

An aerial photograph of a historic town, likely Granada, Spain, showing a dense cluster of white buildings with terracotta roofs. The town is built on a hillside, and the perspective is from a high angle looking down. The lighting is warm, suggesting late afternoon or early morning. The text is overlaid on the image.

JOSÉ MIGUEL BARBERÁ SOLER

MUSIC
AND
MUSICIANS
IN GRANADA'S
SETTING

(revised English version)

Translation: Tanya Jill Summerville

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in
Granada's Setting
(Revised English Version)**

José Miguel Barberá Soler

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JOSÉ MIGUEL BARBERÁ SOLER

INTRODUCTION

This book is a collection of articles published in newspapers, blogs or magazines between 2015 to the present; some of which have been updated or I have seen fit to elaborate on certain details. While they cover a variety of topics, there is one common denominator: music and the setting of the city of the Alhambra. Academic biographies, historic events and anecdotes come together for the purpose of unveiling unedited or little-known aspects of the city's musical history; particularly during the XIX century and beginning of the XX century.

Some of these historical accounts have been the subjects of my investigation for a long time; such is the case of the Concerts of the Alhambra, predecessor to the International Festival of Music and Dance. My journey into musical history commenced during the jovial seminars of the Royal Conservatory of Music in Madrid, where my always well-remembered professor, Father Federico Sopena, encouraged us to investigate and explore everything related to music. In 1999, this prospect took the form of a book, *Tomás Bretón y los Conciertos de la Alhambra*, published by Editorial Comares. What's more, as a youth, I was fortunate enough to be influenced by having been born in the same town as the illustrious composer and chapel master of the Cathedral of Seville, Eduardo Torres. In this case, my friendship, in Granada, with Juan-Alfonso García led me to take more interest in Torres, who he caringly professed admiration for, and whose music he movingly played on the great Cathedral organs. With his unequalled kindness, Juan Alfonso helped me prepare my first long text in my early twenties: *Eduardo Torres Pérez y Manuel de Falla y Matheu : historia de su amistad*; an essay published in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* in 1989. In this book, I have included brief compilations of the two above-mentioned texts.

Since arriving in Granada as a musician in the Banda Municipal in 1986, my interest and curiosity for the history of the city and its musical traditions has increased significantly. In 1993, thanks to the encouragement of Professor Antonio Gallego Morell, my first essay related to Granada, entitled *La música en Granada durante el siglo XIX*, was published in the *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*. Most recently I was privileged to expand on this material as a guest lecturer of *Alhambriismo sinfónico* in a summer course of *La Alhambra, la música y las artes (III)*, organized by the University of Granada in the Carlos V Palace. The text of my lecture has been included in this book as well.

Each article has been written with the utmost illusion and a considerable amount of effort. The reader of this book will find many figures which embody the essence of Granada's music history, yet are practically unknown or overlooked today. Permit me, if you will, to advocate for their importance within these pages. And, let us not forget those artists who have formed part of the iconic and extraordinary fabric of this unique city; from Mariana Pineda to Federico García Lorca, or Francisco Salas, Giorgio Ronconi, Mariano Vázquez, and so many more.

JOSÉ MIGUEL BARBERÁ SOLER

Granada, known for its quaint corners, the Alhambra, those singular spots of lingering sensations, and unrivaled charm, has also been burdened with the complexities of a provincial town that has had to survive centuries of shortcomings and perils. It is a city which has always oscillated between the divine and the human forces; and where there have always been diverse perceptions, stretching from the mountains of Sierra Nevada to the impressive fortress set on the hill, the Arab Palaces and the Carlos V Palace. Granada is a city of enchantment, nurturing art, magic and innumerable poetic impressions that have always been able to overcome the miseries and disappointments of so many of its natives and those of us enraptured by its charm. I hope this publication can be a modest tribute to them.

José Miguel Barberá Soler

Granada, 11 de febrero de 2022

1. ROSSINI, THE OPERA AND SPANISH HAMS FROM THE ALPUJARRA

"I need more violins, and the orchestra must play louder!" This urgent plea appeared in a letter sent by composer Gioachino Rossini from his palace-style villa of Passy, near Paris, to the Carmen de Buenavista in Granada, where his *caro amico* Giorgio Ronconi had been residing since 1852. The illustrious composer, and distinguished food connoisseur was referring to the lack of cured Spanish hams in his pantry, thereby rapidly turning to his countryman to send out a package of the prized delight elaborated in Trevélez, a small village deep in the Alpujarra of Granada, to Paris. As a gourmet, Rossini started to receive fame from the time in which he commenced sharing tables with his patron in Paris, James Mayer, in 1823; hence his initiation into culinary appreciation came from the head chef of the establishment, Antonio Carême. In time, the composer earned a magnificent reputation as a chef and inventor of his own dishes, which to this day preserve his trademark, especially his famous Rossini sauce, which he frequently added to his dishes, mainly pastas; including indispensable, imported white Italian truffles considered to be the "Mozart of mushrooms" in gourmet circles. From then on, he felt much more satisfied with his culinary abilities than in the success of his operas. He is attributed with the following phrase: "Eat and love, sing and conduct; those are the true acts of this foolish opera called life, and they disappear just as the bubbles of a bottle of champagne."

Rossini abandoned his career as an opera composer when he was only 38 years old, for reasons which are not altogether clear: exhaustion, lethargy (argument brandished by Alexander Dumas), ill health (he suffered from syphilis, among other illnesses), or fear of professional failure (his works were increasingly taking second place on the stages as compared to those of Bellini and Donizetti). It is certain that following his masterly production of *William Tell*, the "Swan of Pesaro," as he was commonly known, never composed more than a few occasional pieces, and an excellent *Stabat Mater*. Later, from 1855 on, when his ailments from syphilis responded positively to an innovative treatment which allowed him to regain his sense of humor and illusion; he wrote those which he himself denominated as "peccadilloes of old age," which were no more than short pieces, especially songs. These, he specifically composed for his Saturday night soirees, initially in his luxurious home on the Boulevard of the Italians in Paris, and from 1859 on, in the aforementioned mansion of Passy. Essentially, they were no more than composed pieces lacking true aspiration, that is to say, to use and discard; although his spouse, the former model of Horace Vernet and ex-lover of Honore de Balzac, Olympe Pélisser, preserved them and published them after his death. The banquets in Passy also became notorious among artists and aristocrats of Paris at the time. In their mansion, Rossini and his wife were exquisite hosts and the most celebrated figures of high society in Paris attended; from nobility of different European courts, to writers such as the before mentioned Alexander Dumas, as much of a gourmet lover as Rossini, Theophile Gautier or Victor Hugo. Then, there were musicians such as Franz Liszt, Anton Rubinstein, Charles Gounod, Giuseppe Verdi, Camille Saint-Saëns, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Ambroise Thomas or Arrigo Boito; not to mention painters Gustave Doré, Jean-Dominique Ingres, or Eugene Delacroix, just to

name a few.

In Granada, as in many parts of Europe, Rossini's music was highly revered, even producing delirium among his admirers. His operas, already known in Madrid and Barcelona since 1814, were performed in the Teatro Nacional in Granada (later to be called Cervantes in the 20th century), and soon after that, his melodies became part of crowd-pleasing recitals in cafés and stately homes in versions for voice and piano. Moreover, his compositions were popular in serenades that military and civilian bands typically offered, be it in festive or funerary events, as well as in public concerts in which the program included some operas and overtures such as *William Tell*. It is common knowledge that his timeless operas and overtures were, and continue to be played to this day; yet, Rossini's style has been historically influential and imitated in religious music too. One of the first composers of Granada to use his music was the renowned chapel master Vicente Palacios, composer of the famous *Miserere*, written in 1832, which already denoted a certain influence from the "patriarch of the Italian style." In the decade of the 1820's, a large number of Italian opera companies performed in the theater of Granada, offering nearly all of his productions. Although after 1830 Bellini and Donizetti, and in 1840, Verdi, stole some of the spotlight from Rossini, operas such as *La Cenerentola*, *Semiramide* and most of all, *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, remained on stages for years afterwards.

On February 13th, 1831, at the peak of his popularity, Rossini arrived in Madrid alongside his banker friend and sponsor, Alejandro Aguado. Although the premise of the trip was to visit his niece Josefa Pérez Colbrán, wife of musician Joaquín Espí y Guillén, the truth is that he was unable to avoid feasts and acknowledgements. As was to be expected, Rossini was received by King Fernando VII, from whom he rejected a "half-smoked cigar" under the excuse of not being a smoker. Shortly thereafter, he dedicated the romanza, or romance piece, *La Passeggiata*, to Queen María Cristina; perhaps in appreciation for her mediation following such an audacious slight. We must bear in mind that Spain was going through the final period of the fateful "Sinister Decade," as three days later in Granada, Mariana Pineda, the later denominated martyr of the liberal cause, was arrested in the midst of a turbulent time of political upheaval.

A bizarre event remained on the agenda of the "Swan;" a visit to Fernando VII's brother, Don Francisco de Paula, in his music archives, containing over a hundred pieces of Rossini's music. He improvised some dances as Rossini accompanied him on the piano. The King's brother then went on to pay tribute to himself with a ceremony in the music Conservatory. This occasion was organized by the director, the attractive singer Francesco Piermarini, who had been personally chosen by the Queen Consort for the post, though not precisely for his musical nor executive attributes; and by the Spanish composer Ramón Carnicer, held in high regard by Rossini. The music Conservatory, though having commenced its trajectory on January 1st of that same year, would not be officially inaugurated until a month after the ceremony. Following the event, a spontaneous serenade arose in which over two hundred musicians took part, striking up Rossini's most well-known melodies at the door of the hostel where the composer and the banker were lodging.

The following day Rossini enjoyed what possibly gave him the most satisfaction - a luncheon in the home of the General Apostolic Commissary of the Holy Crusade, Manuel Fernández Varela, a passionate gourmet of whom he stated, "The table of the generous priest, which was not for asceticism in this question, was the best in Madrid." It was this sybarite clergyman who introduced Rossini to the delight of cured ham from Trevélez. Apparently, in this gathering, there were various distinguished figures of Madrid present, such as the literary Mariano José de Larra, who had chosen his pseudonym "Figaro" with which he would sign his writings, after the character of *Il barbiere di Siviglia*. Their meal continued into the night when Rossini and the banker attended a masquerade ball in the palace of the Count and Countess of Híjar. It must be pointed out that during these days there were plenty of articles published in the press of Madrid acclaiming great admiration for the genius of Pesaro, including laudatory poetry such as what was written by the highly respected writer, Mesonero Romanos. In this festive atmosphere, he made Rossini an offer which the Italian composer could not refuse, even though he had had no intention of taking on new projects - the composition of the *Stabat Mater*. Two years later, on Good Friday of 1833, the new and brilliant sacred piece from Rossini was revealed in Saint Phillip's Royal Church in Madrid. As Benito Pérez Galdós later related in his *Episodios Nacionales*, "There was such a crowd in the church that many received bruises and contusions, and two or three people suffocated in the turmoil." The composition soon turned into an obligatory component in all of the Spanish churches that had music chapels. It was also a mandatory piece in Granada until far into the 20th century, and undoubtedly was the most played work in the temples of Granada after the *Miserere* by Palacios, which was customarily played every Holy Thursday till 1926. The *Motu Proprio* of Pío XII tried to ban this type of theatrically influenced music, and according to the ecclesiastical point of view of the time, sinful music, from the temples; in favor of music based on Gregorian chant structure.

As was before mentioned, the Rossinian style had a great influence on other musicians. He may have been the composer who most defined the compositive character of Spanish music during the 19th century; under whose domain none were able to evade. For example, in Granada, composers Bernabé Ruiz de Henares, Antonio Maqueda, Antonio Luján, Ramón Entrala, Francisco Rodríguez Murciano, Antonio de la Cruz and Mariano Vázquez, fell under this category. This aspect, which they had vigorously tried to escape from in the middle of the 20th century, continued to prevail in almost all of the country's productions, including in the zarzuela, a genre which gave hope of gaining distance from the foreign sway in favor of enabling the creation of more typical and local ones. In the Liceo Artístico y Literario de Granada, or Lyceum, from 1839 on, the musical gatherings consisted of the Italian opera modified from stage productions to reductions arranged for voice and instrument with piano accompaniment. Some years later, the young generation of artists who participated in the so called *Cuerda Granadina*, which Ronconi led from 1852, grew with the *belcanto* melodic style. Not only were the musicians avid in their participation, but there were also writers such as Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, Manuel del Palacio, José Castro y Serrano, José Facundo Riaño or José Salvador de Salvador, as persevering scholars of the fashionable music phenomenon. Alarcón's first novel, *El final de Norma*, had an operatic reference, and from his youth, Alarcón wrote numerous pieces and articles in the press demonstrating his innate sensitivity towards the genre of Italian

opera.

As soon as Rossini found out that Ronconi had settled down so close to the Alpujarra, he began asking for supplies of hams from Trevélez, to which some members of *La Cuerda* added chorizos and pepperoni sausages from Montefrío, Granada. The cured hams from Trevélez normally took over 15 days to reach the shores of the Seine. One must bear in mind that Madrid did not have a connection by train with Paris until 1864, and Granada didn't have a connection with Madrid till ten years later; thus, deliveries were mainly made by horse-drawn carriages.

One day in November 1860, the writer from Guadix, Granada, Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, was traveling through Paris, meeting up with “one of the most good-humored people I've ever met;” his old friend from *La Cuerda*, Giorgio Ronconi. After lunch, the Italian begged him to get dressed up and accompany him to a surprise supper. So, the confounded writer and Ronconi boarded their carriage in the Madeleine and later a train heading westward. Alarcón didn't cease to inquire about their destination, receiving only the incessant laughter of his companion as a reply, “What's the meaning of this journey in a tuxedo and white tie?” After about five kilometers by train, the station employees could be heard shouting, “Passy! Passy!” Upon exiting the train, they walked for a while amongst the trees in the pitch-dark countryside until finally passing through an iron gate, leading to a luxurious mansion. The servants attended them and soon they reached a gold and white ornate hall with a large vertical piano and around twenty people; some of them famous socialites. Standing next to the piano there was a corpulent “toothless” old man wearing an exorbitant blond wig and slightly white sideburns; possessing great, noble features and deep, lively eyes. He wore a chestnut brown bow tie and dark trousers; and he was sporting the Legion of Honor button on his lapel. In his hand, he held a snuff box; speaking in a most intemperate, dominant and aggressive voice. He spoke in Italian. As soon as he spotted Ronconi, he immediately ended an ongoing conversation with a female guest and approached him with outstretched arms, “Good God! Giorgio mio!” he exclaimed upon embracing him. “Old fox! Gioachino mio!” Ronconi responded. And they gave kisses on the cheeks. Naturally, by this time, Alarcón had recognized Rossini: “author of so many immortal works. The man who shared the applauses of the world tantamount to his two world-known contemporaries, Lord Byron and Napoleon...” Flustered and in awe, just two steps away, he approached, extending his arm, and then pausing before kissing the outstretched hand. “Rossini was treated like a true king of his time in the gathering. He targeted the entire crowd with his bloody sarcasms, with his acidic mockery, with his scathing epigrams, and no one attempted to answer back; all were honored by the familiarities of the great maestro. Only Ronconi reciprocated his jokes with others.” Rossini's wife, Olympie Pelissier, was present, as well as the mayor of Passy, the official of the empire, and prestigious singers such as Giulia Grissi as well. Rossini expressed his adoration for Spain to Alarcón, and they spoke at length about it: “I spent 8 days in Madrid thirty years ago... I cannot forget the hams from the Alpujarra. Isn't the Alpujarra close to where you live?” Alarcón offered to send him some hams, but Rossini, patting Ronconi on the back, replied that his faithful friend had the shipments of hams taken care of. From then on, the conversation took a turn towards questions of a social and political nature. At the

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end of the evening, Rossini gave Ronconi three portrait prints of himself at 20 and 60 years of age, including the following operatic dedicatory: "Figaro giù, Figaro su, Poi ruppe lo stampo...Al mio diletissimo Giorgio Ronconi, Parigi, 29 de novembre de 1860." The baritone from Milan, after all, continued to be unrivalled in his role as Figaro in *Il barbiere di Siviglia*. All of these details are known to us thanks to the book, *De Madrid a Nápoles*, written and published by Alarcón shortly after his visit through Europe.

Several months after Pedro Antonio de Alarcón's visit, the composer Francisco Asenjo Barbieri undertook a journey to Paris; leaving a humorous farewell letter to his long-suffering companion in Granada, Mariano Vázquez:

"Dichoso tú, que en la Alhambra
fiel recuerdo de Estambul
templas con fresca brisa tu primoroso laúd
y en la sombra de esos tilos
que roban al sol su luz
a jamones de la Sierra
dar en tu vientre ataúd,
mientras tu amigo Barbieri
tendido como un atún
espera el momento ansiado
de hacer a Madrid la cruz
e ir a andar por esos mundos
en unión de su baúl!"

(Consider yourself fortunate that in the Alhambra
faithful remembrance of Istanbul
you contemplate your dainty lute under a cool breeze
and in the shade of those lime trees
that steal the sunlight
from the hams in the mountains
and fall into the pit of your belly,
while your friend Barbieri
laid out like a tuna fish
awaits the long-desired moment
of leaving Madrid behind
heading for foreign lands
with the trunk full of goods!)

(Pedro Antonio de Alarcón: *De Madrid a Napoles*, Madrid, 1878)

It was Mariano Vázquez who was in charge of obtaining the supply of Alpujarra hams for the Barbieri home. If his merit as an eminent zarzuela composer and poet were put into question, at least in this message, no one could possibly doubt his consideration as the foremost national composer; as the influential Marquis of Salamanca insisted in the recognition of Barbieri's works in Paris. Spanish aristocrats living in the French capital had an essential role in Barbieri's presentation in the Court. The Conde de Morphy, or the Count of Morphy, was a musician who had spent his childhood years in Granada, and held a certain fondness for everything related to the region. Then, there was the Countess of Montijo, who had also lived in the city of the Alhambra for a period of time. And finally, her daughter, the Granada-French Empress, Eugenia de Guzmán was Napoleon III's wife, who specifically introduced the Alpujarra hams in the menus of the Court of France. Barbieri obtained an invitation to the Theater of Comic Opera in Paris from the Marquis of Salamanca, who, along with the other nobility anxiously awaited his visit. The Spanish composer arrived in the city of the Seine in the middle of August along with the lyricist of the composition, Luis Olona, under the effects of the normal dizziness that such a tedious journey entails; prepared to hold the rehearsals and staging necessary for his latest production, none other than the zarzuela – folly *Entre mi mujer y el negro*. During the months that Barbieri spent in Paris, he had the privilege of being invited to the stately home in Passy, where (as the story goes), Rossini showed him his fine collection of “violins and violas” down in his cellar. When Barbieri, out of curiosity, asked about their origin (imagining the answer would surely be Cremona, Italy), Rossini responded that they were from Trevélez; and Barbieri burst out laughing. Even though the musical venture of the composer from Madrid ended up in disaster because it was impossible to have the work translated into French, and they suffered stage changes, Barbieri always held fond memories of his experience in the great cultural capital of the period, and we can imagine that Rossini played a role in that. One day, after the soiree, Pedro Antonio de Alarcón attended the funeral of Francisca de Paula Portocarrero in the Madeleine; she was the Duchess of Alba and the sister of Empress Eugenia, who was unable to attend due to an official visit to Algeria. In the summer of 1864, Barbieri gave a tribute to Rossini, putting the name of the Italian on the summer theater built in the new garden of the Campos Elíseo, a prolongation of Acalá Street; he inaugurated it by conducting the first production in Madrid of *William Tell*.

Although Rossini never once had the opportunity of visiting Granada, he knew how captivating the city was through many friendships and by way of literary and musical references of its oriental romantic setting. His first wife was soprano Isabel Colbrán, and amongst her friends there were plenty of Spanish people: some were exiled for political reasons as offshoots of absolute monarchy, specifically José Melchor Gomis from Onteniente, Valencia, Francisco Martínez de la Rosa from Granada, and Manuel García and his daughter, singer Malibrán. Additionally, in time, Francisco Salas and others from Granada, or with strong ties to the city, befriended Rossini, such as pianist Santiago de Masarnau, the aristocrat musician Count Guillermo Morphy, or the earlier mentioned Giorgio Ronconi. Quite a number of the artists invited to his mansion had been seduced by Granada's charm during their travels and they could be guaranteed that their tales would not fall on deaf ears in the Passy home conversations. Granada had received: Victor Hugo,

Alexander Dumas, Theophile Gautier, Gustave Doré, Paul Gevaert, Charles Gounod, Giovanni Battista Rubini and Giulia Grissi, and many others.

It is possible that this fascination that Rossini had for Spain in general, and specifically Granada, led him to use his habitual “peccadilloes of old age;” putting music to two texts that his lyricist and translator friend, Emilien Pacini had offered him. They were two “brief Spanish arias”; the first under the title *A Grenade*, subtitled *La nuit regne a Grenade*, and the second one was *La veue andalouse* or *Toi pou jamais*. Though the pieces were composed in 1861, the first edition was printed by León Escudier in 1863, producing the indignation of Rossini; he had not given his permission to the unknown man to publish his work, claiming that its use and sale to the French publisher had been fraudulent. Due to this, from then on, Rossini decided not to give any more sheet music to anyone and thereby could avoid having a similar setback occur again. Soon afterwards he published an authorized edition, this time through the editor Maurice Strakosch, in the Casa Ricordi, translated into Spanish by Ventura de la Vega; the first one was dedicated to the Queen of Spain, Isabel II, while the latter was dedicated to his dear friend, the professor of the Royal Chamber and the Royal Family of Spain, Francisco Frontera de Valldemosa. The rights to the works were granted by the monarch and the professor, “with the blessing of the immortal ‘Swan of Pesaro,’” to the Sociedad Musical de Socorros Mutuos, which benefitted from the profits. In Spain, the profits obtained abroad went to his editor, monsieur Strakosch. Hence, in a short period of time, the proceeds from the sales of the works reached, to the great satisfaction of said organization, a whopping 12,000 reales, the coin of the period. An important detail must be accentuated here; on the 10th of October, 1862, the cured hams of Trevélez were granted the coveted Royal Seal of Spain in recognition of their excellence (the hams), although how much this influenced Rossini’s decision to dedicate his *A Grenade* to Isabel II is unknown.

Rossini composed the songs for the Madrid-born Italian opera singer, Adelina Patti; yet unlike what occurred in the majority of his brief pieces, she sang *A Grenade* during a lengthy period of time. At the end of 1863, the acclaimed diva was in Madrid collaborating with an opera company under the management of businessman, monsieur Bagier. On December 30th, she was received in the Royal Palace by Isabel II, insisting that the Queen had to attend a concert in the music Conservatory that same evening with the tenor Mario de Candia, the violinist Jesús de Monasterio, the Sociedad de Conciertos and its director, Joaquín Gaztambide. Adelina and Mario performed arias and duets from *La traviata* and *Rigoletto*, which was later reflected in the newspapers, “Miss Patti sang twice and always received great applause; she sang a ballad by Rossini, dedicating it to Her Majesty the Queen, entitled *A Grenade*; whose lyrics had been translated into Spanish by the eminent Ventura de la Vega. Miss Patti performed so well that everything was embellished...” Upon returning to Paris on the 2nd of February, 1864, Patti visited the Passy mansion along with some other performers such as baritone Enrico Delle-Sedie, contralto Emilie de Meric-Lablanche and tenor Andrea Peruzzi: “What good is there in giving emphatic epithets or long-winded discourses? In short, let us just say that there was a feast in Rossini’s home, and there is no sovereignty on his level. Meyerbeer was there in a corner, applauding merrily as the melodies of the great maestro were prodigiously

performed with unrivalled expertise through diamonds and flowers.” Following the *Tancredi*, *La Cenerentola*, *La gazza ladra* and *Un ballo in maschera* as a gift, they offered *Il fanciullo smarrito* and *A Grenade*, a Spanish song: “How seductive Adelina was! Since the time of Malibrán, such an innate musically gifted singer has not been witnessed! Rossini, receded in a small adjacent room, beamed like the sun and stars; it was a joyous occasion to see the blissful atmosphere. The wife of Rossini has honored us with a party of exquisite warmth.” In these days, the Italian soprano also participated in other aristocratic receptions in Paris. The press recorded an occasion on February 5th in the palace of the Jewish-Portuguese financier, Isaac Pereire, in which Adelina Patti performed *A Grenade*, accompanied on the piano by the mythical tenor Giovanni Battista Rubini.

Yet, so much pleasure could not come without its consequences. Around this time, the wry writer Theophile Gautier, wrote, “Rossini is monstrously obese; he has not been able to see his own feet in six years. The metal of his orchestra has reverberations of kitchenware, even when he is in moments of sublime inspirations.” However, no physical consequence impeded Rossini from delighting in the pleasures of eating until his death in 1868; though we cannot be one hundred percent certain if the ham from Granada’s Alpujarra was present in his diet till his dying days. We say this because during the first months of 1864, the Isabel II School of Song and Declamation in Granada, which Ronconi had directed and reaped prestigious levels of success, ended up collapsing; in part due to the indifference of the ruling class, and an unfortunate series of circumstances. To make matters worse, shortly thereafter, the bankruptcy of the bank of Granada, where the baritone had deposited his entire savings, forced him to sell off his archives and his carmen on the Mauror hill near the Alhambra; and begin performing with itinerant companies throughout the provinces in order to make a living. It is truly pathetic to read his correspondence with Barbieri in which Ronconi indicated which titles of the operas in his archives he needed to sell. Therefore, we can imagine that the pantries of the genius of Pesaro soon fell under a shortage of cured ham from the Alpujarra; unless Rossini had been fortunate enough to find another supplier to carry out the dealings necessary in order to continue enjoying such a precious delicacy of the Spanish culture, for his own pleasure, as well as for his guests.



Gioacchino Rossini. (Étienne Carjat, December 31, 1864. Harvard Art Museums)



Adelina Patti (Franz Xaver Wintelhalter, 1862. Private Collection)

2. THE RUSSIAN BALLETS IN GRANADA IN 1918

Shortly before the Corpus Christi festival, on May 19th, 1918, the so-called *Ballets Russes* were present in Granada, led by the “antsy souled” businessman, Sergei Diaghilev, who passionately adored everything about Spain. One hundred and twenty artists finalized a two-month tour around the Iberian Peninsula in the city of the Alhambra, which included 47 performances. *The Ballets*, which, since 1909, were an absolute reference of sublime music and art, had been forced to head for America and Spain in 1914 due to the Great World War, which had been turning Europe into a land of destruction and death.

In May of 1916, the Russian Company came from New York, accepting the invitation of the aristocrat, Count Casal, to perform in the Teatro Real in Madrid. Alfonso XIII had become one of their fervent benefactors and one of their most ardent followers; he did not miss any of their eight performances given at the Teatro Real. Apparently, the monarch was smitten by the ballerina, Lyubov Tchernichova, with whom he was rumored to have had some type of affair. Now, as a passionate admirer of the arts, the King himself, saw to getting the Company to San Sebastian, where the Royal Court lodged in the summer; performing in the Teatro Victoria Eugenia, as well as in Los Campos de Elíseus in Bilbao. In May of the following year, the Company returned to Madrid, and not only did they dance in the Teatro Real, but they also delighted their “royal patron” with various private performances within the palace walls. On June 23rd and 24th, they gave their farewell to Spain in the Teatro Liceo in Barcelona, wherein the mythical ballet dancer, Vaslav Nijinsky, danced for the last time. They went back to Barcelona after a South American tour in November, followed by Madrid and Lisbon; then they commenced their Spanish tour after wintertime.

