STUDYING TORRES GUITARS - PART I: INNOVATION AND EVOLUTION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE 19TH CENTURY

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Abstract:
The current Spanish guitar –both, classical and flamenco- is, perhaps, the instrument that most has evolved throughout history, as well as the most popular one. With this abstract we mainly intend to make a brief summary of its acoustic evolution, but, for this, it is important to make a brief introduction to its history and its organological evolution, from the Renaissance and Moorish vihuela, the baroque guitar and the 12-string guitar of the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, to the early romantic guitar until the consolidation of the modern and vintage guitar during the second half of the 19th century and the 20th century, thanks to the transcendence of the parameters of the most international guitar constructor: Antonio de Torres Jurado. Since Antonio de Torres little has changed, only the plantilla that, in the second half of the 19th century increased slightly in search of more volume and its mode of construction, that went from being an individual artisan work to an artisan work on an assembly line and later industrially manufactured. In the 21st century, contemporary guitars, historical guitars and guitar reproductions coexist as well as the industrial production together with small artisan zones that have remained and are beginning to be recovered: this is the case of Granada. It was the constructors of the late 18th century who began to introduce innovations; builders like the Pages family established in Cadiz who used fan strutting system inside (Andalusian construction style) or the Muñoa family in Madrid, who raised the fret board and improved the bridge, as they were asked by guitarists, searching to give the guitar the category of a soloist instrument like the piano or the violin.
Keywords:
vihuela, baroque guitar, early romantic guitar, classical guitar, flamenco guitar, violero, guitar-maker, luthier, workshop, Antonio de Torres, Granada.

ESTUDIO DE LAS GUITARRAS TORRES - PARTE I: INNOVACIÓN Y EVOLUCIÓN EN EL CONTEXTO DEL SIGLO XIX

Resumen:
La guitarra española actual en su versión clásica y flamenca es, quizás, el instrumento que más ha evolucionado a lo largo de la historia, así como el más popular. Con este abstract pretendemos principalmente realizar un breve resumen de su evolución acústica, pero para ello es importante realizar una breve introducción a su historia y a su evolución organológica, desde la vihuela renacentista y morisca, la guitarra barroca y la guitarra romántica de finales del siglo XVIII y del XIX la consolidación de la Guitarra actual gracias a la trascendencia de los parámetros de Antonio de Torres Jurado y sus contemporáneos. Desde entonces poco ha variado, tan solo la plantilla que en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX y el siglo XX aumentó ligeramente en busca de más volumen y su modo de construcción que pasó de ser un trabajo individual artesanal en talleres artesanos a una producción artesanal en cadena y posteriormente su fabricación industrial. Actualmente en siglo XXI, guitarras contemporáneas, guitarras históricas y reproducciones de guitarras coexisten así como la producción industrial y pequeños núcleos de producción artesanal que han permanecido y que comienzan a recuperarse como es el caso de Granada.

Palabras clave:
Vihuela, baroque guitar, early romantic guitar, classical guitar, flamenco guitar, violero, guitar-maker, luthier, workshop, Antonio de Torres, Granada.


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INTRODUCTION

Around 1770 some guitarists in Italy began to abandon the use of courses in favour of five single strings.¹ The practice spread to Paris during the same decade although many guitarists were reluctant to abandon the old instrument.

¹TYLER y SPARKS - The Guitar and its Music (From the Renaissance to the Classical Era) p. 218.
“It is easier to find five true strings than a larger number; single strings are easier to tune, and easier to pluck clearly. What is more, they produce sounds which are pure, strong and soft, nearer those of the harp, especially if one uses slightly thicker strings.\(^2\)

It seems that the first six-string guitar was built in Italy around 1780, after Antonio Stradivari (Cremona, 1644-1737), and was different from the “Spanish” guitar.\(^3\)

\[\text{The Sabionari guitar (1679) is one of the five surviving guitars made by Antonio Stradivari}\]

In 1809 Ferdinando Carulli (Naples 1770 – 1841), very much linked to the Spanish crown and before the Italian unification) made Paris his permanent home and established himself as a virtuoso, composer and teacher. His impact was immediate and changed the insight into the instrument. Carulli sparked the guitaromanie, phenomenon in France which reached a peak in the 1820s.

In Spain, the evolution of the guitar would not have been possible without the violeros-guitarreros-luthiers, but neither without their direct inheritance and transmission and that of the musicians such as Miguel Garcia. Miguel Garcia, nicknamed Padre Basilio, was a Cistercian monk who played an attempt to change the number of strings to seven. He was an organist who adopted the guitar as his favourite instrument and not only added one more string to the existing ones, but established the method of playing it *punteado* (plucking the

\[^2\text{Translation from Merchi, Traité des Agremens de la musique executes sur la guitare. Paris, 1777. p.}\]
\[^3\text{Sotos, Andres (1764-1792). Arte para aprender con facilidad y sin maestro a templar y tañer rasgado la guitarra de cinco órdenes. P.7 (translated from Spanish): Art to learn with ease, and without Master, to *templar* and *tañer rasgado* the five-order guitar, or strings; and also that of four or six orders, called Spanish Guitar, Bandurria and Vandola, and also the Tiple.}\]
strings with the fingers) instead of the baroque rasguedo (strumming the strings with the fingers). The influence of el Padre Basilio⁴ was not only due to the addition of a string or the change of technique, but, it was greater since he was the teacher of guitarists like Fernando Fernandiere, Federico Moretti⁵ and Dionisio Aguado.⁶ He is considered the initiator of the modern guitar school, having influenced Fernando Sor and Dionisio Aguado as well as Antonio Cano, father of Federico Cano (guitarist and guitar-collector⁷). Then the transmission went on: the “creator” of the modern guitar, Antonio de Torres Jurado himself was a “student” of Dionisio Aguado⁸ and a close friend of the international and most popular guitarist Julian Arcas⁹ who played Torres’ guitars and encouraged him to make guitars and apply innovations on them¹⁰. Nor would it have evolved without the historical repercussion of the migratory and commercial influences and movements that arose or the French and Italian influences that supposed an openness to the European musical world.

