



Revista Internacional

Nº 12 Año 2015

ESPAÑÓLES, INDIOS, AFRICANOS Y GITANOS.
EL ALCANCE GLOBAL DEL FANDANGO EN MÚSICA, CANTO Y DANZA

SPANIARDS, INDIANS, AFRICANS AND GYPSIES:
THE GLOBAL REACH OF THE FANDANGO IN MUSIC, SONG, AND
DANCE

CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía

Actas del congreso internacional organizado por The Foundation for Iberian Music, The Graduate Center, The City University of New York el 17 y 18 de abril del 2015

Proceedings from the international conference organized and held at The Foundation for Iberian Music, The Graduate Center, The City University of New York, on April 17 and 18, 2015

Depósito Legal: GR-487/95 **I.S.S.N.:** 1138-8579

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EL MURCIANO'S "RONDEÑA" AND EARLY FLAMENCO GUITAR MUSIC: NEW FINDINGS AND PERSPECTIVES

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Resumen:

La *Rondeña* del guitarrista granadino Francisco Rodríguez Murciano (*El Murciano*, 1795-1848)—tal y como se documenta en una transcripción realizada por su hijo—ha sido objeto de interés reciente entre investigadores y flamencólogos especializados en el estudio del desarrollo de la guitarra flamenca. Autores como Eusebio Rioja (2008 y 2013), Javier Suárez Pajares (2003), Guillermo Castro Buendía (2014) y Norberto Torres Cortés (2010), han sabido reconocer la importancia de esta obra en la reconstrucción evolutiva del toque de guitarra flamenca, aunque no sin ciertas reservas. Dichos autores han planteado varios interrogantes sobre la pieza, entre los que destacan la fecha y circunstancias bajo las que se preparó, y el grado en que verdaderamente ésta representa la técnica interpretativa de *El Murciano*. En 2014-15, uno de los presentes autores (Martínez) halló dos nuevas transcripciones, hasta ahora no examinadas, de esta misma pieza. En este artículo, presentamos ambos manuscritos y sugerimos de qué manera arrojan nueva luz en la evolución del toque de guitarra pre-flamenca.

Palabras clave:

fandango, rondeña, malagueña, Murciano, guitarra, guitarra flamenca

Abstract:

The "Rondeña" of guitarist Francisco Rodríguez Murciano (*El Murciano*, 1795-1848) of Granada—as documented in a notation made by his son—has been a subject of considerable interest among scholars of flamenco guitar history. Such authors as Eusebio Rioja (2008, 2013), Javier Suárez Pajares (2003), Guillermo Castro Buendía (2014), and Norberto Torres Cortés (2010) have all recognized the importance of this piece in the project of reconstructing, however hypothetically, the development of the art of flamenco guitar. These flamencologists have also raised various questions about the piece, involving the date and circumstances of its preparation and the extent to which it accurately represents *El Murciano's* actual playing. In 2014-15, one of the present authors (Martínez) discovered two previously unexamined variant transcriptions of Murciano's *rondeña*. In this article, we present these manuscripts and suggest how they shed new light on the evolution of pre-flamenco guitar playing.

Keywords:

fandango, rondeña, malagueña, Murciano, guitar, flamenco guitar

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Martínez Martínez, M^a Luisa y Manuel, Peter. "El Murciano's "Rondeña" and Early Flamenco Guitar Music: New Findings and Perspectives". *Música Oral del Sur*, n. 12, pp. 249-272, 2015, ISSN 1138-8579

The "Rondeña" of guitarist Francisco Rodríguez Murciano (El Murciano, 1795-1848) of Granada—as documented in a notation made by his son—has been a subject of considerable interest among scholars of flamenco guitar history. Such authors as Eusebio Rioja (2008, 2013), Javier Suárez Pajares (2003), Guillermo Castro Buendía (2014), and Norberto Torres Cortés (2010) have all recognized the importance of this piece in the project of reconstructing, however hypothetically, the development of the art of flamenco guitar. These flamencologists have also raised various questions about the piece, involving the date and circumstances of its preparation and the extent to which it accurately represents El Murciano's actual playing. In 2014-15, one of the present authors (Martínez) discovered two previously unexamined variant transcriptions of Murciano's rondeña. In this article, we present these manuscripts and suggest how they shed new light on the evolution of pre-flamenco guitar playing.

Traditional rondeña is a form of Andalusian fandango dance and song, in triple meter, roughly akin to verdiales, but with a distinctive melody (such as is presented in Pedrell 1958 [1900]: II, 258-60, as "Malagueña").¹⁾ Sources from the early nineteenth century indicate that it was especially popular in the province of Granada (Castro Buendía 2014: 206-07). Such rondeña songs are still occasionally performed in flamenco contexts, especially as a coda concluding a languid, free-rhythmic malagueña. By the 1830s if not earlier, the rondeña had also acquired its own characteristic style of guitar accompaniment, or *toque*, distinguished especially by conventional *variaciones* (what would later be called *falsetas*) in the ritornello or *entrecopla* interludes played in between the verse sections

¹⁾ Serafín Estébanez Calderón (1799-1867) describes the rondeña dance in his *Escenas andaluzas* (1920-1929: 9, 120, 164, 169). This edition can be seen in the website of Biblioteca Nacional de España: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000124443&page=1>, 7/126124.

(*coplas*). As in most fandangos, the *copla* sections would consist of a five-line *quintilla* or, less often, a four-line *cuarteta* sung to the standard Andalusian fandango chord progression (roughly, in C major: C-F-[G7]-C-G7-C-F-E, thence returning to the E Phrygian major tonality of the *ritornello/entrecopla*). The *rondeña* was one of several fandango variants and contemporary song-forms or *cantes* that would eventually be incorporated into the rapidly evolving professional art form that came to be called “flamenco” from the 1860s. Evidence also suggests that *rondeña* was a particularly popular song and guitar entity, and that, accordingly, it played an especially important role in the consolidation of flamenco.