Although Spain did not participate on a global front, the country was not saved from the economic strain and chaos provoked by the war, with a pressing scarcity of food and increasingly unhealthy conditions which unleashed spontaneous protests of the lower classes; although in Granada the ruling class was better able to pacify the “discontent” than in other Spanish cities. The bourgeoisie and the Catholic Church, using their instruments of power and influence, appeared to be, at least for some time, maintaining the situation under control, including the “threat” of emerging socialism through assembly type associations such as the “Casa del Pueblo” (the House of the People): “The working class has no right to impose its will by force, and by use of threats, deadlines, lack of discipline, crafty sabotage and enraged boycotts, which lead to anarchy and squander.” Such was the atmosphere of the city of Granada as described in *El Correo del Sur* upon the arrival of The Ballets, according to Severino Aznar, a Carlist and future Falange leader, closely linked to the doctrine within the influential Sindicato Católico de Obreros (Catholic Workers’ Union). These same people of influence proved to be firmly against the Russian Ballet performances, deeming them obscene, without even having seen them. The aforementioned newspaper completely omitted any information regarding the important event taking place.

Instead, the paper was filled with information about the commemoration of the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* of León XIII, with representatives of all of the ecclesiastical associations as well as heated debates concerning, “how the proletarian masses should be controlled in the face of those who have possessions....” The journals were adorned with rich details of events such as the 300-year Anniversary of the death of Padre Suárez, wherein they awarded medals to “the boys and girls who had stood out for their perseverance in saving money,” or the compliance with the Holy Week precepts, with the sacred Eucharist given to each one of the prisoners in the Belén jail, whose 423 inmates “participated spontaneously” thanks to the diligence of the warden, who had the ability of “making his subordinates respect his moral authority.” *El Correo del Sur* presented abundant information on conferences, such as an in-depth seminar on the significance of “El Día de la Raza” (Day of the Spanish Race) in the Explorers Club, with an energetic shout of “Gibraltar español,” along with similar ceremonies and religious acts in different entities and centers around the city. The prestigious cultural journal, *La Alhambra*, under the direction of erudite Francisco de Paula Valladar, barely makes mention of *The Ballets*, merely commenting on the current debate concerning “whether or not it was worth it to bring the Company to the city,” and avoiding giving his opinion until a later date, which eventually was never given. Thanks to *El defensor de Granada*, and especially to the journalist, professor and librarian of the School of Arts and Literature, Aureliano del Castillo, “un granadino católico, franco y cortés, de hidalgas maneras y charla exquisita” (a Catholic man from Granada; frank, and cordial, gentlemanly and of exquisite dialogue), as described by Federico García Lorca upon his death 4 years later, we are able to read the chronicles of such an incredible event taking place in Granada.

The intense two-month tour commenced with 150 members in Valladolid on March 30th; 120 reached Granada, as during the journey some left due to economic setbacks. Among them there were: 52 ballerinas, including the celebrated Lydia Lopokova and Lyubov Tchernyshova; and 28 male ballet dancers, with the talented lead, Léonide Massine. Of course, they were accompanied by an orchestra of 50 select musicians from the Philharmonic and Symphonic Orchestras of Madrid, under the leadership of the then Head of the Teatro Eslava, Joaquín Turina, who Falla had recommended to Diaghilev. The troupe was complete with all of the props, crew and technical staff needed, in addition to an elaborate wardrobe team and original decoration from artists such as Nicolai Roerich, León Bakst, Mikjaíl Larionov, Robert Delaunay or Natalia Gontcharova. Of their vast repertoire, they avoided some of their most successful novelties, opting for the most “feasible,” so that they could be performed in the provincial theater productions. The press emphasized the “oriental exoticism” of *Sheherazade* and *Nocturnal Sun*, with music by Nicolai Rimsky-Korsakov; *Cleopatra* and *Le Festin*, suites with music from various Russian composers; or the “classicism” of *L'espectre de la rose* (The Phantom of the Rose), by Carl Maria von Weber. In addition, they performed *Papillons* and *Carnaval* by Robert Schumann, orchestrated by various Russian composers, *La Sylphides* by Frederick Chopin, orchestrated by Alexander Glazunov, or the dances of *Prince Igor* from Alexander Borodin. The majority of the choreographies bore the signature of the famed Michel Fokine. The tour then continued on to Salamanca, Bilbao and San Sebastian.

The controversy, always present in the performances of the Company, especially in Spanish theaters, made it necessary to “take great care regarding the morality of *The Ballets*” and “avoid lascivious or sensual pantomimes” before undertaking the *tournée*, or tour. They thought it best to put more clothes on the ballerinas, who began in the North with less garments than what they finished with in the South. The most controversial stage production was *Cleopatra*, which did not get past censorship in some cities, and which eventually had to be excluded, mostly due to the high level of sensuality emanating from the role of Tchernyshova as the Queen of the Nile. The female Russian ballet dancers drew unconcealed attention in general, from the male audiences. One of them, the Brit, Lydia Sokolova, to whom Diaghilev gave a Russian name, reports in her diary how in Logroño, where they performed on April 17th and 19th, “the entire male population came out ecstatically to bid the Company farewell at the station.” Undoubtedly, in such a coy atmosphere, many spectators felt drawn to the stories of “unfaithful wives with Black slaves,” as Turina wrote in his notes. However, if there was an attraction, no less was the fear; the press released informative notes before the performances stating that, “These are not vulgar regional Russian dances, nor contortionist dances or acrobatics, but great musical concerts of poems and legends of intense artistic emotion, with an extensive, first-class orchestra, choreographic features, mimicry, pictorial art, luminous and rhythmic representations...”

They continued their tour through the Aragonese region (in Zaragoza, Massine took advantage of the opportunity to learn the Jota, which came in handy during the London premiere of *El Sombrero de tres Picos* by Manuel de Falla a year later), and Valencia. It was described as: “...enchancing color, the human rhythm, containing incredible agility and admirable set scenery..;” although drawing smaller crowds due to the exceeding high ticket prices. The journey to Alcoy turned out to be fatiguing on account of the intense rain, which forced the train to make several stops. In the city of Alicante, they performed after a sleepless night, and the following day the performance was cancelled because of money problems. The route to Cartagena also proved to be arduous, since they were crammed into a train in which, according to Turina, “Even the top brass had to sit on top of the baggage caboose.” The Company kept on their “long, suffocating and picturesque journey” towards Andalusia, stopping first in Cordoba, where they performed on the 10th of May; continuing on to Seville (with the joviality of the Flamenco dancers in the Café Novedades, together with the popular Niña de los Peines); then Malaga, and finally, via the Bobadilla pass, arriving in Granada.

The city was in the midst of preparing public events for the main festival of the year – Corpus Christi. This year they were excluding the symphonic concerts in the Carlos V Palace due to the early date in which the festivities coincided. The novel film industry had now become the biggest leisure activity of the people of Granada. Both in the Teatro Principal, as well as in halls such as the Regio and Victoria, the newest cinematographic releases were offered; ranging from the habitual adventures of Maciste and exotic dramas, to the phenomenon of Charlie Chaplin, there was even a projection of the history of Puccini's opera *La bohème*, with the theater orchestra accompanying the silent images. For more than a year, the Municipal Band had been offering their two concerts a week in El

Paseo del Salón and participating in nearly all of the religious and social events. Piano or sextet music could be heard in the Alameda Café and the Suizo Café, and the Trío Iberia performed nightly in El Salón Victoria. Music, for lack of an official learning center, was taught at the Municipal School or, in the case of girls, in the society called Económica de Amigos del País. The Centro Artístico, or Center for the Arts, carried out a collaborative effort with conferences and diverse types of concerts, such as those given by Gaspar Cassadó and Andrés Segovia in their halls and in the Alhambra Palace, just days before the arrival of the Russian Company. Coinciding with the Russian Ballet tour in Granada, there were also several conferences by the explorer, Mr. Jorge Stratis, "... a bohemian Greek sporting a black scarf, a droopy hat and excessive wordiness." In regards to the more trivial spectacles, bullfighting was, of course, the raging sensation; which in these days meant a combination of bullfighting with cycling, cockfighting and horse racing. Regarding the social climate, as before mentioned, the city presented its usual contrast between the wealthy, with their luxuries, and the beleaguered working class. In the Cuesta de Gomérez there were plenty of over-loaded wagons, hauled by horses "...harnessed under a rickety, starving, and clearly insufficient team, even for a flat terrain, attempting to climb the steep hill while being whipped till the wretched animals bled as their drivers cursed them." Both local newspapers demanded that the authorities take action and "give the stray dogs what they deserved and rid the streets of such undesirables, which bothered the 'good people' during their strolls," which had become more common this year as the weather forecasted suffocating heat. They warned of the alcoholism problem which caused, among other things: "a rise in crime, arson, thefts, murders and prostitution...;" and in the advertisements there was publicity offering effective means of eradicating baldness, hernias or warts. Articles promoting "El Agua Oriental" (Oriental Water) promised to "enlarge and tighten breasts" while leaving "smooth, white skin," and the miraculous "Nerviosina," a product created by Dr. González, a figure who had been awarded several medals in Paris, London and Rome, promised to cure the hopeless, listless, anemics, hysteria and impotency..."

This is the city of Granada, admired and fascinating, with its Alhambra and quaint corners, yet miserable and apathetic, to which Diaghilev (who, along with Nijinsky, Massine and Falla, had already visited on personal business in 1916) arrived from Malaga with his Company in the Estación de Andaluces train station. On Friday, May 17th, *El defensor de Granada* announced the "great world premiere of *Sheherazade* in Isabel la Católica Theater, "an exuberant oriental story from Rimsky-Korsakov," a piece known to frequent Corpus concert goers in its original orchestral version performed by the Orchestras of Madrid in 1916 and 1917. With a warning of having been "especially prepared for ladies to attend without the slightest revulsion," the theater boasted a full-house of over 1200 seats, and as mentioned, Aureliano del Castillo made a press release on Sunday, the 19th. "The perfect beauty of the ballerinas like Lydia Lopokova, and the agility and artistic flair of the male ballet dancers, as well as the grandiose effect of a magnificent orchestra produce a sublime impact...initially one feels overwhelmed, making it impossible to take it all in. In the face of such polyphonic and polychromatic excellence; seeing dizzying choreography, witnessing all of the exoticism they offer us, we are absolutely bedazzled and left speechless. Later, once the fascination has passed, we can clearly weigh in our analysis: *Sheherazade*, an orgy of color and movement. The oriental splendor from the

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outermost regions amazes us and its tragedy is chilling...The orchestra, majestically directed by maestro Turina sounded as in the Corpus concerts in King Carlos V Palace, which says it all.” On Monday, the 20th, taking advantage of their day off, the Company went up to the Alhambra in costume for a photographic and filming session; of which there is very little footage as, unfortunately, Diaghilev’s ill-will towards these “modern inventions that cannot appreciate dance and thus undermine it,” led to several photographs and ribbons being destroyed. According to Turina, present in the Alhambra session, “seeing the effect of the arabesque costumes with that marvelous background was unforgettable.” On Tuesday, the 21st, with the controversial, yet conveniently modified version of *Cleopatra* as the feature of the evening, even the most dubious appeared to have thoroughly enjoyed the performance; according to Aureliano del Castillo: “a very emotional evening, quintessential art, exquisite; it made every thread of our soul vibrate...A dreamy night, full of memorable...erotic mysteries. In a short time, we will think that we have been dreaming when we recall the two nights of such sophisticated art.”

The following day, the applauded and dedicated artists set off for Madrid, where six events in the Teatro Real awaited them, and afterwards, still within the month of June, two more performances in the Liceo in Barcelona.



The Russian Ballets in the Alhambra. Granada, 1918. Joaquín Turina Pérez Archive

JOSÉ MIGUEL BARBERÁ SOLER

3. ANTONIO SEGURA MESA: FEDERICO GARCÍA LORCA'S MUSIC PROFESSOR

Antonio Segura never wanted to leave Granada. Unlike some of his contemporaries who hitched their horses and boarded their stagecoaches for the four-day journey to Madrid, including an overnight stop in an inn along the way; Segura clung to the city where he was born. His timid, humble character, his excessive modesty, for which he was often scolded by musician friends, resulted prejudicial to his musical career; yet his expertise, his commitment and zeal awakened a passion for music amongst many of his pupils, making that his main virtue and contribution to music in Granada.

Born in 1842, he was the son of Granada's Cathedral organist and professor of the Escuela del Liceo, Bernabé Ruiz de Henares. Thus, he grew up as a pampered child in company of the young and notable members of *La Cuerda* cultural circle. At just 14 years of age, he had already composed excellent piano pieces, such as the 3 polka-mazurkas which appeared in the artistic and literary journal *El Álbum Granadino*, together with works from other more experienced and well-known fellow musicians from Granada. Subjugated by the Italian opera and influenced by the emergent Spanish zarzuela, that in those years tended to be offered by the major companies in the Teatro Nacional or Campillo, at just 19, he was selected to be the accompanying pianist of that ambitious project. However, his aspiration was prematurely frustrated by the ineptitude of the ruling and business class in relation to the Escuela de Canto y Declamación de Isabel II; wherein one of the great opera singers in history, the Italian, Giorgio Ronconi, a resident in a carmen (an enviable enclosed garden home within the city) close to the Alhambra, had put so much effort. There, he accompanied the young visitors from all over Spain, as well as world renowned opera figures; apart from playing for Giuseppe Verdi during his stay in Granada, a moment which he would undeniably never forget. Amongst his numerous activities during the hectic years of the mid XIX century, his participation in the artistic musical society, *Las Delicias*, in which he actively collaborated while still a youth, must also be noted. He even premiered several zarzuelas for said association; holding ingratiating success, such as the "humorous and flippant" sainete *El Alcalde Vinagre* (The Vinegar Mayor) in 1861, with the lyrics from the writer and future firefighter chief, Antonio Joaquín Afán de Ribera; *El Señor Conde* (Mr. Count), written by Salvador Pérez Montoto, premiering on October 16th in the new Teatro Isabel la Católica – in the same site which is now occupied by Hotel Carlos V and some adjacent businesses; and his greatest success, *Dos Telegramas* (Two Telegrams), with lyrics by José Portero, which was echoed by the press as, "a work riddled with jokes of the best kind, producing general hilarity among the spectators. It contained a most pleasing music which did justice to the author." Its opening night was on August 23rd in a charity performance to raise funds for the "ill-fated who had suffered losses in the fire in the Capuchinos Plaza," and was recuperated two years later by his pupil, soprano Marcelina Cuaranta, in the zarzuela season on 1873. Segura also taught classes in the academy that the members of *Las Delicias* maintained alongside musician José Espinel y Moya: "Both

maestros are worthy of the appreciation of the citizens of Granada for their sacrifice in favor of the young art enthusiasts of the Orfeo (the chorus).” Encouraged by the success that they had received on some of the short works, as well as his innate devotion to the lyrical genre, Antonio Segura composed the music to the dramatic verses of Antonio Arnao’s *La hija de Jefe* (Jephthah’s Daughter). Unfortunately, it coincided with the opera under the same title composed by Ruperto Chapí, premiering that same year in the Teatro Real of Madrid. Even though the friends who knew him and admired the piece encouraged him to present it to the director of the Teatro Real, Mariano Vázquez, also from Granada, it became clear that competing with the costly production of Chapí’s work meant that another opera sharing the same title would not be admitted. According to his musician friends, the work was never represented because of “his extreme modesty,” although some parts of the opera were habitually performed in concerts and recitals offered in the city.

Disappointed with his wasted efforts in the composition, he turned to his facet as a professor. Married with no children, he offered a special, paternal appreciation to his disciples. For many years, he was a professor at the Escuela de Música del Liceo Santo Domingo, wherein he performed in solemn ceremonies and actively gave concerts as a pianist, choral director and composer. His pupils included various generations of musicians, from composer Ramón Noguera, as well as the aforementioned Francisco de Paula Valladar and his brother Enrique, soprano Carmen Alfaro, brothers Cándido and Eduardo Orense, brothers Manuel and José María Guervós, pianists Cándido Peña, Juan Benítez and Emilio Vidal, the Santa Fe-born Rafael Salguero, who would later become the chapel master in the Cathedral of Guadix, then in Malaga, and finally in Granada, the concert pianist and founder of the Municipal Band of Granada, José María Montero, the celebrated guitarist and composer, Ángel Barrios, or the popular composer of zarzuelas and Spanish musicals, Francisco Alonso. Likewise, Segura was music professor to a visionary young man named Federico García Lorca, who would walk the short distance which separated his home on the Acera del Darro to the house where the maestro resided in the Escudo del Carmen, to receive private piano lessons and let himself be carried away by the enthusiasm for the classics and popular music that Don Antonio passed on to him. The old maestro, with that characteristic bitterness of those musicians who were left “with deep sighs” of the enchantment of Granada, used to tell his pupils: “although I have not reached the sky that does not mean that it does not exist.” Relatives of García Lorca left written memories of the old maestro’s visits to their home and the high hopes he had for the young man as a promising musician.

From 1887 on, Antonio Segura formed part of the circle of friends in Granada who established around the figure of Tomás Bretón, conductor of the Sociedad de Profesores de Madrid in the famous Concerts of the Carlos V Palace. Don Antonio also participated as a juror in numerous choral and band competitions. He was one of the jury members of the 1892 competition held for the coronation of the poet José Zorrilla, which originated a bitter debate in the press of Madrid because a symphonic poem, written by the most distinguished musician of the time, Ruperto Chapí was not awarded by the jury presided over by Bretón and six “provincial musicians.” He gratuitously offered his services at schools such as the Dulce Nombre de María, El Salvador or Ave María. As a

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man of profound religious convictions, his last compositions were of an ecclesiastical nature; often played in music chapels and by organists of Granada's temples. In his final two years, he took part in the project of the Municipal School of Music, an objective which he initiated with Enrique Valladar, who was president of the "Victoria Eugenia" Conservatory, founded in 1921.

Antonio Segura died suddenly on the afternoon of May 26th, 1916. *La gaceta del Sur* printed a heart-felt obituary note, "Antonio Segura, fervent religious man, charitable and admired for his virtues, affable and warm hearted; he captured the sympathy and appreciation of all. His passing is a deep loss to many families of Granada and the poor have lost a constant aid from their misery." Two years later, his young disciple, Federico García Lorca, who had hoped to study music in Paris, unhesitatingly dedicated his first book to Segura. The poet's words of admiration, respect and appreciation for his venerated music professor said it all: "He was a saint!"



Antonio Mesa Segura. The Federico García Lorca Centre Archive. Granada

JOSÉ MIGUEL BARBERÁ SOLER

4. NIGHTS IN THE GARDENS OF SPAIN FOR THE BAETICA CHAMBER ORCHESTRA

We find ourselves at the beginning of October, 1916. The Chapel maestro of the Cathedral of Seville, Eduardo Torres, acts as guide for Sergei Diaghilev, who was visiting the city along with some members of his *Ballets Russes* (the bulk of the troupe was in Buenos Aires), and accompanied by composer Manuel de Falla. A few days later, while Diaghilev was in Madrid and Falla was in Granada, Maestro Torres was left in charge of handling the administrative arrangements with the Italian Consul so that the Russian dancers could obtain their passports, and henceforth re-join the rest of the group for their performances in Rome; which was no easy task in time of war. This was the first meeting which we can follow in the epistolary of Falla, between the Andalusian and Valencian maestros, although they most likely were formerly acquainted.

Torres was a priest with social concerns beyond the scope of his musical-ecclesiastic obligations. Known for his delightful organ pieces, he composed many religious works in which we can appreciate his careful effort to not infringe on the precepts of the *Motu Proprio* (canonic law), as his natural impulse dictated. In addition, though in a clandestine way (which is to say anonymously, so as not to offend the susceptibilities of his superiors), he composed a large amount of popular music, specifically zarzuelas and lyric sainetes, or comic skits for the Lope de Vega Theater, in collaboration with the director of the Municipal Band of Seville, José del Castillo, and with Emilio López del Toro. However, Torres was above all, the true soul, and the indisputable authority for the Sevillian musicians from his arrival in 1910 till his death in December 1934, both for his work capacity, as well as his eagerness and profound culture.

The close relationship between Torres and Falla was consolidated in Holy Week in Seville of 1922. Once again, we find Falla, on this occasion, with friends along the banks of the Guadalquivir River. They later went to the Cathedral to hear the indispensable *Miserere* by Eslava, under the direction of Torres. After the concert, Falla's conversation with Granada-native violoncellist, Segismundo Romero, and Eduardo Torres, became the seed for two posterior projects; the first audition of *El Retablo de Maese Pedro* (Master Peter's Puppet-Show), and the creation of the Orquesta Bética de Cámara (the Baetica Chamber Orchestra), the first ensemble of its kind in Spain.

Falla did not think twice in placing Eduardo Torres as conductor of the Orchestra, as his trust in Torres was absolute; however, the strict rules of the diocese and the severe character of Cardinal Ilundáin impeded it. Instead, the young, effusive Ernesto Halffter, a pupil of Falla, would take on the role.

Let us now look towards the Carmen de la Antequeruela in the suffocating Indian summer of 1925, with the multitudinous procession in the Alhambra and the noisy festivities. Unfortunately, this caused despair for Falla, who wasn't faring well, suffering

from dizzy spells since the summer and absorbed in the final touches of the Paris premiere of the *Concerto para clave* (Concerto for Harpsichord); hence wishing to have tranquility and solitude. During his morning routine, which included revising his nearly always abundant correspondence, he finds a letter from Torres: "Attached you will find the sheet music notes and the arrangement which I have been busy preparing so that the *Noches en los Jardines de España* (Nights in the Gardens of Spain) can be included in the repertoire of our beloved Bética (Baetica)." A few days later, Falla writes to Segismundo Romero, "I have merely been able to glance at the beginning of Don Eduardo's work, and it is quite good. I hope to continue with it tomorrow." Three days later, on October 9th, Torres would be the receptor: "Since having received your letter, for which I am truly grateful, and the generosity (of which I am completely undeserving, given my office) which you have bestowed upon me, I have been meaning to write to you. I have only just begun looking at your arrangement of the *Nocturnos* for the Bética. Believe me, Don Eduardo, that solely because it was you entrusting me with it, I will allow the piece to be played as chamber music; as you well know what my way of thinking is." Torres was clearly aware that Falla was not fond of others modifying his works. The sheet music that Falla sent back with some of his footnotes, in order to "balance the stringed instruments and reduce the wind," represented a real challenge to Torres, perhaps similar to Champollion (the Rosetta Stone codebreaker) - and those who have tried to read Falla's handwriting would know what I mean! On November 13th, Torres responded, "The desire to duly study the modifications you have made in the *Nocturnos* (sometimes referred to as the *Noches*), some of which, due to the miniscule size of the sheet music, seemed like true hieroglyphics, which has been the reason for my delay... Never before had I dared to think for a moment, in placing my unworthy hands on such an outstanding piece of artistic magnitude; if not for the unanimous desire of the Baetica musicians and the rest of your admirers who regret not being able to hear your music in Seville; they are to blame for my audacity and having made the extra effort to complete the work..."

Having terminated and blessed the arrangement, the rehearsals for the opening night in Seville began in the summer of 1926; prepared for the tribute to Falla, as he was to be named "Adopted Son of the City." On December 13th and 14th, the ceremony was held, receiving great national press coverage. The *Noches* were played by the pianist, Frank Marshall, the Baetica, and Falla on the podium. Torres' name did not appear as the arranger of the work; he was not even mentioned in the newspapers of Seville (the critic of *El Noticiero* was, by pseudonym, Torres himself; thus, considering his exaggerated modesty, it came as no surprise), nor in the newspapers of Madrid, where Afolfo Salazar wrote a magnificent article in *El Sol* about the event.

February 8th and 9th meant an opportunity for Granada, where, with the same musicians performing, Falla was once again paid tribute with a declaration of "Adopted Son" included. The event was organized by the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de Nuestra Señora de las Angustias (the Royal Academy of Fine Arts), and they took advantage of the opportunity to raise funds for the Anti-Tuberculosis Trust of the Alfaguara Sanatorium. In the program Torres' name did appear, though not in the newspaper reviews of Granada. The following day, the press received a communiqué, "We are writing to you from Seville

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to declare that the transcription that the Orchestra played in the *Noches*, from Manuel de Falla, is not actually his work, but that of the Chapel maestro of the Cathedral of Seville, Don Eduardo Torres, whose modesty impedes the appearance of his name. We are pleased to make this known and congratulate such a distinguished musician.”

The autographed materials of Torres are conserved in the archives of the Orquesta Bética, dated July 9th, 1926. There is a recording in 1930, produced by the mythical Regal Studios, with the Orquesta Bética de Cámara, conducted by Ernesto Halffter and with Manuel Navarro on the piano.



Manuel de Falla. The Federico García Lorca Centre Archive. Granada

JOSÉ MIGUEL BARBERÁ SOLER

5. FRANCISCO SALAS: THE GRANADA-BORN ORIGINATOR OF THE ZARZUELA

Seven days prior to the proclamation of the Constitution of Cadiz by the Cortes Generales on March 12, 1812, Francisco Lleroa Salas, later to be known as Francisco Salas, was born in the Albaicín, or Albayzin district of Granada. At that moment the city was entrenched; under siege by the over two-year French occupation. Francisco's father had died at war (or perhaps from yellow fever) that same year, leaving his wife and son under the welfare of the Royal Hospice and the Children's Home. From his early childhood, Salas had to work hard alongside his mother as an errand boy in a poor establishment just to make ends meet; just as many other children in Granada at the time. Yet Francisco, from a very tender age, was a gifted singer; which became more evident during his adolescent years when he developed his unmistakable bass-baritone voice.