⁴Composer and cellist Boccherini (Toscana 1743, – Madrid 1805), once in Spain, stated that he was inspired in the way of playing of Padre Basilio (http://musicadiz1812.es/compositor-garcia-padre-basilio-miguel.html). He was aware of the weak disposition of the Madrid public towards the subtleties of string quartets and quintets, and, at the end of his days he will focus on the transcription for guitar and strings of a good number of previous works, mainly his quintets for strings, or quintets with piano. It is the origin of his series of twelve works for guitar and strings, of which only nine are preserved today. Even so, they constitute the most extensive series dedicated to the guitar in conjunction with other instruments (https://labelezadeescuchar.blogspot.com/2017/05/boccherini-quinteto-para-guitarra-y.html).

⁵WESTBROOK, James. The century that shaped the guitar, 2005, P.46
⁶EIRAS TOJO, Francisco Javier. Tesis Doctoral “Las formas y los estilos en el lenguaje guitarrístico desde Alonso Mudarra hasta Leo Brower a través de los autores más representativos: propuestas de aplicación docente en las enseñanzas especiales de música” Vigo, 2017. P. 72 file:///C:/Users/Kiarii/Downloads/Las_formas_y_los_estilos_en_el_lenguaje_guitarr%C3%ADstico.pdf
⁷WESTBROOK, James. The century that shaped the guitar, 2005.
⁸According to the press article 1884 included in the conclusions of this abstract, he was a student of Dionisio Aguado. Dionisio Aguado’s guitar method was so popular by those times that it could mean both, that Aguado studied with his method or that he directly studied with him.
⁹Julian Arcas was, beyond a doubt, This magnificent guitarist, who achieved international recognition through contemporary music authorities and critics, was the link in the chain that ran from Sor and Aguado to Tarrega. (…) passed down from J. Arcas to Tarrega, and from the latter to our times by way of many different guitarists (E. Pujol, M. Llobet, P. Roca, J. Robledo, Salvador Garcia, D. Fortea, R. Sainz de la Maza, Andres Segovia etc). WADE, Graham, A Concise History of the Classic Guitar, 2001. P.93
¹⁰See press article 1866 in the conclusions of this abstract. Arcas “built” or “ordered” a 10 stringed guitar from whom?
INTRODUCTION

It is curious how different instruments succeed over time and even defeat each other in the uses and customs of the Spanish society. The lute, which had its splendour in the 15th century, was replaced by the vihuela in the 16th, which succumbed to the baroque guitar in the 17th; and the romantic guitar during the 19th. Obviously it was not so linear in time but, in broad terms, it does serve as a description of the evolution. In Spain, the vihuela took over the position of the lute as a courtly instrument during the 16th century; a school of vihuelistas flourished and began to compose for that instrument. It was music often based on dances or popular melodies for the solace and recreation of the nobility. The great number of books for vihuela published at that time laid the foundations of the technique for its interpretation; it was sophisticated and precise in its execution and, curiously, within the education of the Spanish nobility of the Renaissance was the knowledge to play the vihuela, that is to say, that it was an instrument associated with the higher society. However, it lost popularity in the second half of the 16th century: the baroque (4 or 5 courses) guitar gained ground due to the interpretation technique introduced by the musicians. The characteristic punteado (plucking) of the vihuela was replaced by the rasgueado (strumming) of the guitar, a coarser technique within reach of anyone. In the final decades of the 16th century the vihuela was losing its privileged place in the Spanish society. There appeared a new instrument generally called “guitar”, although it often was called vihuela as well. To avoid confusion with other guitar models, the term baroque guitar has now been adopted, because it developed during the Baroque (17th and much of the 18th century).

\[1\] The Renaissance lute had been introduced in the Spanish Court by the Catholic King and Queen and their grandson Carlos I of Spain (Emperor Carlos V of the Holy Roman Germanic Empire). King Carlos I was heir to the splendours of the Burgundian court and the propaganda machinery mounted by his grandfather, Emperor Maximilian I, Carlos V gave great importance to music in his itinerant court. The organization of his house included several departments in charge of the sound projection of the image of the sovereign, and the chapel was the most important of them. It was known as the Flemish (Flamenco in Spanish) chapel because all its singers came from Flanders at the express wish of the emperor. https://www.march.es/actos/100588/
The 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries are characterized by being a transition period from the baroque guitar of 5 double strings, also called courses, except the first that was single, towards the guitar of 6 courses (6 double strings).\textsuperscript{13} The changes related to the strings are fundamental to understand the modern instrument: a sixth course is added to the instrument towards the bass, improving the tonal and harmonic possibilities thanks to this bass. Double strings (courses) are replaced by single strings; this gave place to the transformation of the sound since the single strings offered a cleaner sound in the \textit{punteado} and allowed an easier and more reliable tuning. The setup of the strings was changed latter on and a \textit{bordon} (a twisted metal silk thread that covers the gut string giving it greater resistance and consistency) was added to the bass to replace the gut strings.\textsuperscript{14} The physiognomy of the instrument was also changed and improved towards a concert instrument improving its tuning. These changes consisted of: the introduction of machine-heads with bone or ivory pegs instead of the traditional flat head with screwed wood, which improved the tuning and the conservation of the tension of the strings. The frets were implanted on the fingerboard instead of directly on the top, extended towards the mouth (rosette) of the soundboard. As for the construction of the instrument, some changes are visible and others internal. These changes consisted of:

\textsuperscript{12}Fundación Juan March. “Cuadros que suenan: De la vihuela a la guitarra eléctrica”. Guía didáctica para el profesor Recitales para jóvenes de la Fundación Juan March. Curso 2012/2013. P.24

\textsuperscript{13}Sotos, Andres (1764-1792). Arte para aprender con facilidad y sin maestro a templar y tañer rasgado la guitarra de cinco órdenes. P.7.

\textsuperscript{14}Eiras Tojo, Francisco Javier. Tesis Doctoral “Las formas y los estilos en el lenguaje guitarrístico desde Alonso Mudarra hasta Leo Brower a través de los autores más representativos: propuestas de aplicación docente en las enseñanzas especiales de música”. Vigo, 2017. P. 71. file:///C:/Users/Kiarii/Downloads/Las_formas_y_los_estilos_en_el_lenguaje_guitarr%C3%ADstico.pdf
the shape of the guitar was changed, increasing its size and narrowing the waist of the body taking the classic figure of eight, with the lower half being wider; he limitation of the ornaments and a more stylized and sober appearance; the incorporation of reinforcements in the inner part of the instrument box which allowed a better projection of the sound and a greater sound volume.