By Murciano’s time—the 1830s-40s if not earlier—, *rondeña* could evidently also be performed as a listening-oriented song for guitar and voice. Further, it was also coming to be played as an item for solo guitar, essentially consisting, like other flamenco guitar *toques*, as a series of *falsetas* derived primarily from conventional *entrecopla* patterns. Such a guitar *rondeña* could be played by an amateur for his own diversion, or, eventually, as a stage piece. Although the characteristic *rondeña* verse melody differed from that of the *malagueña*, both were set to the standard chordal pattern of Andalusian fandangos, and both used the same rhythm and the same conventional guitar patterns. Hence, during this period, the two forms were seen as nearly identical, and the terms were often used interchangeably, as we shall discuss below.

The earliest transcriptions of proto-flamenco guitar playing are of Murciano, an unlettered but respected performer who would have been most active in the 1830s-40s. Murciano was particularly known for his version of *rondeña*; in September of 1842, for example, a Madrid newspaper featured an advertisement for guitar lessons offered by a young disciple of Murciano, “author of the genuine *Rondeñas Granadinas* [Granada-style *rondeña*], celebrated for their *variaciones*, and never heard in this court,”²⁾ and in 1859, one José Pérez placed a similar advertisement in a Seville newspaper offering guitar lessons which could include Murciano's *malagueña* (presumably synonymous with his *rondeña*).³⁾

²⁾ Diario de avisos de Madrid (16/IX/1842), p. 2. All quotations from Spanish authors are translated by Peter Manuel.

³⁾ The advertisement reads: “Don José Pérez da lecciones de dicho instrumento (guitarra), ya sea de música o de memoria, según convenga a las personas que gusten ocuparle: también enseña las *malagueñas* del Murciano de Granada.” (Don José Pérez gives lessons on this instrument, whether from [written] music or memory, as suits the students; he also teaches the *malagueñas* of Murciano of Granada.) The advertisement is reproduced in Castro Buendía 2014:233.

Until the fresh discoveries presented in this article, the only known version of Murciano's piece had been that published in 1882 by José Campo y Castro, with a prologue by composer and pianist José Inzenga and biographical data presented in the same publication by Mariano Vázquez, a musician of Granada who knew Murciano personally and was a friend of his son.⁴⁾ The latter, named Francisco Rodríguez after his father but known by the pseudonym "Malipieri," was a musically literate guitarist and music professor who prepared the transcription of his father's manner of playing rondeña and provided it to Vázquez. As the latter wrote, "With great patience and skill [Malipieri] managed to put on paper some of the 'inspirations' of his father, but not without difficulty, since the latter was not always in the mood to bestow them on his son, nor did such free fantasy lend itself to being imprisoned [on paper] so easily." This transcription (also presented in a reduced form by Pedrell in his 1900 anthology [1958: II, 257-60]) has been an important document in the reconstruction of solo flamenco guitar music.

In the aforementioned publications, scholars have focused on the conspicuous similarities between this rondeña and the piece *Rondeña para guitarra sola* (Rondeña for solo guitar) by classical guitarist Julián Arcas (1832-82), which, registered in 1860, is generally considered the first extant work for solo flamenco guitar. Certainly both pieces reveal many features in common not only with each other but also with the modern style of playing malagueña. These would include, in the standard "*por arriba*" tonality based on E Phrygian major, in 3/4 meter: a basic "filler" riff of bass/thumb E-B-e-E-B-e patterns, with E-major arpeggios; other "bourdon"-type bass/thumb melodies decorated by constant E or E7 arpeggios; and interjected passages of *picado* mixed with legato effects executed by left-hand "hammering-on" and "pulling-off." In the playing of Arcas and subsequent guitarist-composers like Eduardo Ocón, the "filler"-type patterns could take the form of antecedents to a two-bar consequent phrase (as in the familiar "Lecuona" pattern: //E-G#-B-E-G#-B-A-C-B-A-G-F ://). Both the rondeñas of Arcas and Murciano (in two of its versions) contain *copla* sections. In Arcas's version, which is explicitly written as a solo guitar piece, the guitar plays a rendition of the familiar vocal melody; Murciano's versions, by contrast, merely show chordal patterns, such as would accompany a vocalist if one were present.

⁴⁾ Campo y Castro's edition can be found as a digital document in this link to Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE): <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000043250&page=1>, MP/1293/31. From 1854 Inzenga, contracted by the state, had devoted his energies to compiling Spanish regional popular songs, which he then published with harmonized piano accompaniment. It was presumably due to his prominence in this area that he was able to "present" the rondeña in the 1882 edition, which evidently derives from Malipieri, with some minimal additions, such as fingerings provided in the first sections of the item. Mariano Vázquez interacted with Malipieri in the social gatherings called El Pellejo and Cuerda Granadina. See ABC (15/09/1956), p. 9, La Alhambra (30/IV/1921), p. 97-99 y La Alhambra (31/VII/1922), pp. 153-155.

While the rondeñas of Murciano and Arcas (together with subsequent malagueñas such as that published in 1874 by Ocón) constitute invaluable documents in the study of pre-flamenco guitar playing, they also present researchers with various enigmas. Some of these involve the question of whether Campo y Castro's 1882 publication of Murciano's rondeña can indeed be taken to accurately represent the playing of that guitarist, who had died 36 years earlier. While some issues may remain unresolved, considerable insight can be gained through the recent discovery of two other versions of Murciano's rondeña.

