

Michele Bajo

*Mauro*  
*Giuliani*

*1791 – The beginning*

*Gaetano Lucci –  
His first and only teacher*

*The Vienna period*  
*1806 – 1819*

*Archduchess  
Marie Louise*

It's true – much has been written about Mauro Giuliani, long rivers of ink have been poured for at least a century, but paradoxically what has been missing is an actual biography which, apart from the data which have been meticulously collected and analyzed by patient, top musicologists, supplies a connected account of the life of the genius guitarist-composer. The same goes for the very eventful history, the time which surrounded him, as well as for concrete answers for those who ask themselves *why* in his life certain facts have happened and/or *why* others have not. This book is an attempt to reconstruct certain periods piece by piece, in order to obtain an overall view which allows just that. Hence, those who may wonder “Why has Giuliani...? Why didn't he...?” will finally find various reasoned answers which, at least partly, they would (could) not find elsewhere.

If the facts 1, 3, 5 and 7 have happened (for which evidence, documents exist) it makes no sense just ignoring 2, 4, 6 altogether, as if they never happened – because they *have* happened, and are important. A careful study of the events, the circumstances and facts in the respective moments, applying logics and the knowledge of the man himself, his character, his attitudes, makes it possible or easy to determine or conclude positively what the missing “pieces” were. Otherwise, this book would not be a *biography*.

It presents Giuliani as a man who, however fortune and glory smiled on (you bet they did!), also had to take some real batterings and suffer heavy setbacks, in his private life as well as a musician, also as consequences of historical events and changes and his own misjudgments. Those who will have read it will have a quite enlightening picture, and will not only know the person Mauro Giuliani well, but also the history, the events, the vicissitudes which marked his unreal, fantastic path and which – like it or not – determined his gripping, intriguing, sometime adventurous life, especially from November 1806 until September 1823. The first twelve years and nine months of this period (except for the final year 1819) were the marvelous, fantastic ones, when he lived in Vienna. The absence of what Giuliani did in this era in the history of the guitar and in its repertory would be absolutely inconceivable.

This edition also deals with **Gaetano Lucci**, Mauro's first and only guitar teacher (tutor), in a new, comprehensive dedicated chapter. For sure, for the very first time in guitar literature an entire detailed section deals with him. So far, Lucci, despite being mentioned now and then (often with “a certain signor Lucci”), has not been given enough, adequate credit for having made possible that the 10-year-old talented boy Mauro learned the new six-string guitar in time to become one of the best and most important guitarists who ever existed – in the 1800's anyway.

This chapter also describes the magic historic moment, the unique, amazing *fermento* in which the six-string guitar was born, right there, in the very same kingdom, at the very same time ...when Lucci and his smart educational intuition did not waste any time.

## Foreword

Biographies of the important guitarists-composers, even if regarding many we grant for the sake of argument that they can be defined as such, in general in classical guitar publications are either missing altogether or fragmentary, very often superficial, and above all regarding many details and aspects simply wrong. This means they provide information which is not true, not precise, misleading, too often just copied from some other “sources” without the least verification or a shadow of scepticism or doubt regarding the degree of truth and objectivity. How many times (almost always) you hear: the Italian Mauro Giuliani, from Apulia etc., without anybody noticing anything? Did Italy exist at Giuliani’s time? No, it did not, but for the “biographers” the Italians already existed, and also its twenty regions did. (When reading about Apulia nobody thinks of the historical sense of the name.) Kingdoms and kings just didn’t exist (at all) for the mainstream literature. Some readers would even go on reading like nothing happened, even if it was written that Giuliani after completing his guitar studies and graduating, already on the flight from Bari to Vienna knew whom he was going to meet and was waiting for him at the airport (this sentence contains four wrong details). For those who reason, the causes for the above frequent, even normal narrative can be known, but fact is the information is wrong. And do not think that around, on paper and on the internet there are just a few. Many important aspects are ignored altogether, omitted or presented in a ruined way, even after many decades.

This essay, even if it is concise, tries in this first edition to make a clear comprehensive historic and social vision possible, also of the correlations, which almost always is missing in the specializing publi-

cations. This allows the reader to understand – concretely – the reasons of Giuliani’s way to his enormous success in the dynamic capital of the Habsburg empire, not elsewhere, and the vicissitudes, the events in his quite eventful life, also his private one. A gripping “novel” - which has actually happened in reality.

If on the one hand the author of this essay<sup>1</sup> certainly admits the not so small number of his conjectures, which obviously are always formulated as such, on the other hand it is highlighted 1) that they are limited to instances where they are based on facts which were taking place at the same time and/or just before or after the conjectured events, and 2) that for every single conjecture logic criteria have been applied, not just some ideas. Unreasoned conjectures or even arbitrary ones do not interest this author. (You can find enough elsewhere.)

N.B. This book is a product of HI only.

Michele Bajo

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<sup>1</sup> In the rest of the book shortened to “this author” to simplify.

*The following chapter is completely new.*

*In the Italian edition it will be contained in its third part, which is scheduled to be uploaded in March or April 2026.*

## **Gaetano Lucci – Mauro's first and only guitar teacher Without him, Mauro would not have become a guitarist**

Unfortunately, not very much is known and documented about this man. Apart from some basic data which are given here, this author was not able to find (in the internet) more biographical details. However, what Lucci has actually done allows to draw a long series of important, highly interesting conclusions and quite solid conjectures. Part of this chapter deals with them. The conjectures are thoroughly explained. (And it is also explained why regarding him conjectures are so important.) It is the first time that in the guitar literature an entire exhaustive chapter is dedicated just to him<sup>2</sup>. The reasons for that are explained.

In music history the most important event in the year **1791** is Mozart's death on December 5, in Vienna. For the guitar this year was quite an important one. It was the year in which (just about two months earlier) Mauro Giuliani at the age of ten started taking guitar lessons, in his home in Barletta (on the Adriatic coast, in the Kingdom of Naples), under quite special circumstances to say the least.<sup>3</sup> The original plan was actually to teach him (just) the cello. His parents selected a

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<sup>2</sup> To this author's knowledge.

<sup>3</sup> This author does not know when the guitar lessons actually started next to the cello lessons. Nevertheless, for the different reasons and important coincidences explained in this section, he supposes that it took place right away, or just a few weeks later.

relatively young, very good tutor from Naples, Gaetano Lucci, for giving lessons to him and his older brother Nicola.

The importance of the cello and guitar teacher/tutor Lucci in Mauro Giuliani's life and therefore in the history and development of the guitar in the 1800's just cannot be overestimated.

For the different reasons which are explained in the following, this author sees it appropriate to dedicate an entire chapter to Mauro's first and only guitar teacher the general attention has not been called to so far, if not just very superficially. It is more than fair, at long last, giving him his share of credit. The mainstream publications do not seem to take this into account properly and do not acknowledge his essential role. Lucci was the one who actually aroused Mauro's interest in the (new) guitar and gave the very rare talent a way to be developed - in time. Lucci was also the one who positively gave Mauro his first (six-string) guitar, when it was still something very special not so many had yet, and for sure nobody in Mauro's small town. This happened either at the very beginning, in October or November 1791, or just a short time after that, when Mauro had already received some cello lessons.

Gaetano Lucci was born in Naples on August 22, 1769. He belonged to a generation which just over two decades later would make extremely important history, especially regarding the guitar. For music in general, Naples was then by far one of the most important and dynamic cities - if not in a way the most important of all. Because unlike Vienna, London and Paris, where vast numbers of foreign musicians and composers characterized music as such in general and about all major music events, Naples boasted a huge number of its very own, native, "genuine" inhabitants who were geniuses and/or great masters, as musicians, composers, educators, instrument makers, singers.

Lucci was one of many. Basically, in Naples music was an element of everyday life for about everybody. The music market, including the printers, was extremely rich and fertile. (Essentially, this would go on until the early 1900's. Naples as a central culture "hub" abruptly ceased to exist after WW II and the shift towards a totally new, different political system.)

Lucci – luckily - grew up and was educated in this dynamic, amazing city which for music lovers must have been like a paradise. He became a cellist and baroque guitarist, but luckily "big time" for us he was also very interested in what was up in the new developments of music. He must have been in close and steady contact with the very best violin, cello, mandolin and guitar makers, in Naples there were many.

The fact that Lucci already played<sup>4</sup> *also* the brand-new six-string guitar and even already offered lessons for this instrument when he met the Giuliani family, i.e. Mauro, shows a noteworthy, open-minded musical personality, especially if we consider that this instrument was just being introduced to the general market when he started to give lessons in the Giuliani home, i.e. to the two brothers (Mauro was the younger one, Nicola was 13 y.o.).

It is obvious that in Naples Mauro's brother-in-law-to be was in personal contact with the Fabricatore string instruments and guitar makers (fathers and sons), when they were developing (or had just finished to develop) the modern guitar, or rather that Lucci in their workshops followed their genius work on the instrument, whereby immediately he realized its huge potential. Well, he wasn't the only one

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<sup>4</sup> This author does not know at which skill level.

in Naples, of course. There were some others who encouraged the - lucky - luthiers...

As already mentioned, next to the cello he also played and taught the “French” (baroque) guitar, which now was about to become outdated very quickly, that is the main or obvious reason he was so interested in the new guitar. And he also had the right age for that. We can suppose that older guitarists / musicians were not that enthusiastic, at the very beginning, anyway. When the marketing started, Lucci was 22 years old, just 12 years older than Mauro.

Even though Lucci lived right in Naples (the city where the modern guitar was invented, developed and manufactured [from about 1791/1792]) and some reader could say now that therefore getting familiar right away with it was very easy for him, the above is still a special circumstance. Just because he may just as well have been sceptical and have taught the baroque guitar, to be “safe”, or he may have thought to first observe the start of the six-string and decide later. But he knew that for Mauro it would have been quite late, if he did.