As of 1829, the notorious tenor, Lorenzo Valencia, a common-place name in the Coliseo del Principe Company in Madrid, had performed in several opera seasons in Granada. Here it was quite frequent for Italian opera to be performed, especially from the highly acclaimed Rossini. Valencia, under the recommendation of some of the city's musicians, who were already aware of the boy's exceptional musical talent, took Salas under his wing as his guardian and mentor. He gave the youth free solfège and singing lessons, as well as the much-desired access to the Teatro del Campillo (then Teatro Nacional). Four years later, Valencia took Salas and his mother to Madrid, where at only sixteen years of age, the boy from the Albayzin earned the opportunity to enter in the Teatro de la Cruz as chorister. In the capital, he studied under the prestigious choral master José Reart, and with tenor José Valero, who included him amongst the "promising youth" of his Company. More and more his vivacious ease and innate abilities for singing stood out. During the month of October, 1831, a milestone in his career took place, when the leading bass soloist of Pacini's *Il condestable di Chester* (The Constable of Chester), Rodríguez Calonge, took ill. From a business perspective, Valero was sure that no one would be able to replace Calonge; thus, he decided to cancel the performance. With no time to spare, Francisco persuaded the orchestra director, the superb Leonese musician, Ramón Carnicer, that having already memorized the role, he could play the part. So, after an audition, Salas was given permission to do the substitution; thus, leading to his surprising overnight success, both for those who had known of him before as well as those unfamiliar with his rare youthful talent. One such listener was Rossini, who was in town, and possibly at the theater. From then on, he left the chorus and commenced taking part in "partiquinos y suplementos," or secondary roles, as a member of the Company till January 1833, when he got the leading role in the Boieldieu opera, *Le Calife de Bagdad*. Shortly thereafter, he obtained one of his most prominent and characteristic roles in Ricci's now forgotten opera, *Chiara di Rosemberg*, and of course, plenty of others which continue to be well-known today, such as *Don Giovanni*, *Norma* or *Il barbiere di Siviglia*. During those years he coincided with the greatest female artist of the Spanish stage – the Sevillian actress and

singer Bárbara Lamadrid, the first Doña Inés of *Don Juan Tenorio* by Zorrilla; later to become his wife and the mother of his three children.

The press highlighted his amazing flair, vivacity, and good pronunciation of Italian in the comic operas. He was the only Spanish singer to blossom amongst the copious ensemble of Italian artists swarming around the musical stages of Madrid. Yet, neither Francisco Salas, nor his spouse forgot where they came from; and as often as possible they would offer popular Andalusian songs during their benefit or patriotic concerts, much to the delight of their audiences. What's more, the social and political atmosphere of the period called for it. Within those years, under the spell of an exacerbated patriotism, they brought back several of the old stage songs such as *El Trípili*, not to mention regional tunes, boleros and Spanish dances.

These were the years of countless tours for the Italian opera in the Spanish capitals, yet Salas was specifically asked to offer Spanish songs. Alongside his brother-in-law, the “españolizado” Italian composer Basilio Basili, husband to Teodora Lamadrid (an actress as well), they attempted to perform the first Spanish lyrical comedy, *El novio y el concierto* (The Groom and the Concert). It was a succession of Spanish songs with arias and Italian style recitative in which the lyrics, despite having been signed by the playwright Manuel Bretón de los Herreros, was barely taken seriously. His noteworthy reputation had nearly always been tied to bufos, or buffoons, in Italian, in now forgotten operas such as: *I due Figaro* by Mercadante or *La prigioniera di Edinburgo* and *Un'avventura di Scaramuccia*, both by Luigi Ricci; not to mention the works from the prominent masters of the period such as Rossini, Bellini or Donizetti. In 1840, Salas became the chief owner of the Teatro de la Cruz, giving way to his facet as an entrepreneur, which enabled him to promote the “lyrical endeavors in Spanish” of his brother-in-law. They were fortuitous on certain occasions, for instance with *El contrabandista* (The Smuggler), from Tomás Rodríguez Rubí's *libretto* (a recent arrival in Madrid from Granada). The press described it as “the original Spanish production of this genre of modern times,” but their musical interest remained clear; “Just having the opportunity to listen to Sr. Salas bewitch us singing folkloric songs dressed and characterized in Gypsy costume is worth paying for.” Basili repeated the attempt with *El ventorrillo de Crespo* (The Crespo Tavern), also written by Rodríguez Rubí; however, this time the press openly criticized the work as “a cheap copy of the Italian opera using Spanish songs.” In Granada in 1849, Salas and the admirable Company of the Teatro de la Cruz performed in Granada's Teatro del Campillo during two months, and there they had the privilege of giving the unforgettable presentations of *Norma* and *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, with the celebrated Paulina Viardot-García. The superb singer, along with her husband, the French Hispanist and writer Louis Viardot, were spending a few days in the city on their route to Malaga to aid her sister Josefa, in her time of hardship. They gave recitals for the members of the Lyceum at the Santo Domingo venue as well as for the aristocracy in the Arabic Hall of the Alhambra, wherein the fortunate attendees were able to enjoy two recitals by Salas and Viardot. These consisted of arias, duets and songs including the highly acclaimed *Tirolesa* by Paulina's sister Malibrán, and several from her father, the mythical Manuel García. In the final performance in the theater of Granada, Salas offered a concert including the sainete *La zarzuela interrumpida* or *Lo que sea*

sonará, which had premiered in the Teatro de la Cruz in December of 1841. It incorporated pieces composed by various musicians, some of which as traditional as “¡Que vivan los cuerpos güenos!” (Long life to well-bodied women!).

At merely 32 years old, Salas was considered to be one of the most quintessential Spanish bass-baritones. The press constantly praised his efforts and some poets even wrote admiring sonatas for him for certain theater brochures and newspapers. In 1842, he began his activity as a generic composer with the song *Los toros del puerto* (The Bulls of the Harbor), which became highly successful. The great composer and pianist Franz Liszt must have heard it quite frequently, for he used the theme of the song in one of his piano rhapsodies. Seizing the enormous popularity of these pieces, he selected a repertoire for the purpose of incorporating them in a new creation of Basili, *La pendencia* (The Clash), using Juan Sandoval's text. Thus, Salas and tenor Manuel Ojeda could perform it while on tour in various cities in the north of Spain and in the south of France, and finally in Paris during the spring of 1844. In the capital of the Seine, they attempted to put it on stage in the Teatro Italiano under the baton of Rossini, although in the end it was impossible because the lead female vocalist was indisposed at the last moment. They could, however, represent his homeland repertoire and leave a written record of it in the mansions of the Countess of Merlín and the Marquise of the Marismas in the presence of the crème de la crème of the French aristocracy.

Nevertheless, certain sectors of the press looked down on Salas' whole-hearted commitment to this type of music and as a consequence, relegated to the exalted Italian opera: “Spare us the Andalusian songs you appear to be so tied to...” Yet Basili, once again using a text from Rodríguez Rubí, released a new production conceived for his brother-in-law: *El diablo predicador* (The Preacher Fiend). Although it was unquestionably crowd-pleasing, once again Salas received harsh reviews from the “experts” for dedicating so much time to “these pieces consisting of national songs using Italian opera style.” The opinion of the press and of many of the “philharmonics” clashed with the constant applause and clamor for the typical Spanish pieces. No long after that, the Academia Real de la Música (The Royal Academy of Music), an association to promote the national theater, was created. Its laudable components, amongst which obviously included Salas, held numerous meetings in the Artistic Lyceum, yet they were eventually unable to reach their well-intentioned objectives. Nonetheless, something positive did come out of the creation (or at least attempts of a creation) of a Spanish opera which could contend with the Italian opera. To that end the Spanish monarchs became involved after having demonstrated their interest in the project. Apparently, as fanfare of Isabel II's wedding to the Crown Prince Francisco de Paula was taking place, Spanish music was hailed and Salas held a prominent role as he sang several pieces during the presentation of Juan Eugenio Harzzenbush's *La alcaldesa de Zamarramala* (The Mayoress of Zamarramala): “Salas, fervently cheered, outdoes himself especially for his incredibly duly noted performance in *trage de muger* (sic). Witnessing him greet his illustrious audience with such refined coquetry and flair, brought uproar and applause.”

Regrettably, in 1846, the Teatro de la Cruz was forced to close its doors; hence the Teatro Circo went on to become the primary site for the historical path of Spanish lyrical arts during those decisive years. The majority of what was put on stage was not based on its musical merits, without exaggeration, but for Salas' splendid ability to adapt to the situation at hand; reason for which a full-house would be consistently guaranteed. The bass-baritone of Granada turned down numerous offers from abroad to take part in renowned opera companies, mostly in Paris, and preferred to remain with his company and musical endeavors in Madrid. In 1848, composer Rafael Hernando and Granada's writer Mariano Pina Bohigas performed what for many was considered to be the first creation responding to the canons of what would later be denominated "modern zarzuela" for the Teatro del Instituto. It was *Colegialas y soldados* (Schoolgirls and Soldiers), and shortly thereafter, said authors followed the same guidelines for *El duende*; on this occasion for the Teatro Variedades. At this time the popular genre zarzuelas of the Murcia-born Mariano Soriano Fuertes were highly lucrative in Andalusia and later in Madrid. Motivated by this certain level of euphoria for national music, Francisco Salas encouraged several young Spanish composers and literaries to produce both comic and serious pieces. Amongst the list of volunteers, we can find some of those who would be considerably relevant in the beginning period of the zarzuela, specifically musicians such as: Joaquín Gaztambide, Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, Cristóbal Oudrid and soon after, Emilio Arrieta. Aside from those, writers on the list included: Ventura de la Vega, Luis Mariano de Larra (Mariano Jose's son), Luis de Olona or José de la Villa, to which numerous others later adhered to.

Enthusiasm prevailed on the Madrid circuits in light of the favorable prospects within the avant-garde genre along with the prosperity of the initial zarzuelas in the Teatro del Circo. *Gloria y peluca* and *Tramoya*, both by Gaztambide, also gave way to plenteous praise over the Granada-born artist's ubiquitous presence: "The confessor persuaded the authors of *Gloria y peluca* to stand and receive a warm round of applause completely exonerating them, naturally, and congratulating them for their valuable role and dedication." Of course, they insisted on Sr. Salas' presence on stage, of whom he declared: "How can I repay your accomplishment for what you have meant to the zarzuela. Before tonight I had held your musical talent and your intelligence as an actor in high regard, but the way that you have exceeded my greatest expectations, along with the inspirational fervour of the audience night after night is an undisputable testimony of how national and foreign spectators had heralded your artistic dexterity. Having taken the first steps towards the induction of a national opera, we can now appreciate, and be endowed with, our own Spanish music. Upon hearing you vocalize, one can undoubtedly identify our language as distinguishably harmonic in music...The praised singer gracefully left the stage smiling as if he had struck up an Andalusian 'caña' moment" (*Revista de Madrid*, March 17, 1850). This furor coincided with the inauguration of the Teatro Real, of which Salas was subsequently named artistic director; thus, he was charged with the mission of contracting singers in Paris. Thanks to his impressive influence, some of the first-rate European performers participated in the initial seasons of the regal stage. Names such as: Marietta Alboni, Emilia Frezzolini, world-renowned Giorgio Ronconi with whom Salas had performed in Madrid, and many others took part. Salas himself was a participant in one of the first operas performed, *La Cenerentola*, from Rossini. Notwithstanding, he was

determined to steer his career towards the Spanish lyric genre. In 1851, he presented a complete Company of artists of the likes of comic tenor, Vicente Caltañazor, who went on to become his inseparable comic stage partner, along with other renowned celebrities. In the same year, Barbieri and Ventura de la Vega were able to sign the first masterpiece of the zarzuela repertoire – *Jugar con fuego* (Playing with Fire). Yet it did not prove to be a bed of roses as a significant amount of works suffered from unrelenting critics in Madrid, even though the public came out in droves; mostly attracted by the “gags, wit and antics in Sr. Salas’ performance.” Salas was also constantly cumbered by insistent petitions from all over Spain to contract specific chorists, soloists and musicians. Composers and song writers persistently sent him works, be it directly or through friends. They all desired to engage in the genre, but Salas had to remain selective and therefore turned down countless proposals; in consequence, he began making certain enemies and became known as being overly intransigent. *Jugar con fuego* was followed by several other triumphs on stage from Gaztambide with Olona (*Catalina* and *El Valle de Andorra*) and Oudrid, also with Olona (*El postillón de la Rioja*), for which he joined Emilio Arrieta with Francisco Camprodón (*El grumete*, *El dominó azul* and *Marina*), and Barbieri, who once again demonstrated his effortless inspiration with *Los diamantes de la corona* and *Mis dos mujeres*.

Despite the prosperity of this budding music category, the pursuit of originating the “great noble Spanish opera” continued to be upheld. In the Conservatory, Salas, Arrieta, Eslava and several others undersigned a note stating their commitment to pursue the matter; although the serious operas which they were able to represent turned out to be mere imitations of the Italian opera, none of which reaching considerable success. With Salas and Gaztambide overseeing the theater, the zarzuela became a stable element of the comic genre and its huge acclamation with the public gave way to a need for a larger, more exclusive theater where it could be produced in true luster. The theater scheme came to light on Jovellanos Street, Madrid, right in front of Salas and Bárbara Lamadrid’s residence. During the month of February 1856, Olona, Salas, Gaztambide and Barbieri became partners, together with tycoon, Francisco de las Rivas, who covered the 12,000 duros building guarantee deposit, under the stipulation that the associates would eventually have to repay him. On March 10th, the daughter of Francisco de las Rivas and the four signatories laid the headstone and a leaden coffin containing the signed founding documents and the early successes of the genre. In January of that same year, Isabel II bestowed the Cruz de Carlos III to Gaztambide, Salas and Caltañazor as an “award to the artists who had made the largest contribution to the creation and upholding of the zarzuela.” Afterwards, new composers, including Granada’s Mariano Vázquez, who had previously premiered various zarzuelas in the city of the Alhambra, and especially composer Manuel Fernández Caballero of Murcia, came on the scene.

The public was eager for innovations however, the majority of the works put on stage failed to meet their expectations, forcing the associates to turn to reviving former productions time and time again. It didn’t take long for talk of crisis to appear, even though the occasional hit came out, mostly from Gaztambide’s *Los magyares*. In 1857, Salas became the sole owner of the theater, as his three associates withdrew their support. Then, some months later, he joined back up with Gaztambide. Though the performer of Granada

continued to draw in audiences, his reputation as a pragmatic led to animosities, which now included some of his former comrades. The critics originated in the press as well; one of whom was Pedro Antonio de Alarcón from Guadix, Granada; now an avid censor. Likewise, a short time thereafter there was talk of the “decadence of the zarzuela” and the plea for Salas to “cease performing so much lyric nonsense...the muse of zarzuela is dormant and lacks original pieces.” Despite this, some of his “nonsense” became highly rewarding and came as a relief to the depleting theater ticket office revenues. One particular case was that of the zarzuela *En las astas del toro* (By the Bull’s Horns) from Gaztambide; which benefitted from years of popularity. It was not until 1865, that Barbieri offered a major work to the Spanish lyric roster: *Pan y toros* (Bread and Bulls), by José Picón, bringing back a brilliant display of mastery to the zarzuela. An old colleague of Salas, the comic Francisco Arderius, became a serious competitor, using his “Madrid style” follies in the Teatro Circo, recreating translated French operettas and slight lyrical sainetes which seemed more captivating to audiences. Under the management of Salas and Gaztambide the Company also had to resort to presenting translated French repertoires, especially those outstanding ones by Jacques Offenbach, among others, in order to be able to compete. The Madrid crowd vouched for Salas’ popularity in comic strips and directes: “I have been told, Sr. Salas, that you are in need of chorists...The public, the public, I live alone.” In Barcelona he also performed nearly every year, where the most successful productions of Madrid’s Teatro de la Zarzuela were put on stage. In 1870, the theater underwent reforms: “the seating ‘for the fairer sex’ (sic) has been elevated so that they can also enjoy Salas and Gaztambide’s performances”; in addition, there were “ceiling fans, plants and vases installed.” Regrettably, in March the genre and the Company suffered greatly from the death of Gaztambide; their most loyal ally to the cause. Then, on June 17th, a blaze ripped through all of the decorations, adornments and seating of the winter furnishing. On top of all that, the insured property received no benefit – as it was moved to another location unawares to the insurance company: “In the final third part of his life, and following such severe setbacks, Sr. Salas found himself once again starting over in this laboriously consuming ordeal.” In spite of courteous solidarity and a summer full of benefit concerts in a number of theaters throughout Madrid, Francisco Salas had drained the whole of his fortune as well as that of his spouse. He barely managed to form a new Company and surprisingly re-opened the theater on the 15th of September, leading with Offenbach’s music translated into Spanish and the proficiency of the “bufos madrileños” who still continued to be requested in Barcelona. A zarzuela by Oudrid and Equilaz called *El molinero de Subiza* (The Miller of Subiza) saved the catastrophic season. Hastily, he began preparing the upcoming one: “Undismayed, with the same unrelentless zeal of 1852, Salas commenced a season which promised to offer plenty of innovations.” Distressingly though, the stability of the theater was dangling by a thread. Besides the economic crunch, the rapidly accumulating debts began to take its toll on the theater. Their only hope would be a miraculously prosperous work.

On July 3, 1874 Salas and Lamadrid’s twenty-one-year-old son died from a “neurological fever” just after completing his degree in medicine. This was practically the final blow for Salas. While grieving the recent loss of his son, he had to face the grim outlook of a tumultuous zarzuela season as well. The much-needed miraculous novelties

did not appear and the “bufos Arderius” had to dispute with the newly inaugurated Teatro Apolo, which would later be denominated “la cathedral del género chico;” a vast venue for the Spanish lyric genre. In August, the press announced that Lara and Barbieri were preparing *Lavapiés y Las Vistillas*, which both the Apolo and the Zarzuela theaters would be competing for. The authors had made a series of conditions that Salas had accepted in order to celebrate the premiere in the coliseum on Jovellanos Street. The zarzuela entitled *El Barberillo de Lavapiés*, celebrated its opening night on December 21st, 1874, receiving maximum acclaim; yet Salas, who by this time was suffering from a painful illness, announced, “This will suffice to save the Company; but it’s too late to same me.” His prediction only proved to be half true as even the good fortune of this zarzuela was still not enough to salvage the theater; thus, it was forced to close its doors at the beginning of April. Francisco Salas had been taken in since January by his violinist and composer friend Jesús de Monasterio, at a hotel on Paseo de la Castellana number 42 “to receive the benefits of some fresh air.” He passed away on June 21st at noon “in the arms of his wife, the distinguished actress Dña. Bárbara Lamadrid.” The newspapers lamented that his final days had proven to be most ill-fated, and heralded his role in the origin of the zarzuela. “Those who had had the opportunity of working with him can attest to his honesty, expertise and diligence.” Peña y Goñi ended his obituary note with the statement, “Wretched zarzuela! It was his soul.” Everyone agreed that, “he did not die from an illness; it was grief which took him.” He was taken to the San Nicolás Cemetery by, as was customary, the youth taken in by the Hospice Shelter, alongside his relatives, acquaintances and admirers. The funeral procession paused in front of the Teatro de la Zarzuela, which was solemnly draped in black; and there its orchestra, together with that of the Teatro Circo, played the March from *Le Prophète* by Meyerbeer.

The image shows a page of a musical score titled "EL CURRO". The title is in large, bold, black letters at the top center. Below the title, it says "CANCIÓN ESPAÑOLA" and "Compuesta y Dedicada A DON FRANCISCO SALAS POR SU AMIGO SORIANO FUERTES." The number "N.º 2.º" is in the top right corner. The score is in 3/8 time and begins with the tempo marking "Allegretto." and the dynamic "PIANO." The piano part consists of two staves (treble and bass clef). The vocal part is on a single staff with a treble clef, marked "CANTO" and "con Vrin." The lyrics are "Si me die - ras tu mi - ni - ña un tan - ti - co de tu sal." The score ends with the publisher's name "Mascart de la Gravi." in the bottom right corner.

Biblioteca Nacional de España (The National Library of Spain)



DON FRANCISCO SALAS.

Francisco Salas. *Ilustración española y americana*. Madrid, June 30, 1875

6. THE DAY FEDERICO GARCÍA LORCA WAS BORN

On Sunday, June 5th, 1898, when the Corpus festivities were about to begin in Granada, Spain awoke to news of hope headlining the newspapers, “Yankees pushed back from Cuba.” “The Yankees flop.” Three months after the Americans had declared war, in the aftermath of the sinking of the *USS Maine* in Cuba, the morale of the people remained high. In a city bursting with patriotism in times of war, the Holy Viaticum and the Santa Rita procession flowed through the insalubrious streets of Granada to the cries of divine intervention from the multitude of onlookers. Many young men had been called to arms and a large number of the injured from the high seas war campaigns were being cared for on a daily basis in the oversaturated San Juan de Dios Hospital. That same day, in Fuente Vaqueros, a village on the outskirts of Granada along the Genil riverbank, the marriage formed by landowner Federico García Rodríguez and school teacher Vicenta Lorca Romero, had a son which they named Federico.

In a brief review of the artistic creations of that period: it was a time in which Vicente Blasco Ibáñez was writing his final paragraphs of *La Barraca*; H.G. Wells authored *The War of the Worlds* and Emilio Salgari completed *The Black Corsage Saga*; Miguel de Unamuno faced an existential crisis while writing his play *La esfinge* (The Sphinx); Benito Pérez Galdós completed his national episode *Zumalacárregui*; and Oscar Wilde dedicated a ballad to his imprisonment in Reading Gaol. In painting, Paul Cézanne gave created a *Still Life with Onions in the Provenza*; while in Vienna, Gustav Klimt painted the *Pallas Athene*; and a very young Pablo Picasso painted *El más de Quiquet* (The Cottage of Quiquet) in the Horta de San Joan, in Tarragona. With regards to music, Gabriel Fauré completed the incidental music for the play *Pelléas et Mélisande* in London, while Isaac Albéniz, in the same foggy capital, was immersed in the creation of operas created for Her Majesty, under the disbursement of Baron Latimer, who also provided the King Arthur legend drama scripts.

It was not a favorable year for Granada to hold concerts in the Alhambra; despite the unrelenting insistence of Francisco de Paula Valladar and the members of the *Cenáculo*, a local association for cultural enrichment: “There is a great artistic scene here in Granada and a musical intuition which the Concert Society of Madrid can attest to. This untrained audience, has comprehended the symphonies of Beethoven; the abstruse boldness of Wagner; Grieg and Saint-Saën’s philosophical delicacies; the difficulty of the classics and the culminating note of the modern without explications or preparation. There is a pressing need to organize the professors in the city in orchestra.” On the very same day that Federico was born, the Teatro Alhambra opened its doors for rehearsals. This summer venue was inaugurated by the Eduardo Ortiz Zarzuela Company boasting some of the great titles of the genre offered in Madrid: *El dúo de la Africana*, *El cabo primero*, *La czarina*, *El señor Joaquín*, or the long-awaited premiere of *La Revoltosa*.

The Town Hall had prepared, as in other years, the 500 loaves of bread which, according to tradition, were handed out every Thursday of Corpus Christi; a philanthropic act that took place just before the Santísimo Sacramento was brought out of the temple. Unfortunately, health services confirmed that over half of the provisions had been laced with silica and unsanitary salts.

A blaze in the home of the lords of Blanes, located at number 5 Nicuesa Street, close to the Cuarto Real de Santo Domingo, set off the alarm. The immediate intervention of the neighbors, “especially Sr. Zárate and his wife, Rodríguez Acosta and the royal chaplain, Don Luciano Rivas”, averted an authentic catastrophe. These “tireless and brave” citizens put their lives at risk to save many of the family’s sacred objects kept in their home prayer room. The alarm bells had barely sounded when the firefighters, under orders of “their respected chief” Antonio Joaquín Afán de Rivera, appeared on the scene. Nevertheless, the efforts of the firemen were severely criticized due to malfunctions of the pumps; for which a plea for “the City Hall to take action in order to provide the much-needed materials for the fire station, arose.”

Other events took place that day: a Gypsy named Luís Cortés fell off a donkey on Duquesa Street, fracturing his wrist; José Expósito Peregrina died at 16 when he fell out of a poplar by Monachil River in the municipality of Armilla, as he was trying to take nests out of the tree; 9-year-old Ana Martínez Díaz was run over by a horse in Plaza Nueva, causing a head injury; a careless youth knocked an elderly woman down on San Juan de los Reyes Street, resulting in her receiving injuries to her forehead and nose; Antonio Muñoz Cabello was arrested in Vistillas de los Ángeles for drunkenness and blasphemies; Joaquín Sánchez López was placed under arrest for “public scandal...”

If the newspaper advertisements of the time were to be believed, there would be no incurable illnesses: *El Arbol de los Señores Janet y Homolle* cured pain, feeble-mindedness and “supresiones de los mentruos” (sic) for women; the Peterson pills and powders were claimed to be effective solutions for loss of appetite, heavy digestion, chronic acedia, vomiting, burping and colics; using *Larore* syrup from bitter orange peelings could alleviate gastritis and stomach cramps; *Morrhuo*’s eupeptic capsules were the active ingredient along with cod liver oil, hypophosphite and causina (sic) Dr. Pizá used to fight against lung disease, rickets, scrofula, lymphatic diseases and general feebleness; as well as the famous tablets for coughing from *Dr. Andreu*. Moreover: the *Moda y Arte* (Fashion and Art) magazine, “an excellent album of females presented with an upright text, splendid prints, pleasant designs, and practical duties was easily affordable; in the town festival of La Zubia, a concert was given by the Banda del Hospicio Provincial (Provincial Hospice Band) comprised of illegitimate children; due to a goring, Granada’s bullfighter Largartijillo, had to be substituted by Pepete, yet there was still maximum expectation as the leading bulls “were robust, menacing and brawny, and of course, well-bred;” the precocious boy painter of Granada, José María López Mezquita was received by Infanta Isabel in the Royal Palace in Madrid...

MUSIC AND MUSICIANS IN GRANADA'S SETTING

Shortly after the day in which Federico was born, the patriotism and arrogant news from the high seas quickly turned towards a great depression prompted by the loss of the Philippines; and a few days later, following an almost total lunar eclipse, the American archipelago also fell; marking the onset of the crisis of 98.



Battle of Santiago de Cuba (Ildefonso Sanz Doménech, 1898. Private Collection)

JOSÉ MIGUEL BARBERÁ SOLER

7. THE MURDER OF SOPRANO EMILIA PORTILLO ON PUENTEZUELAS STREET, GRANADA

“Dedicated to Fernando Caraballo Portillo, who passed away without being able to benefit from the generosity of the people of Granada.”

Tuesday, October 4th, 1912. The Zarzuela and Operetta Company, led by the prestigious writer, Antonio Paso, together with his spouse, the soprano, Carmen Andrés, reaches Granada contracted by the Cervantes Theater. The members of the Company are divided up to stay at their lodgings. The first tenor, Mauro Rico, the second tenor, Luis Fischer, and the couple formed by the first actor, Fernando Caraballo and the second soprano, Emilia Portillo, with their infant son, are lodged in the boarding house run by Elisa Galadí, known as “La Pupilera,” José Martín and his son Julio. Elisa, forty years old, had abandoned her first husband and taken up with José Martín, also 40, selling off some of his land in Motril and setting up their business on No. 16 Puentezuelas Street, Granada. The first fifteen days of their stay went by without any significant incident. The Company offered its repertoire, in which there was no lack of the most popular zarzuelas of the time; such as *La reina mora* (The Moorish Queen), *Molinos de viento* (Windmills), or the so-called biblical operetta, *La Corte del Faraón* (The Pharaoh’s Court), described by the ultra-conservative newspaper, *La gaceta del Sur*, as immoral, vulgar and in bad taste; leading the editor to question why such performances should be permitted. However, in other newspapers, the rich wardrobe and the luxurious set decoration were praised.

During these days in the Albayzin neighborhood, the popular “Ugly Contest” was held; the press described some of the participants as being “so horrendous” that, the female judges, consisting of “genuine deities chosen among the most select socialites of Granada,” were horrified. A nocturnal parade passed through the streets of the neighborhood with cabezudos (bigheads), Ethiopian actors, clarion players and the three “Ugly Contest” finalists dressed in Arabic costumes. Father Manjón called together the laborers of the Ave María schools to inform them about the virtues of frequent communion in the interest of fortifying the spirit and invigorating the soul. The workers received, apart from the holy counsel, a loaf of bread and cheese.