One of these was included in a work written by Russian composer Mikhail Glinka (1804-57), who visited Granada for several months in 1845-46, during which period he befriended Murciano. As Vázquez related in his biographical essay published by Campo y Castro, Glinka enjoyed "an extended stay in Granada, during which his main activity was spending hours listening to our Rodríguez Murciano improvise variations on the rondeña, the fandango, the jota aragonesa etc."⁵⁾ Glinka himself wrote a diary with illuminating descriptions of his experiences:

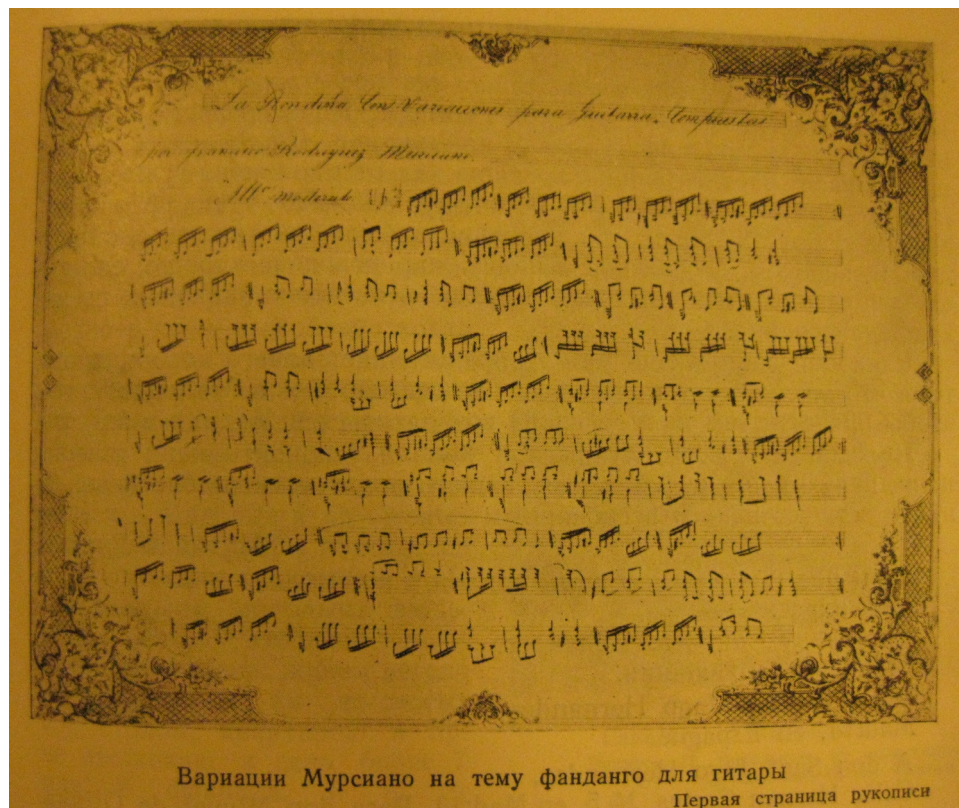
This Murciano was an illiterate person who sold wine in his own tavern. He played divinely, with grace and an accurate style. Some variations on a national song from that region—the fandango—composed by him and notated by his son, demonstrated his talent... On one occasion, I met a pretty gypsy woman and asked if she knew how to sing and dance; she affirmed that she did, and I invited her and her friends to my house that evening. Murciano directed them and played guitar. Two young gypsy women danced, along with an elderly gypsy man who was so dark he looked African.⁶⁾

Glinka included in a Spanish songbook he elaborated during his stay in Spain a transcription of Murciano's rondeña, titled *Rondeña con variaciones para guitarra* (1845/1953: 357), which, however, had itself eluded flamencologists until the present, when Martínez unearthed it in the New York Public Library.⁷⁾ The notation--shown here as Example 1--is clearly incomplete, consisting of only the first page of the manuscript (as states the caption for the image); nevertheless, as we shall note, it remains an illuminating document. Although Rioja (2013:64) voiced doubts about whether this notation (which he had not seen) was made by Glinka himself or by Malipieri, it clearly was not written by

⁵⁾ The essay of Vázquez, together with Glinka's remarks, is discussed and reproduced, among other places, in Rioja 2013.

⁶⁾ In *Los papeles españoles de Glinka 1845-1847* (Álvarez Cañibano 1996:35).

⁷⁾ Álvarez Cañibano (1996: 27) relates how Glinka extracted his notation of Murciano's rondeña from his notebook of Spanish songs to offer it to his fellow composer Balakirev, with the intent that the latter would compose a piano piece based on it. He also mentions the 1853 volume containing a photographic reproduction of this version of the rondeña, which can today be found in the New York Public Library, *QDZ. It was in this edition that Martínez found the first page of the *Rondeña con variaciones para guitarra* reproduced in this essay (Glinka 1953:357).



Example 1: Murciano's rondeña presented by Glinka (1845/1953)

Glinka, whose handwriting and notation style were recognizably different. Rather, it seems clear that it was notated by Malipieri, whose signature (next to that he provided for his father), dated February 1846, appears on the following page, where the transcription had originally been presented, immediately below the piece;⁸⁾ the inclusion of this item also resembles that of other pieces which Glinka included in this Spanish songbook, which were copied and signed by their composers. The presence of this notation in Glinka's notebook also illustrates that it dates from 1846, rather than being the invention or revised work of some later editor or copyist; as such, this notation--together with the markedly similar version of Campo y Castro--thus can be assumed to accurately reflect Murciano's playing.