In Spain, in the 18th and 19th centuries, the builders of instruments began to focus on urban centers in expansion or with a great economic development, beginning the different schools of construction being define: Castilla (Centre region), Andalucia (Southern region) and Levante (Eastern region), and even America, since some guitar-makers emigrated –stringed instruments had been introduced in America by Spaniards after the discovery of America. Also the construction of instruments went on being supervised by professional guilds between the 15th and 19th centuries. After the great changes that took place in this era, the baroque style was changed. In the Baroque there were many instruments, some of them even described as "spawns"\textsuperscript{15}, due to an excessive search for the expressive limits of the instrument. After this period, the search will take place through the work of the luthiers together with the musicians, trying the best options starting from elements both, from the musical and the organological point of view. It is worth mentioning the first International Guitar Competition of Brussels, in 1856\textsuperscript{16}, with two sections: composition and construction.\textsuperscript{17} The winner of the construction competition was a Scherzer, foreman of

\textsuperscript{15}For instance, the salterio-guitar started being built in 1789 by Rafael Vallejo –from Baza, Granada-for king Carlos IV, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O130445/guitar-vallejo-rafael/; the decacorde (ten string guitar) played by Carulli, Dionisio Aguado’s Tripodion (a three-legged stand intended to improve the guitar’s projection in concerts or, later on, the Torres’ guitar “La Fea”? built in 1852 now in the Cite de la Musique, Philharmonie de Paris, https://collectionsdumusee.philharmoniedeparis.fr/doc/MUSEE/0157432/guitare or the 1853 Torres’ guitar in the Museo de la Guitarra de Almeria.


Till what point this competition was an influence on Torres?

\textsuperscript{17}Guitar rules for this event organized by Russian guitarist Nikolai Petrovich Makaroff: “Guitars should be large and mostly 10 strings. Extra four strings – the following basses: contra D, G, contra C, contra B. Terz-guitars are not allowed to the competition. The guitar should have the advantage of strength, density and singing, i.e. the possible duration of sounds and the ability to make good vibrato, legato and portamento on it. The guitar neck should be absolutely flat, rather wide, mainly on a screw, i.e. should contain full two octaves. Especially it should combine a few rare virtues: that the strings were quite low and, at the same time, that there was no rattling in any way that happens to most of the vultures [Ed: needs correction]. Tuning pegs should be predominantly mechanical, with screws, but can also be simple. The guitar should have a clean finish, but at the same time it should be elegant and simple, which is why extra decoration, if it does not improve the tone, will have no value. The competition will take place in Brussels, where the compositions and guitars should be sent by October 1856, i.e. by the deadline set for this competition”. Coldwell, Robert 2019. Digital guitar archive. Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti. N.78, 5 April 1856 (pages 442-443)
Stauffer; Stauffer had worked with Fabricatore when he started guitar-making and also trained Martin, who later on moved to America.

The guitar evolves, but its notation also did when having the instrument to accompany a melody. France was the country where this notation began to change and where most of the songs for which the guitar accompanied were composed. In Spain, Fernando Sor (Barcelona, 1778 – Paris, 1839) and Dionisio Aguado (Madrid 1784 – 1849) who travelled to France were two relevant afrancesados (frenchified) composers writing guitar methods. The use of the pentagram begins to be extended and what many composers did was to use this pentagram and below it the tablature noted (like many flamenco works today). What brought the notation system was the abandonment of improvisation such as fancies. There also were a series of physical transformations in the instrument that improved its technical and sound conditions, acquiring many of the basic characteristics of the modern guitar as mentioned before.

European Guitar Construction Styles. Early Romantic Guitars
(Left to right) Lacôte, Panormo, Pages, Fabricatore, Stauffer

18 The transition from baroque to gallant (1720s-1760s) was concomitant not only with changes to the guitar and its repertoire but also with its technique and the way its music was notated. The guitar music published in the second half of the eighteenth century clearly show a concern for new techniques, which had to be developed from scratch
19 Nowadays Flamenco is started to be researched for its notation.
The case of Granada is not an exception to the evolution, both organological and constructive. Jose Contreras “El Granadino”\textsuperscript{20} –from Granada, who moved to Madrid– in the 18th century he was the luthier of the Royal Chapel and the Spanish genius of guitars and violin making.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{20}According to Dr Elsa Fonseca Thesis, Jose Contreras “El Granadino” was born in Granada in 1710?, where he began his artistic life as a guitar builder. He moved to Madrid around 1737, settling on Calle del Olivar, where he remained until 1743 to move his workshop to Atocha Street in front of the Parador del Sol, where he worked until his death between 1780 and 1782. According to the Dictionnaire Universel des Luthiers, 1999, P.67 (translated): "In El Escorial we found this name on a guitar dated 1743". Could have Padre Basilio played with a guitar built by Contreras?

\textsuperscript{21}Luthier Jose Contreras “El Granadino”, King of Spain Carlos III, instrument collector King of Spain Carlos IV, cellist Luigi Boccherini and organist and guitarist Miguel Garcia “Padre Basilio” were influential people in Spain during the 18th century. Could Padre Basilio and Jose Contreras have met any time?
In the 19th century Antonio de Torres, prized in 1858 with bronze medal at the Seville Exhibition for one of his guitars,\(^\text{22}\) became the Stradivari of guitars and, according to guitarist Domingo Prat, Jose Pernas from Granada (prized in 1851 by the economic society Sociedad Amigos del Pais, Granada) was the master of Torres in guitar-making\(^\text{23}\), although there is no evidence of this fact and, according to Romanillos, keen enthusiast rather than to the direct teaching of master to apprentice: According to Romanillos, Torres contact with Jose Pernas was probably due more to a personal favour from guitar maker to a keen enthusiast rather than to the direct teaching of master to apprentice. Pernas worked at Calle Fabrica Vieja, which bordered two parishes, that of Santos Justo and Pastor and that of Magdalena; for being borderline, it only appears the census book corresponding to the Parish of Saints Justo and Pastor, the one of the even numbers, and the one in front, is missing, just that of Pernas who lived at number seven; in seventy-third entry it is indicated that number seven occupied by other tenants, and that of the seventy-four says: “se esta construyendo”, building.\(^\text{24}\). What is certain is that Torres' presence in Granada is documented in 1845 and 1846, according to Vera's padron consulted by José Luis Romanillos, and recently reviewed in 2013 by María del Mar Poyatos: Translated into English: “At the register of inhabitants of 1846 there appears in the house number 22 of Calle Ancha the names of the father and mother-in-laws of Torres and María Dolores «daughter of Antonio de Torres and Juana Lopez deceased». but not the name of the carpenter as a resident. 123 The following year the house number 20 of Calle Ancha remains inhabited by the Lopez-de Haro marriage, his granddaughter Maria Dolores and