We are dealing with an extraordinary, even magic concurrence timewise, because if the six-string guitar had been marketed only two or three years later, and if smart Lucci had not immediately taken one (or two) for himself and brought it to Barletta, this author doubts very much that he would still have taught Mauro in it. In Barletta in 1791 (/92) there was this high-spirited 10-year-old boy with an enormous talent *and* there was this *literally* brand-new, astonishing instrument, created in the capital of the very same kingdom. And... most important of all, in terms of historic events, the cello and guitar teacher just in the above-said year fell in love with Mauro’s older (young) sister Ema-

nuela, 15 years old<sup>5</sup>. Gaetano was about six and a half years older. This was the actual reason he came again and again all the way from Naples to Barletta, of course he wanted to become and *remain* the Giuliani brothers' private music tutor, at least until the marriage with Emanuela. And if he had not convinced Mauro's parents as a dependable, serious music teacher, they - probably - would not have given their daughter in marriage to him. Ok, if you have Mauro Giuliani as your pupil, maybe "teaching" the guitar is not *that* hard, either, and the *actual* lessons do not take place for a very long time. They may have taken just enough time to get engaged, and the wedding took place quite soon. Life was much shorter then (not for Lucci, though).

The beginning fate of the new classical guitar in this very moment set the course big time, because basically we owe the fact that he became Mauro's teacher, i.e. tutor to this sentimental fact. This author does not know of any elements which show that Lucci wanted to become a famous or sought after guitar teacher or educator. So, here we are dealing with a very private framework. For the history of the guitar and guitarists the time and the place could not be more perfect. Gaetano Lucci succeeded in the most important thing: sparking the interest, the enthusiasm (and the right attitude) in Mauro, the rest is history, and what history. And - it is not that hard to figure out that the history of the guitar in general would have been *very* different if Emanuela did not like Gaetano at all, simply because in such case he would not show up in Barletta again (or see her, anyway).

Due to all the above, the statement that the classical guitar owes the birth of one of its absolutely greatest interpreters and composers

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<sup>5</sup> At that time getting engaged at this age was not uncommon at all, or even normal, for girls, even more so in the southern areas / southern kingdoms of the peninsula. Yes - the engagement with Gaetano would follow soon. When Mauro married he was 18 years and eight months old.

ever – also – to this interesting (and modest) man is not far-fetched at all, being it very unlikely (actually impossible) that otherwise, i.e. if they had not met, Mauro in Barletta not only would have been introduced to the modern guitar, but also that he would have taken lessons right away from a person who was quite competent and as interested in the new instrumental development.

If Gaetano Lucci in early fall 1791 had not fallen in love with Mauro's sister the lessons with little Mauro (and his brother) would not have taken place, either, in the first place. Of course, again, it is not even thinkable that somebody else in Barletta at the same time could have taught Mauro the modern guitar, and by some effective instructional method. What private life does. The stroke of good fortune just could not be stronger or luckier than that. Considering how Mauro described Manuela's character Gaetano must have had a solid and cool personality, maybe also the age difference "helped". Without him, Mauro would have become a musician anyway, sure, hard to say though on which instrument, but quite likely not the guitar, for the simple reason that he would have had the opportunity to see and hear the new instrument close-by only too late (to still learn it young enough) to become the greatest virtuoso of all by the age of about 16 or 17. Of all those having been educated in the six-string guitar he was the very first such virtuoso.

This author is almost sure though that Lucci had the idea of teaching Mauro the new guitar, or suggested to Mauro to learn it anyway, *just because* of its brand-new design and the start of the large-scale manufacturing and sales of the instrument which was just taking place. "Invention" would be the wrong word, because it had already taken place in the 1760's – decades earlier, not by a Fabricatore family mem-

ber. So Lucci had two *very good* reasons for teaching Mauro the guitar; the latter's unbelievable talent and interest and the crush on his sister.

What this author does not know is whether the cello lessons took place just as regularly or if at some point they were actually replaced by guitar "lessons" only. But the following definitely shows a methodic cello instruction, i.e. double lessons! The opposite is just as likely, though; that Lucci pretty soon realized there was no point in giving guitar lessons any longer, after Mauro had reached and surpassed his tutor's level... Yes – someday the cello education would pay off big time!

On top of all the above (or: apart from), the fact of general importance and validity in music education must be mentioned that the very first instrument teacher – except for exceptions, of course - is always the one all the future of a pupil / musician depends on. It depends on him/her whether the pupil will advance to become a musician someday or not.

The fundamentals of posture and technique Mauro was taught by Lucci could not be wrong, given the virtuoso skills he acquired within about five or six years at the most. More about this ahead; this writer is sure that due to Mauro's unbelievable, enormous talent, Lucci was not all alone in determining the teaching method and planning the lessons, and that during the period he taught Mauro he was seeking and receiving assistance from one or two *very* important colleagues he knew well in Naples, who in a way were indirect "co-teachers" of Mauro. While this is not documented, it is sure that Lucci knew them.

A method for *six strings* he could rely on obviously did not exist yet and this shows all the more Lucci's educational capabilities. But: in Naples for sure he was in contact with **Federico Moretti**, the most important guitar educator / pedagogue of his time, before or until 1799,

anyway. Moretti would release his method for the six-string guitar, the very first one, only several years later, in the above year in Spain (he had moved to Madrid in the meantime), and in Italian in 1804, in Naples of course.

Also the fact that brother Nicola became a pro musician as well speaks for Lucci and his pedagogy, even though very likely he did not give him guitar lessons, or Nicola may just have made his choice for the cello. It is obvious that Mauro showed more interest in the guitar. Again, Gaetano was very keen to give the two brothers / future brothers-in-law the best instruction!

We can be sure that in some nice, stylish coffee shop in Naples (if not [and/or] in the home of one of them), in the years 1791 through 1793 or 94 Moretti more or less regularly gave Lucci some substantial advice for the lessons with Mauro, in order to nurture his gift in the best possible way. And for sure Federico then used some of Gaetano's experiences with Mauro as input for his own groundbreaking method. But also **Ferdinando Carulli** was living and was already teaching in Naples. As a matter of fact, he started writing exercises for pupils soon. They were all of the same age. Carulli in October 1791 was also 21 y.o. (actually almost 22). So, it is as likely that Gaetano turned to Ferdinando as well for some teaching advice and guidance, and in order to keep up with Mauro's progress! After Federico left, Ferdinando stayed in Naples many more years before moving to Paris.

This author does not suppose some rivalry which may have prevented the above (regular) contacts, given their young age and, due to the circumstance that the instrument was just absolutely new, their common discovery of it. The new guitar had not existed long enough to cause such situations ...which were not missing at all years later.

All the above is not the only reason to show Lucci's importance and role in Giuliani's life and career in a favorable light. He (*maybe* mainly) taught Mauro to play the cello, and this much later allowed Mauro to be no less than a member of the orchestra of the first performance of **Beethoven's Seventh Symphony**, obviously conducted by the composer, and sitting among many Vienna musicians as famous as Mauro or even more, among others Antonio Salieri and Joseph Mayse-der (violin). The sensational concert took place on **December 8, 1813**. A very simple proof of Mauro's professional skills on this instrument, as well.<sup>6</sup>

Gaetano Lucci, who is nearly never mentioned, deserves the warm-est gratitude from the entire guitar community. This author does not know if after Mauro's emigration, first to Trieste (1805) and then from there to Vienna (1806), Gaetano boasted about having been his teacher. This author supposes he did not. He was above that. He *may* have - just locally, though. This simple curricular fact could have made it possible for him to move to another important city and exploit this career ele-ment as a top guitar teacher. Yes - in Vienna he would have become his own former pupil's and brother-in-law's competitor. And teaching was not something that Mauro did just on the side or now and then.

Anyway, Gaetano did not have any plans for emigrating. He re-mained in Naples (or in its Kingdom, anyway) and started a family with Emanuela. About 17 years later (i.e. after 1805) his wife (as aunt) would have a very important and praiseworthy role for Mauro's family, i.e. for his two Viennese daughters, who were still living in Vienna.<sup>7</sup> Gaetano

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<sup>6</sup> This author does not know of Giuliani playing the cello on other (important) occasions or in con-certs with his own chamber music compositions, for that matter. Most likely he practiced specifi-cally for this very special event. More on this subject will be contained in the third part (2026).

<sup>7</sup> This has already been dealt with in the first part, which is contained in the book about Fernando Sor (*The Moscow Years*).

and Emanuela would have two daughters, born in 1799 and 1812; Maria Teresa (died 1837) and Giuseppa (died after 1856). Gaetano became incredible 87 years old (he died in 1856), outliving his younger wife by 17 years. Well, he did not stress himself as much as Mauro, who lived almost 40 years less, and he was a family man. Yes – Naples’ climate is much healthier than the Viennese. The Lucci family lived in Naples, in an upper class downtown neighborhood.<sup>8</sup>

All the above shows a solid family-wise, a cultural and music contest in which Mauro grew up and which determined his relatively fast pathway to meteoric stardom from the age of ten. Those were the perfect circumstances for children of *bourgeoisie* families to become great musicians, circumstances which were due to the then-normal social composition of the population of small peripheral towns in the kingdoms, which then was more similar to the population of the big cities than later.

(Again, in Italy all this ended after WW II, when the above [educated] middle class abandoned villages and small towns, which became the *provincia*<sup>9</sup>.)

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<sup>8</sup> This author does not know exactly from when, but they were already living there before Mauro eventually settled in Naples in September or October 1823.

<sup>9</sup> Rural and somehow “betrayed” and neglected compared to the big and fast-growing cities.

