandanguillo* which is a highly effective expression of this flamenco dance, in Turina's treatment more melancholy than extrovert, and like Barrios' works, uses a multitude of guitar techniques to present a vivid miniature tone-poem which exploits all the colours of the guitar; Graham Wade, *Traditions of the Classical Guitar* (London: John Calder, 1980), 157-159.

At measure 54 of *Cueca* Barrios interrupts the strongly rhythmic chords and inserts a cadenza like passage which traverses the entire range of the guitar; again there is the demonstration of instrumental virtuosity for its own sake:



Example 15: *Cueca*, mm. 54-56.

Barrios employed this use of the cadenza in other works with a regular rhythm, such as the conclusion of *Vals op. 8, no. 4* [audio example 3]:



Example 16: *Vals op. 8, no. 4*, mm. 147-155.

Source: *The Guitar Works of Agustín Barrios Mangoré*, Stover, vol. 3.

Cueca thus provides a compendium of guitaristic idioms – high stopped notes on the lower strings of the guitar against open strings, harmonics, strummed chords, extended use of thirds and octaves, tambor, rapid scale passages and a melodic range covering the entire instrument – which produce a unique range of colours and sonorities. It illustrates Barrios' encyclopaedic approach to the instrument which incorporated and extended existing concepts of guitar technique, while realising a popular Latin American dance form.

Maxixe, based on the Brazilian dance form of that name, is another virtuosic work which begins with a dotted figure in the bass followed by the addition of the melodic line [audio example 4]. The aural effect is of two instruments sharing the melody and accompaniment:

Example 17: *Maxixe*, mm. 1-8.
Source: *Barrios: 7 Pieces for Guitar*, Waldron, vol. 2.

From measure 17 Barrios interrupts the duple metre of the dance rhythm and inserts another typical cadenza-like passage. These episodes serve two purposes in Barrios' music: they break the regular metre of the dance, enlivening its rhythmic structure, and they reveal the strong element of fantasy and improvisation in Barrios' imagination, and its delight in virtuosity:

Example 18: *Maxixe*, mm. 17-24.

The most remarkable feature of the piece is in Barrios' use of left hand slurring from measure 53, a technique which recalls the glissandi of the Paraguayan harp. As with the *tambor*, here it is the extended use of a technical device as a structural element which distinguishes his writing. This section is introduced through a series of 7th chords based on the dotted accompaniment figure of the introduction, and which requires the guitarist to rapidly move up and down the fingerboard in a series of barre chords:

The image shows three staves of musical notation for guitar. The key signature is D major (two sharps). The notation includes various barre chords indicated by Roman numerals: CII, CIV, CVI, and CII. There are also slurs and fingering numbers (2, 4, 0, 2, 4, 0, 2, 4, 1, 3, 1) indicating specific techniques and fingerings for the chords and melodic lines.

Example 19: *Maxixe*, mm. 49-58.

Aire de Zamba is named after the Argentine dance of that name (as distinguished from the Brazilian *samba*) [audio example 5]. The work opens with alternating acciaccaturas in the bass and treble which leads to an extended series of ornaments, imparting a rhythmic impetus to the piece:

The image shows a single staff of musical notation for guitar. The key signature is D major (two sharps). The notation includes various ornaments indicated by Roman numerals: C3, C4, C5, C2, C3, C3, and C5. There are also slurs and fingering numbers (4, 3, 2, 1, 2, 1, 2, 1, 3, 2, 1, 3, 2, 1) indicating specific techniques and fingerings for the ornaments.

Example 20: *Aire de Zamba*, mm. 1-4.

Source: *The Guitar Works of Agustín Barrios Mangoré*, Stover, vol. 3.

As he utilised in *Danza Paraguaya* and *Mazurka Apasionata*, here again Barrios exploits the distinctive quality and intensity of the third string in the initial statement of the melodic line:

Example 21: *Aire de Zamba*, mm. 6-13.

In modulating to the relative major key of F major Barrios uses the open E string in his chordal writing to allow the left hand an expressive freedom for the bass melody:

Example 22: *Aire de Zamba*, mm. 35-37.

The use of natural harmonics here offers a highly effective accompaniment to the melodic fragments which are emphasized through mordants:

Example 23: *Aire de Zamba*, mm. 47-49.

Barrios' exploitation of the resonance of harmonics here recalls his use of a similar technique in *Mazurka Apasionata*, in which he creates a jewel-like effect:

The image displays two staves of musical notation for guitar. The top staff is labeled 'C12' and shows a sequence of notes with fingerings (2, 3, 1) and a 'harm 7' marking. The bottom staff shows a sequence of notes with fingerings (4, 3, 2) and 'harm 12' markings. Both staves illustrate the technique of harmonic resonance in guitar playing.

Example 24: *Mazurka Apasionata*, mm. 25-30.

Source: *The Guitar Works of Agustín Barrios Mangoré*, Stover, vol. 3.

With *Maxixe* and *Aire de Zamba*, as with the other works discussed above – *Danza Paraguaya*, *Chôro de Saudade*, *Cueca* – Barrios revealed his intimate knowledge of the diversity of Latin American musical genres, and realised those forms in the authentic vehicle of his continent's musical culture: the guitar.¹⁴

Case Study: Aconquija

Aconquija forms part of the *Suite Andina* (Andean Suite), and is an excellent example of Barrios' folkloric compositions, incorporating various techniques which are entirely idiomatic to the guitar, while encapsulating the essence of a Latin American musical tradition [audio example 6]. *Aconquija* takes its name from a peak in the Andes in northern Argentina and its opening single note melody is derived from Barrios' hearing

¹⁴ Refer to 'The Guitar in Latin America', Chapter 2, 76-89.

a native musician playing a tune on the indigenous flute known as the *quena*.¹⁵ This plaintive opening melody is embellished through chords which employ the device used by Barrios in *Cueca*, where the melody on the lower strings in high positions is played against the open strings of the guitar:

Example 25: *Aconquija*, mm. 1-6.

Source: *The Guitar Works of Agustín Barrios Mangoré*, Stover, vol. 3.

Example 26: *Aconquija*, mm. 10-15.

The melody is then doubled at the interval of a tenth and exploits the expressive qualities of the fourth string:

Example 27: *Aconquija*, mm. 16-21.

¹⁵ Notes by Rico Stover to the recording *Agustín Barrios: Guitar Music, vol.1*, Antigoni Goni, guitar, (Naxos 8.554558, 2001).

In the following section, which alters the time signature from 2/4 to 3/4, Barrios utilises the warm sonorities of thirds in the key of A major:¹⁶

Example 28: *Aconquija*, mm. 26-32.

The mood to this point has been one of wistful introspection, creating the effect of the guitarist improvising on the simple opening tune. Once more this is followed by a scherzando-like section marked *Animato*, which changes entirely the character of the work by inserting a rhythmic, classical interlude. This section is also thoroughly representative of the way that Barrios would often combine classical elements with folk music:

Example 29: *Aconquija*, mm. 33-36.

¹⁶ Intervals of thirds have a particular expressiveness in this key for the guitar and were favoured by composers in the Romantic era. Paganini's *Grand Sonata* for guitar and violin, *Andantino Variato*, Variation 3 is a prime example; see the edition *Grand Sonata per Chitarra e Violino M.S3*, Urtext edition with facsimiles of the original manuscripts edited by Giuseppe Gazzelloni (Heidelberg: Chanterelle, 1990). The work is most often performed in an arrangement for solo guitar which incorporates the relatively rudimentary violin part.

The *Animato* tempo is maintained until the recapitulation, with two further sections with varied effects. As with *Cueca*, Barrios here inserts an extended *tambor* passage which is not simply a series of static chords but has a lively melodic interest:

Example 30: *Aconquija*, mm. 49-57.

Again we see how the idiomatic guitar technique of *tambor* assumes a status of far more than a mere effect and becomes part of the work's structure.

Finally, Barrios includes a pizzicato section, with a statement of the same theme which modulates back to A major before the recapitulation. This passage is marked *fagote*, a further reference to classical tradition in which the guitar's pizzicato sound imitates the timbre of the bassoon:

Example 31: *Aconquija*, mm. 58-65.