\(^{22}\)Catálogo de los Objetos presentados a la Exposición Agrícola, Industrial y Artística celebrada en Sevilla en 1858, Segun el orden de su numeracion. P. 83, N 801: (translated from Spanish): “A guitar with Tornavoz with mosaic inlay built by D. Antonio de Torres, with residence in Seville

\(^{23}\)In this sense there is controversy. Romanillos disagree with this theory: Romanillos, Jose Luis. Antonio de Torres, Guitar Maker: His Life & Work. P.19. There exists some instruments built by Torres very similar to those of Pernas, but also to other guitar-makers’ of the time. Antonio de Torres during the time he spent in Granada could have visited several workshops, and also probably followed trends of the time. An example of those instruments is the pear-shaped, flat-backed guitar, it seems that also called citara (Torre played the citara himself: ROMANILLOS, Jose Luis. Antonio de Torres, Guitar Maker: His Life & Work. P.16) or, specifically in Granada, tiple. Most popular flamenco-playing precursor from Granada, Francisco Rodriguez “El Murciano” whose music Glinka tried to notate during his stay in Granada, played one of these guitars; he also ordered a 7 double stringed guitar to perform his Rondena, what shows the interaction guitar-maker and guitarist in those times. (La Alhambra, Revista Quincenal de Artes y Letras. Año XXV 31 de julio de 1922 Núm. 553, and, Mariano Vazquez, y Francisco Rodriguez Murciano, Apuntes Biograficos, Colección de Aires Nacionales para Guitarra, edited by J. Campo y Castro en Madrid, 1874: http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000043250&page=1 )

Antonio de Torres Jurado «widower of Juana Lopez de Haro deceased» but with a suggestive marginal note: «Absent, in Granada».

By the turn of the 20th century the guitar was most popular and the working method was a large number of artisans working in a workshop to produce a large number of instruments, mainly classical and flamenco guitars and Spanish plectrum (bandurria, Spanish lute, laudin, etc), inspired and following the Torres’ construction style; also, the industrial production started, mainly in Valencia. Nowadays, along with the factory guitar, the handmade guitar coexists. The guitars analysed below were built during the 19th century, a time when port towns such as, Cartagena and Cadiz, the first maritime provinces in Spain, had great commercial relevance, as well as cities with a large population such as Seville, Madrid, Barcelona and Granada. Already in the 19th century started the boom of mining and railways, together with the industrialization, increasing the commercial interchanges and the professional guilds disappeared. It is worth noting that Antonio de Torres was born in Granada, since Almeria was part of the Kingdom of Granada from the 15th century until 1833.

25 POYATOS ANDJUJAR, Maria del Mar. Antonio de Torres Jurado (La Cañada, Almeria, 1817 - Almeria, 1892): trabajo de documentación para el estudio del guitarrero almeriense, pag 50.
26 Revista Calle Elvira, Decir Flamenco. “Una ventana a la guitarra de Granada”.
27 Mainly in Granada and Madrid; since then, both schools have been linked by guitar-makers from Granada travelling to Madrid or making instruments by order for workshops in Madrid.
28 Translated from the Spanish: “To the fame of the tocaores (...) was the one of the famous guitar makers. Torres, the most famous among the people of Granada, built sound and sensitive guitars, and according to the flamencos, when he died he took the secret of sound to his grave. Torres’ guitars are like "Stradivarius" for singing. "La Leona", one of the most famous that he made, was owned in Paris.
Manuel Muñoa, originally from Burgos, worked on Calle Angosta de Majaderitos (curiously current Calle de Cádiz) in Madrid, where there was a large influx of guitar constructors moved from other parts of Spain. He was another of the great guitar constructors of the time who earned respect as a builder for his great dedication to the instrument; together with his brother Juan Muñoa they were known as "The Muñoa" a surname that took a lot of strength in the guild of the guitarists of the period, since they also took part in the innovation of shaping the construction of guitars, with respect to the Andalusian School and creating, together with other great builders of the time, the Guitar School of Madrid. With their workshop on Majaderitos Street in Madrid near Puerta del Sol, in 1922 by Mr Rovis, deposited by a Spaniard and valued at one hundred seventy-five thousand francs of that time.”


Manuel Muñoa’s master, Marcos Antonio González, was a guitar-maker who settled in Madrid in 1766 on Calle Majaderitos. He trained his son, Manuel Narciso González who was appointed guitar-maker to the Royal Chamber in 1830-- a fact recorded on the label of his guitars thereafter. He also trained the brothers Juan and Manuel Muñoa. Manuel married his daughter and eventually took over the workshop.
Sol, they are credited with innovations such as adding a new bridge to the guitar. Dionisio Aguado was one of their clients.