Here is a series of interesting **quotes from websites** (listed) I came across in my research:

*Cambridge.org/core/books/abs*

“From 1791 he and his brother Nicola received guitar lessons there (Barletta; ed.) from Gaetano Lucci, their (future; ed.) brother-in-law. Lucci was a Neapolitan, so through him the Giuliani brothers came into contact with the guitar scene of Naples, where **Federico Moretti** (b. 1769; ed.)<sup>10</sup> and Ferdinando **Carulli** (b. 1770; ed.) were already active.”

(Both were of quite exactly the same age of G. Lucci; ed.) This author has not found proof of Mauro and Nicola travelling to (far) Naples as young boys, i.e. while they were pupils of G. Lucci. It cannot be ruled out completely, though.

*associazionegiuliani.com/biografia (translated from Italian)*

“In October 1791, when Mauro is ten years old and Nicolò thirteen, Gaetano Stefano Raffaele Lucci, a young *professore* of cello and French guitar, arrives in Barletta. He was born in Naples on August 22, 1769. He lived in the house of Michele Giuliani (Mauro’s father; ed.) since<sup>11</sup> he was the groom (or husband; ed.)<sup>12</sup> of the young daughter Emanuela (b.

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<sup>10</sup> (b. January 22, 1769, d. January 17, 1839)

<sup>11</sup> The Italian word means “because” and is not related to time.

<sup>12</sup> This author does not think this information is correct. The Italian word means mostly “groom” as well as (not as often) “husband”, so this information is not quite clear. Yes, both is possible (if living there as husband was just temporarily). Nevertheless, the following should be taken into consideration.

This author supposes instead that Lucci stayed in that house just temporarily, for some other, i.e. work reasons in the town and that the lodging with the Giuliani’s is the simple reason why he only *then* and *there*, in that house, met Emanuela, not the opposite.

If it was assumed that accepting Mauro and his brother as pupils had the purpose to see and court their sister Emanuela it would be puzzling *where* and *when* he earlier would already have met little (barely or not even 15 y.o.) Emanuela otherwise, *and* even well enough to propose to her quite early.

1776; ed.). From his arrival Lucci gives Mauro the first instruction in cello and guitar.<sup>13</sup> Barletta at that time is a very vivid city. Mauro and Nicolò (later; ed.) find a fertile soil for beginning to display their music skills, first flanking their brother-in-law Lucci.”

One source (website) I have found gives information which cannot be true for very simple and objective reasons. E.g. that Mauro brought his son Michele along with him to Vienna due to his beautiful voice, which cannot be correct because Michele in November 1806 was five years old – even too small for a boys’ choir. Also, practical and everyday life reasons let this be excluded. Moreover, in Vienna there are residents’ registration office records according to which Michele settled in the city only in 1818 (when he was 17). We do not know if this was Michele’s own decision or his father’s wish. It is likely that Mauro (as this author supposes) asked his son to come<sup>14</sup> and also informed him that in Vienna he had opportunities to work as a singer. (Just think of the Schubert masses!)

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It is more than unlikely, or nearly impossible, that Mauro’s parents called a music teacher for the two boys, i.e. with no other reason, as talented as they might have been, from as far as Naples. While this is not impossible, given the importance music and a professional education had in the family, at the very beginning it would not make sense, even if they wanted a very fine, renowned teacher. By stagecoach the 225-230 km (app. 143-150 miles) trip would take about a week - one way. This suggests that Lucci later must have stayed in Barletta each time for a relatively long period. After the marriage Emanuela relocated to Naples.

<sup>13</sup> This author supposes though that Lucci met Emanuela either just when the instruction of the two brothers started, or only (or right) after having met Emanuela, his future fiancée and spouse, and that for Lucci at the very beginning, that is in his first stay, the reason to be in Barletta had to do with the Giuliani family only in part or by chance, and that for Gaetano there were some other music work reasons, probably assignments with other musicians.

But if Michele Giuliani at some point offered Lucci a room in his gentleman’s house for “family” reasons, the reason could well be that *by then* he was *already* Emanuela’s fiancé and, in a way, a family member (not some suitor).

Evidence for the above events is missing. The above are suppositions by this author.

<sup>14</sup> The reasons are explained in this book.

*casadellamemoria.it/it/glieventi*

This interesting source gives an important reason or detail why Lucci was (still living, or staying) in Barletta a long time later:

“...Gaetano Lucci, direttore delle opere del Real Teatro San Ferdinando di Barletta...”

Editor’s note: However, there is no link between the above position and meeting the Giuliani family (and Emanuela) in Barletta as early as 1791. The theatre was built from 1817 and was inaugurated on October 4, 1819. Hence Gaetano (now 50 y.o.) acceded to this managing position either right at the above time or sometime later. Detail on the side: in early October 1819 Mauro had already left Vienna two months earlier and was travelling somewhere in Bavaria or between Munich and Innsbruck, then heading south.

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That Mauro became an excellent all-round chamber music composer and performer is also due to the training as cellist he received from Lucci. Regarding the guitar, Lucci must have known **Federico Moretti** since they were very young teenagers (the age difference was just seven months). The latter emigrated to Madrid already in 1794, years after from Naples the *chitarra a sei corde* had started its triumph. The sensational final development realized by Giovanni Battista and Gennaro **Fabricatore** was well known all over the city, in which music was an extremely important, huge cultural, handicraft and commercial factor. And with the modern guitar, this market literally exploded further. Naples and the Neapolitans immediately became ready to manufacture the instruments and supply that market. ...Fake “Fabricatore” guitar makers included.

Raffaele **Fabricatore** (son of Giovanni) as well as Gennaro **Fabricatore** (son of Nicola) were born around 1770, so they were of the same age of Gaetano, like Moretti. Unfortunately, we do not know – this au-

thor does not think it is possible to determine it, either – who of the many Fabricatore was Gaetano’s main point of reference-guitar maker, or if there were more than one, or which workshop he patronized (as cello customer, too, of course). The same age is just a hint though that it was of one of the two above. The Fabricatore did not have one large factory, but two or more “small” workshops at different addresses. Moreover, the not so small number of counterfeiters (fake manufacturers) who put a fake paper label adds to a general situation which makes it hard, sometimes impossible to identify for certain the maker, i.e. dynasty member, and the date of a specific instrument. If there is written *Fabricatore* it does not mean it is actually one. (And for the violins from that period it’s even a lot worse.)

However, it cannot be absolutely ruled out that at the very beginning of the lessons with Lucci, Mauro did learn the French baroque guitar, for the simple reason that Gaetano was a teacher of *this* instrument and was also using a pertinent method<sup>15</sup> - or methods. Paradoxically, the first method for the six-string guitar, despite being authored by a Neapolitan, appeared in Spain and not in Naples.<sup>16</sup> A certain Fernando Sor, in 1799 21 y.o., got very curious about it right away<sup>17</sup>. By then he must have been playing the six-string guitar, already. For this author and for the various reasons explained in this chapter, it is very unlikely that Lucci ever taught the baroque guitar to Mauro, given

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<sup>15</sup> This author found this information on the internet, but was unable to find any other matching information or source which would confirm this. It is obvious that Lucci used one or more printed baroque guitar method(s), but we do not know which one(s). (Based on some vague hints, it could have been a French method published in Paris in 1767 he was familiar with, just because he had learned himself by the same one. Nevertheless, this is just a supposition by this author. In Naples sometime later an Italian edition or translation may have been around, or Lucci just used the French one.)

<sup>16</sup> F. Moretti - *Principios para tocar la guitarra de seis ordenes*, Madrid, 1799.

<sup>17</sup> Sor would move to Madrid only in 1799 (or 1798), the same year in which Moretti’s method was released in that city. The two met in Madrid. The interesting thing is that by then Mauro was already playing the six-string guitar for (almost) eight years.

that the actual purpose of the lessons was the cello, in the first place. It may well have happened that Lucci once had a new six-string guitar with him in Barletta and Mauro became curious about it and just asked his tutor to teach him to play it. Perhaps, since Mauro was the younger brother, he did not want to learn the same instrument of Nicola, and wanted to do something different instead. We do not know. But it is still interesting to think about the possible situations.

By the time Moretti's Italian method edition was printed and sold in Naples, Mauro was a master performer and already planning to emigrate from the Kingdom of Naples (he lived on the eastern/Adriatic side of it) to Trieste, a destination which travel-wise was relatively comfortable to reach from the port city he was living.

From the point of view of education, just the non-application and non-knowledge of any methodical instruction of the six-string guitar, apart from the above-mentioned "instructions" (probably) received by Moretti and Carulli, may have been the favorable key circumstance which has guaranteed Mauro as a pupil a perfect freedom for his talent, or rather the super-natural talents, without the impositions, the subjection to general "dogmas", which, as it is known in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, after several years can reveal themselves as definitely harmful and seriously - if not finally - debilitating. If Lucci knew and used a method it could only be one for the French baroque guitar, with five courses, i.e. double strings. Again, we do not know (for sure) if the first guitar lessons took place on this instrument or the new one. For the above reasons (Lucci's personal interest in the development and the new-generation guitarists he knew in Naples), this author strongly supposes they were on the new guitar. Lucci knew by then that the days of the baroque guitar were numbered. This author sees no reason why - in 1791 - he still should have tried to "defend" the old guitar and

disapprove of the (Italian) six-string guitar, especially when dealing with a 10 y.o., exceptionally gifted pupil. It would have been different if Lucci had been old, like 50 years or so and/or not from Naples. (...But then the relationship with Emanuela would not have started, either.)