Within this atmosphere, and other daily events, the fatal midday of March the 15th arrived. Two lyric comedies had been announced for this particular evening: *Anita la Rисуeña* (Cheerful Anita), from Vives, and *Sangre Gorda* (Thick Blood), by Valverde; as well as the parodic *El barbero de Sevilla* by Giménez and the aforementioned *La Corte del Faraón*, by Lleó. “La Pupilera” discovers that the Company had pushed their departure forward, and even though the four guests had been religiously keeping their payments up to date, she demands that they pay for their remaining days in advance. At that moment, the comedians, who find themselves sitting around the dining room table, express that it would be impossible for them to hand over said amount of money until they received their earnings from the theater. A heated argument breaks out, in which coarse words are

exchanged. “La Pupilera” orders her comrades, “Go upstairs and get the revolvers; then we’ll see how to solve this!” In the most vehement moment, the sound of gunshots roared, as young Julio Martín took aim with his 9-millimeter Smith & Wesson. One shot went through the door of the dining room, ending up encrusted in the adjoining wall; the other reached Fernando Caraballo in the buttocks, while the third hit Emilia Portillo in the temple, causing her instantaneous death. Julio fled towards the Law School (he had just begun his second year as a law student), afterwards to the Triunfo Plaza, then eventually turned himself in at police headquarters. His father, José Martín, armed and beside himself, was retained by neighbors on Puentezuelas Street until the municipal police arrived. Meanwhile, “La Pupilera” locked herself in one of the upstairs rooms of the boarding house.

Emilia Portillo, 19, was the daughter of a theater businessman of Granada, Antonio Portillo, and singer María Reparaz, the daughter of a well-known composer from Cadiz, Antonio Reparaz. Emilia was born in Motril, Granada, while her parents were performing there. She grew up closely linked to the theater, although her professional debut took place in the Novedades Theater in Madrid, just three years before the crime. On the precise day of her murder, Emilia’s parents were on tour in America, thus making it impossible for them to attend their own daughter’s funeral; so, her brother Antonio, a sergeant stationed in Melilla, made the funeral arrangements.

Days following the crime, the city was embroiled in a growing climate of indignation. A rumor had spread that “La Pupilera” had demanded that the surviving artists, upon returning to the boarding house to gather their belongings, as well as those of the other victims, pay 3 duros for their half-eaten lunch. As this rumor grew, an unsettling mob formed in front of the boarding house. Some began throwing stones at the building, and screaming, “Kill her! Kill her! Kill her! Burn the house down!” could be heard. The police then intervened so as to avoid a further tragedy. As the day went on, however, the multitude increased, together with its outrage. At the funeral, thousands crowded in the Plaza del Campillo (location of the former Cervantes Theater), and members of the military attending the funeral, had to be called on to maintain the peace. At 4:30 pm, the body was brought forward in a luxurious funeral carriage pulled by four lavishly harnessed horses with black plumes and velvet blankets. In the foyer, the Orchestra, under the lead of the Company’s concert master, Mariano Estellés, played the *Marcha Fúnebre* (Funeral March) by composer Eduardo Guervós, of Granada. There was a multitude of wreaths, wailing and enraged yelling. Upon the coffin the epigraph from Francisco Jurista Rigall read:

“En aquesta piadosa sepultura
descansa en paz una marchita rosa
cuyo tallo tronchó alevosa
robándole su aroma y su frescura
Granada entera tu desgracia llora
y al Dios de la bondad rendida implora
que la gloria inmortal sea tu destino.”

(In this godly tomb rests a wilted rose
 whose stem was broken by a treacherous hand
 robbing her of her scent and freshness
 all of Granada weeps for her loss
 and pleads for God's goodness
 that immortal glory shall be her destiny.)

The funeral procession was led by the Children of the San Rafael Refuge, the Curate of the Magdalena in pluvial cape, and the members of the Company with Antonio Paso and Francisco Caraballo at the forefront. Amongst the tumultuous crowd, there were screams of, "Hang her! Burn her!"

They arrived at Santa Ana Church at 5 pm, and after a taking a rest, they undertook their procession again. Along the Carrera del Darro, due to its narrowness, the crowd actually struggled to maintain a position close to the carriage; the same occurred upon climbing the Cuesta de los Chinos, the hill leading up to the cemetery. Once they reached the necropolis, a number of guards had to intervene in order to contain the multitude trying to enter the cemetery. The city officials gave the victim her final resting place free of charge, although at a later time Emilia's parents decided to move her remains to Cadiz. When the crowd finally began its slow descent from the graveyard, they came across "La Pupilera," who had the nerve and audacity to be walking near Puerta Real; she was surrounded and was about to be lynched by the mob, until she was able to seek shelter in Café Colón. Even so, the guards were forced to unsheathe their machetes and charge the crowd so as to get her into a carriage and transfer her to police headquarters.

In the paper, *El defensor de Granada*, Antonio Paso dedicated heartfelt words in memory of the soprano, "Over her inanimate body, gracefully and nervously entering on stage as a charming girl just hours ago, the world of music weeps..." On Sunday, the 20th, a funeral mass was held in La Magdalena, in which the Company orchestra participated along with the Capilla Isidoriana of the Cathedral, playing the *Requiem Mass*, by the veteran chapel master, Celestino Vila. Baritone Julio Vidal sang Stradella's celebrated, *Pietà Signore*. Under the initiative of the Painters and Decorators' Guild and the Teachers' Federation, a solemn ceremony was organized to raise money for the soprano's son. Numerous social entities and workers' organizations joined in. On Monday, the 21st, the stage of the former Isabel la Católica Theater was covered in chrysanthemums and the box seats were draped with a profusion of tapestries donated by the Centro Artístico, as well as flags representing all of the artistic guilds. The Company performed the novel zarzuelas that had been suppressed on the day of the tragedy. The Hermanas Castilla singers, who had been performing in Lux Eden, sang regional pieces, and the gymnasts "The Serraconis" performed their dangerous exercise, *Turbillón de la Muerte*. During the intermission of the first act, Luis Fischer appeared on stage carrying the infant. The audience was moved and the father was then asked to come out, to express his appreciation. At the end of the performance, the crowd insisted on the baby being brought out once again. Alejandro

JOSÉ MIGUEL BARBERÁ SOLER

Dávila, President of the Teachers' Federation deposited the 3,400 pesetas and 35 cents in the Banco Hispano-Americano. The notarized clause stipulated that, upon reaching 15 years of age, young Fernando would have access to the funds; and in the case of death, it would be distributed amongst the poor citizens of Granada. On April 3rd, five months after the crime, Fernando Caraballo informed from Madrid, that his son had died and petitioned assistance for his own delicate situation. The workers' societies of Granada called for a meeting to deal with the problem. Yet, no more is known regarding it.

Just days after the death of Emilia Portillo, the body of José Caballero, of the guitar factory near the Campo del Principe, turned up with his throat slit against the gates of Santo Domingo Church after a jealous brawl; taking up all of the media attention. The days of comic and funeral songs, of weeping and cries of anguish, now pertain to one of the darkest periods in the history of Granada. Julio Martín was condemned to 14 years in prison, although after a revision of his case, his sentence was reduced to second degree, as he confessed to having committed the crime in legitimate self-defense. José Martín served 4 years in jail, while Elisa Galadí, "La Pupilera," we know went to prison in 1920, but for a different cause.



Emilia Portillo, simpática tiple cómica de la compañía de Carmen Andrés, que ha sido asesinada en Granada por los dueños de la casa donde se hospedaba

Mundo gráfico. Madrid, October 23, 1912

JOSÉ MIGUEL BARBERÁ SOLER

8. VERDI IN SPAIN: 1863, HIS VISIT TO GRANADA

From April 4th, date in which Verdi's *Nabucco* and *Ernani* premiered on the stage of the Campillo Theater, the musician from Brusseto became, for music lovers of Granada, the incomparable genius of Italian opera, taking over the pedestal before held by Donizetti, Bellini and Rossini. The passion for the Italian opera was visceral, with a tendency of idolizing or condemning divos, prima donnas and creators, ever since, in the decade of the 1820's, the opera seasons became so frequent, substituting the more habitual ballets, tonadillas (Spanish tunes), and sainetes (6 ne-act farces). Although the interest for the *belcanto* continued to decline, giving way to the emerging genre of Spanish lyric, Verdi remained at the peak of the opera world during all of the XIX century.

The renowned baritone, Giorgio Ronconi, who had taken part in the premiere of *Nabucco* in he Teatro alla Scala in Milan on March 9th, 1842, arrived in Granada on November 7th, 1852 to sing in the opera season for the first time. He was completely enchanted and enthused about the city...as well as for a woman of Malaga with brown almond-shaped eyes, Antonia Onrubia, who became his devoted and generous companion, and later, his wife. Reportedly, he bought the villa named the Carmen de Buenavista, where he would live with their daughter Tonina, Antonia and her daughter. Shortly thereafter, he entered the cultural scene of Granada, dominated by the Liceo Artístico y Literario (Artistic and Literary Lyceum). There, he connected with the humor of the friendly, young and eccentric intellectuals of *La Cuerda*, with whom, due to his age, cheer and jovial character, he took on the role of guide and instructor. He became an active benefactor, organizing civic events in order to assist poor families in cases of epidemics, unsanitary conditions and war campaigns. The poet, José Salvador de Salvador dedicated the following words of praise to him:

“¡Siempre tú, Genio y corazón sublime!
 ¡Siempre tú, grande como artista y hombre!
 ¡Siempre tú, caridad para el que gime!
 ¡Tú siempre tú, de aquel a quien oprime la cadena de mal!
 ¿Cuál es tu nombre?
 ¿Eres, acaso, la ficción bendita del Ángel del Señor
 que baja al mundo;
 mensajero del bien que necesita,
 en su desgracia y su dolor profundo,
 la raza humana en el Edén maldita?...
 Tú, Ronconi, cuyo noble pecho aliento para el bien, tu voz alzaste:
 la piedad granadina estimulaste y el bien, con ella y tu virtud, has hecho.
 ¿Dónde habrá lengua que a tu elogio baste..?”

(Always you, genius and sublime heart!
Always you, great artist and man!
Always you, charitable to those in need!
You, always you, defender of the oppressed!
What is your name?
Are you a godsend;
divine messenger sent to this world of misfortune,
profound pain, cursed mankind?
You, Ronconi, whose noble breast,
the breath of encouragement, your raised voice:
stimulating the mercy of Granada,
and from your good and virtue, you have achieved it.
Are there enough words of praise for your acts?)

(José Salvador de Salvador: *Ramillete Lírico*, 1860)

From 1860 on, Ronconi went out of his way to succeed in an ambitious project: the creation of the National School of Song and Declamation in Granada. After a few, maddening years of operation, under which Giorgio was exasperated, the School had to be closed in the face of detestable practices from the business world and irresponsible politicians. In 1864, he departed from Granada and only returned on very few occasions to visit friends.

On January 11th, 1863, Giuseppe Verdi and his spouse, Giuseppina Strepponi, arrived in Madrid, travelling from freezing Saint Petersburg by way of Paris. In November prior to that, *La Forza del Destino* had premiered in the Imperial Theater, granting Verdi many honors from the Russian aristocracy, led by Alejandro II. In Madrid, the same composer took charge of the rehearsals and the premiere in the Teatro Real, which would not take place until February 21st. The opera was based on *Don Álvaro or La fuerza del Sino*, of the Duke of Rivas, and was set in Seville. The Spanish playwright harshly criticized the *libretto* adapted by Francisco María Piave, who according to Rivas, “disfigured the characters and unhinged the plot.” His relationship with Verdi was tense; although on the day of the premiere, he joined Isabel II in the royal box of the theater, in company of other celebrities of the moment, such as: Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, Rosalia de Castro, Federico de Madrazo or musicians Francisco Asenjo Barbieri and Emilio Arrieta. Verdi had hoped to count on Ronconi’s participation, though they hadn’t seen each other in over 20 years, and furthermore, the Company had already contracted Antonio Cotagni; thus his wish could not be fulfilled. The sojourn of the maestro in Madrid as a well-known liberal and member of the Italian First Parliament did not sit well with the endeavors of the conservative aristocracy of the Court, who disputed with the great composer over his enlightened meetings. Verdi turned down various social invitations, falling back on the excuse that he needed to thoroughly prepare the rehearsals for the opera; thus receiving the reputation of being unsociable and discourteous. He travelled to the Royal Palace of El

Escorial, close to Madrid, a monument which he qualified as “severe and terrible, as the ferocious ruler who had had it built;” the visit, however, proved to be his inspiration for what would be his next opera, *Don Carlo*. Verdi also visited Toledo, where he was absolutely impressed by the Cathedral. Then, following the premiere and a representation which he was in charge of, he set off for Andalusia. On February 23rd, Verdi and his wife boarded the horse-driven carriage of “La Cordobesa” Company, which offered a “rapid” service, arriving in Cordoba in 33 hours; wherein they spent the next three days (the maestro’s penciled signature can still be seen on a high wall of the Cathedral). Later, there was a brief stay in Seville, where, reportedly, the attempt made by music enthusiasts to pay him tribute failed due to internal disputes, but also because of the influence of reactionist rulers of the time. In any case, he was able to enjoy visiting the monuments and the “Murillos” in the Art Museum. They stopped in Jerez, Cadiz, afterwards, where the couple entered some wine cellars and purchased a barrel of wine which they had shipped to their home in Santa Ágata, in Piacenza.

Then, they finally arrived at their last stop in Andalusia, Granada. As evening fell on March 8th, following a tortuous journey through the muddy paths of the forgotten western Andalusia, the stagecoach arrived at the General Transport Station of Tablas Street, where their friend Ronconi was awaiting them, together with numerous notable citizens of the city. Three garnished military bands joined in with spontaneous string musicians and choristers of the Lyceum, dedicating their serenade of his most known operas with the chorus. Ronconi and his daughter, accompanied by their illustrious and exhausted guests, climbed to the top of the Mauror Hill in their horse-drawn carriage, reaching their final destination of the baritone’s charming, enclosed-garden carmen where they would be lodging.

Pedro Antonio de Alarcón and his spouse, Paulina Contreras, after going to the opening night of *La Forza del Destino* in Madrid, had to travel to Guadix, where the playwright’s father had passed away on the 27th of February. On March 9th, he took advantage of his stop in Granada on his way back to Madrid, in order to act as a guide for the Verdi couple in Granada. First, they went to the Alhambra, where its picturesque magnificence made him exclaim, “In primi et ante Omnia;” clearly, he proclaimed more than once, that the Alhambra was the most captivating monument that he had ever seen. Then, they continued on to the Cathedral, where an emotive detail took place; when Verdi was situated below the vaulted ceiling of the Real Capilla, or Royal Chapel, Alarcón told him, “This scene reminds me of the visit Carlos V made to the tomb of Carlo Magno in *Ernani*.” Verdi extended his hand over the sepulchre of the illustrious grandfather of Carlos V and sang the phrase from said opera, “O Summo Carlo” in sotto voce. In the afternoon, some of the outstanding students and professors from the Isabel II School of Song and Declamation wanted to dedicate a performance to him in the Nacional Theater; the only one in the city (there were still 6 months remaining before the inauguration of a new theater, the former Isabel la Católica, located in part of the site where the Cuarto Real de Santo Domingo stands), but a zarzuela company was performing *En las astas del toro*, by Gaztambide and Frontaura there. Verdi did not appear to show much interest in Spanish lyric theater, as demonstrated in his days in Madrid when he had avoided Barbieri (the

traditional maestro of Madrid had tried in vain to interview him on numerous occasions); and Verdi had also refused invitations to see performances in the Teatro de la Zarzuela. The evening in which Ronconi wished to show his friend the advances that had been achieved in the aforementioned School, took place within its halls; that is to say, on 41 Duquesa Street. Ronconi and the orphic pupils offered various examples of their talent, which included choruses and arias from *L'elisir d'amore*, *Nabucco* and *Norma*. The musicians in the city who were the most active in the School were: the then esteemed composer and organist of the Cathedral, Bernabé Ruiz de Henares, who was the assistant director; Francisco Rodríguez Murciano, as bass vocalist, pianist, guitarist and composer, son of the popular and mythical guitar player of the same name, who had filled the visit of Russian composer Mikjail Ivanovich Glinka in Granada with fandangos, seguidillas and wine; and the composer and superb pianist, Antonio Segura Mesa, who in just that one afternoon, affirmed that he would be a lifetime pupil of Verdi. However, the place where the Italian maestro most savored his brief, yet intense stay in Granada, was in the intimacy of the carmen of the Alhambra, reminiscing old times alongside his countryman.

Granada was the only Spanish city lacking a road to the nation's capital (4 years later, it would be inaugurated), not to mention the railroad system, in which Granada was at the bottom of the ladder; painfully, a long-standing issue. Thus, on the 10th of March, departing in the private "North and Midday of Spain" transport service, the Verdi and Alarcón couples set off for Madrid on a journey which included two nights in guesthouses along the way. In the capital city, Verdi directed the seventh performance of *La Forza del Destino*, with enormous success and 11 stage greetings at the end; cordially bidding farewell to Isabel II and her Court. The following day, on board the modern northbound train, via Biarritz, Giuseppe and Giuseppina continued their journey towards Paris.

Another opera company would envelop the attention of the audiences of Granada between the end of March and June. On the stages, well-known operas of Bellini, Donizetti, and of course, Verdi would appear: *Ernani*, *Macbeth*, *La traviata*, *Les vêpres siciliennes* and *Un ballo in maschera*, which had yet to premiere until that year, were represented in the Teatro Nacional.



The Carmen of Ronconi in Granada (Photograph: Aurelio Bernabeu Ivorra)



Giuseppe Verdi. *Didieri: Galerie des Contemporains*, 1862. Biblioteca Nacional de España (National Library of Spain)

9. ALHAMBRISM IN SYMPHONIC WORKS

Although Federico Sopena was the first person to use the term “alhambrismo sinfónico,” or symphonic Alhambrism, in his book, *Historia de la Música en cuadros esquemáticos* (Espasa, 1848), as he himself acknowledged, it was his mentor and friend Adolfo Salazar, who had the idea of said definition when referring to the initial period of symphonic Spanish music. From 1866, when Jesús de Monasterio presented a version for violin and orchestra of *Adiós a la Alhambra* until the two known versions of *Los gnomos de la Alhambra* by Ruperto Chapí and Ramón Noguera, respectively, nearly all of the Spanish orchestra works appearing during this period coincided in the implementation of the palatine Al-Andalus city as an inspiration.

During the first half of the XIX century, neither musicians, nor literary figures, nor art enthusiasts, were able to see past the omnipotent Italian opera. The *cantabile*, or singable style, was present in every theater, in every scholastic entity and in all of the gatherings and soirees taking place in the homes of the wealthy. The traditional Spanish songs, though common in the XVIII century, were gradually disappearing from the stages as the new century transpired. It seemed as if sophisticated music could only come from the comedies and musical dramas when they were sung in “the divine language of Dante,” especially from the venerated Rossini, Bellini and Donizetti. There were the sporadic occasions when, as a folkloric note, some dances and songs were inserted within the intervals of opera and theater performances. Spanish composers such as Manuel García or Ramón Carnicer were forced to write Italian opera, although their predilection was for composing popular songs, which irritated the aristocrats. Thus, they aimed to please the tastes of the newly rich who could afford to attend the theater; while the fame that some of these popular songs achieved went beyond the doors of the theaters and ended up being sung by ordinary people.

Several operas in this period incorporated the oriental element within their themes, similar to what occurred in literature and painting. This subject of idealized tales wherein Andalusia was the paradigm setting, began emerging within the pages of composers' *librettos* at that time. Among those episodes that gave way to countless legends, we can find those directly inspired in the Alhambra. Composers such as Cherubini, Boieldieu, Nicolini, Meyerbeer, Lobe, Donizetti, Kreutzer and others turned to the histories of the Christian conquest, the Abencerrajes and Zegrís, Zoraida, Moraima, Almanzor, Boabdil and many more originating in the pages of known literature as well as pure fantasy interpretations. Numerous Spanish composers later joined the European trend, as had been the case in literature. For example, Baltasar Saldoni and Emilio Arrieta had to write the music for the *librettos* in Italian for the ruined writer González Auriol of Granada and for the prestigious Temistocle Solera who wrote Verdi's first operas.

In the decade of the 1840's the figure of Granada-born Francisco Salas took on a special importance for the historical evolution of Spanish theater music. Salas, considered

the best baritone of his time, always proudly boasted of his Albayzin origins, frequently setting aside moments of praise from Italian arias to sing Gypsy tunes or Andalusian songs; thus, always enrapturing the public. Together with his brother-in-law Basilio Basili (married to the famous actress Teodora Lamadrid, sister to Bárbara, the equally applauded wife of Salas) and the *libretto* writer Tomás Rodríguez Rubí from Cadiz who had studied in Granada, they made various attempts to incorporate Spanish opera. Unfortunately, these pieces were none other than a series of Andalusian songs mixed with predominating Italian ones. Nevertheless, the soloist of Granada was persistent in his endeavor and soon some lyric comedies emerged, combining dialogues with music, apparently more appealing to those tired of Italian. Mariano Soriano Fuertes and Rafael Hernández took one step further with their lyric comedies giving way to what would be denominated “the rebirth” of the zarzuela. From the Teatro Circo in Madrid, Francisco Salas gathered young composers and writers to fight for a cause that would soon provide great satisfaction and become a true alternative to the *opera seria*; that was much more frequent on stages than comic opera. By the middle of the century, the tragedies of Bellini, Donizetti and young Verdi had replaced the comic operas of Rossini and audiences began reveling in humorous zarzuela songs and Spanish lyrics. Though it was highly criticized, the cheap language in many of the *librettos* and the simple melodies, partly due to excessive production, meant that some works, such as that of Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, started gaining notoriety from the public, and even from the harshest critics. In 1856, Salas, Barbieri, composer Joaquín Gaztambide and writer Luis Olona took over management of the new theater on Jovellanos Street which would exclusively offer the Spanish lyric genre. Furthermore, zarzuela was incorporated in social gatherings, private halls and aristocratic stages where piano recitals and opera arias had been customary.

Towards the middle of the century, Central European “ballroom music” (mazurkas, polkas, minuettos, barcarolas, waltzes, etc) grew steadily. Without the exclusivity of the Italian opera sway, Spanish composers at the time were free to incorporate “socially attainable” staves on their pentagrams according to the emerging trends. Needless to say, one of them was logically the neo-Arabism that had already been displayed within the vast eclectic, picturesque geometrical designs of the Palace halls; and would rapidly be integrated in the majority of villas, theaters, and later in bullfighting rings, kiosks and other public areas. The image the European visitor had of the East, present in Western Europe picturesquely blended Andalusian and Moorish styles. Musically, this meant timely upward changes in the second interval, the descending natural lower tetrachord from tonic to dominant, or so-called Andalusian cadency, the incorporation of a melisma, interchanging the major tonality with a minor one, and a predominance of the “La” tonality. While never departing from the mandated sophisticated ballroom style, nor straying far from the inevitable opera influence, the result was a particular form of music; an elegantly refined combination of Gypsy and Al-Andalus song. An insurmountable amount of works could be listed under the denomination of Alhambrist style, whether by foreign composers, primarily French; or Spanish ones; from Martín Sánchez Allú in the decade of the 1850’s, to the initial works of Albéniz and the famous guitar pieces by Francisco Tárrega at the end of the XIX century.

The transition process to symphonic music would still take time. With all of the country's orchestras focused on theatrical music it proved difficult to find a Spanish composer who could write a philharmonic work that would stand apart from the typical symphonies or overtures which opened so many concerts and theater productions. Moreover, until this time, the Alhambristic segment was usually played by music bands. As an answer to this, the Sociedad de Conciertos was founded in Madrid in 1866, while the provinces had to wait until the decade of the 1880's to have an orchestra. Before that time, the symphonies of Beethoven were little known. A conductor from Granada, Mariano Vázquez, chief conductor of the Madrid Orchestra since 1877, was first to offer the nine complete symphonies of the German master in Spain, with the premiere of the renowned *Ninth* in 1882. During the 1870's, Valencian Salvador Giner, authored the recently salvaged ambitious symphonic poem entitled *El adios de Boabdil a Granada*, and Alicante-born Ruperto Chapí presented a version of *La corte de Granada* for the Banda del Regimiento de Artillería in Madrid, of which he belonged to. The latter piece premiered again in 1879 in an orchestra version called *Fantasia morisca*, or Moorish Fantasy, performed by the Sociedad de Conciertos Unión Artística, Madrid's second orchestra that Tomás Bretón had led in its first year. In fact, the musician of Salamanca composed another outstanding piece during that period: the serenade *En la Alhambra*; completed in his residence in Rome just after the opening night of his zarzuela *Los amores de un príncipe*, in Granada. The orchestra version was heard for the first time when Bretón had been leading the Sociedad de Conciertos for two years, specifically in 1888. This work became the emblem of the concerts ever since the Sociedad de Conciertos de Madrid performed it at the Carlos V Palace during the Corpus Christi Festival. Coinciding with these 1889 festival activities, organizers planned a ceremony to honor poet José Zorrilla, "the singer-poet of Granada." During said activities, a symphonic work based on the poem *Gnomos y Mujeres*, or Gnomes and Women, written in 1886, received first prize, and was thus endowed with the privilege of being offered its opening night with the Orchestra. Of the eight works based on *Los gnomos de la Alhambra* segment of the poem vying for the award, Ruperto Chapí's stood out the most. He was certainly considered to be one of the most promising young musicians in Spain at the time. Even so, the jury, consisting of notable musicians of Granada and presided over by Tomás Bretón, decided to leave the prize vacant, leading to a bitter controversy with Madrid's vehement musical critic Antonio Peña y Goñi. Said critic, distinctive for music and bullfighting reviews, actively expressed his utmost indignation that his friend Ruperto Chapí was denied the award; all the while vigorously berating Tomás Bretón. Ramón Noguera, a composer from Granada, had also written an Alhambristic symphonic poem of the same name, for the occasion; although it could not be selected, as he was a member of the jury. *Los gnomos* by Noguera was performed in the tribute and coronation ceremony of poet Zorrilla in 1889, and the following year in the Conciertos de la Alhambra with Bretón conducting. It was not until 1891 that Chapí's work was performed in Madrid by the Sociedad de Conciertos, under the baton of Luigi Mancinelli. Regrettably, the sheet music for *Los gnomos* of Noguera was misplaced; cited by the Sociedad de Conciertos as "released to the family" in their catalog. Luckily, a shortened piano version has been conserved. Another Alhambristic symphonic poem, *El suspiro del moro*, composed by Noguera, premiered within the ancient pilasters of the

Carlos V Palace, but unfortunately has also gone missing.