This is one of the very few markings in his scores where Barrios explicitly acknowledges the guitar's capacity to imitate other instrumental timbres through its varied tone colours, although, as we have seen from the previous examples, Barrios was extremely gifted in exploiting these qualities of the guitar. As described in his *Profesión de Fe*, Barrios also depicted the guitar as an orchestra from which sprang 'a marvelous symphony of all the virgin voices of America'.¹⁷ Like *Cueca, Aconquija* provides a rich spectrum of guitaristic colours, and also integrates classical with folk elements. It again illustrates how Barrios exploited the full range of idiomatic guitar techniques in composing traditional Latin American genres.

Barrios' Tremolo Works and the Significance of Guitar Tremolo

This thesis argues that the body of work which best illustrates the fantasy element of Barrios' cultural identity are the tremolo works. It is in these compositions that Barrios achieved the most convincing synthesis of his performing persona of Mangoré with his artistic beliefs and compositional style. At the same time, these pieces also situate Barrios as the most significant composer of tremolo in the guitar repertoire.

Tremolo is an idiomatic and, for the performer, demanding guitar technique, which provides the aural illusion of sustained melody on an instrument which, unlike bowed string instruments or wind instruments, lacks the capacity of sustained sound for a single note. To execute tremolo, the fingers of the right hand play a texture of rapid repeated notes, accompanied by the thumb, which adopts both an accompanying and

¹⁷ Introduction, 2. Segovia also acknowledged the rich tonal spectrum of the guitar and, following Beethoven, he famously depicted the guitar as a miniature orchestra; Introduction, 2, footnote 2. Segovia demonstrated the range of orchestral effects possible on the guitar in the documentary made at his home in Almuñecar, Spain in *Segovia at Los Olivos* (London: Allegro Films, 1967).

melodic function.¹⁸ Tremolo thus challenges the concept of the guitar as a non-sustaining instrument, which has traditionally been regarded as its weakness, and seeks to transcend its percussive mode of articulation.¹⁹ Guitar sonority is characterised by a process of continuous decay, that is, notes die immediately on being struck. As Julian Bream has observed in describing the particular mode of sound production on the guitar, the guitarist is constantly engaged in the process of conjuring sounds into life which immediately fade or die, in other words a cycle of endless birth and death.²⁰ Through tremolo the guitarist can thus emulate the sustained melodic capacity of the violin or the flute. When played well, with a perfectly even tone, it has a particularly beguiling effect on audiences and we can imagine the profound impression that Barrios had when he performed his own tremolo works in concert [**audio examples 7 & 8**]. And in relation to the central argument of this thesis, the intensely introspective, trance-like quality of the tremolo was also profoundly expressive of Barrios' musical Romanticism, with its foregrounding of performing individualism, and which he elaborated through the figure of Mangoré.²¹

¹⁸ Tremolo in the classical idiom consists of the thumb playing against the three repeated notes of the right hand; in the terminology of guitar notation this is indicated by p,a,m,i. In flamenco, however, this is often extended to other more elaborate figurations such as p,a,m,i,m or p,a,m,i,m,a, or even with the use of the little finger such as p,i,m,a,c,a,m,i.

¹⁹ On the other hand, guitarists can legitimately point to the artificiality of other stringed instruments which, through the use of a bow, allow for the indefinite drawing out of a single note!

²⁰ *Guitarra: The Guitar in Spain*, [videorecording] (United States: Third Eye Production for RMArts/Channel Four, 1985). Of course this quality of the guitar is common to the zither family of plucked string instruments and it is particularly evident in the Japanese koto, the Chinese qin and the Middle Eastern oud. Thus the cultural significance of the koto, for example, is bound up with the profound importance of silence in Japanese music which in turn reflects the place of silence in the philosophy of Zen Buddhism.

²¹ Refer to, 'Barrios and Romanticism, Chapter 2, 68-70.

Precursors to Barrios: Regondi and Tárrega

Although Francisco Tárrega (1852-1909) is commonly regarded as the originator of the tremolo, he did not invent the idiom. Giulio Regondi's (1822-1872) *Reverie - Nocturne* published in 1864 incorporated tremolo in its middle section, and its title already reveals those connotations of dreaming or meditation with which other composers have invested this genre:



Example 32: Giulio Regondi, *Reverie-Nocturne*, mm. 38-42.

Source: Giulio Regondi, *Complete Concert Works for Guitar*, in facsimiles of the original editions with a commentary and biographical essay on the composer by Simon Wynberg, Monaco: Chanterelle, 1980.

Yet if Tárrega did not devise the tremolo, his *Recuerdos de la Alhambra* (Memories of the Alhambra) has nevertheless attained a paradigmatic significance in the history of the guitar repertoire, as a work which signifies the tremolo and also embodies an enduring evocation of the guitar's Spanish heritage.



Example 33: Francisco Tárrega, *Recuerdos de la Alhambra*, mm. 1-4.

Source: Francisco Tárrega, *Opere per Chitarra*, revisione di Mario Gangi, collaborazione di Carlo Carfagna, vol. 3, Composizioni Originali, Milano: Edizioni Berben, 1971.

Thus, prior to the revival of Barrios' music in the 1970s, *Recuerdos de la Alhambra* was the ubiquitous example of the tremolo idiom, a work which occupied such a central position in the guitar repertoire that it was referred to simply as 'the tremolo study,' and informally, as the guitarist's national anthem. Segovia established the trend by recording the work several times, followed by other aspiring guitarists. All regarded the piece as a test of the guitarist's ability to achieve the perfectly flowing texture of repeated notes, which lent the instrument an illusion of sustained legato.

As Michael Curtis has observed, what Tárrega portrayed by his use of tremolo was not merely the general sense of wonder and beauty of this Moorish citadel with its majestic vaulted ceilings and ornate carvings. Rather, he captured the very sound of the trickling fountains which pervade the Alhambra and which contribute so richly to its sense of introspection and meditation.²² Tárrega wrote one other tremolo work, *¡Sueño!*, a title which evokes the dreaming qualities of Barrios' *Un Sueño en la Floresta*.

²² 'Tárrega and the Alhambra', *Soundboard*, 16.2 (Summer 1989), 14. Isaac Albéniz achieved a similar evocation of the Alhambra's sound of running water in his piano work *Granada*, through the repeated arpeggiated chords which accompany the left hand melody. Tárrega transcribed that work for guitar which may also have served as inspiration for *Recuerdos*.

Barrios and the Tremolo

Barrios' contributions to guitar tremolo consisted of four works: *Canción de la Hilandera* (Song of the Thread Spinner), *Contemplación*, *Una Limosna por el Amor de Dios* and *Un Sueño en la Floresta*. The *Canción de la Hilandera* is the least known and performed of these, perhaps because it lacks the variety and development of the other tremolo pieces. Nevertheless, it is a most effective sound portrait of the spinning wheel, which Barrios composed purportedly after watching a woman working at the wheel in the town of Puebla, during his trip to Mexico in 1935.²³ The work is marked *con ternura expresiva* (with warm affection), indicating the respect with which he regarded the artisan working at her craft.

A feature of Barrios' tremolo composition is the way that the melodic line works independently of the bass line. Tárrega treated tremolo basically in the form of elaboration of fixed chords as shown by this passage from *Recuerdos*:

Example 34: *Recuerdos de la Alhambra*, mm. 29-32.

Barrios, however, uses the soprano line most imaginatively, liberating it from a rigid vertical structure of horizontal chords. This is evident in the very opening of *Canción de*

²³ Notes by Rico Stover to the recording *Agustin Barrios: Guitar Music, vol.2*, Enno Voorhorst, guitar, (Naxos 8.555718, 2003).

la Hilandera, where the soprano voice already displays far more movement than is the case in Tárrega's piece. The subtle use of *ritardando* as the bass line descends, and *accelerando* as it ascends, also enhances the effectiveness of tone painting which imitates the variation in speed of the spinning wheel:

The image shows a musical score for a guitar piece. It consists of two staves. The top staff is the soprano line, marked 'Andantino' and 'con ternura expresiva'. It features a tremolo pattern with various fingerings (1, 2, 3, 4) and a bass line that descends and then ascends. The bottom staff is the bass line, also featuring a tremolo pattern and a chromatic movement. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The tempo is marked 'Andantino' and the performance instruction is 'con ternura expresiva'. The score includes a capo sign (6 = D) and various fingering numbers (1, 2, 3, 4) and a 0 for natural.