**FRANCISCO MARTINEZ 1805** (Collection Jose Luis Romanillos)

![Image of a guitar](image)

Francisco Martinez\(^{30}\) was born in Orihuela, Alicante where he was examined to practice the trade; at the end of the 18th century he already had a guitar workshop in Cartagena where he sued other guitarists who sold guitars without passing an exam, a demand that did not prosper because there was no professional guild in this municipality. Cartagena was a maritime province and military port of the Spanish Armada (the Spanish fleet) but in the 19th century it declined.\(^{31}\) Part of La Armada was found in Cartagena, Cadiz and Havana since the 15th century.\(^{32}\)

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31 Other guitar-makers like Lorca moved to Malaga, Kingdom of Granada forming a saga there.
32 The trade of manufacturing sails for La Armada in Granada, at Casa de la Lona, increased the rent per capita in Granada during the 18th century to one of the highest thanks to the richness in flax and
The guitar is of a good construction and finely decorated and has 12 strings (six courses), restored and with a probably superimposed a fingerboard during the restoration. Very innovative measures for the time: the neck meets the body on the 12th fret. The label specifies Cartagena de Levante -as opposed to Cartagena de Indias (America).

**JOSEF PAGES 1806** (Collection Museu de la Musica, Barcelona)

This guitar-maker was the son of Juan Pages and this saga together with the saga of the Benedids of the Cadiz School were those who originally built fan braced guitars, something that defined the guitar as, first, Andalusian style and finally Spanish style of construction hemp of La Vega (fertile valley) of Granada.

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33 According to Julio Gimeno “El Estilo Español de Construcción de Guitarras” p.9-10 http://guitarra.artepulsado.com/gifsyfo/imagenes/Socios/JulioIntroduccion3.pdf (translation from Spanish): Fan bracing- At the beginning of this text we asked ourselves what the Panormo was referring to the labels of their guitars with the "Spanish style". Without a doubt, for that the type of reinforcement of the harmonic cover used, which in the lower lobe of the guitar he used a series of thin strips of wood that they ran not transversally to the grain of the wood, like the harmonic bars, but they had a longitudinal and radial arrangement. According to the lower lobe reinforcement system, Panormo must have been inspired by the guitar of Jose Martinez or some other Spanish guitars from the 18th century the "a la española" (Spanish system) construction system will incorporate that very important feature. Since the beginning of the 17th century we can find tops reinforced with varetas (sometimes combined with transversal bars) in French and Italian instruments, although it is usually considered a guitar of six orders, of the year 1759, built by the Sevillian
and that Antonio de Torres used later on for his guitars.

The Pages saga, due to the decline of the splendour of Osuna, Sevilla, moved to Cadiz, a maritime province with a great commercial activity like that of the trade of wood from Las Indias (America) mainly for La Armada.

**FRANCISCO PAGES 1837** (Collection Museu de la Musica, Barcelona)

This guitar of the constructor Francisco Pages, installed in Havana (Cuba), is from the year 1837. It belonged to the Barcelona singer Victoria dels Angels (1923-2005). It is a restored guitar. Francisco Pages was the son of Juan Pages who was born in Osuna, Sevilla, moved to Cadiz and married a daughter of master guitar-maker Mateo Benedid. He was one of the first guitarists to use bone on the bridge and to use the 650mm shot on his guitars. The

Francisco Sanguino, as the first preserved with the bars arrangement of the lower lobe "in a fan", with three radial bars and two more diagonal on the lower area of the top, between the bridge and the bottom. (...). During the second half of the eighteenth century Spanish guitarists like the mentioned Francisco Sanguino, Josef Benedid, the Pages de Cadiz, etc., continued developing the reinforcement system of the top with bars on the lower part and harmonic bars above and below the mouth of the instrument, a process that it would culminate in the mid-nineteenth century with the entry on the scene of the most influential Spanish constructor of guitars of all time: the Almerian Antonio de Torres (1817-1892).
fret board has 17 frets and the cross point is on the 12th fret another feature of modernity. Before the arrival of the Spaniards the string instruments were unknown in the American continent, but their diffusion was fast and deep, so that, in all the countries, there are popular variants derived from the guitar.

BENITO CAMPO 1840 with Dionisio Aguado’s Fixateur or Tripodion (Collection Guitarrero-Luthier Daniel Gil de Avalle). 35

A missed and recovered link: this guitar still lacks the completely modern proportions but it is breaking into a transformation; it is much more sophisticated than other more basic guitars of that time, with wider hips as compares to other contemporary guitars and very much the same that the Maria Antoinette guitar (Laprevotte, France) some years before, its evolution is the same: 12 fret nodal point, connecting the scale length with the body, and the bridge placed on its third part.

34In his guitar method, virtuoso guitarist Fernando Sor notes that “The guitars which I have always given the preference are those of Alonzo of Madrid, Pages and Benedid of Cadiz, Joseph and Manuel Martinez of Malaga, or Rada, successor and scholar of the latter, and those of M. Lacôte of Paris.”
It was built after Dionisio Aguado’s return from Paris to Madrid. Aguado travelled to Paris in the twenties of the 19th century; he was tired of the conservative atmosphere prevailing in that period among luthiers established in Madrid derived from the restrictions of the professional guilds. In Paris he contacted some important constructors like René-François Lacôte and Etienne Laprevotte, who built several instruments for him following his instructions, a constructor who dealt with the task of making guitars by order, in some aspects, influenced by violin making. When Aguado brought those instruments to Spain, he went on investigating with them on the acoustic of the guitar.\textsuperscript{36}

Characteristics of early romantic guitars

This Benito Campo Guitar of 1840 seems to be the guitar when Dionisio applied his most popular harmonic proportions when he returned from Paris, since 12 fret is on nodal point, what means that if we divide the scale length in two the result is the eighth. Moreover, all the frets are metrically divided for a perfect tune, and the scale length is proportionally connected with the body length, consequently, the harmonics, fifth harmonic, the La, the third and the fifth of the chord can be heard without any type of harmonic problems...That is the great innovation of this instrument. What makes this guitar so special is the strange tripod standing it. It is called\textit{ tripodison, tripodisono, tripodion} or even, ‘\textit{fixateur}’, and it was conceived and registered in 1836 by the Spanish guitar-player Dionisio Aguado, guitar virtuoso composer and pedagogue. In fact, Aguado is considered to be one of the most innovative teachers of the 19th century.\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{36}Aguado’s guitars built by Lacôte and Laprevotte are kept in the Archaeological Museum of Madrid (MAM): https://gildeavalle.wordpress.com/2016/02/10/dionisio-aguados-etienne-laprevotte-renelacote-guitars/