⁸⁾ Glinka's Spanish music notebook, reproduced in *Los papeles españoles de Glinka 1845-1847* (Álvarez Cañibano 1996: 68-69), contains a gap between pages 28 and 30, which suggests that page 29 contains the transcription of Murciano's rondeña, since the subsequent page (30) features the signatures of Murciano and his son.

The authenticity of the Glinka and Campo y Castro editions helps resolve questions which have been raised about guitar playing during this era. Various flamenco scholars have noted how the rondeñas of Murciano and Arcas illustrate how classical performers like Arcas as well as unlettered, vernacular ones like Murciano contributed to the cultivation of an increasingly elaborate and sophisticated solo guitar style. However, most studies have treated the classical guitarists as the primary driving force in this development. Rioja, while acknowledging a degree of mutual borrowing between classical artists and (proto-) flamenco players, asserted that in the case of the published rondeña of Murciano, "his son (...), who was a trained [and musically literate] guitarist, must have influenced the playing of his father," who, further, "must have followed the path of the concert guitarists of his time" (Rioja 2013: 9, 48, 60). For his part, Norberto Torres doubts that the Campo y Castro version of the rondeña--published 36 years after Murciano's death--reflected the actual playing of the latter, arguing that it presents "techniques that were not yet established in the classical guitar playing of Murciano's time," such that Campo y Castro's version is better regarded as representing an "arrangement" considerably subsequent to whatever was earlier notated by Malipieri or "some other classical guitarist friend of Inzenga" (Torres 2010: 53, 55). Among the guitar techniques in question would be the tremolo (i.e., a melody played by sequences of three repeated high notes punctuated by bass/thumb notes). The tremolo had only become a feature of Spanish classical guitar playing in the preceding decades. Recordings of flamenco in the early twentieth century reveal that many guitarists did not use tremolo, but instead exhibited a more limited palette of techniques--primarily strumming (*rasgueado/rasgueo*) and thumb-picking. It is for this reason that some flamenco scholars have inferred that classical techniques such as tremolo were seldom, if ever, played by flamenco guitarists until the twentieth century.

While the reproduction of Glinka's notation, presented here as Example 1, may not be of pristine quality, the reader can readily observe, among other things, the tremolo passages in the fourth and final staves (mm. 20-22), along with other typical malagueña features such as the the characteristic thumb/"bourdon" melodies with arpeggios, or a passage rendered by the left hand alone (via the aforementioned hammering-on and pulling-off techniques) (mm. 53-55). These passages effectively confirm that Murciano performed these techniques. Thus, while we can assume that many flamenco guitarists of that period and later possessed only a relatively "primitive" technique, there clearly existed proto-flamenco guitarists who from the 1830s played in a more refined manner and influenced subsequent styles, as were presented, for example, in the music of Arcas.

Meanwhile, yet another notation of Murciano's rondeña, under the title *Rondeña de Granada*, has also been discovered by Martínez. This version, penned by an unknown copyist, was included in an unedited organological catalog manuscript of 1892-93 entitled *Colección de Instrumentos Populares de España*, prepared by the Princess María Isabel Francisca de Borbón (1851-1931), which was recently unearthed in the Real Conservatorio

Superior de Música of Madrid.⁹⁾ This 68-page catalog, which was written to accompany an exhibition of Spanish musical instruments in Vienna, includes notated examples of various characteristic examples of Spanish vernacular music, including a *jota aragonesa* and a *parranda murciana*.¹⁰⁾ The catalog's version of Murciano's *rondeña*, like that published by Campo y Castro in 1882, may have been provided by Vázquez, who was Princess Isabel's chamber-master from 1882, and who was involved in the preparation of the Vienna Exposition. As mentioned, he was also a personal friend of Malipieri (who himself might have been in his seventies at that point and presumably provided this new transcription to Vázquez).¹¹⁾ It is also safe to assume that this transcription of the *Rondeña de Granada* is a faithful reproduction of Malipieri's original. Accordingly, for example, Martínez's research has established that the *jota aragonesa* and *parranda murciana* presented in the catalog are identical copies of transcriptions by Ruperto Ruiz de Velasco and Antonio López Almagro, as earlier presented in their respective works *La jota aragonesa: estudio crítico descriptivo sobre su música* (Ruiz de Velasco 1892) and *El cancionero panocho: coplas, cantares, romances de la huerta de Murcia* (López Almagro 1900: IV, 6-11). This fidelity strongly suggests that the anonymous copyist of the Princess's version maintained the same sort of accuracy in his transcription of Murciano's *Rondeña de Granada*. This version is presented below as Example 4, edited here without alteration, by Martínez in order to provide greater legibility than is afforded by the handwritten manuscript itself.

The relation between these three versions of Murciano's *rondeña* (which we shall refer to as Glinka's, Campo y Castro's, and the Princess's) is not entirely clear. They are quite similar, but present some minor differences (which will be considered below). However, the close similarities of the three do suggest that they all derived from one source, presumably Malipieri. While we cannot definitively know the circumstances under which he generated these different versions, it is easy to imagine that from the 1840s Malipieri prepared a few slightly different versions of his father's improvisations, with or without certain *falsestas*, and with or without *copla*. Over the course of subsequent years or

⁹⁾ Madrid, RCSMM, S/1799. The catalog is a focus of Martínez's doctoral research.