Example 35: *Cancion de la Hilandera*, mm. 1-4.

Source: *The Guitar Works of Agustín Barrios Mangoré*, Richard D. Stover (ed.), vol. 2, New York: Belwin Mills, 1977.

The title of *Contemplación*, composed around 1922, indicates the meditative mood that pervades Barrios' tremolo pieces and which is also realised in the titles of his other works in this genre with their associations of the spiritual and contemplative [audio example 7]. The subtitle *Vals et Tremolo* also has evocations of the dance, as if seen through a dream. As with *Canción de la Hilandera*, the soprano line is written with considerable freedom, as shown in the first entry of the tremolo from measure 11 with its chromatic movement followed by a rapid ascent right up to the fourteenth position of the guitar:

Example 36: *Contemplación*, mm.11-13.
 Source: *Barrios: 7 Pieces for Guitar*, Waldron, vol. 1.

The writing from measure 65, which modulates from F# min to F# dim, involves an ingenious passage of shifting harmony in which, alternatively, the bass line changes under the held soprano line, and vice versa. The inspired guitar writing here displays an intimate knowledge of the fingerboard and demands, typically for Barrios' music, considerable left hand stretches from the performer:

Example 37: *Contemplación*, mm. 65-67.

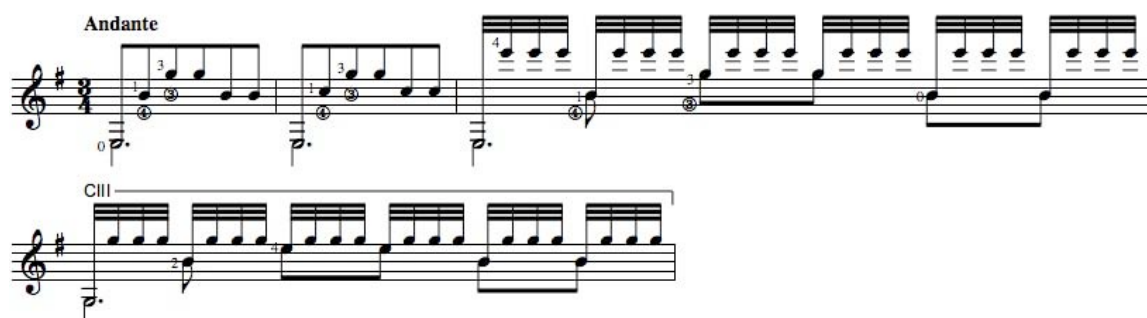
From measure 90 Barrios uses the tremolo figuration as a pedal on the open E string in which the bass line traverses a range of almost three octaves, modulating from the dominant back to the tonic of A major:

Example 38: *Contemplación*, mm. 90-95.

The closing bars of *Contemplación* display a further characteristic feature of Barrios' tremolo works, in which the bass and soprano lines ascend in sequence to the very top register of the guitar, accompanied by a diminuendo leading to a pianissimo ending. Here one senses Barrios striving to transcend the limits of the instrument in both the physical and emotional senses.

Example 39: *Contemplación*, mm.111-118.

Una Limosna por el Amor de Dios occupies a particular importance in Barrios' output as the last work which he composed, shortly before his death in 1944, and because of this, it has often been assigned a deep spiritual significance.²⁴ In one sense it can be regarded not only as the culmination of Barrios' conception of tremolo, but also as a summation of his entire artistic credo. The opening figure of repeated bass notes has been described as a beggar knocking at the door, beseeching for the alms 'for the love of God' depicted in the work's title.²⁵ This ostinato figure persists throughout the entire work:



Example 40: *Una Limosna por el Amor de Dios*, mm.1-4.
Source: *Barrios: 7 Pieces for Guitar*, Waldron, vol. 2.

This composition is the closest in spirit to *Recuerdos de la Alhambra*, both in the relatively fixed nature of the writing, proceeding by a series of horizontal chords, and particularly in the harmonic structure which proceeds from minor to relative major. This modulation includes the chromatic movement at the conclusion of *Una Limosna*, reminiscent of the corresponding bass line in the closing measures of *Recuerdos*:

²⁴ Stover disputes the nomenclature of this work which is often referred to as *La Ultima Cancion*, a quasi-romantic title which depicts its status as Barrios' final work; 'The Guitar in Iberoamerica, Part 26: Barrios – Dispelling the Myths and Hearsay', *Classical Guitar*, 19.3 (November 2000), 24.

²⁵ Richard D. Stover, 'Agustín Barrios Mangoré, His Life and Music, Part IV: Discussion and Analysis', *Guitar Review*, 101 (Spring 1995), 26.

Example 41: *Recuerdos de la Alhambra*, mm. 53-57.

Example 42: *Una Limosna por el Amor de Dios*, mm. 75-80.

These closing measures are also notable as an illustration of the way that Barrios maintains a soprano line while the bass line is full of movement, modulating from E major to E minor dim. and finally back to E major for the work's conclusion. As Stover observes, the conclusion of *Una Limosna por el Amor de Dios*, involving this fundamental modulation from E minor to E major, keys which have a deep-seated significance for the guitar, represents a profound spiritual affirmation of Barrios' musical and artistic ethos.²⁶ It is entirely appropriate that this tremolo study, which held

²⁶ Stover, *Six Silver Moonbeams*, 198. The significance of these keys for the guitar lies in the resonance of the open strings: 1 and 6 (E), G (3), B (2) which are integral to these keys and which many composers have exploited, including Villa-Lobos (*Étude 1*, *Prélude 1*, *Concerto*) and Fernando Sor (*Variations on a Theme of Mozart*).

such significance for Barrios and for which he reserved his most profound emotional statements, should have been his final composition.

Case Study: *Un Sueño en la Floresta*

Un Sueño en la Floresta (*A Dream in the Forest*), also known as *Souvenir d'un Rêve* (*Memory of a Dream*), is the most elaborate of Barrios' tremolo pieces (and thus the most intricate tremolo work in the guitar repertoire), although paradoxically it was the first work in this genre he composed, in 1918 [audio example 8]. The extension of guitar technique which Barrios illustrated in his compositions is again fully demonstrated in *Sueño*, which extended the idiom of guitar tremolo both physically and conceptually. In this work Barrios' imagination literally outstripped the limitations of the instrument, necessitating him to add a twentieth fret to extend the top B of the guitar to C, a requirement which he met through ordering a special instrument with the extra fret:²⁷

The image displays a musical score for a guitar piece, specifically focusing on tremolo passages. It consists of two staves of music. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music features a series of tremolo passages, each marked with a circled number (1, 2, 3, 4) indicating the finger used for the notes. A dashed line above the staff indicates a specific fretting technique: "Do (traste No. XX)", where 'XX' represents the twentieth fret. The bottom staff continues the tremolo passages, also marked with circled numbers (1, 2, 2, 1). The notation uses a standard guitar staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat.

Example 43: *Un Sueño en la Floresta*, mm.108-110.

Source: *Barrios*, Jesus Benites (ed.), 4 vol., Tokyo: Zen-On, 1977-1982.

²⁷ John Williams achieved the desired end by the prosaic device of gluing a matchstick to the end of the fingerboard; notes to the recording *John Williams-Barrios: John Williams plays the music of Agustín Barrios Mangoré*, John Williams, guitar (CBS 76662, 1977). Many modern luthiers now include the extra fret on their new guitars at the request of clients.