\textsuperscript{37}Translated from http://www.aureoherrero.org/dionisioaguado.html. Guitar professor Pablo de la Cruz
The Tripodion, a three-legged stand intended to improve the guitar’s projection in concerts is a device that affixes the guitar and is used, according to the author, to obtain the following advantages: The guitar is isolated, it trembles more and the harmonics leave more clearly. It is advisable for ladies not to hurt their breast. Due to the position, the most difficult passages get easier. The frets which are closer to the mouth may be performed more easily. Due to the position, the most difficult passages get easier. The frets which are closer to the mouth may be performed more easily.
Characteristics of modernity\textsuperscript{38}

(Tomographies and X-Rays by Alberto Machado, Centro Diagnostico Granada. www.centrodiagnostico.com)

This guitar belonged to Miguel Llobet, who played it a great deal throughout his career. It is this guitar that can be heard in the surviving Llobet recordings. The soundboard is extremely thin with a perforated tornavoz resting against the back thanks to small supports, and seven-strut bracing.
Guitarra de Carton (paperboard guitar). This is an experimental guitar. Actually, it is constructed with *papier mache* or plasterboard. It is an experimental guitar with spruce top, with rings and body made of cardboard Torres replaced the wood used for the background and the rings by a material that does not interfere acoustically. This instrument belonged first to Tarrega and then to Llobet. Domingo Prat, in his 1934 “Diccionario de Guitarristas”, states: "In order to demonstrate that all his secret lies, as we have said, in the harmonic top, Torres built a cardboard guitar, except for the top, which was made of spruce."

So, the intention of Antonio de Torres could have been to experiment and use a new material for his guitars, experiment on the response of the harmonic top of his guitars, create an anechoic chamber as affirmed by researcher Joaquin Pierre? Innovation is once again associated to this paradigmatic guitar-maker.

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39Incidentally, the study of paper is a valuable source to know the links of trade between Europe and America through the Spanish Crown, and also there was a boom of papier mache, used in making furniture and other decorative items during the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th. Trade, again, in connection with the cultural and social changes.
Unique guitar –a research is being carried out at the moment- due to its characteristics as it is the fact of having 21 frets and, therefore, the rosette closer to the bridge. It was restored by the luthier Marcelino Lopez Nieto, direct student of the guitarist and composer Daniel Fortea (Castellon 1878 – 1953), at the same time student of Francisco Tarrega (Castellon 1852 – Barcelona 1909) and, this, disciple of Julian Arcas. Julian Arcas (Almeria, 1832) Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there were several generations of academic guitarists who composed, edited and performed in their concerts an important number of flamenco works. They are eclectic guitarists: in between classical and flamenco guitar. They are popularists, Arcas and Asencio –second half of the nineteenth century- against classicists (Aguado and Sor) –first half.

In 1865, Julian Arcas was appointed Honorary Master of the Conservatory of Madrid, and is invested Knight of the Royal Order of Carlos III, an award won only by another guitarist, Trinidad Huerta. Julian Arcas, protected by the aristocracy, was a guitarist and composer with great influence in both, the Spanish and the American guitar world.
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– Antequera, 1882) who had studied with Jose Asencio, direct disciple of Dionisio Aguado, Arcas was a client and close friend of Antonio de Torres (Almeria, Kingdom of Granada, 1817 – 1892), and an important figure in the development as guitar-maker of Antonio de Torres. Antonio de Torres, in addition to being considered the creator of the modern guitar, had musical knowledge acquired from the virtuoso guitarist and composer Dionisio Aguado, at the same time student of Miguel García (El Padre Basilio). Normally, Torres built with 18 or 19 frets but throughout his life he made unique examples such as examples of guitars with more than 6 strings like the 11-string guitar of the blind guitarist Antonio Jimenez Manjon; at least one French-style guitar without fan bracing, guitars without the traditional Torres guitar head guitars with tornavoz, floating frets, bridge with no saddle and strings tied in the manner of a lute, moustache-shaped guitar bridge, pear-shaped guitars... On the head, after removing the plaque fixed by the restorer, a sign

42 Asencio gave guitar and bandurria lessons, both notation and tablature. Julian Arcas himself was involved in the world of the Rondalla or Spanish Plectrum (bandurria, laud, laudin, etc) like contemporary guitarists like Fernando Espi.

43 According to Spanish dancer Jose Otero, Asencio was a direct student of Aguado; he could also mean that he studied with his method. RIOJA, Eusebio: El Guitarrista Julian Arcas. Sus relaciones con Malaga”. Revista Jabega nº84, ano 2000. Centro de Ediciones de la Diputacion de Malaga: According to Jose Otero, Julian Arcas settles here (Malaga) in 1844, under didactic direction of José Asencio, a direct disciple of Dionisio Aguado (...).according to Spanish dancer Jose Otero, about Don Jose Asencio we know that in 1878 he gave guitar and bandurria lessons for music and tablature at number nine of the Plaza del la Merced in Malaga and that in 1884 he published in Malaga a small method entitled “Verdadero arte de tocar la guitarra por cifra sin ayuda de maestro (true art of playing guitar by number without the help of a teacher”“(...)

44 Miguel Garcia: According to Biblioteca Fortea (translated from Spanish): “Known by ”El Padre Basilio”. Not having more information, we copy what it is said in his ”History of the Music ”Soriano Fuertes. ”Padre Basilio”, religious of the order of the Cister and organist in the convent of Madrid at the end of the last century, adopted the guitar as his favourite instrument, when the instrument did not have other pretensions than accompanying seguidillas and tiranas, fashionable songs in the 18th century. Guitar, before Padre Basilio, did not have more than five orders, and it was played rasgueado: he put seven strings and established the method of touching it punteado. This genius musician, great contrapuntist and outstanding organist, was called to the Escorial so that SS. MM. Carlos IV and Maria Luisa heard him play the organ and the guitar; and they were so pleased by the instrument, that he remained in the Court like teacher of Her Majesty the Queen. Among his disciple: Mr Dionisio Aguado, Mr Francisco Tostado y Carvajal and Mr Manuel Godoy, Prince of Peace. ”El Padre Basilio” used to say, that he liked more playing the guitar than in the organ. His music was correct, but resentful from its origin, because it resembled to canto llano (popular singing). His main passion as a guitarist was composing and playing duos. He did not know the complicated arpeggios; he always made use of the octaves and tenths, and abused of the guitar by wanting to force it to give more tone to what it naturally has.” Biblioteca Fortea, Año II, Marzo 1936, Num 15.