¹⁰⁾ The Colección de Instrumentos Populares de España was prepared by Princess María Isabel Francisca, daughter of Queen Isabel II and probably one of the most influential women in the musical sphere of Madrid around the end of the nineteenth century. It includes twenty-eight individual entries on instruments used to perform popular music in Spain, together with an array of musical transcriptions. *Rondeña de Granada* is the third of fourteen musical transcriptions. This manuscript, together with a collection of twenty-eight Spanish popular instruments, was displayed at the International Exhibition for Music and Drama of Vienna in 1892, for which Princess Isabel was appointed President of the Commission in charge of the Spanish representation. Months later, when the exhibition ended, the Princess made sure both the collection and the catalogue reached the facilities of the Conservatory in Madrid, probably emulating the main European conservatories, which had created the first museums of musical instruments decades before, in the 1860s.

¹¹⁾ Malipieri appears to have also been a friend of Conde de Morphy, personal secretary of King Alfonso XII, a celebrated musician in the Madrid court, and a mentor to Isaac Albéniz. See the note in *La Alhambra* (31/VIII/1899), p. 384.

decades he had occasion to provide notations to various people, such as Glinka, Vázquez, and perhaps sundry others, including the aforementioned guitar teachers of Madrid and Seville who advertised in 1842 and 1859, respectively, that they could teach the “rondeñas granadinas” or Murciano's malagueñas (as his rondeña might have been labeled), using either sheet music or memory. Individuals may also have requested versions from Malipieri, and in an era before photocopying and digital scanning, providing multiple copies of a score entailed writing them by hand, with the attendant liberty to introduce variant versions of his father's playing.

The differences between the three versions of Murciano's rondeña are not insignificant (aside from the incomplete nature of the extant NYPL Glinka notation). Firstly, as mentioned, there are some relatively minor differences in manners of notating otherwise identical passages. In the case of the Glinka version, the abundant use of double-bar repetition indications, as involving the arpeggiated filler ostinato (as in the Princess's version),¹²⁾ together with a somewhat simplified, reductive version of some of the *variaciones* (henceforth “V”), as compared to similar passages in Castro y Campo and the Princess (i.e. V6, V9, last part of V10.2), may reflect a certain haste with which Malipieri transcribed the rondeña for Glinka. It is possible that he might have prepared his version for Glinka in a single sitting, and perhaps with deliberate inclusion of particular passages that interested the Russian composer. In the Castro y Campo version, the filler patterns are fully written out, as opposed to being indicated with double-bar repetitions in the other two versions. A few other passages are identical in the versions of Glinka and the Princess, but are slightly different in Campo y Castro, suggesting an element of minor editing (e.g., V12 in Campo y Castro and the Princess, and V12.1 in Glinka).

Secondly, there are also some differences in the number and order in which some of the *variaciones* are presented. The rondeña of Campo y Castro presents the largest number of *variaciones*, most of which conclude with the double-bar arpeggiated filler pattern (shown as “FP” in Table 1).

Table 1. Murciano's Rondeña published by José Campo y Castro (1882)

INTRO. (1-11) :|| V1 (12-14) -- FP -- V2 (17-25) -- FP:|| V3: (28-35) -- FP:|| V4 (38-40) -- FP:|| V5 (43-45) -- FP:|| V6 (48-50) -- FP:|| V7 (53-55) -- FP:|| V8 (58-65) -- FP:|| V9 (68-70) -- FP:|| V10 (73-90) -- FP:|| V11 (93-95) -- FP:|| V12 (98-106) -- FP:|| V13 (109-111) -- FP:|| V14 (114-116) -- FP -- V15 (119-130) -- FP:|| V16 (133-144) -- FP:|| V17(147-150:|| 151-158:|| 159-162:||) -- FP -- V18 (165-167) -- FP:|| V19 (170-172) -- FP:|| V20 (175-176) -- FP -- V21 (179-181) -- FP:|| V22 (184-189) -- COPLA (190-215) -- V23 (216-219) -- FP:|| V24 (222-224) -- FP -- V25 (227-229) -- FP --V26 (232-234) -- FP:|| V27 (237-239) -- FP:|| V28 (242-244) -- FP -- CODA (247-257) ||

¹²⁾ The two-measure "filler" pattern (//:E-B-e-E-B-e://) is fully written out in Campo y Castro's piece, but indicated with double-bar repeats in the versions of Glinka and the Princess.

A few such *variaciones* in the Campo y Castro version are absent in the other two versions, although that of the Princess includes a tremolo passage (mm. 119-121) which is not found in Campo y Castro. For its part, the Glinka version contains distinct material in the final three bars of V8. The Princess's version reproduces these same *variaciones* in the same order as does Campo y Castro (see Table 2), while the Glinka reveals a quite different organization (see Table 3). Unlike in the edited Campo y Castro version, the *variaciones* of the other two manuscripts rarely repeat, and on occasion, a *variación* in Campo y Castro appears divided into two sections in the other two versions, punctuated by the filler pattern or other *variaciones* (e.g., V15 and V17 in the Princess, and V10 and V12 in Glinka); given the quasi-improvised nature of a typical guitar rendering, these differences should not be seen as unusual or structurally important.