Therefore, considering all this, Lucci may have been, if not an “education genius”, one of the very first highly *capaci* (good, clever) teachers, without even being aware of it (how could he). But the modern guitar was still just way too young for giving Lucci unconditional credit. We cannot give Lucci the total, exclusive credit for having “created” the greatest virtuoso guitarist – of Giuliani’s time, anyway. It is sure that, as opposed to what anybody else would have done, he did not pride himself about having been Mauro Giuliani’s teacher when his brother-in-law was virtually immediately acclaimed in Vienna like a star.

We do not know if Mauro in Vienna has ever thanked or mentioned his tutor. This could also be tied to the circumstances following the serious disruption in the family caused by Mauro in the first Vienna months, already from early 1807, and the dismay which this must have brought to the three families (his own wife and kids, his own parents and siblings and his in-laws). There is no proof of any contact between Lucci and Mauro after Mauro, with his family, left Barletta in 1805, never to return (the rest of the family did<sup>18</sup>).

Speaking of freedom due to the “non-method”, what has been written above goes for Fernando Sor too, of course, even though it is documented that he either was in contact with Moretti and/or even took some “lessons” from him. If this happened, for sure it was in 1798 or 1799 in Madrid (right after Sor moved there). Apart from all that,

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<sup>18</sup> Probably in spring or summer 1806, after the birth of the third child (a girl) in Trieste.

later he learned more basics or “rudiments” of posture and technique from the flamenco players in Andalusia, where he lived for a long time (from 1803 in Malaga and from 1804 in Jerez). It is a known fact that in Spain the six-string guitar was spread from Malaga (an important port city) and Sevilla, we can assume Sor had a hand in this... or he contributed to making it popular, anyway.

## **1806 - The year in which everything changes**

If Giuliani had not been given by persons and by his own... odd decisions the opportunity to settle in Vienna right away, i.e. regarding his private life, after just a very short time after his arrival from Trieste in November 1806, and in a stable and safe family context with it, for all practical purposes, it is difficult to say how his life as a guitarist and composer would have evolved. He was not interested *at all* to go back from Trieste, where he was living until fall of this year, to the Kingdom of Naples. In Naples (city) there still was Carulli. This author thinks though that Giuliani's ambition went well beyond what Carulli was able to reach (had reached) in Naples. Carulli himself would emigrate to Paris just two years later. Regarding the relocation to Vienna Giuliani had on one hand the right intuition, on the other hand he did not have at all the certainty and even less some sort of a plan, since he had left behind his wife and two kids (boys) in Trieste, (for sure) agreeing that they would either soon have joined him after his "recognition" or that he would have returned to Trieste as soon in case of a negative result. He deemed this likely just for the simple fact that he departed for Vienna alone, a circumstance which otherwise would be quite puzzling. It is interesting that he would adopt the same leaving-behind "system" also later in his life, regarding his two Austrian daughters.

His brother Nicola, as we know also a musician, in the home of whom Mauro's family likely is lodging in Trieste, has given him information about the music system and being a musician in Vienna, and - which this author supposes - has advised him to move there, and/or to go there to check by himself and get a general view. The way though in which Mauro will do it, without even hesitating too long, will be sur-

prising to say the least, and will leave any reader of high moral attitudes flabbergasted.

### **The departure from Trieste, without the family**

This... dark chapter, of quite some importance, of the biography puts the author and the reader in front of an enigma, which is not understandable at all before (and/or even after) having read this chapter. Unfortunately, there are no “solid” or known documented elements which could provide an explanation, even a partial one. Therefore, the reader may please allow this author to expound his *motivated* and objective reasoning regarding this major, and crucial<sup>19</sup> matter. This author stresses that he admits that he does not know details, even hypothetical ones, which would be an explanation and justification. On the other hand, if those existed, they would be known in the existing literature. But details (without evidence) can be found and determined through the analysis of what exists.

The circumstances described in this essay, above all A) the existence of two sons of a tender age and his wife with whom he has been married for as long as six years and eight months - and the pregnancy, unknown to them at the time of Mauro's departure, and B) the beginning of the *more uxorio* relationship with a quite wealthy woman from Vienna (he did not know before) already in the first months after his arrival, give rise to the supposition of a personality without the common or normal sense of responsibility and feelings of a (young) father and husband. Even taking into consideration the rather young age of

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<sup>19</sup> This adjective is chosen referring to what these “actions” made possible for Giuliani in Vienna.

Mauro<sup>20</sup>, adding the higher age of his wife (a not that small difference, relatively seen), and a likely still scarce maturity in terms of the above-mentioned qualities, the above sensational (negatively) fact leaves one perplexed to say the least, or even discomforted.

There is no doubt that from the point of view of music, his explosive immediate rise<sup>21</sup> to the absolute top as a musician to the highest imaginable levels upon his arrival in Vienna, Giuliani has taken the right decisions, or rather he was forced to follow his unfailing inner voice. The voice of music.

But let's see which concrete reasons must have led up to the "tremenda" (dreadful) situation of his family and private life which is described in the following.

This author supposes that since the trip from Trieste to Vienna is costly as well as strenuous, what's more in (early) winter weather-wise, considering also the two very small boys, for all four of them in a totally unknown land, Mauro has decided to make it alone in order to save costs and slog in case Vienna would be "called off" altogether and he would return to Trieste again soon. (Regarding this one could even recognize a certain lack of self-trust). If anything, this proves that any prior arrangements with some influent persons or any members of the nobility who would be waiting for him in Vienna have not been made<sup>22</sup>. Or: in Trieste he had not become famous enough for his fame to reach the empire's capital.

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<sup>20</sup> He was 25 years and 4 months old when he left. At that time, not that young. Also, the age he had when he married was normal then (under 19). That his wife was substantially older was not, though.

<sup>21</sup> Since his first guitar lessons, 15 years had passed, already.

<sup>22</sup> ...unless he wanted to "get rid" of the family, but at this time there is no reason to suppose this – yet. (If he really did, any such arrangement would have been secret.)

Here fate was quite careless, because his wife Giuseppa was pregnant and he did not know it when he left, i.e. both did not know. This important circumstance, combined with the timing, as we will see, could be the key to the enigma of why the following happens. But it does not explain why after two or three months, or at the latest after the end of winter, around mid- or late March 1807, when it was absolutely sure that he stayed in Vienna for good, he did not have wife and kids come to Vienna. But there were at this time more facts. Regarding this, the fact that at this time (March 1807) Giuseppa was in an advanced stage of the pregnancy and considered that the travel was not that comfortable, posed a practical-organizational-obstetric, maybe also money-wise obstacle (two small children and the possible<sup>23</sup> new-born daughter, and the need for some help for mother and baby on the trip). In the meantime, flirts or “possible” flirts of the celebrated virtuoso - and we are talking about Vienna - were not lacking, at all. For the many reasons described in this book, in late winter 1806/07 and spring 1807 Giuliani was already meeting a very large number of persons, of both genders, mostly in a context of partying, general happiness and/or leisure. A pregnancy and even more a delivery (childbirth) at this time was still always a deadly risk for both the mother and the baby. With yet stronger reason if the delivery happens somewhere during the trip, i.e. if Giuseppa started the trip before the delivery. So most likely Giuliani himself wrote to her to “take it easy” and to wait for the baby and to come to Vienna only after, or even some time after the delivery. We can suppose with a high degree of likeliness that it was for these reasons that she was not willing to undertake the long trip anyway and also that she was advised against making it for health reasons linked to the pregnancy (or which we do not know). The very first stage of

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<sup>23</sup> (in case the travel would have taken place only after her birth)

the pregnancy, without being known yet to anyone, could have caused some symptoms which made Giuseppa decide to renounce on the travel together and to postpone it.

(There could be one more supposition, which this author prefers not to mention, which for sure would be a good explanation for Mauro's early "totally" unfaithful... reaction, however it would be of a very small likelihood due to the family and social context Mauro was from.)

In rough words, when on **July 30, 1807** the third child, a daughter, Anna Maria Giuseppa, was born, the die had long been cast, even for some time already, and the future of Mauro's divided family was decided and final. At this very time the Viennese Nina with whom he had started a stable live-in relationship, was just pregnant already. If Giuseppa wrote or communicated in some other way to Mauro that now, after the birth of their daughter, they could at last come to Vienna - this news was communicated for sure - it is maybe best just not to deal with Mauro's feelings. You are not reading some novel!

All these elements put together most probably, or for sure, caused a fatal situation, without a way out for Mauro's (not even small) "legal" broken family. He was now *totally* absorbed - mentally and physically - by Vienna's extremely intense music world, he was somebody else, and in a stable relationship, even more so than in his own marriage, which offered to him only various and substantial advantages (practical, money-wise, social, domestic ones). These again supported substantially and ensured all his music activities, which now he was completely free to carry out. Unless Giuliani concealed to Nina the existence of his family, very small likelihood, of course she put him in the dilemma. But it was as if Mauro now did not even have the time to (relax and) think about it. When he received the news of the birth of his

third child in Trieste, his second, new family had already started to exist.

Music, performing, composing - and teaching - have decided, not him.

In any case, from the human point of view, though this is an inglorious chapter which cannot say (at all) a lot for the genius musician as a man, but which in a rational way explains the actual birth and existence of one of the greatest “Italian” (not just guitar) virtuosos and composers of the first half on the 1800’s, for whom first came music, then music, then nothing, then the family.

Also for Giuliani in Vienna destiny kept in store several very hard blows which eventually - luckily only after many years - would put an end to his glorious Vienna period, also regarding the music for guitar (of that period) as such. In the years following his Vienna period, all the above life events, of course Giuliani would continue to compose, but not in the same way, apart from a part of the works for guitar duo inspired by and risen from the propitious guitar duo activity with his daughter and muse Emilia starting in 1823 (or 1824<sup>24</sup>).