46 1857 Yale University Torres, Sevillian Gutierrez influence?, and roll-shaped head, Pernas, Nicolas del Valle and other Granadian guitar-makers’ influence?)

47 Torres himself played the pear-shaped guitar also known as citara or Tiple in Granada; Pernas, Torres and Nicolas del Valle (prized by Sociedad Amigos del Pais in 1857 built them.
appears to have had an identification plaque like some guitars of the collection of Federico Cano, to which Antonio de Torres was closely linked together with his father, Antonio Cano, whose taste for the romantic -French guitar and the Lacôte luthier was known. The peculiarity of 21 frets, is that higher notes are reached for virtuosism or to play certain guitar works of the time or piano or violin pieces? This guitar was built with 21 frets without any ulterior change according to the measures and distances of the top and the rosette. During that period classical virtuosos like Julian Arcas and Francisco Tarrega looked for new sounds more adapted to a soloist instrument or reaching the level of violin and piano introduced in the music conservatories. He used bird-eye maple for the back and sides: indeed, maple, a wood indispensable in making string bowed instruments, was peculiarly valued by Torres.

Francisco Tarrega playing a 20-fret guitar with 2 floating frets.

49 Revista de bellas artes (Madrid. 1866). 27/10/1866, no. 4, page 6, (translated from Spanish): “Professor Arcas has built a guitar with ten strings”.
50 Around 1869, Francisco Tarrega (and his patron D. Antonio Canesa Mendayas), visited Torres, in Seville, to acquire a guitar of comparable quality to the one Arcas had played in his performance at Castellon de la Plana. At first, Tarrega was shown only cheaper guitars, but after a while, began to play. At this point, Torres, impressed by the young man’s skills, brought one of his finest instruments—a maple wood guitar with a spruce front, cedar neck and ebony fingerboard. Tarrega used that guitar in recitals until 1889. GRADE, Graham. A concise history of the classic guitar. P.96
But above all, Torres is the genius that consolidates the current instrument. Finally, after applying all the previous constructive techniques, he increased the size\textsuperscript{51} of the harmonic box and the guitar, established the cross on 12th fret and consolidated the 19 frets, and the fan shape harmonic bars on the inner top.

\textsuperscript{51}Gimeno, Julio “El Estilo Español de Construcción de Guitarras” http://guitarra.artepulsado.com/gifsyfo/imagenes/Socios/JulioIntroduccion3.pdf p.12-13 The adaptation to its new position enlarged size of the instrument. In effect, to get a better response from the guitar for the bass sound, the most immediate thing is to think about enlarging the sounding board. In the middle of 18th century, guitarists like Francisco Sanguino and Francisco Pérez built instruments with tops of more than 1,300 cm\textsuperscript{2} of surface, an approaching size to the tops of today’s concert guitars. However, despite these exceptions, it seems that in the first decades of the nineteenth century the size of guitars used to be smaller. In his book about Torres, José Luis Romanillos makes a study of the instruments built by the guitarists recommended by Sor and Aguado (Lorenzo Alonso, Joseph Martinez, José Pages, Juan Muñoa, Juan Moreno, René Lacôte), checking that the size of its templates is around 990 cm\textsuperscript{2}. Romanillos states that this smaller size can be taken as something representative "of the guitars built in the first three decades of the nineteenth century." However, a restless guitarist, like Aguado, had built guitars of major size. Romanillos cites the instruments that French builders Lacôte and Laprevotte made for the Madrid musician, with surfaces of 1,234 cm\textsuperscript{2} and 1,190 cm\textsuperscript{2}, respectively. But, undoubtedly, the guitar-maker who gave a greater boost to increase in the guitar size was Antonio de Torres.
Francisco Ortega was a guitar-maker from Granada whose father-in-law was Manuel Avila\textsuperscript{52}, who also worked in Granada; his brother-in-law was Jose Avila Batallar (who lived in Antequera) and his sons Francisco and Rafael Ortega Avila, all guitar-makers forming a saga: “The Avila-Ortega” saga, in Granada.\textsuperscript{53}

Antonio de Torres himself restored a guitar by Francisco Ortega (father or son? Francisco Ortega Ayala and one of his sons, Rafael Ortega were living in Madrid in 1890 meanwhile Francisco Ortega Avila was living in Granada) in 1885 according to a label by Torres on a

\textsuperscript{52}\textit{RIOJA}, Eusebio, Inventario de Guitarreros Andaluces. Malaga, p. 149
\textsuperscript{53}Francisco Ortega’s mother-in-law was from Moratalla, Murcia, a municipality with a great forest wealth and sawmills, and great expansion in the eighteenth century, connected with Cartagena for the commercialization of wood and close to the Northern area of Granada, also with a rich forest of spruce (Castiril, Baza) and Granadian maple (\textit{arce granatense}). Since the sixteenth century, after the wood policy of Felipe II, great part of the Spanish forests disappeared to build La Armada, with regard to the marina, jurisdiction by Fernando VII protected those forests in the 18th century. Concern about wood is nowadays increasing in guitar-making and more and more wood species protected. Currently, guitar-makers have to apply for CITES permits for the guitars they build and there are more and more restrictions and researches on new materials, like the Leonardo Guitar Research: https://sites.google.com/site/leonardoguitarresearch/luthiers-wood-suppliers.
guitar by Francisco Ortega in which he describes that he replaced the harmonic top, the neck and the bridge, a guitar that belonged to Federico Cano and that he probably restored Barcelona.

This guitar is built with a beautiful maple, bears metallic machine-heads and the shape is modern. It is a fine concert guitar.

ANTONIO DE TORRES 1883 Second Epoch (Collection Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía)

It arrived at the Centro de Documentacion Musical de Andalucía in 2004 with the coloured ribbons and the flower made with the ribbon adorning the head. It was not extraordinarily kept and consequently it was restored.