Table 2. Murciano's Rondeña de Granada presented in princess Isabel's manuscript (1892)

INTRO. (1-5) -- V1 (6-8) -- FP -- V2 (10-18) -- FP -- V3 (20-22) -- FP -- V6 (24-26) -- FP -- V7 (28-30) -- FP -- V8 (32-39) -- FP -- V9 (41-43) -- FP -- V10 (45-61) -- FP -- V11 (63-65):|| -- [No FP] -- V12 (66-73) -- FP -- V13 (75-77) -- FP -- V14 (79-81) -- FP -- V15.1 (83-85) -- FP -- V15.2 (87-95) -- FP -- V16 (97-104) -- FP -- V17.1 (106-109 :|| 110-113) -- FP -- V17.2 (115-117) -- FP -- V* (119-121) -- FP -- V18 (123-125) -- FP -- V19 (127-129) -- FP -- V20 (131-132) -- FP -- V22 (134 137) -- FP -- V23 (139-142) -- FP-- CODA [Last 3 bars in INZENGA's coda] (144-146)||
COPLA (147-168) ||
* Variation with different material

Table 3. Rondeña con variaciones para guitarra transcribed in Glinka's Spanish songbook (1846)

INTRO. (1-8) -- V6 (9-11) -- FP-- V7 (13-15) -- FP -- V2 (17-22) -- FP -- V3 (24-26) -- FP -- V1 (28-30) -- FP -- V8* (32-34/35-37*) -- FP -- V9 (39-41) -- FP -- V10.1 (43-48) -- V12.2 (49-51) -- FP -- V11 (53-55) -- FP -- V12.1 (57-59) -- V10.2 (60-64) -- FP -- V13 (66-68) -- FP -- V14 (70)
* The second half of V8 presents new material

It is interesting to note that some of the *variaciones* (e.g., V2, V10) are transcribed identically in the versions of Glinka and the Princess, but differently in the Campo y Castro, suggesting a particular connection between these two manuscripts.¹³⁾ As mentioned, Campo y Castro's version may have been subjected to some editorial alterations. At the same time, this version also bears some conspicuous similarities to the

¹³⁾ The versions of Glinka and the Princess, unlike the Campo y Castro, also give tempo indications, of "Allegro Moderatto" and "Moderatto," respectively.



Example 2a: Variación 15 in the transcription of Campo y Castro



Example 2b: Variación 15.2 in the transcription of Princess Isabel

Glinka, in contrast to the version of the Princess (e.g., Intro., V14),¹⁴ which confirms the relation between all three versions, on one hand, and, on the other, the rondeña of Murciano himself, as a common source.



Example 3a: Variación 8 in the transcription of Campo y Castro



Example 3b: Variación 8 in the transcription of Princess Isabel

Thirdly, at certain points the versions appear to provide variant manners of playing passages. For instance, Examples 2a and 2b show two very similar phrases, from the Princess and Campo y Castro, which are rendered in slightly different forms; the Princess's involves a typical bass/thumb note followed by a three-note arpeggio, while the other shows a double-octave E/e--played in a "pinching" motion between thumb and index finger--followed by a two-note arpeggio. The latter technique is not common in modern mainstream flamenco playing. Presumably Malipieri wrote both as alternates to indicate the variant styles in which his father played.¹⁵

¹⁴ The Campo y Castro opens with a four-bar arpeggiated phrase which is not present in the Princess's version, although it appears in Glinka's version, with some minor differences. In the version of the Princess, one appearance of the filler pattern--at m. 86--interrupts a variación fully presented in Campo y Castro, and is presumably a copyist's error; quite possibly it was intended to go after m. 65, which is located at the same place on the preceding page of the original.

¹⁵ Slight differences can also be noted in the renderings of V6 in the three versions.

Another such difference can be seen in the renderings of V8 in the versions Campo y Castro and the Princess (Examples 3a and 3b); the former accompanies the descending thumb melody with arpeggios, and the latter with Am chords adorned with a B.

A conspicuous difference involves the presentation of the *copla*. In the Campo y Castro edition, the *copla* appears as a four-line *cuarteta* (“Los ojos de mi morena...”) with guitar accompaniment, preceded and followed by guitar *variaciones/falsetas*. By contrast, the Princess’s version presents the *copla* solely as guitar accompaniment, and at the end of the piece, separated from the guitar variations by a double bar. The presentation infers that the *copla* was an optional rather than essential entity in the piece, which is thus primarily a solo guitar item. At the same time, the pattern shown in the *copla* section has the character of accompaniment rather than a soloistic guitar rendering, as if to indicate how a guitarist would accompany a singer if one were present or desired; in that sense, it differs from the *copla* sections of Arcas’s *rondeña*, which are explicitly designed for solo guitar and are accordingly melodic rather than merely chordal in character. The relegation of the *copla* to the end, as a detachable and dispensable appendage, reflects how the piece is best seen as a relatively unstructured fantasia in which the guitarist explores a given tonality (here, E Phrygian major), akin to modern guitar versions of *granaínas* and *tarantas* (in their respective tonalities), or even, for that matter, the otherwise musically unrelated *rondeña* invented by Ramón Montoya (1879-1949) around 1930.

Analysis of Murciano's *rondeña* versions, together with related pieces by Arcas and others, sheds light on various aspects of flamenco evolution. Three themes in particular may be mentioned here. The first involves the evident sophistication of pre-flamenco guitar playing of the 1840s or earlier, as reflected in Murciano’s use of classical techniques such as tremolo. This sophistication itself illustrates the socio-musical continuum that existed between the realms of vernacular, unlettered, pre-flamenco musicians and classical concert artists. Clearly there did exist a wide social gulf between, on the one hand, the illiterate gypsy guitarist crudely strumming in some Andalusian cave, and on the other, a Madrid- and Paris-based classical soloist such as Dionisio Aguado (1784-1849). Advocates of the increasingly discredited “hermetic theory” have argued that flamenco evolved primarily in the isolated contexts of private fiestas of gitanos and their *señorito* (provincial playboy) patrons. Yet Murciano’s music reflects that between the gypsy and courtly realms there existed a continuum which was traversed in both directions by musical forms, techniques, and musicians themselves. The illiterate Murciano himself was comfortably immersed in the world of informal gypsy dancing and music-making, yet his playing incorporated sophisticated and even recently innovated techniques such as tremolo.¹⁶⁾ The elaborate guitar techniques evident in Murciano's *rondeña*, and its clear affinities to the “concert” classical counterpart by Arcas, demonstrate the clear continuities--both musical and social--between the art and folk music realms, just as the

¹⁶⁾ It seems safe to assume that Murciano was not a gypsy; certainly Glinka, who identified others as such, did not describe Murciano thusly.

eighteenth-century keyboard *fandangos de salón* attributed to Domenico Scarlatti, Antonio Soler, Félix Máximo López and others imitated contemporary vernacular fandangos.