Giuliani himself was certainly surprised and overwhelmed by the excitement his appearance in Vienna brought and by his welcome, beyond any expectation. That he could have had the intention to split from his wife and his children already in Trieste is not believable, just for the fact that his wife was already pregnant again. Giuliani could not know it yet, but this circumstance shows a normal, functioning marriage in any case. Nevertheless, the above intention cannot be ruled out 100 %, either, for the simple reason of the important and final, no-return decisions which he *soon* (we are talking about very few months;

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<sup>24</sup> (after she had learned the basics)

maybe just two, three) was going to take in Vienna, quite far from those which a responsible head of the family would have taken.

It is also possible – vaguely – that it was his wife who refused point-blank to move (again, this time) to Vienna with him, a vital destination for his art and career, and/or even that she wanted to go back home to the Kingdom of Naples, and that this caused an argument which, as we have already seen with Sor, if it has happened, led to the surprising behavior of the head of the family – and therefore to the future development of the history of the guitar (and what a history). Would anybody doubt the link between private life, relations and the life of a *composer* and *performer*? Even if we do delve further into the delicate matter of the responsibility and the conduct towards his own family, one can gather from it that what Mauro found in Vienna in general was of such importance and greatness that virtually immediately (from December 1806 or January 1807) it induced him to an actual no-going-back-desertion. A very strong argument (quarrel) – which is just supposed – *could* represent a “justifying” explanation. Hence it is not exaggerated to talk about a double life, i.e. a new life from early 1807.

This author does not know if Giuliani at this time remained in letters contact with his wife, and if he did, which agreements they – just maybe – make regarding a separation. Actual suppositions. The poor abandoned wife had the help of relatives in Triest (parents in law and brother-in-law) as well as in Barletta, of course. Needless to mention, Giuseppa, with the newborn and the two small boys, did not have any opportunity to travel all the way to Vienna to try to convince her husband to come back (if she had this wish). It is virtually sure that she travelled back to Barletta as soon as the overall situation (some time) after the delivery allowed it.

## **Persons Giuliani owes very much to**

Some persons who were important and not important for the public, for society, have contributed to Mauro becoming the supreme virtuoso and composer, have made his incredible, sudden, lightning stardom and popularity possible with facts and actions – from the end of 1806 / early 1807 on, at the age of 25 and a half years, in Vienna, far away from his homeland. It is their merit that Mauro quite soon felt Vienna as his home, professionally as well as privately.

Especially, three women have had an absolutely determining role in general.

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## **Archduchess Marie Louise of Habsburg-Lorraine**

When Giuliani arrives in Vienna the emperor's daughter is almost 15 years old (d.o.b. December 12, 1791<sup>25</sup>). She is the daughter of the Austria-Hungary emperor Franz I. and she will become an important figure in the history of the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century herself.

Marie Louise is a special person who contributes to Giuliani's fame and glory like hardly any other, except for his chamber music colleagues, and of course himself.

A letter by her private secretary dated January 28, 1815 proves that Marie Louise becomes a pupil of Mauro Giuliani just a few days before<sup>26</sup> Christmas 1814 (this could not be a coincidence, being singing carols very popular during Christmas time in Austria, and due to the

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<sup>25</sup> (7 days after Mozart's death)

<sup>26</sup> (it could be after, as well)

little son she had). Time-wise, this happens about half a year after having returned from Paris right after her husband's (Napoleon) abdication. With Marie Louise now learning the guitar and enjoying singing, Mauro is inspired to compose the *Sei Ariette* op. 95 and dedicates them to her.

The above precise information (in the secretary's letter) brings a set of questions. This author finds the situation a little puzzling. While in Paris she already received from her husband a *somptueuse* lyra-guitar ordered with the famous luthiers Pons and sons (*Pons Fils*), despite not learning the guitar yet. This may indicate that in Paris she was planning to start to take lessons or had this wish, already. At the time of ordering and giving the gift to her, 1812, of course she couldn't have any idea that two years later her husband would abdicate (April 6) and that she would return to Vienna right after that. Then, due to the huge historic events which happen during 1814, the guitar lessons project must be postponed again, and eventually, just before the end of that same year, she carries it out, in Vienna. (We know which other famous guitarist is now kind of upset...)

We can only suppose that in these two years from 1812 to 1814 Marie Louise just keeps postponing the lessons project, after all she is busy enough with her first baby, and all the rest of her (new) empress schedule. When she returns to Vienna, soon she meets her future tutor for the purpose of the award of the title of *Kammervirtuose*, and on this occasion she gives the lyra-guitar to him as a gift. So, we can conclude that at this time she must have renounced on the project – or that she would not need such a valuable instrument, even if she starts taking lessons later. Or: if at the time of the award she already knows that for her Vienna is only an intermediate stop before moving for good to Par-

ma, she may decide to give the lyra-guitar to Mauro instead of carrying it all the way to Parma, with all the transport risks that this implies.

This is a typical instance where the information we do have is a little too sketchy. However, since in Vienna there was an excellent guitar maker (Stauffer), the sequence of the above events remains unclear. Therefore, it is quite likely that Marie Louise and Mauro knew each other already before she married Napoleon and moved to Paris, and that in May 1814 she brought the instrument to Vienna *in order to* give it to Mauro, what she did.

Either way, from the afore-mentioned existing document it emerges that Marie Louise must have had talent for the guitar, on the other hand it must be considered that she devoted herself with diligence and application to studying the piano<sup>27</sup> long before her wedding, which facilitated learning the guitar. The above letter also informs that within a very short time, two months or so, she is already able to accompany herself and others when singing. In order to practice much, for some time she renounces on other activities which she enjoys.

It is very likely that Mauro has suggested or rather offered to her to give her lessons on the occasion of the above-mentioned award, a “humble” yet smart gesture of gratitude.

The condition of being introduced in this way and function (guitar tutor) into the imperial family undoubtedly influences Mauro’s fame and prestige, his social and aristocratic status in the empire’s capital. Suffice it to think of the people he is able to meet in the Court every time he goes there.

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<sup>27</sup> This was part of a standard education for the nobility.

The sadly common, standard practice of combined marriages within the dynasties or among the imperial / kingdom families of other kingdoms and empires, therefore concerning the offspring resulting from such marriages as well, has, as a generally known reason, precise political purposes, also internationally, of course. In the case of Marie Louise, in just a few years the decision of whom to marry will not even be taken by her parents, but by Prince Metternich, the chancellor and powerful Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Austro-Hungarian empire. He will hold this ministry from the year before the marriage with Napoleon (1810). He will actually be the (political) matchmaker of the marriage in this year, for reasons which we can understand very easily. Just in 1809 close to Vienna two battles against Napoleon will take place. (The same year in which J. Haydn dies in Vienna.)

Regarding the regularly (consanguineous) marriages, the expansion (first) and the consolidation, the protection of the vast empire (after) are the evidence of what was explained above. The Austro-Hungarian empire guaranteed and promoted the best conditions which composers and musicians were looking for and regularly found. In Vienna at Giuliani's time you could not count the great, greatest Austro-Hungarian figures of music as well as foreigners, like before Giuliani and after him. In many other parts, i.e. in the kingdoms of Europe – especially southern Europe except for Naples – the above conditions do not exist, partly not even in the least. On the contrary, (in comparison) the state of general cultural and educational backwardness in other countries, especially in the kingdoms of the peninsula, if anything guarantee the opposite: the constant exodus of about all their own music geniuses. To Vienna, Paris, London, Moscow, Saint Petersburg and other cities... Is there anybody who would deny that without Vienna and Paris the history of the (classical) guitar - the important

one – would have been very different, or who knows, would not even have taken place? As already explained in the essay about Sor, there is a very tight link between the factors of politics, economy, composition of society, public administration and what happens, what is possible in the culture in each country. This has not changed, has it.

Having said that, the argument and commonplace statement that Giuliani owed his success to his abilities and skills has just a relative value, because if he had not settled timely and for good in Vienna he would not have been able to exploit them and they would have been wasted, or he would have done it at a later time, only in a much more limited way, due to the massive” competition in Paris as well as (even if later, only from April 1815) in London, the two other music “poles”. Look at what happened in Paris after Molino’s arrival! After the “installation” of the daring master from Piedmont even the “Guitaromanie” broke out in the city. However, it should be mentioned that Molino settled there only in 1820 (or 1818), at the age of 50, Carulli in 1808. The background of the open rivalry among their fans was rather related to social-political attitudes than musical views.

This author rules out that Giuliani in October 1806 in Trieste may have decided just as well to do an inspection or check-out in London (not in Vienna), just due to the people he has met in Trieste and all the information he has received here about Vienna (not very far away both geographically and politically). Trieste belonged to the Austro-Hungarian empire, and here it was extremely easy to meet people from Vienna or who knew it, anyway. Obviously, if just hypothetically he had opted for London, also Fernando Sor’s life would have been different, and therefore the repertoire of the guitar, too. And this author does not rule out that if in 1808 Giuliani had not been in Vienna, Carulli would have moved there.

December 1814: Marie Louise is a pupil of Giuliani not because somebody has told her so, but due to her own will, the same goes for giving Giuliani as a gift the lyra-guitar made by Pons (France), a decision which can only be her own. While several circumstances would make one assume that she had taken the guitar lessons before marrying Napoleon (April 1810), the fact is that she starts only after that period, about seven months after her immediate return to Vienna in May 1814. Soon after that she bestows to Giuliani the title of *Kammervirtuose*. On this occasion at the latest she meets him and she will turn to him soon again in December of the same year, when she decides to learn the guitar.