This element of extension is entirely characteristic of Barrios' approach to the guitar, in which artistic imagination necessitated extending the limits of technique. In this sense also, Barrios reveals himself as a virtuoso in the tradition of Liszt and Paganini, who similarly altered the concept of what was possible on the piano and the violin, respectively.²⁸

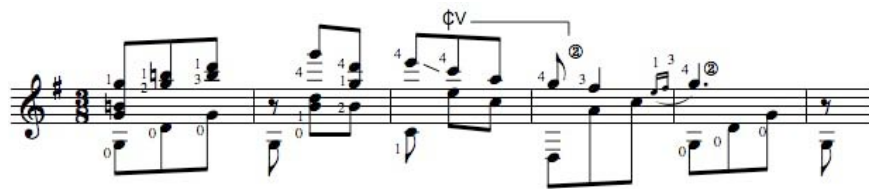
The title of the piece provides a vital programmatic element to the work's character, recalling the sentiments of Barrios' credo as outlined in his *Profesión de Fe*. As mentioned in the Introduction and elaborated in Chapter 3, Barrios here presented the origin of the guitar in mythological terms couched in the powerful symbolism of the jungle: Tupa, the supreme god found him one day 'in the middle of a greening forest, enraptured in the contemplation of Nature' and presented the guitar, this mysterious box, and enclosed within it 'all the songs of the birds of the jungle and the mournful sighs of the plants'. The fact that the composition of *Un Sueño* predated the start of Barrios' Mangoré period by twelve years indicates that the elements of his Indian character were already present in his artistic ethos, and that Mangoré gave concrete form to these ideas. This argues against the case, put forward by various Barrios biographers, that Mangoré was a cynical ploy to exploit the appeal of his Indian ancestry, or a desperate commercial attempt at recognition, or an artistic whim. On the contrary, Mangoré gave startling visual expression to the themes of Barrios' life and composition, realised most perfectly in works such as *Un Sueño en la Floresta*.

²⁸ Similarly, Barrios was referred to as the magician of the guitar, for example, in concert publicity; Rico Stover, 'The Music of Barrios: Part Thirteen, On the Trail of Barrios – 2005', *Classical Guitar*, 24.1 (September 2005), 19. See also Chapter 3, 94.

Tonality, Harmonic Structure

The G tuning which Barrios employed in this work was another idiomatic feature of his guitar writing in which he excelled. This key held a particular fascination and significance for him, and Barrios used that tuning for at least eight other works in which he exploited the rich sonorities afforded by the guitar's open strings in this tonality.²⁹

The tuning of the 5th and 6th strings to G and D respectively, together with the normal tuning of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th strings to B, G and D provides for the use of open strings in a tonic/dominant relationship in which all these strings can be utilised in chords across the entire range of the guitar. The G major section of another famous work with G tuning, Miguel Llobet's transcription of Enrique Granados' tonadilla *La Maja de Goya*,³⁰ provides a good illustration of this theme: the movement of chords up the first string utilises the open fifth (G), fourth (D) and third (G) strings, providing a rich mix of overlapping sonorities in which these strings resonate beyond their strict time values.



Example 44: Enrique Granados, *La Maja de Goya (Tonadilla)*, mm. 110-115.
Source: transcribed for guitar by Miguel Llobet, Madrid: Unión Musical Española, 1958.

The tender Introduction to *Un Sueño*, the most elaborate in any of Barrios' tremolo works, contains several episodes which anticipate themes to be developed throughout

²⁹ *A Mi Madre (Sonatina), Caazapá-Aire Popular Paraguayo, Canción de Cuna, Choro da Suadade, Confesión, Romanza en Imitación al Violoncello (Página d'Album), Tango no. 2 and Tua Imagen – Vals.* Given the continuing research into Barrios, his somewhat lackadaisical attitude to committing his music to paper and his habit of donating scores to friends, it is always possible that new works will be discovered. Barrios also used the more common D tuning (6th string to D) in many of his works. See Rico Stover, 'The Music of Barrios – Part One', *Classical Guitar*, 22.8 (April 2004), 11-12.

³⁰ Enrique Granados, *La Maja de Goya (Tonadilla)*, transcribed by Miguel Llobet, (Madrid: Unión Musical Española, 1958).

the work: the pedal D in measures 5 and 6, and the portamento section from measure 9 are more fully developed later.

Example 45: *Un Sueño en la Floresta*, mm. 5-12.

Similarly, the following pizzicato passage in G minor anticipates the extended section in the minor key later in the piece

Example 46: *Un Sueño en la Floresta*, mm. 16-20.

The start of the tremolo proper is distinguished by the chromatic movement of the soprano line on the 5th and 6th quavers:

Example 47: *Un Sueño en la Floresta*, mm. 23-25.

Barrios interrupts the tremolo with one of his most inspired flights of fancy, introduced by a section featuring a pedal D against a series of moveable chords which anticipate the guitar writing of Villa-Lobos:³¹

Example 48: *Un Sueño en la Floresta*, mm. 60-63.

Natural harmonics lead to a most imaginative portamento section which gains an added expressiveness through Barrios' favourite device of melodic voicing on the third string:

Example 49: *Un Sueño en la Floresta*, mm. 64-70.

This is followed by an episode which is familiar from the discussion of previous works, a cadenza-like scale run which leads into the minor section. The rapidly ascending melodic line of the tremolo in this section is extremely effective and distinguishes Barrios' tremolo writing from other examples of this genre:

³¹ Villa-Lobos used moveable chords in many of his guitar works, notably *Étude No. 1* from the *Douze Études*, and the diminished 7th section of *Prélude No. 1* from *Cinq Préludes*.

Musical score for Example 50, *Un Sueño en la Floresta*, mm. 84-92. The score is written for guitar in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. It consists of four staves. The first staff contains measures 84-92, with fret numbers (CII, CV, CVIII, CXI) and sixteenth-note patterns. The second staff continues the melody with a 'rapido' marking and includes a double bar line. The third and fourth staves show further melodic development with various fret numbers and fingerings.

Example 50: *Un Sueño en la Floresta*, mm. 84-92.

The minor section features a massive build up to the high C (20th fret):

Musical score for Example 51, *Un Sueño en la Floresta*, mm. 105-109. The score is written for guitar in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (Bb, Eb) and a 2/4 time signature. It consists of three staves. The first two staves show a melodic line with sixteenth-note patterns and various fret numbers. The third staff is marked 'Do (traste No. XX)' and shows a massive build up to the high C (20th fret) with a series of sixteenth-note patterns.

Example 51: *Un Sueño en la Floresta*, mm. 105-109.

before descending back to a recapitulation of the G major section with a melodic line which has evocations of the portamento section of measures 66-69:

The image shows two systems of musical notation for guitar. The first system is labeled with a circled VII and consists of two staves. The top staff contains a series of sixteenth-note patterns with various fret numbers (1, 2, 3, 4) and fingerings. The bottom staff contains a bass line with fret numbers 0, 1, and 0. The second system is labeled with a circled V and consists of one staff with similar notation, including a circled 3 in the bass line.

Example 52: *Un Sueño en la Floresta*, mm. 116-118.

The conclusion sees the soprano line soar again to the very limits of the guitar in a series of G major chords where Barrios again shifts the soprano voice while repeating the bass line:

The image shows three systems of musical notation for guitar. Each system is labeled with a circled Roman numeral: VII, XII, and III. Each system consists of two staves. The top staff of each system contains complex sixteenth-note patterns with various fret numbers and fingerings. The bottom staff contains a bass line with fret numbers 0 and 1. The notation includes various chordal structures and melodic lines.

Example 53: *Un Sueño en la Floresta*, mm. 141-146.

In summary, *Un Sueño en la Floresta* represents an extension and perfection of the tremolo genre which Regondi and Tárrega had pioneered, and to which Barrios would make a major contribution in other key works, including *Cancion de la Hilandera*, *Contemplación* and *Una Limosna por el Amor de Dios*. Moreover, the trance-like qualities of the tremolo, a compositional device unique to the guitar, afforded Barrios the ideal means of expressing his conception of musical Romanticism. The elements of fantasy which Barrios portrayed as Mangoré found their complete musical realisation in this series of compositions with their qualities of dreaming and meditation. The image of himself which Barrios presented in the *Profesión de Fe*, the innocent artist alone in the jungle lost in wonder at the beauties of Nature, presented with this mysterious instrument, the guitar, is able to liberate its soul and his own musical identity through *Un Sueño en la Floresta*.

Conclusion

The notion of cultural identity assumed a startling manifestation in the persona which the Paraguayan guitarist-composer Agustín Barrios adopted between 1930 and 1934, the sixteenth century Guaraní chief Mangoré. As Mangoré, Barrios presented to audiences a fully formed realisation of their own historical Indian culture, clothed in the setting of the jungle and prefaced with a poetical introduction which situated Barrios-Mangoré as the divine messenger of Latin American music via the guitar.

In the modern revival of interest in Barrios since the 1970s, critical commentary has tended to marginalise the phenomenon of Mangoré as an interesting but ultimately irrelevant aspect of his career. Similarly, Latin American perspectives on Mangoré have adopted differing interpretations, recognising Barrios' celebration of Indian culture, but also containing strong elements of commercial exploitation and artistic licence.