There are other notable symphonic works pertaining to the Alhambrism movement of the time, including *Moraima*, that the Banda del Hospicio conductor Gaspar Espinosa de los Monteros presented for the first time in Madrid in 1873; it was a popular piece in its diverse arrangements. Also, the orchestra suite “Polo” of the *Escenas andaluzas* by Bretón, composed in 1894, must be noted. In addition to that, there was the *Danza morisca* by Chapí, which had been composed in 1885 as a commissioned piece of the Sociedad Lírico-Dramática offered in a benefit concert in Granada for the victims of the devastating earthquake in December of 1884. Towards the end of the century, Granada’s Cándido Orense presented various Alhambristic pieces performed during the Corpus concert series; sadly, lost as well: the 1885 serenade *Cautiva*, *Una noche en la Alhambra* in 1886, *Noche de Leila* in 1892, *Zoraida*, which became an acclaimed part of the concerts of the Sociedad Euterpe of Barcelona in 1897, and *Obertura granadina* of 1900.

Obviously not all of the symphonic works composed in this period possessed a clear reference to the Alhambra or its legends, but many of them pertain to the orientalist trend. Of these, *Al pie de la reja*, was composed by the viola player Manuel Carreras of the Sociedad de Conciertos de Madrid in 1873; several from the primary symphony writer of the period, Miguel Marqués, violinist of the Sociedad de Conciertos, and numerous other composers such as Malaga-born Eduardo Ocón, Cordobese Cipriano Martínez Rucker or the Sevillian Luis Mariani. Although personally, as a standard, I do not dare include the above as “Alhambrists;” in case those from Malaga, Cordoba or Seville might take offence.

In the XX century, the orchestral production, lyric theater, chamber music, piano, guitar and song catalogues grew considerably. The Alhambrist references continued to be present in numerous compositions, however, the diversity and change of esthetics and customs grew until the denomination lost its meaning and became even more ambiguous. Ángel Barrios, a composer from Granada who was literally born under the spell of the red fortress, dedicated many pieces from all types of genre. Francisco Alonso, also from Granada, did similarly when he moved to Madrid to become an exceptional prestigious zarzuela composer. The height of the music period influenced by the Alhambra arrived with the contributions of Isaac Albéniz, Enrique Granados, Claude Debussy and Manuel de Falla; lest we forget other composers such as Joaquín Turina, Conrado del Campo, Andrés Gaos, Joaquín Rodrigo, Federico Moreno Torroba, Xavier Montsalvatge, Antón García Abril and more. With Federico García Lorca a musical phenomenon took place when his literary work, and by extension, his hometown, led to the production of countless “lorquismo” works. His creations have been the inspiration for hundreds of musicians around the world, some as renowned as: Francis Poulenc, Federico Mompou, Wolfgang Fortner, Dmitri Shostakovich, Silvestre Revueltas, Udo Zimmermann, Mauricio Ohana, Bruno Maderna, Luigi Nono, Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, George Crumb, Aribert Reimann, Paul Bowles, Einojuhani Rautavaara, Hans Werner Henze, Osvaldo Golijov, Mauricio Sotelo and more.

Likewise, popular music is full of references to the Alhambra; from the ample

repertoire produced by concert bands, to music enlivening processions, parades and popular festivities with pasodobles, serenades and Moorish marches; reaching, of course, Flamenco as well as the revistas, or light musicals, coplas, singer-songwriter music and pop.

In more recent years, specifically the XXI century, the Alhambra has continued to inspire musicians such as Juan-Alfonso García, Cristóbal Halffter, Manuel Castillo, José García Román, José Luis Greco, Lorenzo Palomo, Miguel Ángel Gómez Martínez, Tomás Marco and others. An initiative led by Granada-born orchestra conductor Pablo Heras-Casado, director of the International Music and Dance Festival of Granada between 2017 and 2018, consisted in commissioning a prestigious composer to produce a work inspired in the Alhambra. From this initiative, two truly meritorious works have arisen: *Memoria del rojo* by José María Sánchez Verdú and the *Concerto No. 3 for Violin and Orchestra "Alhambra"* by Péter Eötvös.



The National Library of Spain

JOSÉ MIGUEL BARBERÁ SOLER

10. THE ORIGINS OF GRANADA'S INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL OF MUSIC AND DANCE: THE CONCERTS OF THE ALHAMBRA

After years of failed attempts to unite musicians in Granada in an orchestra that could perform during the Corpus Christi festivities, in 1887, they decided “to set aside reproaches, gossip and malicious talk from the sons of harmony” by commissioning the eminent Tomás Bretón, conductor of the Sociedad de Conciertos de Madrid, or Madrid Concert Society Orchestra. In order to move ahead with said contract, they needed to overcome numerous obstacles. As the Orchestra was comprised of components from various music professions throughout the city, one hindrance they incurred was obtaining permission for certain musicians to take part. Such was the case of those who were Halberdier Band members. For this reason, the Orchestra, considered to be the *crème de la crème* in Spain at the time, normally had to turn down offers to perform in the outer provinces. Notwithstanding, the above-mentioned impediments were solved thanks to a series of favorable circumstances, mainly due to the persistence of the members of the *Cenáculo* of Granada; a well-known association of musicians and music enthusiasts harmonious to the dynamics of the Lyceum and Center for the Arts. Fortunately, at that time, multifaceted Francisco de Paula Valladar, a civil servant, musician, historian and local chronicler, took the reins of the project; Valladar had been immediately impressed by Tomás Bretón when the conductor first visited the city to conduct his zarzuela performances of *Los amores de un príncipe* in 1881. Moreover, the intercession of Count Morphy, an aristocrat, notable musician and most importantly, influential advisor to Queen María Cristina, paved the way for the 80 musicians to have furlough. Unsurprisingly, Count Morphy also reminisced and encouraged cultural enhancement for the town where he grew up.

The city of the Alhambra was still in the midst of recovering from the devastating earthquake and outbreak of cholera, even in 1887. When the contracts had already been signed, on May 13th, 1887, a tremendous flood, caused by the frequent overflowing of the Darro River, ravaged through the Carrera (an adjacent street), leaving behind numerous victims and creating a sinkhole three meters wide, cutting off communication in the street. Faced with this lamentable situation, city authorities deemed it necessary to cancel all of the concerts; as it did not appear to be the most opportune moment to have additional expenditures. However, when the governing members of the Orchestra offered to give a charity concert instead, the contract was upheld. On June 11th, the Floriculture, Art and Industry, Fowl and Bird Exposition and the Modern Art Exposition, both organized by the Center for the Arts, were inaugurated in the circular atrium courtyard of the Carlos V Palace.

That same evening, Tomás Bretón and the musicians arrived by train at 9 pm at the Estación de Andaluces from Madrid Atocha. Soon after, they were riding a “landeau” (a stately convertible carriage) throughout the city before being escorted to the Siete Suelos

Hotel in the Alhambra vicinity. The symphonic concerts at that time consisted of three-part programs in which they tended to play assorted, shorter works, primarily from the middle of the XIX century. Bretón's concern that the public in Granada, not so used to longer pieces such as were customary on Madrid stages, forced him to modify the programs accordingly. Instead of what in Madrid would be a highly regarded repertoire, he opted for celebrated works that would be familiar in Granada since versions for piano, chamber ensembles or from the two well-established theater orchestras and military bands had already been playing in the city. On Monday, the 13th of June, "Granada's most beautiful and elegant dames and distinguished gentlemen" as the press concurred; "the most brilliant, glamorous, wealthy and industrious of the town" took their seats in the patio of the Carlos V Palace. As the concert was fully booked, even with its immense seating capacity, an enormous amount of spectators could not get in. Thus, their eagerness to read the detailed account written in *El Defensor* newspaper can be appreciated: "The ancient Emperor's Palace, home of a splendid celestial atrium, was rejuvenated by the harmonious spell; its abandoned halls and great circular courtyard, adorned with wreaths and floral hangings, was enlivened by light..." This first concert commenced with a renowned overture by Carl Maria von Weber, Oberon; a piece from Spanish Miguel Marqués, *La primera lágrima* and the celebrated minuet of the *Quintet* by Luigi Boccherini (including an orchestra arrangement by Bretón); and the once famed opera overture *Philemon et Baucis* by Charles Gounod. The second part was entirely taken up by the opportune suite *La corte de Granada* by Ruperto Chapí; this "Alhambristic" work in four movements was acclaimed in Granada, both in orchestra and band versions. The third section of the program consisted of an overture by Ambroise Thomas, *Mignon*, *El Estudio en si bemol* from the violin virtuoso Jesús de Monasterio, and finally the *March of the Torches No. 2*, composed by reputable Giacomo Meyerbeer, considered to be tantamount to Verdi and Wagner. As was customary at the time, they repeated the pieces that received hearty applause. In this initial Concert the encore was for the works of Boccherini, Gounod, the serenade of the suite of Chapí and the overture of Thomas. Therefore, the Concerts, including two intermissions each, lasted nearly three and a half hours. The newspaper reviews were euphoric: "for anyone who had the mistaken idea that this type of performance was impossible to pull off here because the public was not knowledgeable enough, they have definitely been proven wrong!" In the three Concerts to follow, the programs were relatively the same format, namely, brief works in the first and third sections, such as: the overture of *Tutti i maschera*, of Carlo Pedrotti's famed opera, the *Minuetto* by Giovanni Bolzoni, commonly played in orchestras well into the XX century, the acclaimed *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 1*, by Franz Liszt, the *Danse macabre* by Camille Saint-Saëns, the andante of the *Sinfonía n.2* and the *Polonesa*, both by one of the most diligent Spanish symphony composers, Miguel Marqués. The stellar list of shorter works continued with the overture of *Cleopatra*, by Luigi Mancinelli (conductor of the Teatro Real Orchestra at the time and successor of Bretón in the Sociedad de Conciertos); the waltz, *Sylvia*, by Delibes; *El primer día feliz*, from Manuel Fernández Caballero (a compulsory piece in a Madrid competition between its two orchestras, for which the Sociedad of Bretón won against the "Unión Artístico Musical" under the baton of Felipe Espino); the overture *Anacreon* by Luigi Cherubini, *Musical Moment* by Franz Peter Schubert; the overture and march of *Tannhäuser* and the march of *Lohengrin* from the

controversial Richard Wagner; the obligatory overture *William Tell* by Gioachino Rossini; the overture from Franz von Suppè, *Paragraph III*; *L'étoile du nord* by Giacomo Meyerbeer; the orchestra version of *Ave Maria* by Charles Gounod (perhaps the most frequently performed religious piece at the time); and the *Dance of the Bayaderas* from the esteemed concert pianist and composer Anton Rubinstein. As was mentioned beforehand, the second segment of the programs was reserved for multiple movement compositions, such as the orchestral version Bretón made of the *Serenata-Trío* as well as the original version of *Septett*, both by Ludwig van Beethoven, and the suite *Les Érinnyes* by Jules Massenet. The enthusiasm of the audience was perceived in the press: "With what care did the artists perform the works! What heartfelt notes poured out of their instruments! What domain over the music! It was an immaculate, proper performance!" Upon the completion of the concerts, hundreds of torches were lit, intriguingly illuminating the dark backdrop of the forest of the Alhambra. Their performances were so outstanding that Bretón and the virtuoso professors were asked if they could give two more concerts, this time in the Isabel la Católica Theater; "prepared for the learned and musically instructed sphere of the population, instead of for the untrained ear of the general crowd." However, despite the express intention of presenting novelty programs, they decided to continue with the pieces performed in the Alhambra concerts. This was because the orchestra management, who feared an economic deficit, considered that they had already obtained enough benefits for it to be profitable to remain in the city any longer. The Comisión de Festejos, or Festivities Committee, offered Tomás Bretón and the professors a parting banquet in the Alhambra, thus finalizing the Sociedad de Conciertos de Madrid's first participation in the Corpus Christi of Granada, leaving: "an enduring memory which will be difficult to repeat," according to the pessimistic assertion of the journalist in *El Defensor*. Be that as it may, the presence of such fine musicians in town only accentuated the level of curiosity and desire to "continue delighting in and discovering the wonders of great musical notions;" so much so, that they were unanimously declared "the most brilliant part of the festival" and there was no doubt as to the petition for them to return the following year. Thus, from then on, the tradition of the so called "Conciertos de la Alhambra" was forged within the Corpus Festival. In Granada, the Sociedad de Conciertos de Madrid's participation in Corpus was initially always led Tomás Bretón, even though he ceased being the chief conductor in 1892, as the composer and maestro of Salamanca had close ties to the city and his unconditional colleagues in the *Cenáculo*. An example of this fondness was evident in the numerous tributes dedicated to him over a long period of time. In the first Concert of the 1893 season, a leaflet was handed out containing a poem by Felipe Tournelle entitled: *A Bretón y la Sociedad de Conciertos*; which included the excerpt:

"Un viejo alumno de marte,
a ti, Bretón, rey del arte,
por Granada te saluda,
porque está Granada,
con la emoción de escucharte.
Creyó un momento perderte,
pero al saber tu venida,

JOSÉ MIGUEL BARBERÁ SOLER

se cambió su duelo en suerte;
como quien vuelve a la vida
desde el umbral de la muerte.
Suene, pues, tu orquesta hermosa
porque Dios mismo la envía a esta tierra generosa,
a borrar sombra de prosa
con soles de poesía.”

(An old pupil from Mars,
to you, Bretón, king of art,
we greet you on behalf of Granada,
because Granada falls silent,
in awe, from emotion upon listening to you.
I thought for a moment I had lost you,
but upon news of your arrival,
grief was turned to good fortune;
as would one who is returned to life
after being on the brink of death.

The sound of your orchestra is enchanting
because of God's own benevolence
in bestowing them to this generous earth,
overshadowing the prose with sunlit poems.)

(Felipe Tournelle: *A Bretón y la Sociedad de Conciertos*, Granada, June, 1893)

From 1906 on, with the discontinuation of the Sociedad de Conciertos, the prominence in the Conciertos de la Alhambra was passed on to its logical successor, the Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid. This opportunity was shared with the Orquesta Filarmónica de Madrid from 1917 until the creation of the International Festival of Music and Dance.

MUSIC AND MUSICIANS IN GRANADA'S SETTING



Tomás Bretón with friends and admirers of Granada in the Alhambra. Photograph taken during the visit of the Sociedad de Conciertos de Madrid in Corpus of 1887. (*Ilustración musical hispano-americana*, n.º 28. Barcelona, March 12, 1889)

JOSÉ MIGUEL BARBERÁ SOLER

11. GRANADA'S ENCHANTMENT IN MUSIC FOR STAGE PERFORMANCES

FRENCH MUSIC

Since the XVII century, thanks to the early Moorish romances, and specifically the work of Ginés Pérez de Hita, *Guerras Civiles de Granada* (Civil Wars of Granada), a predilection for Al-Andalus stories arose. In like manner, there was a heightening fascination for the Orient during the XVIII and the first half of the XIX century. The French writers let their imagination soar when evoking the resemblances of the Nasrid dynasty in Granada. The composition, *Gonzalve de Cordoue ou Grenade Reconquise*, a historic narration that Jean-Pierre Claris de Florian published in 1791, widely spread and greatly influenced music on stages, wherein the figures - Zulima, Boabdil, Gran Capitán, Zoraida, Abenhamet, Almanzor and Muley Hacen, among others - appear sentimentally defined.

On October 25th, 1739, in the Royal Palace of Versailles, Infanta Luisa Isabel, daughter of King Luis XV of France entered in wedlock with Infante Felipe of Spain. Amongst the fanfare organized during those days, we can find the performance of a whimsical heroic ballet composed by Joseph-Marie Royer, set in the Alhambra of Granada, entitled *Zaide, Reine de Grenade* (Zaide, Queen of Granada). This same work was repeated in 1745 for the wedding of the Dauphin, Luis Fernando de Borbón and María Teresa of Spain, as well as when Marie Antoinette of Austria married the future Luis XVI. Lamentably, in the latter ceremony, 132 people died when the fireworks started a blaze (a bad omen for events that were to come). The work was inspired in *Zaide, Historie Espagnole*, written by Madame Lafayette in 1671 with a purely fictional script. Another heroic ballet of similar characteristics, *Les Fêtes de Grenade* (The Celebrations of Granada), with music by Laurent Desmazes, premiered in 1751 in the residence of the Prince of Condé, in Dijon, using Baroque-style dramatization of the Royal Palace of the Alhambra. These types of ballets were commonplace in France from the beginning of the XVII century and aspired to be a complete performance of song, chorus and dance.

In 1801, veteran and prolific composer André Gretry completed his second to last opera, *Zelmar ou L'Asile* (The Shelter), a lyric drama, which never reached the stage due to the political turmoil of the time. However, his pupil, François-Adrien Boieldieu, managed to present *Zoreime et Zulnar* in 1798; a three-act opera dedicated to Étienne-Nicolas Mehul and Luigi Cherubini, with Claude Saint Just's *libretto*, highly acclaimed in the Salle Favart in Paris. *Le Pavillon du Califa ou Almanzor et Zobeide* (The Caliph's Pavillion) by Nicolas Dalayrac, was put on stage in the Opera of Paris in 1804. Then, just a few years later, this work was reduced to a single act by Guilbert de Lixerecouri, changed to *Le Pavillon des Fleurs ou Les Pecheurs de Grenade* (The Flower Pavillion), and dedicated to the Marquis

of Couristan, minister to the King. In it, they recreated a majestic harem of the Moorish kings amidst the gardens of the Generalife on the stage of the Salle Favart of the Paris Comic Opera on the 13th of May, 1822.

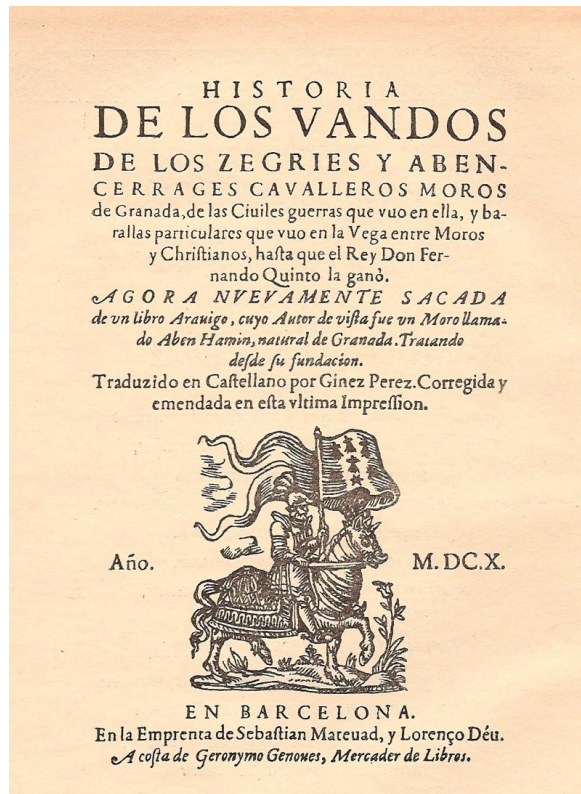
During these years, it was becoming customary to accompany theater melodramas with incidental music. An example of this would be *Gonzalve de Cordoue ou Le Siège de Grenade*, which premiered in the La Porte Saint-Martin Theater of Paris on July 12th, 1806, exactly the same day that the Treaty of Paris was signed. It included music from Alessandro Piccini, the illegitimate son of the celebrated opera master Niccolò; from whom, not only did he take on his last name, but a superb similar music ability as well. *L'Amazone de Grenade* (Gaité Theater, February 27, 1812), with Adelaide Barthelmy-Hadot's delirious plot and music by a certain Monsieur Taix, premiered too. Furthermore, the most significant of all was *Aben Humeya*, written in French by Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, a playwright from Granada, whose incidental music came from José Melchor Gomis; both liberal exiles during the absolutist "Década Ominosa" in Spain. This drama first appeared on stage in the Porte Saint-Martin Theater on July 19th, 1830. This storyline about the Moorish rebellion in the Alpujarra during the reign of Felipe II was quite successful, and might have been even more, if it were not for coinciding with the premiere of Victor Hugo's *Ernani*; in any case, the press highlighted "la pompe d'un magnifique spectacle et la musique de Monsieur Gomis," highly impressed by the work.

In the Salle Montansier, also in Paris, a dejected Napoleon, upon returning from the Prussian battleground, attended the opening night of *Les Abencérages ou l'Etendard de Grenade* (The Flag of Granada) with his wife María Louisa on the 6th of April, 1813. In it, composer Luigi Cherubini was inspired by the skirmishes between two Moorish tribes of the Kingdom of Granada: the Abencerrajes and the Zegrís. Florian's plot, together with a scenic profusion included a lavish wedding ceremony in the Patio of the Lions scene, troubadours, a Moorish chorus, Moorish women and villagers. By the time the opera productions had been prohibited due to the fall of Napoleon, it had already been performed twenty times. In 1814, in the Ambigu-Comique of Paris, a three-act heroic ballet was put on stage. Once again, Florian provided the storyline; Quisain and Lanusse wrote the music, and the celebrated Jean-Marie Montperlier designed the set for *Almanza ou La Prise de Grenade* (The Prize of Granada). Then, in the winter of that same year, the pantomime four-act ballet, *Zoraima et Zulnar ou Le Siège de Grenade* (The Siege of Granada) was performed in the San Carlo Theater in Naples, still governed by the French general Joachim Murat. The overture and first act were composed by the aristocrat musician Count of Galleberg and the third act by the Napolitan Raffaele Russo.

In the historic Hotel Castellane of Paris, amateur artists gathered in 1837 to perform the two-act opera of *Le Abencérage*, based on Chateaubriand's novel, *Les Aventures du Dernier Abencérage*. The lyrics were written by the young poet, Louise Colet, and her husband, Hyppolite-Raymond, pupil of composer Anton Reicha, wrote the music. Years later, Louise would be the lover of Gustave Flaubert, the inspiration for his pinnacle novel *Madame Bovary*. *Les Aventures de Dernier Abencérage* was also the inspiration for *Aben Hamet*, whose *libretto* was written by Detroyant and Lauzieres, and music composed

by Theodore Dubois. It was sung both in Italian and in French at the Teatro Italiano in Paris in December, 1884, and dedicated to the theater director and famous baritone Victor Manuel. The impossible love affair between Boabdil's son and Bianca, daughter of the Duke of Santa Fe was a considerably successful tale; which was joined together with spectacular set decoration of the Grand Plaza of Granada, the valley of the Genil River, the Patio of the Lions, the Great Hall of Knights of the Generalife and the mountains of El Padul.

Lastly, we must make mention of the chamber opera music of 1958, *Le Tresor de Boabdil* (Boabdil's Treasure), by Madrid's composer, Salvador Bacarisse, part of the so called "Generación de la Republica" exiled in Paris after the Civil War. Another exiled countryman, Valencian Francisco Puig-Espert, authored the text with Frenchman André Camp. It was a fantastic legend based in the period of Boabdil, where characters such as – Sebastián, the water-bearer of Granada, his spouse Sebastiana, Sidi-Mohamed, the Arab tinsmith and the sheriff, Pantaleón – had roles. The opera won first prize in a competition organized by the French Radio-Television service.



Cover of *Historia de los bandos de los zegríes y abencerrajes*. Barcelona, 1610

ITALIAN MUSIC

The fascination for Orientalism in literature, art and music during the XVIII and XIX centuries originated, in part, in Nasrid Granada. As some sojourners were certain to find a city within the Western world which, even at the beginning of the XIX century, maintained so many reminiscences of its Arabic past, they encouraged others to visit it. Stage music, with its multitudinous possibilities of storylines, props, and decoration, was yet another element towards the idealization of the orientalist trend.

In the Baroque period, the Italian opera extended throughout the theaters of Europe and thus Italian was considered to be the only *cantabile*, or “singable” music language. The oriental facet appeared very early but the Granada-style can first be found in London in 1710. The Italianized Swiss Giovanni Heidegger (friend and patron of Händel, who had arrived in London that same year with *castrato* Niccolo Grimaldi with his opera *Rinaldo*), offered the opera *Almohide* in Haymarket Theater; he also happened to be the director there. It was based on the Moorish chronicle written in 1663 by George de Scudery and the music joined radiant arias from Attilio Ariosti, who also wrote the *libretto*, as well as Giovanni Bononcini. Fifty years later, in the midst of the Rococo period, Tommaso Traetta brought out the semi-serious opera *Stordilano, Príncipe di Granata*, with characters from *Orlando Furioso*, by Ludovico Ariosto. Said opera was performed in 1760 in the Palacio Ducale of Parma, where the dukedom was ruled by Infante Felipe, son of Felipe V of Spain, in the peak of the Italian *castrati* trend in all of the European courts. As the historic novel *Gonzalve de Cordoue ou Grenade Reconquiste* by Florian was written in 1791, it was rapidly translated and went on to become the maximum reference for the Italian Alhambra operas. By 1795, Giuseppe Curcio had already composed *La Presa di Granata* for the Livorno Theater; then, shortly thereafter, as a new version of *La Conquista di Granata* in the Pérgola of Florence. *Zulema ovvero Gonzalvo di Cordove*, by Onorato Balsano, was staged at the San Carlo Theater of Naples that same year. Just one year later, the Portuguese composer Marco Antonio Portogallo and the librettist Francesco Gonella di Ferrari were able to capture the Moorish splendor of Granada with *Zulema*, which premiered for the first time in Florence in 1796.

Luigi Romanelli wrote an adaptation of Florian’s work which would later be used in three operas: *Abenamet e Zoraida* by Giuseppe Nicolini (Teatro alla Scala, Milan, December 26, 1805); *Zoraida* or *La Toma di Granata* (The Conquest of Granada) by Giuseppe Farinelli (Teatro Regio, Turin, December 26, 1815), with extravagant set decoration of the Royal Palace of the Alhambra, and *Zoraida di Granata* by the master of the *belcanto*, Gaetano Donizetti (Teatro Argentino, Rome, January 7, 1822). The inspiration for the latter opera came from the tortuous love affair between Zoraida and Abenamet; whose roles were performed by two female vocalists for the opening night; a common practice of that time. On March 12th, during Lent of 1822, the great Italianized, then French-style German opera composer, Giacomo Meyerbeer, staged *L’Esule di Granata* at the Teatro alla Scala. The lyrics were from celebrated Felice Romani, who

toured the European theaters with well-known singer, Benedetta Rosmunda Pisaroni in the role of Muley Hacem's favorite. This opera gave Gioacchino Rossini the musical inspiration for the composition of his acclaimed *Semiramide*. From the genius of Donizetti there are two other titles: *Alahor in Granata*, also from the Florian history, adapted by Andrea Montelone and well-received when it celebrated its opening night in Palermo on January 7th, 1826; and *Elvida*, which narrates the legend of the noble Castillian maiden held captive in the Alhambra by Amur and her love affair with his son. This work was first put on stage on the 6th of July, 1826, in the Teatro San Carlo of Naples as a birthday present to Queen María de las Dos Sicilias. The performance included a fabulous cast of which Giovanni Rubini and Luigi Lablache especially stood out; a few months later, both would sing the *Requiem* by Mozart in Vienna for Beethoven's funeral. In the fall of 1827, Giovanni Todolino composed the incidental music for *Almanzor*, the melodrama written by Felice Romani, in the Teatro Grande in Trieste. Also, in 1827, while enveloped in a revolutionary atmosphere and with a strong independence movement against the Borbouns, the figure of the Nasrid king reappeared in *Boabdil, Re di Granata* by Giuseppe Balducci. It was performed in a private event in the Naples Royal Palace in the presence of the King, Francisco I of the Two Sicilies.