There is no doubt that – also – the teacher-super-VIP-pupil relationship contributes to the strong interest, the examination Giuliani's of the rich and varied Austrian folk music, songs as well as instrumental forms and dances. Music which, as should be remarked, aroused much interest with Mozart, Schubert, Lanner and others, from which they have drawn often and with pleasure. Their compositions testify the enjoyment felt in the outings in the countryside, at weddings and fairs (*Kirchtage*; yearly big, entertaining events with lots of music and dancing – and beer). Let alone the various “...open Sesame!” resulting for him from this extraordinary assignment as well from the above title. Having the emperor's daughter and ex-wife of Napoleon as testimonial; Giuliani just cannot have wished anything else to top that.

The constant role, generation after generation, which the young – and not rarely very young – daughters of the monarchs had to take over and accept with resignation regarding their solely political-tactical marriages, within the same dynasty as well as internationally, is widely ignored or neglected in history from the humane and psycho-

logical point of view, despite its importance regarding the contribution as a determining factor in the course of Europe's history, beyond the simple chronicle fact. Napoleon's and Marie Louise's wedding took place on April 1, 1810, when she was 18 ½ years old.

For historical reasons (i.e. not private, personal or family-related ones) the marriage with Napoleon did not last long, indeed it was a rather short one. Marie Louise has returned to Vienna in May 1814 already, right after her husband's abdication. For Giuliani this event has the two above-mentioned very pleasant and important results, within a very short time, a few months. Marie Louise will not stay in Vienna a very longtime though, because for her as a new ruling monarch very new plans with a new re-location abroad are already in the making.

### **The net...**

There are websites apparently "specializing" for certain categories of users which are limited to giving an image of the archduchess absurdly one-sided and very biased, for using elegant words. Nowadays in these websites, sadly she is mentioned and presented for the reason of descending and being conceived from subsequent consanguineous marriages (often or mostly among first grade cousins), which then were common, if not even normal, but quite progressed throughout the generations of the Habsburg imperial families (and others). Limiting the information by putting Marie-Louise in the above light, in a misleading way, ignoring the great figure she has been instead, is very unfair as well as not objective in the least, because most readers link the "inbreeding setting" to some mental and/or physical degeneration. Contrarywise, beautiful Marie Louise did not suffer from both in any way. From her youth she proved to be a strong woman with a wise and positive character, and she was a benefactress towards her subjects and the peoples, also outside the empire she came from.

She led the *Ducato di Parma, Piacenza e Guastalla* from 1816 in a way that gave prosperity, welfare and progress, at all levels. All that despite the tough earlier fate regarding her alliance marriage and her condition as a bride used just as a political pawn. Also, after the son she had with Napoleon, in Parma in her second marriage she gave birth to two more children. Parma's citizens still today keep an exceptionally positive memory of her. All that shows that the genetic circumstances, even though they were very particular, have not had negative consequences or implications in the least, or caused any anomalies.

A remark on the side: In Paris during those years the opportunity to enjoy some fine guitar music at the highest levels was not missing at all, let alone for the empress! "Vulcanic", super-active Ferdinando Carulli had settled there already in April 1808 and was now an undisputed guitar authority to say the least. But from the very beginning Marie Louise was quite busy with other family-duties and responsibilities which would have prevented her from taking guitar lessons anyway, even if she had wanted to take some. Moreover, it is really difficult to imagine that at her departure from Vienna Giuliani gave her any piece of advice for the "fellow" guitarist, rather the opposite may have happened, but this is a mere supposition.

It would be very interesting instead to know if Giuliani at that time knew anything about Sor, what he had learned about him in Vienna. However, Sor at that time (1810) was still living in Spain, without emigration plans, and still without the necessity of exile, which would only happen just while Marie Louise was (still) in Paris. In 1810 Giuliani, even if it is sure that he had heard about Sor, obviously could not have any idea that Sor, who as a guitarist was (still) much less famous than him<sup>28</sup>, would move there in 1813.

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<sup>28</sup> Except for Barcelona, Madrid and Andalusia, where he had lived.

## Anna Wiesenberger

Of course, another woman about whom unfortunately not much is known, was even much more important for Mauro, his partner *more uxorio* Anna “Nina” Wiesenberger, from Vienna. Her father was not from Vienna, he had hailed from a small village in Upper Austria, in the area called *Innviertel* (not far from Bohemia); he had died before Giuliani arrived in Vienna. With Anna (nickname Nina) Mauro started the above-said stable relationship as soon as a few months after his arrival in Vienna, which supposedly took place in mid-November 1806<sup>29</sup>. She has already been dealt with in the first section of this essay.

Thanks to the excellent research and the findings in the archives of Vienna by the great expert **Michael Lorenz** it has been possible to reconstruct an essential biography of her. Most of the data are contained in the first part of the essay and the reader is referred to it.

This woman will be the main reason not only for the long duration of Mauro’s Vienna period, but also, until her death, for his personal happiness which is “matched” in his exuberant compositions as well as in their quantities.

Just the address of his concubine partner, Seilergasse, very near to its northern end and the *Graben*, at which they lived, is a sign of a wealthy condition of her. It is about 250 m (820 feet) away from the main entrance of St. Stephen’s Cathedral, in the center of the center of the city. The high building was torn down between 1875 and 1880 and a new one was built (which still exists).

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<sup>29</sup> This author assumes between November 10 and 20.

Anna Wiesenberger died on October 1, 1817, 14 days after giving birth to their fourth daughter. The infant lived just less than six months and will also pass, on March 25, 1818<sup>30</sup>. For Giuliani it is the worst time of his life, or rather the beginning of it. On top of the grievance also the (their) former solid financial basis vanishes for two reasons: the decrease of concerts and of the demand for compositions and the end of the support by his true and generous partner, which before was added to his fees and the revenue from the concerts which he organized himself (*Dukatenkonzerte*)<sup>31</sup>.

Soon the idea is born, or rather the realization takes place of the necessity, of looking elsewhere, both in the empire and abroad, for more profitable activities.

## Emilia

The third woman, actually little girl and then barely adult girl, also regarding the guitar and particularly the fabulous repertoire for two guitars which Mauro will create in the last stage of his not too-long life (starting 1822 or rather 1823) and which is inspired by her, is just his daughter Emilia. She is the younger of the two surviving daughters by his second *de facto*-marriage, with whom Giuliani lives in Naples in his very last years. After a short period of common performing in duo, the dates known (in the Naples area) are very few but quite important, she is also his caretaker, from 1827 (or 1828) until his passing on **May 8, 1829**. At her father's death she has just turned 16 a few days earlier.

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<sup>30</sup> This author thinks that it is not a coincidence that the first period after the birth was the long and extremely cold (windy) winter.

<sup>31</sup> One *Dukat* (a gold coin) was actually a lot of money, being the amount of the monthly wage of a craftsman, or a bit less than that, depending on the skill level. The price asked by Giuliani - one Dukat - for the admission, shows that these concerts definitely catered to the wealthy and the elite, so they also had a socializing purpose.

She is also an object of treatment in the above-mentioned essay about Sor. She will become a famed performing artist and composer and give concerts in several countries, in Vienna also, in which she will play her as well her father's works. On one event in Florence she will share the evening with Franz Liszt.

## **His wife and the first son**

Information about Giuliani's wife **Maria Giuseppa del Monaco** is very scarce. She was born in Barletta on February 19, 1779. This author supposes that Barletta being a small town, the two families have known each other well long before the marriage takes place, on **March 9, 1800** in Barletta. Mauro is just 18 years and eighth months old, the bride is older by appr. two and a half years. This age difference may lead one to assume that she is pregnant and they *have to* marry – no, she is not, with their first child (Michele), anyway.<sup>32</sup> The “actual” marriage will not be of a long duration, six years and eighth months, for the reasons and due to circumstances which are explained in this book.

Maria Giuseppa will certainly fulfill her role as a single mother well, since the first son Michele, born on May 17, 1801, becomes a pro musician. He is exactly 5 and a half years old when his father leaves him and his brother, in the beginning without being this Mauro's intention. The decision is taken a short time later. Michele will become a guitarist, composer and singer. In 1818, at the age of 17, after Anna Wiesenberger's death he will move to Vienna as well and will be living with his father and his two little half-sisters. Due to the changed and aggravated (Vienna-) family circumstances, the reasons for that may rather be found in the necessity of some practical help to his father

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<sup>32</sup> (But *if* she was, she had a miscarriage.)

than in his own profession as a musician, while it is virtually sure that in Vienna he carries out both activities. He is now old enough to work and make a living and he could not just be a third mouth to feed in the first place. Emilia is just about five and half years old when he comes to Vienna, Maria is ten and half. Michele as a matter of fact in Vienna will not make his fortune- if this was his goal or wish - and later, in December 1819, he will move on to Saint Petersburg, where his uncle Nicola has moved to in the meantime (sometime after the end of 1806). At this time his father Mauro has already been staying temporarily in Trieste for at least one month and it is now obvious that he will not return to Vienna within any foreseeable time. In the web however, a site gives a different time for the end of Michele's Vienna stay: 1828. For this author this year is not credible<sup>33</sup>, but it cannot be ruled out completely. For musicians and music teachers in Vienna the "daily bread" is not missing, and he is still Mauro Giuliani's son, after all. This would mean that at least he is able to make both ends meet, despite the absence and help of his father, and the pending court cases (lawsuits) pending against him (as defendant).

From 1850, the year in which his half-sister Emilia will pass in Pest, where she will be living, Michele will live in Paris, where he will teach singing at the conservatory and where he will die in 1867.

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<sup>33</sup> This author has not found information which could substantiate this.