Yet to admit the fantastic element in the creation of Mangoré is not necessarily to accept the view of that figure as a capricious, whimsical creation, for such an interpretation can be challenged on several grounds. Five years was a considerable period merely to test a provocative idea in the face of continued disparagement by critics. Moreover, Barrios also continued to use the name Nitsuga Mangoré in his concerts right up to the end of his life, indicating more than a superficial attachment to that persona. Most compellingly, Barrios presented Mangoré as integral to his artistic conception of the guitar.

That concept was demonstrated in his poetic utterances such as the *Profesión de Fe* and *Bohemio*, but also in his wandering lifestyle, his utter devotion to the instrument, the Romanticism of his compositions, and his vision of the transforming function of art.

In the ritual whereby he was transformed into Mangoré, Barrios assumed an identity which defined his artistic credo. As Mangoré he was refashioned and thus redefined in the act of performance. For Barrios, Mangoré offered to audiences, but above all to himself, an idealised self-concept of the powerful, mysterious Indian, reaffirming the value and independence of Latin American music and presented through the emblematic vehicle of his continent's cultural life, the guitar.

Indeed, this interpretation allows a reconciliation of opposing views on Mangoré: a step which Barrios initially made in a fanciful way may well have assumed a far greater significance as he grew into the role which he had created for himself. The decision to forsake Mangoré as he embarked upon an intended European tour in 1934 was then partially reversed in the final stage of Barrios' life, during which he again took on the title of Nitsuga Mangoré as he resumed his musical pilgrimage through Latin America. And in that sense, Mangoré defined for Barrios the authenticity of his performing identity, made explicit during the Indian period of 1930-34, abandoned for European audiences (mistakenly, it has been argued), but maintaining an implicit and irreducible value in his musical personality to the end of his life.

In challenging the idea that Mangoré was a cynical response by a guitarist desperate to demonstrate his worth in the wake of Segovia's success, or a harmless parody satirising the pompous conventions of the concert stage, this thesis has consistently argued that Mangoré was integral to Barrios' personality, and that moreover, it represents a paradigmatic example in the study of cultural identity in which aesthetic value is shaped through the act of performance. Most significantly and convincingly, Barrios gave concrete expression to these ideals through his compositions. In his folkloric works which drew on various traditions he provided enduring examples

of these genres and situated the guitar as the iconic instrument of Latin American music. Moreover, the elements of fantasy which Mangoré embodied were fully realised in the great tremolo works, with Barrios himself as the medium of their profound and intimate message.

As this thesis has argued, the phenomenon of Mangoré was also significant in historical terms. As Mangoré, Barrios embodied those wider cultural tensions in which Latin America asserted its cultural independence as a reaction to the deference which had characterised her relations with the Old World for centuries. Barrios thereby consciously participated in these cultural debates and divisions of the post-Independence era, which challenged traditional European (and specifically Hispanic) centred allegiances while asserting an independent identity which drew strength from Latin America's Indian heritage. For John Williams, the revival of interest in Barrios in recent decades thus represents a foregrounding of the whole Latin American tradition in contrast to the accepted traditions of European culture:

There was for a long time in Latin America a cultural deference to the Old World, the result of centuries of colonization which was also reflected in Europe's condescending attitude to Latin American culture, especially popular culture; Barrios was underestimated in his lifetime for both these reasons and outside Latin America was practically unknown. However, the second half of the 20th century has revealed the narrowness of the Eurocentric view and has led to a renaissance of indigenous and New World culture.¹

Barrios' *Profesión de Fe*, with its depiction of the guitar as containing 'a marvelous symphony of all the virgin voices of America', was particularly significant in the context of the rich developments which the guitar has undergone since its transplantation from European to Latin American culture:

¹ Notes by John Williams to the recording *The Great Paraguayan: John Williams plays Barrios*, John Williams, guitar (Sony SK 64 396, 1995). In this context, it is interesting to recall Segovia's attitude towards popular guitar traditions which he characterised as 'noisy and disreputable folkloric amusements'. See Appendix, 160, footnote 12.

There is here an irony which gives added interest to Mangoré's words ... within Europe the guitar had been, until the twentieth century, constrained by its Spanish identity, but when the Spanish and Portuguese empires took it to the American continent where there were previously no plucked-string instruments, not only did it evolve in many shapes and sizes to express the music of different races and cultures, but the guitar itself developed new and distinctive sounds – for example, in the music of Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Mexico, the Andes and the blues of North America.²

The full development of this process of the guitar's enrichment, encompassing diverse regional, and historical, traditions as well as its highest technical development, is seen in the music of Barrios. The modern recognition of Barrios completes this historical process in which the guitar has transcended its European, and specifically Spanish, heritage and flowered in the fertile cultures of Latin America.

² Notes by John Williams to the recording *Spirit of the Guitar: Music of the Americas*, John Williams, guitar (CBS MK 44898, 1989).

Appendix: Barrios and Segovia

It is revealing to place Barrios in the context of modern performance practice by comparing him with another key figure who had a major impact on the reception of Barrios' music: Andrés Segovia. Indeed, by situating him in this way, Barrios emerges as part of a central narrative for interpreting the history of twentieth century guitar performance. Given the influence, albeit indirect, that Segovia exerted on the formation of Barrios as Mangoré, it is worth considering their relationship in more detail.

There are only two recorded instances of Barrios and Segovia meeting, in October 1921 and in March 1944. In that initial encounter, after one of Segovia's concerts in Buenos Aires, Barrios played his composition *La Catedral* for Segovia which, according to the former's correspondence, so impressed Segovia that he requested a copy to play in his concerts. Barrios wrote of this meeting:

I have had the good fortune of hearing Segovia in one of his celebrated concerts at the La Argentina hall. Elbio¹ introduced me to him, and now we are the best of friends. He treated me very considerately and affectionately. I made him listen to some of my compositions on his very own guitar, which pleased him very much. Because of the sincere and frank treatment Segovia accorded me, I must tell you that I feel very close to him. I am enchanted by his manner of playing and try to imitate it, but without losing my own personality. He particularly liked *The Cathedral* and asked me for a copy so he could play it in concert. So I beg you, Pagolita,² please send me a copy of that composition as soon as possible since Segovia leaves for Europe on the 2nd of November. He encouraged me to make a journey to the Old World as soon as possible. He was not the least bit ill-humored with me. On the contrary, he held me in high esteem (something he had done for few professionals). According to him, he saw in me much sincerity as an artist.³

¹ Elbio Trápani, Barrios' secretary.

² Martín Borda y Pagola, Barrios' friend.

³ Sila Godoy and Luis Szaran, *Mangoré, Vida y Obra de Agustín Barrios* (Asunción: Editorial Nanduti, 1994), 40-43. Note, however, that Barrios could only have played the *Andante Religioso* and *Allegro Solemne* movements for Segovia. The *Preludio* section of *La Catedral* was composed later, in Havana in 1938, to form the three-movement work with which we are familiar.

Barrios' words here display more than mere admiration and a desire to share his music with Segovia. One can sense the attitude of deference to Segovia, of gratitude that he was able to play his works for Segovia, even that Segovia should notice his presence at all. Barrios strove to repay that gratitude by imitating Segovia, and for Segovia to actually request to play one of his compositions was the ultimate compliment to Barrios.

Segovia's own version of this meeting supports Barrios' account:

In 1921 in Buenos Aires, I played at the hall La Argentina noted for its good acoustics for guitar, where Barrios had concertized just weeks before me. He was presented to me by his secretary Elbio Trápani (an Argentinean). At my invitation Barrios visited me at the hotel and played for me upon my very own guitar several of his compositions among which the one that really impressed me was a magnificent concert piece *The Cathedral* whose first movement is an andante, like an introduction and prelude, and a second very virtuosic piece which is ideal for the repertory of any concert guitarist. Barrios had promised to send me immediately a copy of the work (I had ten days remaining before continuing my journey) but I never received a copy.