The curious ballet *La Conquista di Granata* was first staged in the Teatro alla Scala of Milan in 1839, using music composed by Archille Graffigna. This six-act pantomime was conceived in order to flaunt the talent of female dancer, Fanny Cerrito. Under the same title, the Aragonese composer, Tomás Genovés, wrote an opera for the Teatro Apollo of Rome in 1848; of which only a few pieces are conserved, among them, *Aria de Boabdil*. With the impacting cries of, "Morte ai Zegrìdi! Abenceragi, all'armi!" Jacopo Ferretti commences his *libretto* in the opera *Azema di Granata ovvero Gli Abenceragi e Zegrìdi* (Teatro alla Scala, Milan, March 21, 1846). Here, the reoccurring story of hatred between the Sulimán and Alamino families in Granada in 1492 were put to music by Lauro Rossi. The conversion of the Jews following the Reconquest and the romance between Leila and Muza from an English work by E. Bulwer-Lytton was the inspiration for two adaptations by: Giuseppe Apollini in *L'Ebreo* or *Leila di Granata* (Teatro La Fenice, Venice, January 25, 1855); and Giuseppe Lamberti in *Leila di Granata* (Teatro Rossini, Turin, autumn of 1847). A year later, the history of Florian is used again in *L'ultimo degli Abenceragi*, with music by Francesco Tessarin (Teatro La Fenice, Venice, January 24, 1858). In the Italian city of Lugo, throughout 1859, Rossini's pupil, Filippo Zappata, also turned towards Alhambrism with *Abderramano Ossia L'Assedio di Granata*; and later Egisto Pontecchi with *Erilla di Granata* (Collegio Tolomei, Siena, 1868). On September 8th, 1890, in a now unified and realist tendency, a far cry from the Arabian fantasy, Adelelmo Bertolucci's *La Zingara di Granata* was represented in the Teatro Condominale of Sant'Archangelo di Romagna. The opera was based on an ancient tragedy by German August von Kotzebue; and, although it had formerly been used by Donizetti in 1822, on this occasion, the setting was in Toledo.

There is no other Granada-Moorish themed opera in the language of Dante until *Re Hassan* (Teatro La Fenice, Venice, January 26, 1939), by the modernist composer and *libretto* author, Giorgio Ghedini. In this opera the Nasrid king must decide whether to

defend his beloved Kingdom of Granada from the siege or pay tribute to the Christians in order to keep the peace. Ghedini selected the topic of the enchantment of Granada as a plea for anti-militarism on the verge of the beginning of World War II.

GERMAN MUSIC

While the Italian opera had practically dominated the European scene, all of the countries were making a great effort to produce their own opera style. Germany, specifically, the geographic zone known today as Germany and Austria, had to wait until the end of the XVIII century for the German language to be accepted on stage; initially as *singspiel*, or comic opera, and later in the midst of the XIX century in *opera seria*. In reference to the Granada-Nasrid plots, there were hardly any produced in German literature, thus, as far as stage music is concerned, only a few examples, although important ones, exist.

In 1812, a *singspiel* by Michael Umlauff, *Das Wirtshaus von Granada* (The Tavern of Granada) was represented in the mythical Corintia State Theater of Vienna; meanwhile Napoleon's imperial ambitions were being thwarted in Moscow. In this same theater, just a year and a half later, Beethoven premiered the opera *Fidelio*. Under the installed German Confederation, *Zoraide oder Die Mauren von Granada* (Zoraida or The Moors in Granada) was performed in Berlin on May 7th, 1817. This somewhat lyric drama with popular songs and *belcanto* style arias, was composed by Carl Wilhelm August Blum, the guitar instructor to the princess of the Prussian Court. During the cultural effervescence of the Court of Weimar, Goethe, Schiller and composer Hummel, resided within this small Court of the Thuringia state. Johann Christian Lobe presented *Die Furstin von Granada* (The Princess of Granada), which became so famous that pianist Carl Czerny composed numerous *Variations Brillantes* on related themes from the opera. Undoubtedly, the most renowned German opera involving the Al-Andalus setting was *Das Nachtlager von Granada*, or The Night Camp in Granada, by Conradin Kreutzer. This opera's opening night was at Teatro Josefstadt on January 13th, 1834; based on a drama written by Johann Friedrich Kind, from the *libretto* of Karl Johann Braun von Braunthal. It depicted the adventures of the future Emperor Maximiliano and his Court while hunting in a village of Granada during the middle of the XVI century. In 1837, Kreutzer presented a second version of it with recitatives in the Imperial Opera Theater of Vienna. The work was greatly rewarding and quickly started to be performed throughout the major European theaters; apparently not only for its music or dramatic excellence, as we can see from press clippings following its rave in Prague: "If the young women of the Alhambra are as lovely as the gracious Lutzert, we would envy the Andalusian *majos*, (young men), who spend so much time trying to seduce these precious mermaids" (*La Iberia musical*, 1842). In addition, various piano arrangements were drawn on *Das Nachtlager von Granada*, which, at that time, was habitual when an opera had become so acclaimed. The fifth, and last of the

lyrical-staged operas of Alhambrism did not appear until April 21st, 1892, when Carl Wittkowsky presented the *libretto*, and German Moritz Moszkowski, of Polish origin, composed the music for *Boabdil, der Letzte Maurenkönig* (Boabdil, the Last Moorish King). Incidentally, this opera was selected by some of Moszkowski's pupils (once he was ruined after losing his royalties in World War I). They prepared arrangements from his work, and then sold them to the Peters of Leipzig Editors; thus, they were able to raise 10,000 francos for the elderly maestro.

ENGLISH MUSIC

It was no easy task for the English to impose on the Italian dominance; yet from the XVII century on, some British composers attempted to do so in vain; the occasional and dignified exceptions being Purcell, and Britten in the XX century. With such a scarce production, there are merely two unhighlighted examples of Alhambristic settings on the musical stage. Firstly, *The Two Houses of Granada*, one of Joseph Augustine Wade's initial comic operas (Drury Lane Theater, London, October 31, 1826), possessing a tedious, yet evocative argument and excellent music (the duet "I've Wander'd in Dreams" was popular in that period). Then in 1868, the light opera *Zaide or The Pearl of Granada* by the German composer residing in London, Wilhelm Meyer Lutz, came out. As the director of an itinerant company, he represented his work for the first time in the Royal Alexandra Theater and Opera House of Liverpool.

SWEDISH MUSIC

Swedish is the only Nordic language in which a staged work can be reported here; specifically, the *operetta* entitled *Granadas Dotten* (The Daughters of Granada), by Ivar Hallström. Its grandiose opening night was on November 26th, 1892 in the Swedish Theater of Stockholm. The *libretto* was written by Henrik Christiernson; set in the Alhambra during the XVI century. This *operetta* included a vast array of prestigious Castillian names such as: Eleonora, Jacinta, Ruiz and Sanchica as narrator; as well as an instrumental fandango at the beginning of the fourth act, which was conserved in the orchestral repertoire of the period.

SPANISH MUSIC

In Spain, the endeavors to create a national opera were, needless to say, herculean and distressing; mainly throughout the second half of the XIX century. The great opera which everyone had dreamed of could never be freed from the yoke of the Italian giant; yet, the efforts did give way to the Spanish comic opera, better known as zarzuela. The Arabian-Granada legend was a theme used even in the early attempts of paving a way for the extravagant national opera. Baltasar Saldoni, who was convinced that Spanish could be as “singable” as Italian, put music to the text of the ill-fated Granada-born poet, Miguel González Aurioles (he died at just 25 years old). *Boabdil, último rey moro de Granada* (Boabdil, the Last Nasrid King of Granada), whose sheet music underwent various and unsuccessful attempts and variations, was finally presented in June of 1845 in a private performance in the Lyceum of Madrid; and on top of all that, with a text written in Italian. When Emilio Arrieta composed *La Conquista de Granada*, it received much more acclaim. The *libretto* was written by Temistocle Solera (famed author of Verdi’s first operas), and both composer and librettist were protégés of Isabel II; thus, they dedicated the opera to her for her 20th birthday. This performance also took place in a private event given in the Teatro del Palacio del Oriente on October 10th, 1850. As all of the attendees were greatly impressed with the work, its creators soon began preparing for its production in the Real Coliseo, or Teatro Real. However, as fate would have it, the premiere of this nationalist opera was postponed until December 1855, year in which it was finally put on stage as *Isabel la Católica* in said venue. In this instance, they took advantage of the opportunity to defend the monarchic institution in that the work inferred a parallelism between the legendary Catholic Queen and the then controversial Isabel II. Years later, Arrieta, as a renowned zarzuela composer and anti-monarchist, used the theme of the Fall of Granada in *El Caudillo de Baza* or *The Lord of Baza*. The setting was transferred to the city of Basti, the origin of present day Baza, Granada (Teatro Principal, Barcelona, January 22, 1863). Felipe Pedrell spent years trying to get a *libretto* written by J.B. Atlés, based on a novel by Chateaubriand, *El último Abencerraje* (The Last Abencerraje), on stage. It wasn’t until 1874 that the work was represented in the Teatro del Liceo in Barcelona; curiously enough, under the requirement of having an Italian translated text.

The Granada-based legend of Al-Andalus did not escape the comic parodies and “Spanish music hall.” The most well-known, though not the only one, is *El moro Muza* or *Muza the Moor* by Ruperto Chapí. It is an authentic masquerade of Moors and Christians written by Federico Jaques (Teatro Eslava, Madrid, May 31, 1894). The other work, *El perro chico*, by José Serrano and Quinito Valverde and librettist Carlos Arniches (Teatro Apolo, Madrid, 1905), is a lyrical comic journey of Gypsy tango, oriental scenery and the characters of Zulima and Zoraida fixed on provoking high doses of laughter. As a final note in this brief historical report of staged music inspired in Granada, we must make mention of the incidental music composed by Ángel Barrios for the Moorish tragedy, *Aben Humeya* by Francisco Villaespesa (Teatro Cervantes, Granada, November 3, 1913).

MUSIC AND MUSICIANS IN GRANADA'S SETTING



Tenor Luigi Lablache as Soleimane in *L'esule di Granara*. March 22, 1822. (Lithograph by Josef Kriehuber)



Tenor Louis Neurrít as Almansor, from the opera *Les Abencérages* by Luigi Cherubini (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1813)

12. THE PIANO IN GRANADA DURING THE XIX CENTURY

At the end of the XVIII century the continued evolution of the pianoforte, which was the original name for the Italian invented “soft-loud” instrument, entailed a vital determining factor for the development of classical music. The earliest pianos producing sound through the hammer-string vibration gained a greater range of notes, higher sound level and more enhanced tones. Throughout the XX century, the piano underwent a refinement process from the hands of craftsmen to all spheres of classical music.

The guitar was the preferred accompanying instrument for boleros, tonadillas and other popular songs at the beginning of the XX century; however soon after, printed music made it possible to accompany these types of music on the new pianoforte. Until well into the century, this instrument would continue to be called the *cémbalo*, or harpsichord. In Granada, the companies which performed in the old Corral de Comedias or in the new Teatro Napoleón (inaugurated during the French occupation, called Teatro Nacional in 1812, later Principal, and finally Cervantes in the XX century), each had their own “maestro al *cémbalo*.” It was not until 1820 when “maestro pianist,” specifically in reference to Manuel Deschamps, who carried out this function in the Granada lyrical Company for years, was the definition given. In some of the city’s shops and in the only existing bookstore, belonging to Josef Polo Castillo, they sold sheet music for piano as early as 1803: “Minuets, 6 balls or modern contradanzas by Don Gaspar Smith...For 8 and 6 reales.” The piano gradually earned its place among the privileged homes, primarily in the aristocratic households, as a fashionable piece of furniture, while the guitar remained in use for music classes, popular songs and the ever-present patriotic tunes that were popular during the War of Independence. Distinguished palatial homes in Granada, such as of the Duke of Gor, the Count and Countess of Luque (whose soirees were frequented by Washington Irving) or the Count and Countess of Villamena, celebrated musical gatherings in which the piano was the centerpiece. There, the piano accompanied tonadillas, or opera arias, especially Rossini’s; whose music was well-known in Granada since 1820. The “dainty and graceful” hostesses or their savvy guest vocalists would serenade those present.

By 1830, there were two piano storehouses in Granada: one belonging to José María Izquierdo (an elderly military staff musician living in the city), and another of José Casielles on San Matias Street. The latter, renowned piano builder had won various awards in his trade, and even when he moved his business to Malaga in 1856, he continued serving his clients in Granada. On the premises, both craftsmen also offered knife sharpening, shoe cleaning and match manufacturing. In the same way, the emergence of the printing presses (by Miguel de Benavides, Josef Puchol, José María Zamora and the Ventura Sabatel family) proved to be fundamental for the expansion of sheet music in the first half of the century.

As there were no music schools at the time, those who did learn music had private lessons. The chapel musicians and organists were in charge of instructing a fascinating

generation of musicians in Granada. Some were able to benefit from the instruction of maestros such as: Vicente Palacios, hieronymus father Jiménez; the author of some interesting methods to accompany on the harpsichord, dated in 1807, and which he transcribed for piano in 1841, still conserved in the Municipal Archives of Granada. Another music tutor was the Cathedral organist, José Roura, instructor to Santiago de Masarnau; the son of a Madrid civil service worker assigned in Granada, who would later go on to become one of the most virtuoso Spanish concert pianists in the first half of the XIX century. Other musicians who learned under their instruction were: Bernabé Ruiz de Henares, the most important musician of Granada for half a century; Antonio Maqueda, who was chapel maestro in the Cathedral of Cadiz; Antonio Luján, a maestro of the Royal Chapel; Baltasar Mira, a successful concert pianist and professor; Antonio Palancar, the conductor of the Orchestra of the Teatro Nacional for years, celebrated violinist, composer, and José Tamayo's professor and pianist. All of the above mentioned composed religious and secular music for the classic style, using clear tendencies towards the Italian *belcanto*. Even before 1830, a piano was present to liven up the atmosphere after meals in the Salón de las Estatuas Café del Comercio, located in the Bailén Plaza (now Mariana Pineda); as reported in the *Boletín oficial de la provincia*: "They have placed a piano in the Café del Comercio in which a music professor from the city will entertain attendees with various pieces."

Even though in the pivoting European musical centers they had been creating the great classic-romantic piano repertoire since the XVIII century, some years would still have to pass before the works of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven or Schubert would expand exponentially and form part of the habitual repertoire. The operas of Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti and later Meyerbeer, Verdi and Wagner held the undivided attention of music professors and followers. A multitude of transposed versions for piano arose in the form of fantasias, variations or selections of the most acclaimed operas, often adapted to the piano by local musicians. Such was the case of the chapel master of the Cathedral, Vicente Palacios, who transposed bona fide versions of the most celebrated operas that had been represented in the Campillo venue, even though he had only heard them a couple of times, according to his pupil and biographer, Bernabé Ruiz de Henares. In addition, this sheet music rapidly arrived at the bookstores throughout the city and occasionally through European publishing companies.

1839 was a key year for the music scene in Granada due to the importance of the creation of the Liceo Artístico y Literario or Artistic and Literary Lyceum; from its headquarters in the Colegio de San Miguel, which became a cultural point of reference for the city throughout the century. From the initial session of its music department, vocalists accompanied on the piano were the true protagonists. Thanks to the chronicles of the newspaper, *La Alhambra*, we know the names and details of non-professional pianists such as: Antonio Salido, Dolores Vela, wife of Bernabé Ruiz de Henares, Emilia Zayas or Purificación Moya. As we can see, there were numerous wives and unmarried women who learned to play the piano; although they did it "to liven up and adorn the soirees," none of them were professionally ambitious, and if they were so inclined, they had to abandon those projects upon marriage. The great literary and traveler through Granada, Theophile Gautier,

reported how the city of the Alhambra “lived fashioned after Paris, and was abreast of the latest in music, while the peasants and servants sang fandangos and boleros with the guitar.”

The greatest concert pianist, Franz Liszt, toured three Spanish capitals in 1844, causing an enormous fervor wherever he went. The Hungarian virtuoso sojourned through Spain with his own piano in a custom-made carriage drawn by four white horses. Although the Lyceum went to great lengths to persuade him to include Granada, Liszt was advised against taking the treacherous roads to get to the city, thus missing out on that opportunity which undoubtedly would have delighted him and Lyceum members alike. It has also been argued that he did not include Granada in his journey because it would have coincided with Holy Week, a period of “rigorous bereavement” wherein no secular events were permitted. Notwithstanding, Russian Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka was in the city, though his influence amongst the refined music atmospheres was scarce. He merely appears to have made sporadic visits to evening gatherings at the home of Dr. López Flores and to the theater where famed Julián Romea and Matilde Díaz performed. Contrary to what he appeared to be writing in the preserved correspondence with his mother, Glinka was more interested in spending his time in the tavern belonging to the mythical guitarist Francisco Rodríguez Murciano alongside his lover, the young Gypsy singer, Dolores García. He also avidly participated in the zambras, ruckus and partaking of large amounts of wine. Even so, as it is well-known, Glinka's interest in the popular music enabled him to use its influence in some of his Spanish-style works as well as for other Russian musicians.

In these years of “asociacionismo,” or association memberships, other cultural entities that were aware of the musical genre, were emerging. Thanks to the aforementioned professors, an important generation of musicians began to stand out. Their meeting place was in the uninhibited *Cuerda Granadina*, a type of brotherhood which focused on culture in the city, although Granada was not the cultural center it could have been. This group, passionate about art, painting, writing, composing and making music unreservedly, gathered around the piano in the Carmen de Buenavista, home of the Italian baritone, Giorgio Ronconi, or in the residence of Mariano Vázquez on Recogidas Street. Among them was Ramón Entrala, author of various piano pieces; though shortly thereafter, he aspired for advocacy in Madrid. Another was Antonio de la Cruz, the most prolific and possibly one of the most dignified representatives of ballroom music in Spain; his numerous songs, mazurkas, waltzes and other romantic forms were highly praised in the aristocratic halls of the Court of Madrid. The son of the same name as the aforementioned guitarist, Francisco Rodríguez Murciano, also composed considerable music, mainly religious and short pieces for piano, as he came from a classical music background and was a bass singer in the opera company at the Campillo venue. Bernabé Ruiz Vela, son of Ruiz de Henares, composed two well-known works for piano – *Lejos de la Patria* and *La oropéndola* – thanks to which the sheet music was published, publicized, and sold in Granada's bookstores. However, the most prominent musician to come out of *La Cuerda* was Mariano Vázquez, one of the most influential Spanish orchestra conductors of the XIX century, pioneer of zarzuela compositions and extraordinary concert pianist. Vázquez produced plenteous piano adaptations of classic works and composed, among others,

Sonata en mi bemol and Tres bagatelas.

In the absence of Liszt in 1855, another Hungarian concert pianist on tour in Spain reached Granada and Motril; his adopted Spanish name was Óscar de la Cinna. He presented novelty piano works both in public and private concerts, some of which were accompanied by the theater orchestra. For instance, he performed several movements from the *Concerto for Violin Op. 61* by Beethoven (of which a piano version was played at the time), and others by Ferdinand Ries and Johann Nepomucek Hummel as well as various pieces of the “Viennese classics.” As a prolific composer, he presented some of his own works; many of which were inspired in Hungarian folklore and others in Spanish folklore. In the weekly cultural journal, *El Álbum Granadino* of 1856, various songs and pieces for piano by musicians in the city were inserted: polish, mazurkas, barcarolas, etc. Some of their names were: Antonio Martín Blanca, who would become chapel master at the Cathedral a year later, Antonio Guillén, Ramón Entala, Bernabé Ruiz de Henares, José Espinel y Moya, Antonio de la Cruz, Rodríguez Murciano, Natividad Mogollón (the only female composer found in the entire century apart from the cloister nun Elvira Losada), Mariano Vázquez and a fifteen-year-old named Antonio Segura. This latter musician would go on to become, after an extensive career, music professor to noteworthy XX century musicians in Granada, among them, Federico García Lorca. Precisely, Antonio Segura and Miguel Rivero were chosen as the piano accompanists for the *Escuela de Canto y Declamación de Isabel II*, founded by baritone Giorgio Ronconi in 1861. Maestro Segura always boasted of the opportunity he had had to accompany the vocalists in said school in the presence of Giuseppe Verdi while the renowned composer was visiting Granada in 1863. Soon after, complementary piano arrangements and songs performed by local artists appeared in various newspapers.

In time, José María Izquierdo’s piano storeroom in the Realejo district was inherited by his son Federico, also a frequent pianist at the Lyceum and piano and music professor in the Nuestra Señora de las Angustias Girls’ School. Then, Antonio Solá set up a workshop on San Miguel Alta Street which lasted until the beginning of the XX century. In the 1860’s Madrid-born Adolfo Montero Weiss opened a piano workroom in the Carrera del Darro first, then two others in Plaza Nueva and Zacatín Street. He had originally learned the trade from his uncle, the prestigious piano builder Guillermo Weiss, apart from having worked in the Bonifacio Eslava workshop, home of the most reputable music craftsman in Madrid at the time. Adolfo Montero Weiss’ business would later be inherited by his sons Adolfo, Eduardo, Luis and José María Montero at the beginning of the XX century. Likewise, at this time the piano manufacturer “López y Griffó” was established on Zacatín Street; which possessed the representation of the Erard y Pleyel houses for years.

In the increasingly frequent music gatherings, whether in associations or “distinguished” homes, the participation of women within high society was essential. In one of the periodic sessions organized by the Lyceum, specifically on August 15th, 1869, attorney Aureliano Ruiz expressed the sensations that seeing these young, inspiring artists, brought out. In his book, *Semblanzas de las liceístas: poemas a las individuales* (The Semblances of the Lyceists: Poems to the Female Members), he dedicated verses to them;

for example, to Eladia García:

“Es aún muy niña,
y toca con tanto gusto el piano,
que hace expresar con la mano
lo que no expresa la boca.
Toda alabanza es poca
para hacer su apología:
es hija de la armonía
y del arte mensajera:
¡es una niña hechicera!
La niña Eladia García.”

(She is yet a child
And already playing the piano tastefully,
expressing with her hands
what she does not pronounce.
Such praise is little
for what she deserves:
she is the daughter of harmony
and the messenger of art:
she is the enchanted girl!
She is Eladia García.)

Paso: Aureliano Ruiz also had poetic words for Sofia Paso, the daughter of Nicolás de

“Es una flor delicada
nacida en feraz jardín,
que parece transplantada
de las orillas del Rhin
a un carmen de mi Granada.

Del mundo para consuelo,
es de belleza un tesoro,
y de virtud un modelo,
semeja un ángel del cielo
con los cabellos de oro.”

(She is a delicate flower
born in a fruitful garden,
which seems to have been
transplanted from the banks
of the Rhine

to a carmen in my Granada.
The earth receives consolation
from the beautiful treasure
and a model of virtue
as of a heavenly angel
in locks of gold.)

The summer periods in which Mariano Vázquez spent at his home on Recogidas Street led to more of Granada's music enthusiasts seeking the classic chamber and romantic music. Taking after the existing Sociedad de Cuartetos, Granada formed its own in 1871 so as to enhance chamber music appreciation. Mariano Vázquez, who was a collaborator with Jesús de Monasterio in the Quartet Society of Madrid, began the idea of supporting local musicians. Such was the case of the Guervós brothers, Eduardo as conductor and his brother José; pianists Manuel Benítez and Cándido Peña (a prestigious pharmacist and acclaimed pianist); as well as string and wind instrumentalists. Initially they performed fragments from movements or popular adapted symphonic pieces; as their public was not used to listening to "long-winded" works. Moreover, it was a challenging feat to abandon the operatic fragments that the audience considered of supreme musical expression: "imagine the harmonious chords of the piano impetuously drawing on the majestic conceptions of Bellini, Mozart or Donizetti...." Apart from instrumental pieces, they also mixed piano solos in the endless programs, amongst which the finest creations of Beethoven, Liszt or Chopin began to stand out.

The activities of the Lyceum, the Sociedad Económica de Amigos de País, and the Sociedad de Cuartetos were consolidating a group of arts supporters which would become the *Cenáculo Granadino*, led by Francisco de Paula Valladar and the chocolate entrepreneur and devoted music admirer, Enrique Sánchez. In this period of the *Cenáculo*, numerous figures stood out: Ramón Noguera, composer and author of interesting orchestra works, chamber music and piano pieces; Eduardo and Cándido Orense, composers and outstanding pianists and organists; Enrique Valladar, brother of the illustrious Francisco de Paula; Antonio Cordoncillo, pianist and organist of the Angustias Church, and others such as the before mentioned Antonio Segura, Cándido Peña and notable pianist Emilio Vidal, who even performed for the Infanta Isabel de Borbón at the Royal Palace. There were also incredible musical moments at the home of Eduardo Mendoza, a businessman and renowned pianist. Here, on "a magnificent Erard piano," the host reportedly breezed through pieces as difficult as the *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2* from Liszt, or the *Polonaises* by Chopin. More music delights took place in other palatial residences such as that of the Alhambra curator, Rafael Contreras and the home of General José Luis Riquelme, whose daughter Sofía was noted in the local newspapers for her exquisite skill as a pianist. The well-known musicians in Granada were frequently invited to these private soirees in aristocratic settings; in many cases they were also the music professors for the family.

Among the members of the *Cenáculo*, their most habitual subject of discussion was regarding the superiority of the Italian opera, which was now beginning to receive

critics, mainly from the French. Yet, other topics such as the emerging Wagnerism or the imperious necessity to create the Spanish opera were often debated. Additionally, their attention was drawn to the importance of chamber and symphonic music, whose repertoire was becoming more and more widespread, although only in reduced piano versions or in less accredited variations for military bands. As the attempts to unify the musicians in the city were flourishing, they did not usually offer much romantic repertoire in the programs either; thus, symphonic music could only truly be known by way of the Concerts of the Alhambra performed by the Orchestra of Madrid in 1887.

The printed sheet music with references to Granada grew exponentially due to the literary influence of the works of Victor Hugo, José Zorrilla, Pedro Antonio de Alarcón and other writers who glorified the Granada – orientalism legend. In 1852, Salamanca-born Martín Sánchez Allú composed two pieces, *Faixa* and *El suspiro del moro* (The Moor's Sigh), which could be considered pioneers of the movement. However, it was after 1870, when these compositions became generalized alongside what in symphonic music was known as "Alhambrismo Musical." Works based on Granada can be found from Spanish composers such as: Rafael Taboada, Gaspar Espinosa de los Monteros, Antonio José Cappa, Pedro Ferrer, Cleto Zabala, Severo Ponce de León, Emilio Serrano, Lázaro Núñez-Robles, Manuel Giró and especially Isaac Albéniz and Enrique Granados. Foreign composers of the likes of Italian Giuseppe Menozzi, Polish Moritz Moszkowski, Rumanian Ion Ivanovici, Portuguese Miguel Ángel Pereira, French Emile Forgues, Achille Decombes, Theodore Dubois, Romuald Brunet and George Lamothe, German-Pole Heinrich Schulz-Beuthen or German Franz Böhr also offered Alhambristic sheet music. It also goes without saying that there was a continued contribution from Granada's composers, especially Antonio de la Cruz, who dedicated various works to his hometown while he was residing in Almeria. There, he was one of the professors at the Lyceum and published a specific methodology for piano exercises. While in Madrid, Antonio de la Cruz frequented settings where the emigrants from Granada attended; Pedro Antonio de Alarcón and his wife pianist Paulina Contreras de Alarcón, Antonio Arnao, of Murcia and Granada heritage, and his wife, pianist and composer Sofía Vela de Arnao; to whom he dedicated several of his cataloged pieces.