## 1819 - Giuliani leaves Vienna

On **August 3, 1819** Mauro Giuliani departed from Vienna for a long stage-wise trip, long regarding distances as well as duration, in several countries and bordering regions, hoping to be able to create contacts, give concerts and/or maybe find a substantial educational opportunity. Just in three or four cities, (probably) Bohemia, where he had already been, Munich, Innsbruck he was invited to give concerts. The overall result of the travel was disappointing and did not even come close to solving the big financial problems which were the reason of the trip, which ended or rather was interrupted in Trieste in November of the same year. He already knew the city quite well from two previous stays in 1803 and 1805/1806, and his parents and his brother Nicola were living there. (By November 1819 his wife and the two other children had been living again in Barletta for a long time.)

This departure from Vienna was a decision which on one hand resulted from a working situation which had become difficult and pressing, also due to the two daughters he had to care for and maintain, on the other hand it was a symptom for his character, lacking a realistic view and an objective or concrete, respective long-term planning. Mauro was not farsighted, tended towards being superficial in managing the (his and his family's) future. He was just too good and successful as a musician to be all that as well. Anna had been sort of his manager, she was not from an artists' or musicians' family. Her father was a manager<sup>34</sup>, and a tough one. On the other hand, Mauro's attitude allowed a very big flexibility, it left several doors open, as the different passages or transitions from one period of his life to the next one show. The circumstances which he found and the related develop-

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<sup>34</sup> This is the word we would use today for his profession, this term did not exist in the 1700's.

ments which he did not know before or which had not been forecast led to his decisions, which were taken only “on the spot” and with some freedom, which today is very hard to imagine.

Sure, telephone, internet and smartphone did not exist, but we know e.g. that Sor moved in a very different way. Mostly, in the final part of a period the preparation and organization of the following one in a new or another country already took place, leaving not much if anything at all to coincidences. Even though Sor in late March 1815 likely left Paris (with wife and baby) in a hurry, he did not do it without first having collected information very “well” and satisfying himself regarding the destination and its “safe” music opportunities. He took part in several events (concerts) in important places which took place in the very first days and weeks after his arrival in London, they are the proof for that. Sor had a military and civil servant background, Giuliani was the “typical” genius artist, he had never done anything different than music in his life.

Giuliani in spring and summer 1819 was in a situation of (foreseeable) financial (as well as justice) emergency, apparently though he was charged by optimism and hope which unfortunately during the following months, from the departure to October / early November of the same year, for 90 % would turn out utopic. This turnout at the “end” of the long trip, which as can be supposed was interrupted in Trieste, where he stayed for four or five months, prevented him from returning to his beloved Vienna. This was in his original plans, just due to the fact that he had left in Vienna his two daughters and also his first son from his marriage Michele, who as it seems was kind of “forced” to take care of them, also in order to save money on nurses<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> (This is a supposition by this author.)

during Mauro's long absence. If this was not the reason for which his father made his son come to Vienna, it could still be the reason for leaving him in Vienna with them.

At first however Mauro just postponed or delayed his return to Vienna, it seems without knowing really well what to do. A transfer from Trieste to Rome would follow only in March or April 1820, but again without a concrete or long-term program. Like he had done for Vienna 13 years and 4 or 5 months earlier, for him travelling to Rome was in order to make a personal check and decide, if, only right there. For sure, time-wise the above had as cause the correspondence and the mail times for preparing the important moving to Rome. The trip and the stay could not be decided on just from one day to the next. If in Rome he would not get the opportunity to meet and work with Rossini and Paganini he would definitely not stay there - and once again take a new decision, maybe involving his daughters. But fact is he did find the above amazing opportunity. Nevertheless, he still left the girls in Vienna, feeling that he would not stay that long. To this author letters which he wrote to his daughters during this time are not known.<sup>36</sup>

If history had been (even) more clement and generous, it would have made the Vienna Congress (which began in November 1814) start only after Nina's tragic death, that means not during the fortunate, happy time in which, also thanks to her, Giuliani was just the opposite of what he was now: disquieted and worried by worsening income troubles. In consequence of the effects of the strong impulse which the Congress had (also) on music, his Vienna stay would have lasted at least one and a half or two years longer. Anyway, here too, political events was what determined Giuliani's life, both as a composer and a per-

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<sup>36</sup> This author is sure he wrote them and they later got lost or were destroyed.

former. In 1819 in his life and in the lives of many others working in music and theater in the capital, a completely new chapter started, which however – this time, anyway - did not find him prepared. By 1819, the times were changing pretty fast, in Vienna and the empire, too. And just in music and its new styles now coming up these precise words had a *very literal* meaning!

You cannot reproach him in any way for not having used to the most all opportunities which until now (early/mid 1819) have arisen for him, the opposite. Essentially, except for the six *Rossiniane* and the guitar duo gems, Giuliani is the magnificent Viennese period (1806-1819), which he was forced to end himself not even being aware of it, and eventually, after a long no-acceptance (first) and (then) final resignation process.

## **The general situation for the guitar, the historic watershed for the instrument**

In Vienna in 1819 of course the guitar had not stopped to exist, but compared to just two, three years earlier now a keen headwind was blowing. For Giuliani, without the substantial and constant support (also in everyday life) received from poor Nina, this meant an outlook which was more than uncertain. After a few years **Luigi Legnani** (1790-1877) and **C. J. Mertz** (1806-1856) would have shown that in Vienna the instrument lived on. They would have been able to make use of the wide interest and harvest the fruits of all the intense, massive, fairy tale-like work done by Giuliani, as performer as well as teacher. You must not forget after all that in Vienna also after Giuliani's period – and thanks him – there was a huge number of amateur guitarists and of teachers on varied levels.

In other countries **N. Coste**, **G. Regondi**, **N. Paganini** and Giuliani's daughter and pupil **Emilia Giuliani** herself would “ferry“ in a glorious way the guitar all the way to the miraculous appearance of **Julian Arcas** and then **Francisco Tarrega**, and of course guitar maker **Antonio de Torres**, who changed everything, meaning everything, in the history of the guitar. This time from Spain, though, they started a chapter, actually a completely new epoque, under every aspect. This was made possible also by the general progress and its effect on society, which by then had changed radically. Performing (always, or mostly) in an elegant drawing room und just for a few guests and friends was now history.

One of the most important elements to consider and to be aware of here is that in Spain this new birth had its very first blossomings or roots in the flamenco, i.e. in handed-down folk music, as opposed to

the *Wiener Klassik*. Basically, in Spain in the 1800's there were no guitarists who played classical only from the beginning.

At Giuliani's and Sor's time the six-string guitar, we are talking about the product for the general market, not the invention, was just born, approximately 15 (or 14) years before 1806. Therefore, just the instrument itself was a sensational novelty. However, from the point of view of guitar-making, i.e. guitar-makings, in the different countries the designs and structures of the guitar were extremely heterogenous, even within the same countries. Basically, there was a totally standard-free instrument-making "system" in which every single maker had his own individual design, regarding sizes, shape, measures, about everything - except for the number of strings<sup>37</sup>. It is sure that Giuliani, who of course was used to guitars made in Naples, in Vienna played Staufer guitars, so he had to adapt to them big time.

Apart from Giuliani and his accomplishments in Vienna, in absence of any standard whatsoever the guitar could not have the degree of maturity yet, as instrument as such as well as regarding its role, its space in music and society. It could reach it only in the 1880's and through the above masters, promoters of a real school (especially Tarrega), which was based on solid and reasoned technical, interpretative and educational criteria which soon, starting around 1895, became international, or rather intercontinental. This school obviously was tied also to the genius inventions and enormous innovations which were taking place in the workshop of the above-mentioned top guitar maker (Torres was born in 1817<sup>38</sup>, Arcas in 1832 [he could not have met Sor, who from 1837 was seriously sick and depressed], Tarrega in 1852.)

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<sup>37</sup> Russia not considered (seven strings). Yes - despite Sor living there for several years.

<sup>38</sup> He started to design, develop and make his own guitars only in 1850, after having worked with José Pernas, a famous Granada guitar maker.

But Giuliani, like his famous contemporary Spanish colleague (who had taken lessons or – rather- some bits of instruction from F. Moretti, though) was totally *free* from the point of view of technique, in the use of the instrument and his hands, in the most absolute meaning of the term, a freedom which today does not exist and is or would be totally strange. We do not know if they had been just as free if they were born just 30 or 40 years later. (The doubt is justified, by the age of 10, 12 they would have lived already in a system with plenty of methods!) ...And if they were born 200 years later? What an absurd question!

## **Fernando Sor – Paris 1813-1815, London**

In order to conclude clearly and with absolute certainty a music history fact of maximum, absolute importance in a Giuliani biography, which is contained in this section, it “pays” and it is regarded as appropriate dedicating it to Fernando Sor, just for the fact that he was and is a figure of the guitar who lived in the same period and is of the same importance. Still, Giuliani and Sor were very different. Both as persons as well as musicians-composers – and performers. This author could not even say what they could have had in common, apart from some uniting facts not related to music which happened in their lives, which are dealt with in the above-mentioned essay.

Giuliani and Sor are the apparent evidence (among thousands) that at their time, thank God, culture was totally devoid of the fatal globalization, a concept which did not and could not even exist. We do not have records<sup>39</sup>, but it is enough to play or to listen to their compositions.

Fate wanted that during the same period in which Marie Louise lived in Paris as empress, Fernando Sor moved there, too, in 1813<sup>40</sup>, to stay until late March 1815. This author does not know if during the relatively short time in which both were living there, about one year, Sor had the opportunity to meet personally Napoleon’s second wife; it

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<sup>39</sup> (for phonograph reproduction, which did not exist)

<sup>40</sup> This author supposes that his emigration, i.e. his exile took place early in the year or during its first half at the latest, due to the new political situation looming in Spain and the definitely anti-French climate which set in already in 1812, with Napoleon’s defeat in Madrid. Waiting a long time before exiling for Sor – and his wife – would have been a substantial risk, despite the large number of acquaintances and contacts he had in Spain.

cannot be ruled out, due to Sor's "preferred" and constant frequentations, but it cannot be taken for granted, either.