Much later a few close friends of Barrios informed me of the existence of a letter that he had written to Borda y Pagola requesting that the copy be sent me as soon as possible, thus I know that Barrios was a sincere and serious artist. But given the vicissitudes of his life style and the hard journeys he had to make, he was unable to keep his archives at hand.⁴

It was unfortunate, as Segovia's account describes, that Barrios was not able to comply with the request as he was thus denied the opportunity of Segovia incorporating *La Cathedral* into his repertoire, and in this way enabling a greater recognition of Barrios' work for European audiences. Yet, given this high opinion which Segovia formed of Barrios from their initial meeting, Segovia's subsequent neglect of Barrios' music constitutes a puzzling omission. The former's oft-repeated and proud declaration that one of his major objectives was to build a great repertoire for the instrument is also difficult to maintain given Segovia's later disregard of the most significant body of modern Latin American guitar music, which Barrios represented. In the later years of

⁴ Godoy and Szaran, *Mangoré*, 43-44.

Barrios' life, Segovia ignored him and, much later, declared that he was '...not a good composer for the guitar'.⁵ However, the evidence is not conclusive, and some care must be taken in interpreting Segovia's comments as a thorough critique of Barrios. As David Norton discusses:

But that's not the whole story...You see, as fate would have it, I was the student who asked Segovia about Barrios that afternoon, and this excerpted quote is his response to me.

The context is this. Segovia had done a masterclass at California State University – Northridge (CSUN). I'm thinking this was April 1981 or 1982. Not important. The class was concluded and I, along with 20 or 30 others, was up in front hovering. Circumstances were such that Segovia was answering a few questions from the students. I found myself not 4 feet from him, with Stover (my teacher at the time) right next to me.

I asked, "Maestro, what is your opinion of the music of Barrios which has become so popular recently?" His wife asked me to repeat it, because naturally they were not really listening. I did, she translated. Segovia paused, and it was clear that he was struggling for the right words. "Barrios he was not he did not write all small pieces (he gestured with his hands, thumb and forefinger indicating smallness) not like Ponce, who wrote large. No, in comparison to Ponce or Castelnuovo, Barrios is not good composer for la guitarra."

Stover only really heard the last bit. He was several shades beyond furious with me for asking: "You HAD to ask HIM, in front of God and everyone!! And he just dismissed my entire life's work. Thank you very much!!." And he stomped off. A week later, he apologized for over-reacting, and said "So what? He's an old man, who cares what he thinks? People with any brains know better about Barrios."

And no one who wasn't there that afternoon would ever have known of this conversation, if Stover himself hadn't spent the following years restating it over and over, and then attacking it.

So there you have it, at least as well as I recall the incident from 23-24 years ago. In context, a 90-year-old man, who was obviously very fatigued from 3 hours of teaching, speaking in English (which was never his strong point), and his actual statement is not nearly as damning as the sound-bite Stover has published over the years.

Make of it as you will.'⁶

It is, therefore, difficult to assert that Segovia was openly hostile towards Barrios or was highly critical of Barrios' compositional abilities, on the basis of this one comment that Segovia made towards the end of his life.

⁵ Stover, *Six Silver Moonbeams*, 70. See also Bacón Duarte Prado, *Agustín Barrios: Un genio insular* (Asunción: Editorial Araverá, 1985), 134.

⁶ 'Barrios and Segovia. Friends or Foes?', www.guitar-moonbeams.com/agustin-barrios-mangore.html (accessed: 29 September 2008).

In 1985, two years before his death, Segovia gave what was seemingly a more considered appraisal of the Paraguayan guitarist:

Agustín Barrios has succeeded in planting the name and prestige of his works in the mind of professionals and amateurs who exist in numerous countries near and far. His work is a flying academy that informs, deliberates and instructs as regards the intense and extensive life of our poetic instrument. He nourishes the love for the guitar and aids those who cultivate for mere pleasure or with aspirations of reaching a high distinguished place in the constellation of great artists. One must, therefore, congratulate my friend Agustín for the triumph of his powerful and noble effort.⁷

However, given the tenuous nature of their relationship which was based on 2 meetings, and Segovia's consistent neglect of Barrios' music, this belated posthumous recognition of Barrios, was, to say the least, disingenuous.

Yet Segovia's ambivalent attitude to Barrios and his music remains problematic given the profound similarities in their musical styles and sympathies. Both displayed a performance style characteristic of early twentieth century musical interpretation which accorded primacy to the expression of the performer's personality.⁸ Both guitarists also had a deep reverence for the music of classical composers which they transcribed to enlarge their repertoires. Many of Barrios' works – such as *La Catedral*, *Madrigal (Gavota)*, *Mazurka Apasionata*, *Vals No. 3*, *Julia Florida*, *Romanza en Imitacion al Violoncello*, *Medallon Antiguo*, the four tremolo works – would have made substantial additions to the repertoire which Segovia was so keen to develop. Moreover, the emotional expressiveness and Romantic style of these pieces were most sympathetic to his own musical preferences.

One area of divergence, however, was that Segovia was critical of Barrios' method of sound production which he regarded as crude and harsh. This was a

⁷ Notes to the recording *Agustín Barrios: Obras Completas de Guitarra*, Philippe Lemaigre, guitar, (Ricercar RIC 148, 2000).

⁸ Graham Wade, 'Segovia and Interpretation', *Classical Guitar*, 10.4 (November 1991), 36.

consequence of Barrios' choice of steel treble strings which he preferred for their brilliance, compared to the modern nylon treble strings which Segovia used from around the 1920s. Moreover, Barrios' persistence with metal strings was despite the fact that this had damaging effects on the reception he received in countries such as Uruguay and Argentina.⁹ In fact, Barrios' choice of strings, even after hearing and meeting Segovia who used the less strident nylon strings, raises a vital aesthetic question over Barrios' conception of sound and the importance in which he regarded sound quality in the totality of guitar performance. For Segovia, the primacy of beautiful sound ruled out any expediency which the metal strings may have afforded. Barrios' radical decision in using metal strings on a classical guitar is revealing of his aesthetics of guitar performance and thus provides another differentiation with Segovia's style.

The Guitarist as Prophet

A further intriguing parallel in the careers of Segovia and Barrios is the way that each regarded himself as charged with the quasi-divine task of revealing the mysteries of the guitar to the public. Segovia, in retrospect, portrayed himself as the prophet of the guitar whose mission was to present its true voice to the world. As he pronounced in his autobiography, 'I found the guitar almost at a standstill ... and raised it to the loftiest levels of the musical world'.¹⁰ In his words, he saw his role as the 'Apostle of the guitar'.¹¹ In later life he presented his life's work as a comprehensive and multi-faceted task which he had fulfilled in the development of the guitar's journey, from folk music accompaniment to accepted concert instrument. Those functions were nothing less than

⁹ Stover, *Six Silver Moonbeams*, pp. 45-46.

¹⁰ Andrés Segovia, *An Autobiography of the Years 1893-1920* (London: Marion Boyars, 1976), viii.

¹¹ Segovia, *Autobiography*, 20.

to 'redeem' the guitar from its folk origins, to create a repertoire, to build an audience, and finally to secure its future.¹²

In part, Segovia's attitude towards Barrios can be seen as a natural, if unfortunate, reaction to a potential rival. For Segovia, given the enormous pains he had taken to establish his own career and his self-proclaimed pivotal role in the development of the guitar, it would have been problematic, to say the least, to acknowledge Barrios as an equal. With Barrios, Segovia faced a musician as virtuosic and expressive as himself, and who, moreover, wrote brilliantly for the guitar. And by the time of their first meeting in 1921, Barrios was not a novice composer but had written major works including *Un Sueño en la Floresta*, *Gavotte-Madrigal*, *Mazurka Apasionata*, *Vals No. 3*, *Estudio de Concierto*, *Prelude in G minor*, and *Las Abejas*, in addition to *La Catedral* which made such a deep impression on Segovia. Barrios in fact continued that tradition – which Segovia himself respected and knew intimately – of virtuoso guitarist-composers who flourished in the nineteenth century and included such major figures as Fernando Sor, Mauro Giuliani and Francisco Tárrega.