A second phenomenon further illuminated by Murciano's rondeñas is the process by which various Andalusian fandangos evolved from light, rhythmic, danceable songs into languid flamenco quasi-art songs—the malagueña, tarantas, granáinas, and *fandango libre*—, while the conventional accompaniment patterns of the first three also came to constitute *toques* for solo guitar. We can see how the rondeñas of both Murciano and Arcas exhibit vestigial features of the Andalusian fandango form. The *variaciones/falsetas* of both pieces, like modern solo guitar *toques* of tarantas and granáinas, presumably derived from conventional manners of accompanying sung versions of these forms. Both pieces retain the *copla* section, albeit as a solo guitar entity in Arcas and an optional add-on in Murciano. As transcribed, both these sections could be seen as “false *coplas*”,¹⁷⁾ illustrating how proto-flamenco forms of both singing and guitar playing co-existed in the first half of the 1800s. Meanwhile, the rhythmic patterns (including the E-B-e... filler phrases) recall the modal, danceable ritornello, although other passages seem more free-rhythmic, as if evolving toward the modern malagueña and *fandango libre* styles. However, once the *coplas* were dispensed with (or relegated to the finale), all these *toques* ceased to bear any structural relation to the fandango. In fact, despite their names, the guitar *toques* of granáinas and tarantas, and Murciano's rondeña can scarcely be regarded as members of the fandango family in any sense.

Thirdly, the study of Murciano's rondeña gives occasion for further reflection on the complicated and enigmatic evolutionary relation between that genre and its sibling, the malagueña. In the early nineteenth century, malagueña flourished as a danceable fandango form akin to verdiales, typically accompanied by guitar strumming in the ternary-metered *abandolao* rhythm typical of eastern Andalusian fandango variants. Over the course of the century, and especially as popularized by Juan Brea in the decades before 1900, the malagueña came to be cultivated as a slower, listening-oriented, quasi-art song, with characteristic guitar accompaniment patterns. From the mid-century decades, such patterns could also be strung together as a guitar solo, whether by a “vernacular” pre-flamenco guitarist like Murciano, or a classical soloist such as Ocón. In 1902 Rafael Marín published a flamenco guitar method book which included a malagueña. In the first decades of the twentieth century, under the influence of Antonio Chacón, Enrique el Mellizo, and others, the malagueña evolved into a leisurely, free-rhythmic rendering of a single *copla*, with introductory guitar *falsetas*. Curiously, despite the richness of its conventional *falseta* repertoire, which every guitarist must learn, malagueña ceased to be a common *toque* for solo guitar.

¹⁷⁾ “Coplas postizas,” an apt term coined by Juan Francisco Padilla of Almería, a gifted guitarist whose repertoire includes Murciano's rondeña.

For its part, traditional *rondeña*--which is still occasionally performed in flamenco contexts--is, as mentioned above, a danceable *fandango* variant, in *abandolao* rhythm, with a characteristic *copla* melody. By Murciano's time, the *rondeña* could also be rendered as a listening-oriented song for voice and guitar, or, as we have seen, as a guitar solo.¹⁸⁾ In this form, it became largely indistinguishable from the *malagueña*, and the two terms came to often be used interchangeably. Hence, Campo y Castro, in his frontispiece and Inzenga in his prefatory remarks, calls Murciano's piece a *rondeña*, but on the first page of the score itself the same piece is labelled "*malagueña*." Pedrell perpetuated this conflation, entitling his transcription "*Malagueña*" while referring to it in his introduction as a *rondeña*.¹⁹⁾ Similarly, the prose introduction preceding the Princess's *rondeña* manuscript explains, "The *rondeña* or *malagueña*, being known by both names, constitutes, together with the dance called *fandango*, the typical music and dance of all Andalusia."²⁰⁾ Meanwhile, a modern listener would identify the *rondeñas* of Murciano and Arcas as "*malagueñas*."

It seems that in the latter 1800s the term "*malagueña*" largely replaced "*rondeña*" in referring to both the listening-oriented flamenco *cante* and its derivative guitar *toque*. Hence, the vocal *malagueñas* of Breva and El Mellizo were clearly distinct from the light, danceable *rondeñas* (to which they might occasionally segue). Similarly, since it was redundant to have two terms to designate the associated guitar *toque* that Murciano, Arcas, and others had developed, this entity eventually came to be known solely as *malagueña*, as was thus the title of the pertinent composition of Ocón (1874), the corresponding *toque* presented in Marín's 1902 flamenco guitar method book (pp. 106-11),²¹⁾ and, for that matter, the renowned light-classical piece by Cuban composer Ernesto Lecuona.

Around 1930, flamenco guitarist Ramón Montoya, presumably aware of the existence of this earlier tradition of solo guitar *rondeña*, recuperated that entity by giving that name to the guitar *toque* that he invented, even if it bore little or no musical relation to its earlier namesake (as noted, among others, by Suárez-Pajares [2003] and Rioja).