At the beginning of 1813 Sor, already 35 years old, as a performer guitarist was still known just by not too many and in Spain only, even if he was a little older than Giuliani (about three and a half years). One must consider however that his life, especially his professional one, until then had been almost totally different from the life of the young Neapolitan, because for Sor music, especially composing, was a leisure time activity (which as a public servant he did have enough of), even if at a *very* high level. This also explains the very small number of works for guitar composed in Spain before emigrating. This author knows of op. 5, op. 7, op. 14. All of them are *very* important (especially 7 and 14) for the repertoire of the guitar, and are not "small" miniature pieces, a term Sor is way too often associated with in a limiting way (which this author does not understand).

It is known that Sor – also due to his not at all modest character – was disappointed from Paris regarding the cultural and music level in general, and "obviously" of the level of the guitar as well, which partly, anyway, he attributed to the famous "Italian" guitarist, and regarding the opportunity to carry on educational work as well performing at a very high level, suiting his very demanding criteria and goals. It certainly did not take much time for him to realize that, that's more than obvious. A figure who in Paris for Sor represented a fabulous "counterweight", if not a reference, was a very important composer (not a guitarist) from Florence (living in the city) who is going to be dealt with below.

Due to indications regarding Sor's attitudes, habits and customs this author supposes that when Marie Louise left Paris (May 1814) he

was already at least pondering leaving the city (and France). The guitar market had already been saturated for several years. Also, the audiences were used to a certain taste and style, which Sor despised (this should not wonder the reader). Anyway, whatever happened, it is a fact that within a few months all the enthusiasm, Sor's youth sympathy for political ideologies which had been propagated a few years earlier from France into Spain, a circumstance which eventually forced him to exile to France, vanished. Actually, in his own life, at a ripe age, fate will hand him a tormenting bill which inexorably will contribute to his mental as well as physical decline, which then would only accelerate the sad course of his lethal sickness.

Therefore, when Marie Louise departed to return to Vienna, Sor's relocation to London, the third (or second) music capital, not at all of the guitar though, was not that far time-wise, anymore. Nevertheless, for this author the age of the newborn daughter of less than two and a half months at the time of his (second) emigration leads one to suppose that around the end of March 1815 for Sor in Paris a more or less sudden important circumstance had happened which made him either leave the city and/or France in a hurry, or anticipate the departure. The relocation of the Sor family would take place ten months after Marie Louise's return to Vienna. Moreover, from June 1814 Sor knew that he was becoming a father (at the age of 36) and also this circumstance may have caused him to make more stable, consistent, professional long-term plans, and more rewarding ones. Therefore, for Sor (even) Paris turned out to be just an intermediate stage. Regarding the six strings its audiences and learners had been fully satisfied for many years and also the music publishers in the city did not have any reason to complain about their sales, this is also a circumstance which has its importance.

Carulli had already created a solid and impenetrable market. Opposed to Sor, he wisely did not write music that was very complex for both hands as well as for the mind. In this respect the Neapolitan was really an incomparable “360°- genius” of music marketing, impossible to beat, even or the less for a sophisticated, demanding musician like Sor. Carulli came from a very important city (Naples) where music was a huge and very healthy market, and naturally he adopted what he had already “learned” there in terms of... business. Sor did (could) not have this head start. In Spain he was a single phenomenon, not comparable in any way at all, also as composer. A look at Carulli’s production of huge, unbelievable amounts of works for guitar suffices for understanding both the market he had created and the potential he was so able to exploit. The background, the music curriculum of the Spaniard was very different, more versatile, more aristocratic, and more delicate as to composition techniques, definitely too abstruse for the average consumer.

In any case the decision to settle in London for Sor will immediately turn out to be perfect, a determining fact, a big shift like the one which happened to Giuliani in Vienna, even if for Sor, following private events in his sentimental life the stay will be much shorter, just less than eight and a half years. We do not know if in March 1815 or earlier already, Vienna was also included in his “options” (this author supposes it wasn’t), but in Paris he had learned more about London than about Vienna, and Giuliani’s guitar-supremacy in Vienna obviously had been well known for many years among musicians all over Europe. It is sure however that regarding the connections London for him offered more.

## Luigi Cherubini

This author believes it is very likely that the – temporary – transfer of Luigi Cherubini from Paris to London, which took place at the same time with the beginning of Napoleon's 100 days, which began on March 20, 1815, had affected Sor's decision and/or even decided the dates of the trip to London. Sor admired the illustrious Florentine for his superlative abilities as a composer and his important and important functions in music institutions in Paris. It is 100 % sure that in Paris they not only had met, but that they saw one another. Cherubini was 18 years older than Sor and had moved to Paris many years earlier than Sor, and soon climbed up to a position of top authority.

At the above time - not a coincidence - Cherubini was invited to London by the Royal Philharmonic Society, among others for the first performance of his *Symphony in D major* (May 1, 1815). He returned to Paris immediately after Napoleon's final defeat, which took place on June 18 of that year. Sor remained until late summer 1823.

But the London period, which started extremely well as a musician, in Sor's private life began extremely tragic: his wife Joaquina, the mother of little Caroline, died suddenly, in the first months after settling in London. This author does not know the date and the circumstances, but rules out that she was already sick at the time of the travel. The great musician was already a widower, and with a daughter who was still an infant. Also, this stroke of fate would have later, especially in 1827, at the end of his Moscow period, a very heavy impact on Sor's life, in a very important way, beyond imagination, and consequently on the history of the instrument and its music.

But let's go back to Giuliani. Regarding the times he had a substantial advantage over the Spaniard, since he had settled in Vienna already eight and a half years before Sor in London. Giuliani by early 1807 was a very famous, acclaimed, sought-after performing artist-composer-teacher, on a time when Sor, especially as guitar performer and educator, outside of Spain was still unknown. Sor would have

reached the celebrity as a guitar soloist only from April/May 1815 in London. In the following periods (Moscow, Paris) he did not perform alone anymore, apart from just a very few, rare and very special occasions.

For this simple reason you can (must) easily state that Mauro Giuliani was the first important, famous, great, virtuoso performer guitarist in the world, at the highest levels of concert performance in an absolute sense, as a recitalist as well as a chamber musician and soloist with orchestra, and we are talking about the music world of Vienna, at the time of the *Wiener Klassik*. On a time when not even Sor himself could know that he would become also a famous concert guitarist - at the most he was just thinking about becoming one. Apart from the famous *Fantasia op. 7* and the *Gran Solo op. 14* (also titled “Sonata prima”), which belong to his most important works for guitar, anyway, Sor’s fame as a composer of the guitar would come much later than for Giuliani, and only gradually, for the most part even when Giuliani’s Viennese time had already ended – under sad circumstances, and when for the Viennese he was already becoming a legend.

Nevertheless, and paradoxically, Sor compensated this substantial “disadvantage” regarding the historic times by giving us (much) more concert repertoire for the solo guitar. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century in concerts, recitals, very few works by Giuliani are played more or less often, mainly the *Grand Overture op. 61* and the *Rossiniana no. 1 op. 119*, rarely followed by two or three others, while the number of solo guitar compositions by Sor performed in concert venues is definitely larger, even though it has decreased during the last 30 years or so (i.e. since the mid-1990’s). But on the other hand, Giuliani in Vienna has composed as many as three concerts for guitar (or *terzina* guitar) and orchestra - Sor not even one. And in chamber music with other instruments (apart

from voice) by Sor virtually nothing exists<sup>41</sup>. A big part of the celebrity, of the success of Giuliani in Vienna is due just to his rich, varied, marvelous chamber music which he performed along with the best musicians of the empire, besides to the three above concerts.

The genius from Barletta with indescribable skills and ease became a part of the fabulous stylistic, music and historic moment, actually being himself a co-creator of it. The sensitive, "difficult" Catalan who was firmly tied to an "old" school and the traditional canons and models which had educated him extremely well, never left or betrayed his inner individual, highly refined personality, and he stooped to compromises only in his last years (from mid-1827 until his daughter's death in June 1837). During this time financial necessities, which were also caused by the changes and new developments in the music for orchestra and for opera, for Sor a sort of cultural whiplash, did not leave any options anymore, and he *had to* betray himself.

We guitarists must be thankful to providence for giving us two huge composers who, even though they lived at the same time, were so different that they represented each a world of their own.

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*It is needless to mention that about the subject **Mauro Giuliani in Vienna** you could write an essay at least twice as long. This first edition stops here. A new, larger edition with more chapters will appear sometime next year. I will be very thankful for comments and suggestions.*

Michele Bajo  
October 2025

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<sup>41</sup> A work for guitar, violin, viola and cello, which Sor performed in London in 1817, got lost or was destroyed.

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**Michael Lorenz**, Austria – Historical archives expert. Very important findings about Mauro Giuliani and his Vienna family made in 2015.

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**Makoto Tsuruta**, Japan – Luthier, specializing in historic guitars. Detailed research about the Fabricatore string instrument and guitar makers families (Naples).

**Erik Pierre Hofmann**, France – Luthier, specializing in historic guitars. His well-researched article (focusing on Stauffer and his guitars) *A Royal Gift – Marie Louise and the Guitar* provides much valuable insight, including the letter written by the Archduchess's secretary.

*This author was able to find (and use) information provided by the above excellent individuals on the internet.*

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On some other websites this author has found a few interesting details, but also (on those same websites) “information” which is not correct.

It is true that before 2015, i.e. Lorenz' important discoveries made in Vienna, it was not possible to know many details, nevertheless, since then (10 years) these websites have not been corrected and are still on the net. Biographical mistakes, unfortunately, are contained even on *very* important websites for the general use.

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