But such recognition of Barrios on Segovia's part would have required a radical readjustment of his own position, indeed of his *raison d'être*. Barrios offered a fully-formed, living embodiment of the central task to which Segovia had dedicated his life, which was to realise the hidden expressive potential of the guitar, through the

¹² In his acceptance speech at the conferring of the honorary Doctor of Music Degree at Florida State University in 1969, at the age of 76, he referred to these multiple purposes which had guided his endeavours, aiming towards what he called the 'redemption of the guitar': 'My prime effort was to extract the guitar from the noisy and disreputable folkloric amusements. This was the second of my purposes: to create a wonderful repertoire for my instrument. My third purpose was to make the guitar known by the philharmonic public all over the world. Another and fourth purpose has been to provide a unifying medium for those interested in the development of the instrument. This I did through the support of the now well-known international musicological journal, the *Guitar Review*...I am still working on my fifth and last purpose, which is to place the guitar in the most important conservatories of the world for teaching the young lovers of it, thus securing its future.' See Andrés Segovia, *Guitar Review*, 32 (Fall 1969), 1-3.

development of a virtuosic technique and a substantial repertoire. For Segovia, the confrontation with the virtuosity of Barrios, as the possessor of a fully formed technique directed to profound levels of musical expression, was undoubtedly a shock to his own belief in himself as the major creative figure of the guitar.

Segovia and the Repertoire

Further investigation of Segovia's career reveals that his neglect of Barrios' music was not atypical, but followed a pattern whereby he ignored many compositions, including some dedicated to him, regardless of their significance or their affinity with his own artistic preferences. Segovia's stance towards the most famous of guitar concertos, Joaquin Rodrigo's *Concierto de Aranjuez*, was significant in this regard. Because of the chaos of the Spanish Civil War and Segovia's enforced exile in Uruguay from 1936, he was denied a role in the work's genesis, which instead fell to Regino Sainz de la Maza who premièred the work in Barcelona in 1940.¹³ Segovia never performed the *Concierto de Aranjuez* through his later career; instead his response was to approach Rodrigo with the request for another guitar concerto, which resulted in the *Fantasia para un Gentilhombre*, a work which celebrated Segovia in its title and intent.

That pattern of championing highly individualistic works from Spanish composers of a traditional or *casticista* style, such as Turina, Torroba and Rodrigo, and of certain Latin American composers, notably Ponce and Villa-Lobos, had serious implications both for the wider repertoire which Segovia constructed, and for those

¹³ The other major guitar concertos in the first half of the twentieth century, by Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Manuel Ponce and Heitor Villa-Lobos, had all been written for and premièred by Segovia, thereby allowing him to demonstrate again his pivotal role in another significant genre of the guitar repertoire.

potential compositions that were never written. This has been a point of contention for modern commentators, who have re-evaluated Segovia's role in the development of the guitar repertoire, contrasting it unfavourably with Segovia's own account. They have lamented the fact that while Segovia was highly successful in attracting composers to the instrument, sometimes with prolific results as in the case of Ponce and Castelnuovo-Tedesco, he never sought to obtain pieces from the century's major figures, including Bartok, Prokofiev, Ravel, Schoenberg, Shostakovich, Stravinsky and Webern.¹⁴

From this perspective, self-promotion, and not the more disinterested motive of encouraging leading contemporary composers to write for the guitar, was the guiding principle of Segovia's career. The body of compositions which Segovia commissioned and performed thus fell significantly short of the 'wonderful repertoire' which he repeatedly proclaimed as the results of his labours.¹⁵ Segovia's stance towards the music of Barrios thus followed a pattern of selective, idiosyncratic selection whose guiding principle was the promotion of works written for his own performance, and which had

¹⁴ A former president of the Julliard School articulated the frustrations of many, and the sense of loss for what might have been, when he commented: 'What I don't understand is why Segovia went after composers like Turina, Ponce and Torroba rather than composers like Stravinsky or Webern – the truly great, or at any rate, much more significant composers of his day. He had an opportunity to seek out first-class music from first-class composers, but instead he developed a literature that is not very substantial musically.'; Paul Menin in conversation with Allan Kozinn, *New York Times*, quoted in Brian Hodel, 'Twentieth Century Music and the Guitar, Part I: 1900-1945', *Guitar Review*, 117 (Summer 1999), 13.

Segovia's perception of Stravinsky is revealing in this regard: 'He [Stravinsky] was always looking to see if I would ask him to write something. But I never did. "Why doesn't Andrés ask me to write for him?" he kept asking mutual friends. The reason for this is that he might have wanted me to play the guitar behind my back, or up in the air, or worse still, if I didn't like the work I didn't want to refuse him.' Quoted in Graham Wade, 'Segovia and Interpretation – Part 2', *Classical Guitar* 10.5 (January 1992), 36.

In addition to the lost opportunities of obtaining works from the century's leading composers, this also included important works dedicated to him but which he ignored. Frank Martin's *Quatre Pieces Breves* was a notable example: written in 1933 for Segovia, it had to wait until the 1960s for Julian Bream to demonstrate its merits. Examination of his manuscripts in 2001, now housed in the Segovia Archive in Linares, revealed many works from Spanish, French and British composers written for Segovia, but never played by him. See Angelo Gilardino, 'The Manuscripts of the Andrés Segovia Archive' *Guitar Review*, 125.1 (2002), 1-6.

¹⁵ Peter E. Segal, *The Role of Andrés Segovia in Re-shaping the Repertoire of the Classical Guitar*, Doctoral Dissertation (Temple University, 1994).

serious and damaging implications for the development of the guitar repertoire in the twentieth century.¹⁶

Segovia and Mangoré

As discussed above, Segovia had been influential in Barrios' decision to transform himself into the figure of Mangoré. Barrios' first experiment with Mangoré in Brazil in 1930 followed the discouraging reception to his concerts in Buenos Aires, and the resounding success which Segovia had recently enjoyed in that city. In part then, Mangoré was a reaction to these disappointments, which offered Barrios a radical alternative means of expressing his musical identity. The bitter experience of rejection by Argentinean audiences gave Barrios the impetus to fully assume his alternative Indian persona which he had originally conceived some twenty years earlier, thereby providing a thorough differentiation from Segovia, and with which he persisted for five years.

Similarly, and as discussed in Chapter 3, Barrios' final concerts as Mangoré in March 1934 in Mexico were also influenced by the presence of Segovia. The primitive figure which Barrios presented as Mangoré was heavily criticised, very likely as a result

¹⁶ Finally, it should be noted that there exists a whole tradition of Spanish guitar works which developed quite independently of Segovia and have only recently received greater recognition. Following Manuel de Falla's *Homenaje pour le Tombeau de Debussy*, written in 1920 for Miguel Llobet, this alternative Spanish repertoire received further impetus through the composers associated with the Madrid-based Generation of 1927, including Rodolfo Halffter, Gustavo Pittaluga, Rosa García Ascot, Julian Bautista and Antonio José. In particular, the *Sonata* (1933) by Antonio José, since its publication in 1990 (Ancona: Bèrben Edizioni Musicali), is recognised as one of the most significant extended modern guitar works to be rediscovered in recent decades. George Warren comments: 'What if there exists an archive of forgotten Spanish guitar music, buried fifty years or more, that for sheer quality eclipsed virtually everything in the field that we did know? What if – let me try to state this diplomatically – the Spanish guitar music *not* written for, and performed by, Andrés Segovia were to turn out to be immeasurably finer than the stuff he did commission and play?'; 'The Repertoire – Part II', *The Carmel Classic Guitar Society Journal*, 13 April 2003, www.starrrsites.com/CarmelClassicGuitar/journal/J0304Repertoire.html (accessed: 20 September 2008).

of unflattering comparison with the orthodox image offered by Segovia, who had recently performed in that country. The Mexican critics took savagely to Mangoré, describing him as a ridiculous figure who, far from honouring the ancient Indian tribes of America, denigrated their honour.¹⁷ Once again the shadow of Segovia had caught up with him and he was faced with unfavourable comparisons with the formidable Spanish guitarist.

The image which Barrios offered in concert as the bare-breasted, feathered Indian chief was seemingly light years away from that alternative concept which Segovia was striving to present as part of his own redemptive mission on behalf of the guitar during the 1930s – cultured, sophisticated, legitimate – in short, integrated into the mainstream of European music. How then, if at all, did Segovia regard Barrios' adoption of the Mangoré persona?