In March of 1881, Russian Anton Rubinstein, considered to be the indisputable piano genius of the time, arrived in Granada after a two-month tour in Spain. "He, who has surpassed Liszt, is now regarded as the best concert pianist in the world." Accompanied by his secretary, Rubinstein received a warm reception at the Estación de Andaluces from various local musicians along with some political leaders who escorted him to the Hotel Siete Suelos. Pianists Eduardo Soria and Cándido Peña were his guides the following day: "He was taken to visit the Generalife, the Alhambra and the Cartuja. He admired the Casa de los Tiros, the residence of the distinguished Don Lino del Villar, Italian vice-consul who showed him Boabdil's sword and other curiosities. Soria and Peña performed some pieces and Rubinstein placed his hands upon the Erard piano and played a *Polonaise* by Chopin, a *Barcarola* by Schubert and his own works. He strolled along the Paseo del Salón and relaxed in the home of Sr. Peña in the Acera del Casino where he presented a few of his waltzes. Numerous people asked to hear him play and the room filled up quickly, not to

mention bystanders in the street. There was also a visit to the Cathedral and the Royal Chapel. Later in the evening, they organized a Gypsy festivity so that Rubinstein could observe their customs and apply elements to his music thanks to his prodigious ingenuity.” Even though the public was not used to exclusively classic music programs, and in this case solely on a piano, the over 1200 seats of Isabel la Católica Theater were sold out. Francisco de Paula Valladar reported in the Madrid weekly *La Crónica de la Música*: “What a magnificent display in the theater; lovely ladies, and in respect to distinguished guests, there were figures of the aristocracy, science and literary world, arts, commerce, etc...all within the city of the Alhambra. Upon completing the concert, Rubinstein was called back on stage many times. The women and men in the theater boxes joined in their applause. The ovation was immense...Turning the piano into a language of celestial love, and with so much passion, is not accomplished through study; this is only bestowed on a genius.” In the first part of the concert, the Russian superbly performed his repertoire of Beethoven, Mozart, Händel, Field, Chopin, Mendelssohn and Schumann, and in the latter part, he played his own compositions. Following the concert, Rubinstein invited Soria, Guillen, Guervós, Orense, Solá, the Count of Gor and others to supper, where he gave a “heartfelt toast in French,” expressing his intention to return to his wife. This visit would be remembered as a commemorative milestone for music in Granada during the XIX century, as well as for the influence that his presence had on the musicians in town. According to *El defensor de Granada*, Manuel, son of José Guervós, a 15-year-old enraptured attendee, remarked at the end, “Who is going to play now?” Naturally, the youth continued his piano training and went on to become a noteworthy concert pianist in his own right.

Número 17 (207)

ÚNICO CONCIERTO
DE
ANTONIO RUBINSTEIN

PROGRAMA

1.º	(a) Overtura de Egmont.....	Beethoven.
	(b) Rondó.....	Mozart.
	(c) Giga.....	Haendel.
	(d) Sonata.....	Beethoven.
	Allegro.—Largo.—Final.	
2.º	(a) Nocturno.....	Field.
	(b) Marcha turca de las Ruinas de Atenas.....	Beethoven.
	(c) Fantasia.....	} Chopin.
	(d) Nocturno.....	
	(e) Polonesa.....	

DESCANSO DE QUINCE MINUTOS

3.º	(a) Variaciones serias.....	Mendelssohn.
	(b) Estudios sinfónicos.....	Schumann.
4.º	(a) Melodía.....	} A. Rubinstein.
	(b) Capricho.....	
	(c) Barcarola.....	
	(d) Tarantela.....	
	(e) Romanza.....	
	(f) Vals-capricho.....	

El piano de cola es de la fábrica ERARD.
Al finalizar cada número, Mr. Rubinstein se levantará para descansar algunos instantes. Se suplica al público no lo considere como entreacto ni se retire de sus asientos.
Asimismo se suplica al público que no entre en la sala durante la ejecución de las piezas.

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Biblioteca del Hospital Real (Hospital Real Library)

If 1881 was the year of Rubinstein, 1882 was the year of the young Spanish virtuoso, Isaac Albéniz, who at merely 21, was preceded by his enormous fame: "Spain heralds the best; Pradilla, Gayarre, Sarasate...and the elderly Liszt and retired Rubinstein, we now have Albéniz." During his three-week stay in Granada in the summer, he made

many friends and participated in various gatherings and music soirees in the manorly homes of the city. He presented his initial important works as a composer, though they were not essentially the Spanish style which would later stand out in his works following his travels, specifically to Granada; from where much of his inspiration originated: “There is nothing more captivating than the sun that sears the narrow streets of Granada; if one could absorb all of its colors, how amazing that would be...The allure of Granada which I am attempting to present to my fellow Catalans is all art...full of beauty and emotion.” Albéniz played the *Cuarteto para piano y cuerda* by the Cathedral chapel master, Celestino Vila de Forns, dedicated to the Infanta Isabel de Borbón; composed as a commemorative piece for her visit to the city in March of that same year. On various occasions Albéniz demonstrated his knowledge of the Lerida-Granada musician’s pieces, and he dedicated his *Quinteto para piano y cuarteto de cuerda* to him; performed by the Sociedad de Cuartetos de Madrid. In addition, he performed in the Teatro Principal on July 5th and 17th; on the latter date he played a duet, as he had on other occasions, with his friend Cándido Peña. At these concerts, Albéniz presented Wagner’s music for the first time in Granada. In the first of these concerts, he offered *The Tempest*, a fragment from *Das Rheingold* (The Gold of the Rhine), which he included within the program on the 17th; moreover, he performed his *Serenata andaluzá* during these concerts. In this period, he befriended young Manuel Guervós, who soon became his music partner for the concerts in Madrid, and to whom he dedicated his *Sonata n.º 3 para piano*, which the concert pianist of Granada premiered in the Salón Romero in 1887. In the years to follow, Albéniz reached his pinnacle in his most characteristic works for piano, where he abandoned the ballroom style, masterly taking on the essence of Spanish music, and in particular, the Granada style: *En la Alhambra*, *Torre Bermeja*, *Granada*, *El Albaicín*, *La Vega* or *Zambra granadína*. Shortly thereafter the spotlight would focus on another prodigious artist visiting Granada; violinist Pablo Sarasate, who Cándido Peña skillfully accompanied in his concerts. By October, another excellent pianist and composer, Teobaldo Power from the Canary Islands, was a guest in the prestigious pharmacist-pianist Cándido Peña’s home; just as other distinguished artists. Other examples are Emmanuel Chabier and Camille Saint-Saëns, who turned down the offer from the Center for the Arts to give a concert in the theater, because the Frenchman wished to go unnoticed.

During the stay of Alfonso XII’s sisters in March 1882 in Granada, Celestino Vila and his before mentioned *Cuarteto*, received an unexpected recognition. The Infanta Isabel “believed it was Haydn,” thus the piece continued to be played for years to come. He later composed his *Quinteto* and another *Cuarteto para piano y cuerdas* that he dedicated to his pupil and fellow organist at the Cathedral, Eduardo Orense. The same was the case with his *Seis sonatas para piano u organo*, which an editor from Madrid tried to pass on as posthumous works from Beethoven’s youth, as they were so similar to the classic style. The other musician from Granada given the opportunity to display his talent before the Infantas, especially Isabel, who was the most musically inclined, was Manuel Guervós with his *Nocturno para piano y cuerda*. He inscribed the sheet music and later presented it to the Infanta in the Palacio Real in Madrid accompanied by Jesús de Monasterio and Mariano Vázquez, upon receiving the protection of General Riquelme to continue his studies in the Spanish capital. In no time, the young pianist stood out so much that he was requested for

various music tours by Pablo Sarasate, as well as participating in numerous concerts alongside some of the most distinguished musicians in the Court, including Albéniz. Without a doubt, he was also granted the opportunity to be named accompanist in elderly Giorgio Ronconi's class in the Conservatory. In addition, Manuel Guervós was a remarkable composer who offered outstanding ballroom style pieces with a certain Chopin-flavor.

With the creation of a music department in the Centro Artístico in 1886, came new musical vigor to the city. Within its halls, pianists such as Emilio Vidal, the Orense brothers, the Guervós or the promising Laura Ontiveros (who studied piano in Madrid under a scholarship from the Diputación, or regional council, later in Paris, and finally renounced her career when she married a wealthy Frenchman), were frequently heard. Whether as soloists or accompanied by instrumentalists or vocalists, the artists (guitarists and pianists) were given the opportunity by the Orfeón, or chorus, founder and director of the Center, Aureliano del Pino, who unfortunately died prematurely, although he left several notable works, some of which for piano. In the initial sessions and concerts of the Centro Artístico, Mariano Vázquez dedicated a *Minuetto*, which had been published in their *Boletín*. On this occasion he was accompanied by brothers Manuel and José María Guervós, both beneficiaries of Diputación provincial funding in Madrid in 1884, and in 1886 respectively. José María Guervós, six years younger than his brother, substituted him as the preferred pianist of the Court (greatly due to certain problems that Manuel had had, which led him to settle down in Santander as a pianist in the exclusive Club de Regatas, or rowing club; there, his life fell apart and he was admitted into the Ciempozuelos Mental Institution, where he died shortly thereafter). José María soon became known in Madrid as an exceptional concert pianist and performed duets with Albéniz; as well as accompanying instrumentalists such as Sarasate, Casals, Fernández Bordás and others. He was a professor at the music Conservatory and of the Royal Family, from whom he received the Cruz de Isabel la Católica award. As a composer, he offered numerous successful piano pieces such as his magnificent *Allegro de concerto* of 1899, as well as others composed in the XX century.

Towards the end of the century the customary piano placed inside cafés, was widespread. In the city of Granada, pianists and instrumentalists as well, were able to make a living this way. In Café Suizo, de León, de Italia, del Callejón on Mesones Street, or the famed Alameda of Plaza Campillo, apart from pianists, musical ensembles such as the Romero, Montero or Benítez sextets performed with a piano and instrumental string and wind quintets. Their repertoire included their own arrangements of symphonic or lyrical works. The other alternative for these musicians was to give private music lessons in societies such as the Económica de Amigos del País. There, the project "Enseñanza de la Mujer" was run by professors: Eduardo Guervós, Emilio Moreno Rosales and the future professor of the Escuela Normal, Pilar Iglesias. Additionally, they taught in the Escuela Municipal created by Enrique Valladar and Antonio Segura, or in the Lyceum. Moreover, there was a surge of mechanical pianos, or nickelodeons, though not always for the greater good. "On Elvira Street, there is a festive piano in front of the tavern on the corner of Lecheros Street. Since the music arouses and raises belligerent temperaments as well; that

mixed with wine, turns into an infernal cycle of violence.”

The title of the “romanza sin palabras” *Ilusión perdida* by Ramón Noguera could summarize the disenchantment of the generation of musicians in the *Cenáculo* at the end of the century. The composer and notary died in 1901 without receiving his much-desired recognition; though others had. Numerous composers of the generation had remained in Granada, making a living playing in cafés and giving music lessons. An example of this would be the auspicious Cándido Orense, who, although he had published a number of his piano pieces in the Catalan *Ilustración musical*, composed light songs and pieces for the celebrated “canzonetistas,” that is to say, for the female soloists, along with frequently playing the organ in churches and the piano in some of the cafés in Granada till the end of his days. Francisco de Paula Valladar, resistant fighter, eloquent XIX century writer and melancholic chronicler of the XX century judged: “In Granada, one would have quite a task when he tries to get something done surrounded by the indifference of everyone and the ill-disposition of others for whom just being from Granada is reason enough.” Antonio Segura was right to encourage his disciples Francisco Alonso and Ángel Barrios to seek their musical fortune in Madrid, so as to not fall into the pit Valladar had warned about.



The National Library of Spain



Pianoforte by Lucas Martín. 1830. Museo-Casa de los Tiros

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13. JOAQUINA PINO: GRANADA'S QUEEN OF THE APOLO

The Teatro de la Zarzuela in Madrid had been the neurological center of the Spanish lyric performances for a number of years. During the 1880's, another venue in the capital started competing with it: the Teatro Apolo, which in just a few years was home to some of the most popular zarzuela premieres, for which it became known as "la Cathedral del Género Chico," or the cathedral of the Spanish lyric genre.

Within the competitive realm of successful artists in the genre, Granada-born Joaquina Pino was exceptionally notable. Born in 1868, she was the daughter of lawyer Miguel Ángel del Pino Melgar and Mercedes Cano. Her father, an avid theater-goer, held a long-standing friendship with actor Antonio Vico, who had been a resident in the Plaza del Campillo, where he also performed. When the family moved to Madrid for work reasons in 1885, Joaquina Pino, who had already displayed an undeniable disposition as an actress, was admitted in said actor's Company, whose venue was the Teatro Español in that period. After a few ephemeral roles in which she stood out for her playfulness and sporty character, she was given the opportunity to participate in the opening night production of the masterpiece of the Spanish lyrical genre, *La Gran Vía*, in the Teatro Felipe (a summer theater adjacent to the Retiro Park). Here, in the comic role of La Lidia, her vocal ability came to light; as a consequence, she promptly took up singing classes. Pino began combining her performances as an actress in the Teatro Español with small roles on the Eslava stage. "Very soon, she will be a star;" was the press declaration when her interventions in comic sainetes, or skits, of the lyric genre such as *Un pretexto* or *La virtudes*, together with mythical tenor José Mesejo became known. Her photograph began to appear alongside the celebrities who lined the walls of the Retiro venue: "In photography she is as dazzling as in person." With the now forgotten zarzuela *El gorro frigio* (The Phrygian Cap), she obtained her first significant recognition as a soloist; even inspiring praise from some of the more libidinous critics of the time:

"Con ese rostro divino
y esa figura elegante
no hay mujer como la Pino
ni actriz más interesante."

(With that divine face
and that elegant figure
there is no other woman like Pino
nor any actress as interesting.)

In 1890 she performed with the El Dorado Company in the Teatro de Cataluña in Barcelona and in the Teatro Princesa in Madrid; then she and her friend and mentor José Mesejo, changed to the Teatro Apolo. There, she went on to perform alongside some of the most fabulous zarzuela artists: Isabel Bru, Emilio Carreras, Luisa Campos, the before mentioned José Mesejo and his son Emilio, and Granada-born baritone José Ontiveros, among others.

Her true consecration as an artist, though, came with the music of her admired friend, composer Ruperto Chapí, in *La czarina*; and when Manuel Fernández Caballero did not hesitate in giving her the leading role for the opening night of *El dúo de la Africana*. Both parts catapulted her to being the recipient of the highest accolades, now considered one of the most admirable vocalists of the zarzuela at the end of the century. Her appearances sparked furor and signified guaranteed success. A true host of followers flocked to the doors of the Apolo whenever tickets with Joaquina Pino went on sale: “She has an array of unconditional admirers: some for her talent as an actress, others for her singing ability, and everyone for her splendid beauty.” The artist took part in the opening night performances of works as famous as *El tambor de granaderos*, *El santo de la Isidra*, and the premieres for which she was unable to perform: *La verbena de la Paloma* and *La Revoltosa*, which were significant, unique works of the period: “The roles that Pino plays cannot be equaled in her natural ability, ease, warmth and talent.” She received numerous call backs on stage and delirious ovations in every representation, mostly, as was customary in that period, with those works catered to her. Her dressing room at the Apolo would be literally flooded with flowers after every performance. It is also true that she participated in a number of genuine debacles; mostly due to shameful *librettos*. Yet, her intervention usually saved the presentation, as her presence on stage was the definitive crowd-pleaser: “Even in productions that are unworthy of her talent, she holds her place with determination and devotion – how many works has she salvaged from fiasco?” However, when her talent, and that of her Company, coincided with a brilliant piece, the result was a total apotheosis; such was the case with *Agua, azucarillos y aguardiente*, the stupendous piece by Federico Chueca; Gerónimo Giménez’s three works *La Boda*, *El baile de Luis Alonso* and *La Torre del Oro*; and *La reina mora* by José Serrano.

Even so, there was a composition which could not be saved from disaster, whose opening night happened to be her “beneficio” performance, where she herself, had chosen the work. This took place on March 22nd, 1904 and the lyric sainete in question was entitled *La obra de temporada*. The irritated crowd erupted with “yells, whistling and banging their canes against the floor..;” it was an authentic scandal. The melee intensified, so much so, that the spectators demanded a full refund, or at least a voucher for another performance. Joaquina Pino was forced to come out on stage and earnestly plead with the audience to settle for the performance of the Niños Collerg, “a troupe of acrobats who would close the performance.” Once the public saw Pino on the verge of tears, they gave her a heartfelt round of applause...though the moment she left the stage, the heckling once again reverberated within the walls of the theater....

Given the vast quantity of works premiering, it was impossible for all of them to

remain on a top-notch level, yet some, though forgotten today, were greatly fortuitous, for instance, *Los pícaros celos*: “Pino continues to display the splendiddness of her omnipotent figure” (at the end of the century these sopranos would be denominated “as graceful as they are curvy”), *El perro chico*, *Dolorettes*, *Albanicos y panderetas*, *La chavala* and some newer versions of famous old zarzuelas such as *El barberillo de Lavapiés* or *Los sobrinos del capitán Grant*. On the opening night of *La madre abadesa*, when Pino had the role of the nun, a salacious critic voiced his questionable pretensions: “No one could fathom Joaquina Pino rejecting love and denying her passions to be enclosed in a convent full of nuns. Tell her that if she is mortified by the cloister, she can let me know...so that I can shelter her in my arms.”

In 1907, the Teatro Apolo fell into crisis. Some claimed that it was due to the Spanish lyric genre growing old. The truth is that the theater was losing money and the owner decided to lower staff salaries, including that of Joaquina Pino. Needless to say, she immediately received a succulent offer from the Teatro de la Zarzuela, just as the Quintero brothers, the Apolo's lucky charm *libretto* writers, did. Pino, together with Lucrecia Arana and Leocadia Alba, formed a unique soprano trio in the theater on Jovellanos Street. There, she shared in the theater's prosperity with works such as *La patria chica*, *Los borrachos*, or some other well-known pieces: “There might be others who can sing better than her (only Lucrecia Arana), but there are no other artists like her: the way she speaks or sings, her sweet voice, her willingness; and why not say it? Her countenance makes Joaquina Pino a brilliant artist who can subdue the audience.” During this period, the Apolo Theater was frequently the target of criticism from the press: “The Apolo Theater is in grave decline; with trapeze acts, clowns, bears and variety show dancers, it is disgraceful! We miss Joaquina!”

On July 7th, the press announced her return to the Apolo stage: “Joaquina Pino is back with her exuberant womanly bearing, and with ‘the less curvy’ Quintero brothers.” And with that, the Apolo venue, on Acalá Street, instantly returned to its former glory. Pino once again worked with steadfastness in roles which were often mediocre in order to save the day with her wit and sizzle on stage. Nevertheless, the decadence of the genre was already manifested. With the exception of certain pieces, such as *La alegría del batallón*, *El método Górriz* or *El patinillo*, the public began to turn away from the zarzuela; which was continually losing ground, until a few years later when prosperous works, primarily from Pablo Luna, Amadeo Vives and José Serrano, came out. This bleak outlook, coupled with a significant deterioration in her voice, led Pino to give up her singing career and accept a contract as an actress in the Teatro Lara.

Far from curtailing, her fame grew exponentially in Madrid's animated theater world. Her triumphant presence in works by Jacinto Benavente, Martínez Sierra, Muñoz Seca and especially the Quintero brothers, provided her with even more fame and profits. Following her stint in the Español (1915) and in the Infanta Isabel (1917) venues, she finally retired from the stages in 1922. Apparently, the worsening of her myopia condition had something to do with her final decision. Isolated from worldly noise, she lived out her final years with her family and only made public appearances when the occasional tributes

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or press interviews came up. The first one took place in 1929, when the Teatro Apolo was finally demolished: “What would the main character, Julián, from *La verbena*, or Felipe, from *La Revoltosa*, say...?” Later, in 1933, the press reminisced: “Joaquina Pino conserves the freshness that captivated the audiences of the time...she lives on in these memories.” During that same interview, Pino commented, “the diagnosis I have been given from the distinguished Dr. Gregorio Marañón, is of nervous fatigue, caused by so many years of work.” On December 28th, 1948, Joaquina Pino passed away at 80 years old; and, true to the wishes of the once extremely admired artist, at her funeral only close friends and family attended.



Joaquina Pino. Biblioteca Pública Pontevedra (Pontevedra Public Library), c.1890

14. AN OPERA FROM WAGNER IN GRANADA

“An unrelenting avalanche of roaring, deafening sounds; those instruments were not played, they were jerked about, possessed in a dizzying frenzy.” This was the reaction of *El defensor de Granada* writer, Matías Méndez Vellido, upon listening to the Sociedad de Conciertos de Madrid execute Wagner’s overture *Der fliegende Holländer* (The Flying Dutchman) under the baton of Tomás Bretón in 1888. The audiences in Spain, and especially in Granada, had been absolutely captivated by the Italian opera; the genre had dominated the city’s cultural venues and satiated the artistic aspirations of the affluent echelons of society since the 1820’s. It is also certain that during the 1850’s, the zarzuela companies gained ground, and even became more common-place than the Italian opera, though its function was considered primarily for comic entertainment.

From the middle of the XIX century, the presence of Wagner started to appear in Spanish newspapers and, after years of delay, his operas were performed; yet his figure was always linked to controversy. The Teatro Real in Madrid, a Spanish reference for opera, did not program *Lohengrin* till 1881 (five years earlier, *Rienzi* premiered, though it was an opera from his youth which did not yet represent the Wagnerist creed). Thirty-one years after its opening night in Weimar, the work was sung in Italian, just as what would occur in the Teatro Liceo in Barcelona seven years later. Two of Granada’s prestigious figures residing in Madrid, were pioneer defenders of Wagnerism in Spain. Writer José Castro y Serrano, who had had the opportunity of being present in the inauguration of the Bayreuth Theater, promoted Wagner through his texts in *La Ilustración Española y Americana*. In addition, the pianist, composer and orchestra conductor, Mariano Vázquez, advocated the German’s orchestra works when he premiered with fragments of them in the capital and conducted *Rienzi* in the Teatro Real.

On March 9th, 1881, *El defensor de Granada* published an article entitled *La música de Wagner* by Antonio Igarza; there, he characterized Wagner’s music saying: “It is worthy of the genius who inspired it; this is the impression of Satan upon the sun, the blasphemy of the fallen angel. His notes emanate from an exalted mind. The composition is that of a madman...” The first time that the music of Wagner was heard in Granada was possibly during the summer of 1882 when Isaac Albéniz stayed in the city. The setting was on an occasion when various members of the so-called *Cenáculo* met in the home of Alhambra director, Rafael Contreras, for one of their frequent music gatherings. They asked the prodigious Albéniz and his childhood friend, the commended pianist and doctor, Cándido Peña, to play fragments from *Lohengrin* and *Tannhäuser* for the eager attendees. Days later, in the concerts that Albéniz offered in the Isabel la Católica venue on the 15th and 17th of July, he played “the extremely difficult piece,” *The Tempest* from *Das Rheingold*. A year later, in March 1883, the Banda del Regimiento de Antillas, deployed in Granada, performed the *March of Tannhäuser* in the Carrera promenade under the baton of José Taulé. That coincided with Granada’s favorite tenor, Enrico Tamberlick, charming the audience in the Teatro Principal with a variety of Italian operas, such as *Aida* by Verdi.

News of the death of Wagner in Venice on February 13th, 1883 was amply covered within the pages of the press in Granada. In his article in *El Defensor*, Francisco de Paula Valladar declared: “All those who were anti-Wagnerists should be aware that France has yet to do right by their great musician Berlioz; that Beethoven was thought to be insane; and that they heckled at the *William Tell* opera on its opening night. Innovations, reforms, progress; they all take time to set in; but one day they will receive their due justice.” In a concert series initiated in March of 1883, a double sextet with piano accompaniment, led by Carlos Romero, also conductor of the Banda de Zapadores Bomberos, included the wedding march from *Lohengrin*. Then, in the 1886 Corpus Christi Festival, a double-orchestra, under Cosme Bauza’s indications, introduced music from the overture of *Tannhäuser*. Though apparently, the early morning attendees (the concert began at 7 am!) were displeased with the result.

It was not until the 1887 Corpus Concerts in the Carlos V Palace with Tomás Bretón as conductor, and the Sociedad de Conciertos de Madrid performing, that fragments of the most important operas from the Leipzig composer could be heard. That being said, the debate over his music continued to spark rivalries. After a concert where the end of *Die Walküre* was performed in 1889, the chronicler of *El Popular* voiced: “It is a sensitive extreme – convincing theories able to renovate opera, turning it into musical drama, far from the old-fashioned scholastic formulas, banned for a good reason. The music then casts us to and fro, just strong enough to spare our eardrums, and what’s worse, corrupting the art. The master of Bayreuth has created a haven for an infinite number of spiritless authors who sway here and there, under the pretext of Wagnerism. They are invading the artistic world with tasteless, nauseating, truly artistic heresies and disorienting the public. These followers are encouraging negative art; promoting Wagner’s principle that everything and anything goes” (Harmónicus: *El concierto de anoche. El Popular*, June 21, 1889).

In 1893, in the light of the increasing presence of works by Wagner in the programs of the Orchestra from Madrid; and the subsequent discussions stemming from whether or not the composer was a genius, associates of the *Cenáculo* printed out a brochure in which several members expressed their opinions concerning “music of the future” in verse. The most belligerent and adverse was Ismael Rivas Calderón, who unhesitatingly phrased:

“¿Música del porvenir?
¡Si no hay nadie que la crea
y hay pocos que la difundan
y menos que la defienden!

Pero debo aclarar que Wagner
no es ni sol ni estrella
y su gloria discuida
pasará como cometa.”

(Music of the future?
No one would believe that
and there are few willing to diffuse it
and less who dare to defend it!

Yet let me be clear that Wagner
is neither sun nor star
and his fleeting glory
will disappear as the glowing tail of a comet.)

Granada's composer Ramón Noguera went on to decidedly reject Wagnerism:

“Filósofo en demasía,
funesta es su terquedad
por dar al ritmo unidad
deja al arte sin poesía.”

(Too much of a philosopher
his stubbornness too grim
to unify the rhythm
leaving the art void of poetry.)