¹⁸⁾ As noted by Castro Buendía (2014: 30, 236), the tradition of instrumental *rondeñas* continued in the second half of the 1800s: Matías de Jorge Rubio (1860: 45-46) included a piece, "Las Rondeñas," for solo guitar in his *Nuevo método elemental de cifra, para aprender á tocar por si solo la guitarra con los últimos adelantos hechos en este sistema*. This can be accessed on the BNE website at: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000129326&page=1>. Similarly, in 1868, the Madrid press mentioned a concert whose seventh item was a "Gran Rondeña a dos guitarras por la señorita Aguilar y su maestro D. José Asensio" (in *Diario oficial de avisos de Madrid* [21/IX/1868], p.4).

¹⁹⁾ This ambiguity is also noted in the studies by Rioja (2013) and Torres (2010).

²⁰⁾ Madrid, RCSMM, S/1799, p. 21.

²¹⁾ Marín presents *malagueña* as a guitar solo, with a *copla* section, and later in the volume (p. 182) indicates the chords that would be used to accompany a sung *copla*.

Montoya's *rondeña*, like flamenco *tarantas* and *granaínas*, is essentially a free-rhythmic fantasia-like exploration of a particular tonality, in this case, Db Phrygian (with a distinctive tuning).²²⁾ Today, the *rondeña* created by Montoya is the only *palo* that exists only as a guitar *toque*, without any sung counterpart.

The complex, circuitous, and bifurcating trajectories of *rondeña* forms over the last two centuries are at once idiosyncratic, and illustrative of the central generative processes operant in the evolution of modern flamenco. As flamenco scholars have noted, such processes were, on the one hand, animated by grand metanarratives such as Romanticism, nationalism, and the emergence of a modern bourgeoisie. At the same time however, much insight into these processes can also be gained by close examination of the relatively small number of musical examples dating from flamenco's embryonic period.

Example 4: Murciano's *Rondeña* de Granada in the Princess's Catalog

²²⁾ John Moore (personal communication) points out that Montoya's recorded *rondeña* includes a *copla*-like section which seems to outline a melody derived from the *levantica*.

Rondeña de Granada

Model: R02SMM, 31799, 21-28

Francisco Rodríguez Murciano
(1795-1848)

Moderatto

Guítar

M^{ra} Luisa Martínez Martínez and Peter Manuel 2015

The image displays a musical score for guitar, consisting of six staves of music. The notation is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The score includes various musical notations such as eighth notes, sixteenth notes, and chords. Measure numbers 29, 34, 39, 44, 49, and 56 are indicated at the beginning of their respective staves. The music features complex rhythmic patterns and melodic lines, with some measures containing triplets and slurs. The final measure of the sixth staff is marked with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled "Rondeña" by El Murciano. The score is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It consists of six staves of music, each beginning with a measure number. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and articulation marks. Notable features include a double bar line at measure 66, a measure rest at measure 71, and a first ending bracket labeled "1º" at the end of the piece. The music is characterized by a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together, and some measures contain chords or rests.

52

56

71

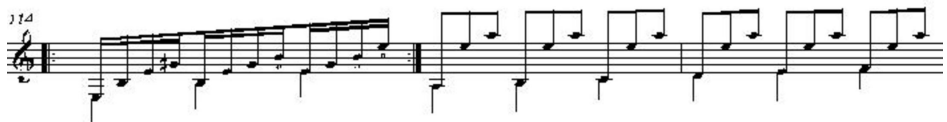
75

76

81

1º

The musical score is written for guitar on a single staff in treble clef. It consists of six systems of measures, each starting with a measure number in the left margin. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and articulation marks. Measures 34-37 show a sequence of eighth and sixteenth notes. Measures 38-40 feature triplet markings over groups of notes. Measures 41-43 continue with eighth and sixteenth note patterns. Measures 44-46 show a more complex rhythmic structure with some rests. Measures 47-49 feature a series of eighth notes. Measures 50-52 show a sequence of eighth and sixteenth notes. Measures 53-55 feature a series of eighth notes. Measures 56-58 show a sequence of eighth and sixteenth notes. Measures 59-61 feature a series of eighth notes. Measures 62-64 show a sequence of eighth and sixteenth notes. Measures 65-67 feature a series of eighth notes. Measures 68-70 show a sequence of eighth and sixteenth notes. Measures 71-73 feature a series of eighth notes. Measures 74-76 show a sequence of eighth and sixteenth notes. Measures 77-79 feature a series of eighth notes. Measures 80-82 show a sequence of eighth and sixteenth notes. Measures 83-85 feature a series of eighth notes. Measures 86-88 show a sequence of eighth and sixteenth notes. Measures 89-91 feature a series of eighth notes. Measures 92-94 show a sequence of eighth and sixteenth notes. Measures 95-97 feature a series of eighth notes. Measures 98-100 show a sequence of eighth and sixteenth notes. Measures 101-103 feature a series of eighth notes. Measures 104-106 show a sequence of eighth and sixteenth notes. Measures 107-109 feature a series of eighth notes. Measures 110-112 show a sequence of eighth and sixteenth notes.



124

125

130

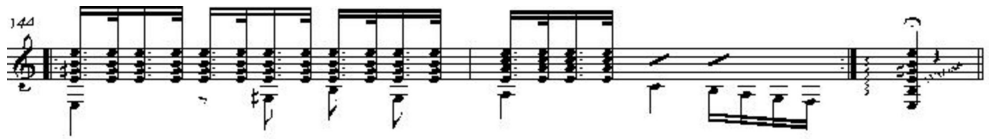
132

137

142

3

The image displays a musical score for guitar, consisting of six staves of music. The notation is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The score is divided into measures, with measure numbers 124, 125, 130, 132, 137, and 142 indicated at the beginning of their respective staves. The music features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. A triplet of eighth notes is marked with a '3' in a circle at the end of the sixth staff. The notation includes various musical symbols such as beams, slurs, and dynamic markings.



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