It is a “Guitarra de la Simpleza” simple guitar, tending towards the essential. It has an affixed white golpeador (protector for flamenco guitars), probably added at a later date. It

55https://gildeavalle.wordpress.com/2015/05/20/antonio-de-torres-guitar/
has a simple and austere construction, pegs rather than machine heads on the head, back and ribs of mahogany\textsuperscript{56}, 18 frets.

\textbf{ANTONIO DE TORRES 1889} Second Epoch (Collection Museu de la Musica, Barcelona)

\textsuperscript{56}Pieces of cheap or more affordable wood or from old furniture were also used at making guitars in many occasions.
CONCLUSIONS

Antonio de Torres was born in the Almeria district La Cañada de San Urbano and trained as a cabinetmaker and got married and was a father for the first time in Vera\textsuperscript{57}, where he started building guitars, Almeria, former Kingdom of Granada (Granada, Almeria and Malaga). Most of his life took place during a troubled era: during the Liberal Revolution\textsuperscript{58}.

Torres is considered today the creator of the current Spanish Guitar (both classical and flamenca) for its ability to synthesize innovations and trends of the time and his contemporary colleagues: Antonio Gimenez y Soto (Vera)\textsuperscript{59}, Jose Pernas (Granada) Manuel Gutierrez (Seville). He was a sponge who was imbued with the best of the Spanish and international knowledge on guitar-making and that, thanks to his training as a cabinetmaker first and as a guitar-maker later, and his musical knowledge -he learned from the international and virtuoso guitarist Dionisio Agudo; it is not clear whether he learned directly from him or with his guitar method-, he reflected in his instruments his research and innovations supported by Julian Arcas and had the ability to disclose them thanks to his great spirit, his contacts and his great geographical mobility derived from the work to which he was dedicated for some time: to the sale of shares of mines.

\textsuperscript{57}In January 1775; Vera's Council received a circular letter from the Council of Castile addressed to the provincial mayors. It recommended reading the “Discurso sobre el fenomeno de la Industria Popular” -discourse on the phenomenon of popular industry-, encouraging cities and towns to establish “Sociedades Economicas Amigos del Pais” –economic, patriotic societies of friends of the country- to put into practice the doctrine that would lead them to prosperity. The illustrated veratenses of the municipal body and the governing classes - nobility and clergy - were enthusiastic about the project. Vera was the fourth city to be configured nationwide, he first of the kingdom of Granada.

\textsuperscript{58}In 1835, Jose Maria de Salamanca was appointed mayor of Vera; after this, he was elected to represent that province in the Revolutionary Board of Seville 1868. Jose Maria de Salamanca y Mayol (Malaga, May 23, 1811 - Madrid, 1883), I Marques de Salamanca and I Conde de los Llanos con Grandezas de España outstanding aristocratic and social figure and businessman during the reign of Isabel II of Spain. It gives its name to the current Salamanca district of Madrid, part of the widening of the city that he promoted. Jose de Salamanca is credited with numerous businesses with great benefits in sectors such as rail, construction, banking or stock market investment. He studied Philosophy and Law at Colegio Mayor San Bartolome y Santiago de Granada, finishing in 1828. In this city he probably made contact with groups contrary to the absolutism of Fernando VII, including Mariana Pineda?

\textsuperscript{59}https://gildeavalle.wordpress.com/2016/05/04/restoration-antonio-gimenez-y-soto/
In 1838-1839 the most important economic event in the region took place: the mining discovery of the argentiferous lead reef of Jaroso (Sierra de Almagrera), making it possible to open thousands of mines; among others.

Power granted to Torres to negotiate shares. (AHPA)^60
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Number 801. Guitar with tornavoz, with stuffed mosaic, built by D. Antonio de Torres, neighbour of Seville. Antonio de Torres was awarded a medal at the Exposicion de Sevilla 1858\textsuperscript{61}, sponsored by the Dukes of Montpensier.\textsuperscript{62}

La Gaceta Musical Barcelonesa. Domingo 28 de mayo de 1865.

Summary: Guitar concertist D. Julian Arcas is appointed professor of the national conservatory of Music. He was denied the post with a salary and then approved when he proposed to work for free. The guitar is not considered to be part of an orchestra and, therefore it is not to be taught. But it is just admitted when its teaching is free. It was admitted as a professorship what means that it is necessary to be taught, and, therefore paid. We are happy that the guitar is part of the Conservatory since it is a “national” instrument of the Spanish conservatory. It is good to start.

Revista de Bellas Artes. 1866. Translation: “Professor Arcas has built a guitar with ten strings.”

\textsuperscript{61}Catalogo de los objetos presentados a la Exposicion Agricola, Industrial y Artistica celebrada en Sevilla en 1858, page 83. \texttt{http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000179328&page=1}
\textsuperscript{62}In 1855 Julian Arcas traveled to Genoa under the patronage of Isabel II and met the Dukes of Montpensier with whom he had a close connection since then, giving frequent concerts in the Sevillian circle of the Dukes.
Press article summary translated: Torres is referred to as a master guitar-maker visiting Barcelona and showing some instruments like the guitar awarded a prize in 1858; renown guitar-constructor with guitars considered to be the best by Cano, Arcas and Tarrega. Since he was a child he learned to play the guitar with Dionisio Aguado. Not finding an instrument satisfying him and after some practice in cabinetmaking, he studied and improved in guitar-making for 14 years until 1856 when he presented “La Leona” in Seville.

63Picture appearing in La Estampa, 01/01/1929 http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/issue.vm?id=0003401004&search=&lang=es

64Don José Francisco Paz (Barcelona, 1836), an amateur guitarist who completed the Lawyer career in Granada, where he became fond of the guitar, becoming Secretary of the Bar Association, and follower and friend of the eminent Tarrega since 1878. “He owns the best guitars that are known, including the one that D. Dionisio Aguado had that he acquired in Madrid by buying it from Aguado’s disciple Mr Jose Campo. This guitar, which was built in 1808 (…) ”, referring to a guitar by Juan Muñoa.” It also has the guitar that Mr Antonio de Torres built in Seville in 1856 and presented at that exhibition winning the prize (…) “, translated from Celebridades Musicales, Fernando de Arteaga y Pereira, 1887.

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