There is no record that Segovia ever witnessed Barrios performing as Mangoré. Yet he was aware of the phenomenon, commenting in a guitar course held at Santiago de Compostela in 1959, that 'Barrios tried to destroy himself, but he couldn't because he is a genius'.¹⁸ In elaborating on this statement, it was clear that Segovia was not referring merely to the excesses of Barrios' lifestyle which led to his death from syphilis in 1944. Segovia explained that Barrios had no need to adopt an alternative performing identity with a separate name and costume because he was already a great artist. For Segovia, Barrios' attempt to refashion himself, both metaphorically and physically via Mangoré,¹⁹ was a betrayal of his true performing identity. Segovia's comments thus touched on the

¹⁷ Godoy and Szaran, *Mangoré*, 94.

¹⁸ Godoy and Szarán, *Mangoré*, 44.

¹⁹ Stover refers to the surgery which Barrios had on his lips in Uruguay in the 1920s; *Six Silver Moonbeams*, 171.

essence of Mangoré which had also engaged the attention of Latin American commentators, namely whether Mangoré was an artificial ploy or whether that figure expressed an identity which was authentic to Barrios' cultural heritage.

Segovia as Maestro

But Segovia's critique of Mangoré is also illuminated by the contradictions of the former's own career, for Segovia's performing identity itself relied on an exotic persona, one more subtle but more enduring than that of Barrios' Mangoré. Segovia's performing role was captured in the figure of the Spanish maestro, and embodied in his performance of certain Spanish works, above all Rodrigo's *Fantasia para un Gentilhombre*, which he premièred in San Francisco in 1958. In this composition, Joaquín Rodrigo paid homage to the sixteenth century Spanish baroque guitarist and courtier, Gaspar Sanz, but also reflected in that title an honouring of the modern Spanish gentleman of the guitar, Segovia, who exemplified that role in his career following the Second World War.²⁰ This reverential attitude to Segovia had been apparent from as early as the late 1940s, when Virgil Thomson famously declared that, 'There is no guitar but the Spanish guitar, and Andrés Segovia is its prophet'.²¹ Also from that time, the maestro label began to be

²⁰ Rodrigo was explicit in his attitude to Segovia: 'I thought that the only thing worthy of Segovia would be to place him together with another great guitarist and composer, born in the XVII century, a gentleman in the court of Philip IV, Gaspar Sanz... Victoria, my wife, selected for me from the book of Gaspar Sanz a short number of themes which we judged appropriate to form a sort of suite-fantasia and which we very soon decided to call *Fantasia para un Gentilhombre*, playing thus on the names of these two nobles of the guitar: Gaspar Sanz and Andrés Segovia, in his turn Gentleman of the Guitar of our days'. See Martha Nelson, 'Canarios', *Guitar Review* 25 (1961), 18.

²¹ Virgil Thompson, January 1946, quoted in Larry Snitzler, 'Segovia: His Century', *Guitar Review* (Spring 1993), 29. Sixty six years later, this attitude was still prevalent: 'Any alternative [to Segovia], however attractive, is tantamount to suicide ... the Maestro appeared among us in order that he might (in addition to other more universal objectives) chart out and record for posterity 1) why the guitar does in fact belong on the great world stage and 2) exactly what all its various moods and timbres are.' See Philip de Fremery, 'Segovia's Unpublished Transcriptions' *Guitar Review*, 125 (2002), 16.

associated with Segovia in a more systematic way such that it contributed to the definition of his persona.²² That image was promoted through his autobiography, his concert reviews, recordings²³ and his presence as the undisputed master in teaching forums such as those held at the Siena Academy in Italy and Santiago de Compostela in Spain, which attracted the cream of international students. Commentators from the 1950s participated fully in this artificial process in which deferential questions to Segovia were answered in a poetic, elusive and enigmatic fashion which contributed to the maestro mystique.

Further evidence for the Iberian background to Segovia's adoption of the maestro persona can be detected in the aristocratic lineage of early Spanish plucked instruments. Prior to the baroque guitar for which Sanz composed, the vihuela enjoyed a golden period in Spain around the mid-sixteenth century and the earliest known vihuela instruction manual was by Luis Milan, titled *El Maestro* (1536).²⁴ Milan's work had as its aim to instruct the student in the art of vihuela performance, through a series of graded exercises leading to progressively more complex pieces including pavaues, fantasias and tientos. Thus four centuries before Segovia, the term 'maestro' in Spanish musical instruction denoted a status of mastery in instrumental performance which could be passed on to the next generation via an established method of pedagogy. And like Rodrigo's *Fantasia*, with its multi-faceted layers of reference to *gentilhombres*, *El Maestro* also embodied layers of reference, both self-referentially to Milan himself as

²² Graham Wade and Gerard Garno, *A New Look at Segovia: His Life, His Music*, 2nd ed., 2 vol., (Pacific, MO: Mel Bay, 2000), vol.1, 97.

²³ As with the recording *Maestro* (Decca DL 710039, 1961).

²⁴ See the complete edition *El Maestro: Opere complete per Vihuela*, trascrizione in notazione moderna di Ruggero Chiesa, Nuova Edizione (Milano: Edizioni Suvini Zerboni, 1974).

the pedagogical maestro of the title and also to that goal of mastery towards which the student aspired, in which he also would assume the status of maestro.

Moreover, the vihuela, as with the baroque guitar, was associated with those professional elements of Spanish Renaissance society in which the ideals of courtly life were paramount. The art of vihuela playing was underpinned by a code of virtuous behaviour outlined most eloquently and influentially by Castiglione's, *The Courtier*. That work defined a code of conduct for the Renaissance individual, including the pursuit of music as part of an overall education of self-improvement leading towards enlightenment.²⁵ Milan and Sanz fitted this code supremely, both occupying similar positions as courtiers to their royal patrons, Milan spending the greater part of his musical life in the service of the Duke of Calabria, Hernando de Aragon. For Segovia, the compositions of Milan and Sanz, and the courtly world which they represented, became crucial elements of his performing style. Besides championing Milan's music throughout his career by regularly performing the six *Pavanes*, Segovia patronised the works of other vihuela masters including Alonso de Mudarra and Luis de Narváez.

The maestro persona also provided Segovia the means for deflecting discussion of awkward issues, particularly concerning the Spanish Civil War. As maestro he would not be called upon to justify his behaviour, or the beliefs which had forced him to leave Spain and had made him a target for Republican violence. Segovia's attitudes to the Civil War, when made explicit, contained an intolerant and anti-democratic undertone. The publication in 1989 of his correspondence with Manuel Ponce revealed Segovia's

²⁵ John Griffiths, 'The Vihuela: Performance Practice, Style and Context', Victor Anand Coelho (ed.), *Performance on Lute, Guitar and Vihuela: Historical Practice and Modern Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 162.

pro-Franco stance, his sympathies for the Nationalist cause²⁶ and his anti-Semitic sentiments.²⁷ These letters, in contrast to the publicity which surrounded Segovia as maestro, and the self-promotion which suffuses the Autobiography, have given a very different portrait to the public image, which has led to a reappraisal of Segovia's art.²⁸

In summary, Segovia, like Barrios, had a distinctive cultural identity which coloured his relationships with the public, critics and students. Yet whereas Barrios as Mangoré at times suffered severely at the hands of critics who rejected his persona as inauthentic or undignified, Segovia benefited fully from the collusion of a public that continued to support his maestro persona to the end of his life, and beyond. Both guitarists, however, drew on historical evidence in the presentation of their cultural identities, in Barrios' case through his adoption of a sixteenth century figure of the Guaraní people. Segovia's maestro identity also drew strength from the lineage of Spanish plucked instruments with their associations of courtly grace, skill and virtue which Segovia personified in his performance of works by Milan, Sanz and above all in Rodrigo's *Fantasia para un Gentilhombre*. Segovia as maestro thus offers a fascinating counterpoint to the figure which Barrios adopted as Mangoré, and posits another link between these two central figures of the guitar.

²⁶ Miguel Alcazar (ed.), *The Segovia-Ponce Letters*, trans. Peter Segal (Columbus: Editions Orphee, 1989), 164-168.

²⁷ Alcazar, *The Segovia-Ponce Letters*, 254.

²⁸ Eliot Fisk, 'Sal y Pimienta', *Guitar Review*, 81 (Spring 1990), 1-6, offers a commentary on the reassessment of Segovia by one of Segovia's former notable students.

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CD containing 'Historical recordings by Agustin Barrios Mangore' is included with the print copy held in the Elder Music Library.