The music climate was clearly divided by this time. On one side, there were the diehard Italian opera supporters. Confronting them, there were the loyal admirers of Wagnerism. Others preferred the esthetics of the middle stance German-born, French-Italian-style composer, Giacomo Meyerbeer. In all three cases, when 1900 arrived, a regular opera Company, conducted by José Tolosa, programmed *Lohengrin* for the Teatro Principal of Granada. This story of the knight on a swan-driven boat, considered the most attainable of Wagner's operas, was, of course, sung in Italian. The work was one of the great novelties of the season; its rivals were *La bohème* from Giacomo Puccini, premiering four years earlier in Turin, and *Mephistopheles* by Arrigo Boito. Other remarkable known operas topped off the season: *La Favorita* and *Lucia di Lammermoor* from Gaetano Donizetti, *Faust* by Charles Gounod, *Les huguenots* by Giacomo Meyerbeer, *Cavalleria rusticana* from Pietro Mascagni, *I pagliacci* by Ruggero Leoncavallo and three from Verdi: *La traviata*, *Rigoletto* and *Aida*. The opera from Puccini, the author's first to be heard in the city of the Alhambra, did not produce the much-anticipated acceptance; so much so that the first act did not receive any applause; and it was not until the *Waltz of Musetta* that the public “experienced a surprising change,” and they asked for two encores of the piece.

On November 6th, fifty-six years after its premiere, and after only two rehearsals, *Lohengrin* was represented on stage with “the most lavish set, decoration, props and wardrobe.” The criticism regarding the work went to the scant strings and woodwinds in

the orchestra. The leading soloists were Emma Petroski (Elsa), Augusto Dianni (Lohengrin), Isabel Riera (Ortrud), José Torres de Luna (Count of Brabant) and Juan Cubello (König Heimlich I), with a chorus and instrumental reinforcements from the military band.

The press generously covered the literary references of the “swan knight” and the music of Wagner; and *La Alhambra* magazine included photographs of the leading soloists. When the performance was over, there were mixed reviews. For some, it had been “a gargantuan presentation, shedding light on the true dimension of the Wagner revolution.” For others, the experience did nothing more than accentuate their foregone conclusions, as critic Pompeyo Giner judged: “It is the music of a decadent barbarian; invasive music from the other arts diffusing the literature for its own benefit.” Insofar as the magnificent decoration and Augusto Dianni’s stunning costume, the critics agreed unanimously. It was said that the orchestra had been “brilliant in the preludes, but mediocre in the overall execution;” and that the choruses, “while occasionally off, were still acceptable.” Francisco de Paula Valladar, in the pages of *La Alhambra* magazine, lamented the poor response of the audience and voiced an ominous prognosis: “Soon we will have the brazen couplets from the divas of the Spanish lyric genre; the laughter and slapstick comedy of vaudeville, and the farces of the *chulas* and *chulos* (typical ‘in’ crowd). We are doomed to only have Spanish comic opera.” Following the opera Company’s visit in the city, they boarded the train bound for nearby Guadix on the 11th of November. At their destination, they had been contracted by the local Lyceum; while in Granada, Wagner would no longer be represented.

MUSIC AND MUSICIANS IN GRANADA'S SETTING



Tenor Augusto Dianni. "Lohengrin" in Granada, 1900.

JOSÉ MIGUEL BARBERÁ SOLER

15. MARIANO VÁZQUEZ: GRANADA'S MOST PROMINENT MUSICIAN OF THE XIX CENTURY

On February 3rd, 1831, three months before the *garrote vil* was erected in the Campo del Triunfo ending Mariana Pineda's life, Mariano Vázquez Gómez, son of Joaquina Gómez and justice administrative official Roque Vázquez, was born on No. 16 Recogidas Street. He began studying music with the Royal Chapel organist, Baltasar Mira; and later with the Cathedral organist and reputable composer Bernabé Ruiz de Henares. The first musical anecdote of his life was cited by José Requena Espinar, a schoolmate at the former Colegio de San Miguel, who recalled a cultural event in which Mariano captivated the audience with several piano variations of *Norma* by Bellini. The activities that took place in the Liceo, or Lyceum association, founded in 1839, were very significant in his early years. There, he participated as a vocalist in the chorus or played the piano under the indications of composer and violinist Francisco Valladar, grandfather of Francisco de Paula Valladar. Thanks to frequenting the opera seasons in the Teatro Nacional, he became familiar with the Italian opera, particularly with the novel works from Verdi, whose opera *Nabucco* served for his piano for four hands arrangement at just 15 years old. In this period, curious cultural associations such as *El Pellejo* and *La Cuerda* were formed. There, young artists of Granada, under the leadership of Russian lithographer Piotr Notbeck and Giorgio Ronconi, invigorated interest in the cultural life of the city; gathering in the home of Vázquez (his brother, the painter and future stage designer, José, was an active member as well).

In the memoirs of *La Cuerda* and their conserved assembly notes, the jovial, uninhibited spirit of the group was made manifest in their musical and literary antics and whimsical drawings. Towards 1849, more or less parallel to Madrid, the zarzuela reached the stages of Granada, encouraging various musicians affiliated in the Lyceum to compose pieces for the innovative genre. Mariano was the prolific figure among them; he was able to premiere four zarzuelas in the city between 1850 and 1856.

Some "nudos," name given to *La Cuerda* members, took an intensely active part in the 1854 Revolution in favor of the progressive cause (Pedro Antonio de Alarcón even wielded a rifle), leading to grave conflicts with the local authorities and several of them fleeing to Madrid. Although Mariano Vázquez initially participated in the voluntary exile movement, he soon returned to his hometown. Finally, in 1856, after a brief stay with Ronconi in London, he settled down in the Spanish capital.

As a consequence, *La Cuerda Granadina* fell apart as most of the associates were frightened away; however, in Madrid many former components created the *La Colonia Granadina* from which many written anecdotes from Alarcón, Riaño or Castro y Serrano have been conserved. In the Villa y Corte, or capital city, Vázquez could count on the support of Granada-born soloist and businessman Francisco Salas, who offered him the post of piano accompanist in the recently inaugurated Teatro de la Zarzuela. He spent 10

years associated with the world of Spanish lyric representations; a passion which he shared with musicians Gaztambide, Barbieri, the *libretto* writer Olona and the before mentioned Salas. He specifically composed over twenty zarzuelas for that theater; some of which receiving great acclaim from the public. Shortly thereafter, Vázquez actively collaborated as a pianist and arranger of the novel Sociedad de Cuartetos, created in 1863 by Jesús de Monasterio. Said association enabled music enthusiasts to become aware of the classics of Central European music.

In the spring of 1864, Mariano Vázquez married Pilar Boldún (“the Sevillian woman who stole my heart,” were his words penned to Barbieri); she was the leading actress in the Company of the Teatro Principal, with whom he fathered two sons and two daughters. In 1866, he was named piano accompanist at the Teatro Real in Madrid; a post which lasted 6 years, in which he exhaustingly sojourned the provinces during their summer tours. When he received the job of chief conductor of the Orchestra of the Teatro Real in 1873, he could finally cease going on these tours and spend his summer vacation in his beloved Granada. In the hall below his residence, he organized amusing soirees in those times. His guests included music artists and followers from Granada, or occasionally, celebrated outsiders such as Tamberlick, Monasterio, Sarasate or young Albéniz, among others.

His fame grew considerably, thanks to his work as a conductor of the Teatro Real venue. Their premieres in Spain included *Don Giovanni* from the still little-known genius of Salzburg in his opera facet; *Der Freishütz* by Weber, or *La Gioconda* from Ponchielli. In 1873, when the First Republic government created the Sección de Música de la Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, or the Music Department of the Academy of Fine Arts, Vázquez was one of their 12 select members, where he carried out a prominent, essential role. Unanimously praised by critics, in 1877, the musician from Granada was chosen to conduct the first and finest of the Spanish orchestras, the Sociedad de Conciertos de Madrid. During the course of his 9-year period leading the Orchestra, he premiered quite a number of masterpieces; even though it was not customary to program them due to the extended fear of how an audience, used to exclusively Italian opera, would react. Not only did the conductor have this obstacle to face, but there was also the question of the public possessing little or no tolerance of the innovative German, French, or even Spanish symphonies. Yet, due to his persistence, audiences heard orchestra pieces from the ever-controversial Wagner, the *Violin Concert* by Beethoven (with Sarasate), the piano version from Saint-Saëns (with the author on piano), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* by Mendelssohn or the *9th Symphony* from Beethoven. The latter opened in Spain on April 2, 1882; nearly 70 years after it was composed. Offering these works for the first time in Spain signified a genuine milestone in the music history of the country.

Mariano Vázquez also stood out for his writings on music, where he displayed an exquisite knowledge in the field. The most known and disseminated of these was *Cartas a un amigo sobre la música en Alemania* (Letters to a Friend on Music in Germany), which included an engaging prologue from Arrieta. Here, Vázquez exquisitely conveyed his impressions during a journey throughout the country of his musical admiration alongside

pianist and composer Goldsmith and violinist Sarasate. In 1886 he stepped down from conducting the Sociedad de Conciertos and practically retired from the frenetic musical scene of Madrid. He undertook the recently created chair of the Conjunto Coral, or choral ensemble, at the music Conservatory, and soon after was commissioned as chamber musician to the Royal Family, upheld by its members in the utmost regard. In 1893, Regent Queen María Cristina granted him the Gran Cruz de Isabel la Católica; this, after he had already received the Carlos III award. In his final years, his creative facet focused mainly on religious music, though it is true that he had never stopped writing motets, litanies, masses and other pieces during his entire artistic career. On some occasions he dedicated these to his brother Blas Joaquín, a priest of Isabel la Real, and later in la Basílica de las Angustias, and also a canon at the Cathedral and academic.

On June 17th, 1894, after a three-month seclusion caused by a terrible fall and ensuing hemiplegia, Mariano Vázquez died in his home on Puentezuelas Street, Granada. Admirers prepared a funerary carriage drawn by four horses “with a footman sent by the bereaved mother of the boy King.” Porters from the Academy and Conservatory accompanied the carriage with lit torches. He was buried in the pantheon of illustrious men within the Iglesia Sacramental de Santa María, a noble temple in Madrid. The Compañía de Zarzuela of the Teatro Eslava, where Chapí conducted, offered Mariano's notable comic-lyric short work, *I feroci romani*, an ingenious parody of Italian opera, as a posthumous tribute. The Town Hall of Granada agreed to place a commemorative marble inscription at the house where he was born and that his family still owned, approved by the council in the month of September. Historian and musician Francisco de Paula Valladar, in *La Alhambra* journal, requested that the city change the name of Recogidas Street to that of maestro Vázquez. Many years have gone by since the home of Mariano Vázquez and the inscription have both disappeared. Maestro Vázquez has no street to be remembered by, nor are there any remnants of his existence in the city of the Alhambra.



Mariano Vázquez (Arturo Carretero: *Ilustración española y americana*, n.º 14, Madrid, April 15, 1878)

16. THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN EDUARDO TORRES AND MANUEL DE FALLA

Among the obituaries printed in the national press on the 24th of December, 1934, the sudden death of the chapel master of the Cathedral of Seville, Eduardo Torres was present. Within the pages, chroniclers of each journal attempted to summarize some of the prominent merits of the recently deceased: founder of the Orquesta Bética de Cámara and the Orquesta Sinfónica de Sevilla; the true heart of the Sección de Música del Ateneo and of the Sociedad Filarmónica de Conciertos; music professor at the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País and of the Hospital Real; “seises” instructor; conductor of the Capilla de Música of the Cathedral; composer of fine organ pieces, whether religious or secular; and lecturer, chronicler and music critic for religious journals and newspapers in Seville (*El Noticiero*, *El Liberal* and *ABC*). His friend and influential ecclesiastic musician Nemesio Otaño, in his obituary, written for the *Tesoro Sacro Musical* magazine, conveyed the relationship between the deceased Torres and Manuel de Falla: “For Torres, Falla was the embodiment of Spanish music. He adored him immensely.”

Eduardo Torres was born in the small Valencian town of Albaida, on July 7th, 1872. He studied in the capital of Valencia under Salvador Giner in the music Conservatory, and with Juan Bautista Guzmán in the Seminary. In 1895 he was named chapel master in the Cathedral of Tortosa, and then in Seville in 1910.

Even though Torres and Falla had already been acquaintances, their friendship stemmed from when they met in Seville for the 1922 Holy Week celebration. Falla, a native of Cadiz, left his residence in a carmen in Granada to attend the festivities; he was accompanied by several friends, including brothers Francisco and Federico García Lorca. On Holy Thursday, they attended the Cathedral presentation of the traditional *Miserere* by Miguel Hilarión Eslava; it was executed by the Music Chapel and conducted by Eduardo Torres. Upon completion, Falla approached Segismundo Romero, a cellist from Granada residing in Seville, and congratulated Torres on his conducting. From that moment in which they formed a friendship, the seeds of the Orquesta Bética de Cámara, or the Baetic Chamber Orchestra, took root. Manuel de Falla praised the quality of the musicians in the Andalusian capital, giving way to the inception of a chamber orchestra capable of handling both classic and modern repertoires (which would include the rarely interpreted works of Falla).

At that time, not only did Segismundo Romero frequently travel to his hometown of Granada for family reasons, as he came from a large musically inclined clan, but it also gave him the opportunity to accept Falla's welcoming invitations to his carmen. On one such visit, the maestro showed him parts of *El retablo de Maese Pedro*, or Master Peter's Puppet Show; a chamber orchestra piece based on a chapter of the *Quijote*, with choreography. This ongoing project, intended for puppets, had already been commissioned to premiere in Paris, under the express wishes of the Princess of Polignac. They discussed

the possibility of a preview in Seville, and therefore, at the beginning of 1923, the idea took form. Eduardo Torres was thrilled with the project and gladly offered to conduct the rehearsals, promising to have the Orchestra ready and leave a “clear path” awaiting Falla’s arrival in Seville.

While Torres clearly held his own as an ecclesiastic musician, he was also open to more advanced ideas in music and possessed a perfect knowledge of the latest developments in European music. As a composer, he had to abide by the *Motu Proprio* precepts, composing that which complied with the canonic legacy of Gregorian chants; yet, he was frequently unable to resist incorporating French tendencies in his organ works. His profound knowledge of Manuel de Falla’s work led him to immediately recognize the meritorious quality of the novelty. Moreover, his expansive, enthralling character convinced the musician to confide in him completely: “I am immensely honored by your offer to lead the preliminary studies.” The Sevillian “preview” took place on May 23rd, 1923; and while most of the public thought it incomprehensible, the representation could be considered a complete success, generating remarkable eagerness for continuance amongst the musicians and more seasoned music followers. Falla was greatly appreciative, especially towards Torres, who, in line with his habitual discretion, refused to take any credit: “You have no reason to thank me, as it is I who should be thanking you, from my lowly place. For me it is a true pleasure to have played a miniscule part in an extraordinary project such as the preliminary staging of *El retablo*. All my gratitude goes to you.”

During his stay in Seville, Falla had the chance to listen to Torres’ works on the Cathedral organ and insisted on having some sheet music of it sent to him in Granada: “And what about your works, for which I have been anxiously awaiting ever since I had the pleasure of listening to them in Seville and you have so graciously agreed to send me? The emotion that they have given me is unforgettable. Your modesty is equaled to your merit.” Torres, the epitome of modesty, replied: “I have not yet received the organ pieces that I have requested from the publisher in Madrid. When they arrive, I will send them off to you, but with certain hesitance, because although you are so kind to me, I know all too well that my faculties are somewhat limited.”

Subsequent to the success of *El retablo*, they began considering the creation of a chamber orchestra, and Falla, from the onset, wanted for Torres to conduct it: “The Orchestra has the potential to become something serious, worthy of envy. I am pleased as well, that maestro Torres is there to lead it. His collaboration guarantees an enhanced outcome.” Regrettably, destiny was not in the Valencian’s favor, as Archbishop Ilundáin categorically prohibited his participation. Truth be told, Torres himself had already expressed his doubts concerning the matter to Falla: “Will my Prelate give me permission? I fear that his irascible character will prove detrimental to my taking part in the project, which would pain me greatly.” In spite of mediation on the part of the orchestra commission, the Archbishop was immovable in his decision, forcing Falla to come up with an alternative; this turned out to be none other than Ernesto Halffter, his 19-year-old pupil who had left quite an impression on the composer. The young, talented musician from Granada studied the classic and modern sheet music intended for the Orchestra’s opening

night at Falla's side. In the meantime, Torres and the instrumentalists worked with the music in Seville, so that by the time Halffter had the works prepared, he could then incorporate Falla's indications; coupled with his own temperamental, youthful nature. Regarding musical style, Torres, Halffter and some of the musicians differed greatly, which led to various disagreements and discrepancies, so the atmosphere became unpleasant and unsettling for the Orchestra during these initial months. Falla repeatedly tried to conciliate both sides: "I confess that I am more than weary of your long-standing gossip and squabbles...I also wish that, once and for all, you put an end to the constant strain on the relationship between you and Don Eduardo. Mind you, if it were not for his enablement of the Orchestra, it would not even exist."

At the end of 1925, there was a vacancy for a chapel master in the Cathedral of Granada due to the death of Rafael Salguero. Apparently, Falla had been hearing of a number of rumors concerning his friend: "They tell me that you might be changing posts, from Seville to Granada. I suppose that they are unfounded rumors...it would be unpleasant if they were true. Of that you can be sure!" Indeed, this had been merely hearsay; even though Torres and his Archbishop were enemies, his activity was closely bound to the Sevillian music life. Torres was not even allowed to participate in a requested selection committee in Granada. Falla went so far as to try mediating on behalf of Granada's chapter on this issue as well: "Both López Dóriga, Cathedral dean, and the Cardenal strongly wish that you could take part in the tribunal and they have asked me to intercede in your acceptance. I trust you do not mind my insistence, but let it be known that your approval would bring me great joy!" Yet, under no circumstances was this going to happen; in time of Lent, adherence to the Diocese laws of the Cathedral of Seville were "the strictest," so the authorization was flatly denied. "I am deeply sorry that I will not be going to Granada, because, apart from the profound impact your visit has given me, it would have been wonderful to spend some days with you; it would have been a pleasure."

The correspondence between Falla and Torres diminished after *El retablo*, and Halffter's settling in as the chief conductor of the Baetic Chamber Orchestra. In a missive to Segismundo Romero, Falla took advantage of the opportunity to mention his friend: "Kind regards to Don Eduardo, although I do not know if he remembers me. Remind him that I am the one from *El retablo*." Torres did not take long in responding: "Forgive the delay... it is not from negligence, nor a lack of fondness; as my admiration for your talent continues to flourish, making our friendship an integral part of my humble artistic life. As I am aware of how much work you are dealing with, coupled with your meager health, I thought it unwise to bother you unnecessarily."

In his letters to friends in Seville, Falla always expressed interest in Torres; sending his regards and affection. Due to Halffter's frequent absences, Torres continued to collaborate with the Orchestra, though never taking on a specific position. As a musical critic, Torres took advantage of every occasion to praise the work of his admirable friend. Concerning a concert organized by the Ateneo of Seville, in which Falla conducted the Baetic, Torres voiced his opinion: "Its founder, Manuel de Falla, raised the baton, and all those present felt our hearts beat mightily. The execution of his work, *El amor brujo*,

breathed purity and power from its inspiration; it was truly marvelous and unique; the courageous Bética hosts magnificently follow his lead from the intricacies of the baton. The public heartily acclaimed Falla and his unmatched Orchesta Bética. Falla, as a conductor, has signified a revelation for us: no impressive ceremonial stances to impress the gallery; he permeates the work, integrating in perfect consubstantiality with it in his scrutiny and gesture, slight movements, indicating the finest graduation and infinitesimal change. His thought, his will, his intimate impressions, by unseen magnetism, mesmerizes both instrumentalists and audience; the perfect spiritual communion for artistic emotion to sprout and flourish. Long live this genuine glory of Spain!”

Eduardo Torres devoted his final efforts and afflictions attempting to create a music Conservatory in Seville. Abundant correspondence attests to the many sleepless nights Torres and the Sevillian musicians suffered in their pursuit. Manuel de Falla, who was the spokesperson for the Junta Nacional de Música (the National Music Board), along with the president, Óscar Esplá, were the recipients of various petitions for their intercession with the political authorities. However, neither Esplá nor Falla could do much of anything at all. Eventually, the music Conservatory was inaugurated in 1933 thanks to the influence of important people such as poet Joaquín Romero Murube, the president of the University, Estanislao del Campo, and Federico García Lorca. Where the National Music Board could actually intervene, was with assigning “outstanding, distinguished professors in their field;” for which the entity presented a missive endorsing figures of the likes of: Ernesto Halffter, the Cathedral organist Norberto Almandoz, violinist Telmo Vela and Eduardo Torres himself. The latter received the post of professor of composition, although he barely had time to carry out his charge; he died just a few months later from a “brief heart-related illness.”

The chapel master at the Cathedral of Granada, Valentín Ruiz Aznar, broke the saddening news to Falla, who immediately penned a letter to Norberto Almandoz: “I am overtaken with grief at the desolate news of Don Eduardo’s passing; who I highly esteemed as a friend and colleague. This has been an immense loss.” And a few days later, he expressed to Segismundo Romero, “Now is one of those occasions when the loss of a friend evokes the genuineness of affection felt for him. It is truly heartbreaking to think that I will never see him again; what remains is the sole consolation that our poor, beloved friend has found eternal peace; while we are left here to overcome the darkened clouds of our downheartedness.”

Months after the death of Torres, the Orquesta Bética de Cámara, under the baton of Ernesto Halffter, gave a concert in memory of the maestro, offering a program of his works. For a July 12th, 1936 tribute, Norberto Almandoz asked Falla to “say a few words;” this initiative, regrettably, would never take place because just five days after the request, the Spanish Civil War broke out.



Eduardo Torres Pérez, c.1925

JOSÉ MIGUEL BARBERÁ SOLER

17. THE PASTORAL SYMPHONY IN GRANADA

On December 22nd, 1808, Ludwig van Beethoven conducted the Orchestra of the Imperial Theater of Vienna for the opening night of an extremely long concert of his *Pastoral Symphony*. It was part of the fourth of his concerts for piano and orchestra within the first section of the program; followed by the *Fifth* in the second section; and *Fantasia for piano, chorus and orchestra* in the third. By the time they had finished, after four hours of his novelties in the chilly theater, there was hardly anyone left. Nearly 60 years later, on March 14th, 1866, the *Pastoral Symphony* premiered in Spain in the Gran Liceu in Barcelona, and twenty years after that, on June 2nd, 1888 (80 years after Beethoven's premiere), the Sociedad de Conciertos de Madrid, with Tomás Bretón on the podium, offered the *Pastoral* to an expectant audience of Granada in the Carlos V Palace. This was the first time that a complete symphony from the German composer was heard in the city of the Alhambra.

The execution of said symphony was a major event in Granada's music history. Before then, Beethoven's compositions had only been known to the affluent echelons of the city. Some musicians habitually played classical pieces in private soirees, where music followers tended to gather. These pieces included orchestral movements reduced to fragments and chamber music from the great "Viennese" composers: Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. To this end, Granada-born Eduardo Guervós del Castillo created the Sociedad de Cuartetos in 1871; the second oldest in Spain, after that of Madrid. In this cultural scene, a strong interest and devotion for Beethoven was forged; augmenting the desire to hear his symphonies performed by a large orchestra. These music lovers, however, did not represent the majority, who, similar to Tomás Bretón, feared the unaccustomed public's reaction to such long works; and with reason.

If the two primary newspapers of the time were to be any indication, there were clear differences of opinion on the issue. In *El defensor de Granada*, the anonymous chronicler judged the presentation of the symphony as totally inappropriate: "The second part of the program was more important and transcendental because what was played, the famous *Pastoral Symphony* by Beethoven, was so well received by those knowledgeable of the art; even though the general public lacks sufficient training to appreciate the conductor's expertise, the charming melodies, its descriptive power and the coquetry of the instrumentalists. The *Pastoral* is outside of the sphere of the general public, which would not be able to fully comprehend its vast erudition which is essential to measure its beauty. Therefore, we believe that it is precarious to present such a refined piece to a novice audience."

It goes without saying that this viewpoint received a strong backlash from Francisco de Paula Valladar, music critic of *El popular*, and unconditional friend of Tomás Bretón. Valladar openly chided the analysis given by his rival in the other newspaper: "The music critic of *El defensor de Granada* characterized the instrumentation of the *Pastoral* as

‘coquetry’ in its execution. It is not reckless to perform the works of Beethoven to a discreet audience of Granada. What could certainly be considered ‘reckless’ is to assume that the public opinion is governed by that of one newspaper; especially when said entity is incapable of being self-critical and possessing a wide enough erudition to know exactly what the public is looking for.”

In the pages of the *Boletín del Centro Artístico*, Matías Méndez Vellido expressed: “The rendition of this masterwork produced authentic eagerness for more, evident in the lingering applause and requests for encores. It is understandable that it would not be reasonable for every part of the symphony to be repeated, even though some were played on consecutive evenings, taking the spectator to the summit of profound delight and absolute concentration in their art. The execution was complete, distinct and crystal clear; granting us the possibility of appreciating the infinite grace of this grandiose panorama; keeping in mind the hindrances which they have had to overcome in order to offer this magnificent demonstration of musical genius.”

In the complicated balance between the music followers, be it those knowledgeable or those defending a more popular essence in the concerts; reality tipped the scale in favor of the latter. The *Pastoral* did not appear in any of the five remaining concerts, and the *Eroica*, which had been on the program, was eventually eliminated. *El defensor de Granada* elatedly conveyed appreciation for the gesture: “We commend Sr. Bretón for trying to please his admirers in Granada with the inclusion of works that the audience prefers.” The public of Granada had to wait another year before the *Pastoral* could be heard once again: and finally, the *Eroica*; then in 1890, the *Fifth*. On all three occasions, the symphonies were heard in the Carlos V Palace Corpus Concert series executed by the prestigious Sociedad de Conciertos de Madrid, under the Salamanca-born maestro, Tomás Bretón.

MUSIC AND MUSICIANS IN GRANADA'S SETTING



José Comba: *Vista general del Palacio Carlos V*. Archivo Municipal de Granada
(Municipal Archive of Granada)

JOSÉ MIGUEL BARBERÁ SOLER

18. RONCONI AND GRANADA, ADORED AND FORGOTTEN

Another sweltering month of August was nearing its end, when in 1852, Giorgio Ronconi, unanimously considered the “king of baritones,” arrived in Granada for his five upcoming opera performances. The indescribable elation that he sparked among his admirers had been unmatched in the history of lyric theater. Here, the illustrious Italian found a city completely surrendered to his art with the zeal of that unique nucleus of intellectuality that the members of *La Cuerda* formed. This leisurely-cultural association had sown the seed for a burlesque counterpart to the strict, old-fashioned romanticism. To this end, the cheerful, humorous character of the Italian played a significant role. The renowned vocalist arrived, accompanied by Antonia Onrubia, a dark-eyed Malaga-born widow he had met in Madrid; whose bubbly congeniality salvaged him from his painful state when his wife abandoned him. Onrubia eventually became his inseparable life partner. Ronconi settled for the perfect situation; purchasing a vacation home with a garden called the Carmen de Bellavista (later called Ronconi), on the Mauror Hill, just below the Alhambra; alongside the people he loved.

Ronconi was born in 1812 in the resplendent city of Venice. His father was a singer at the service of the Napoleonic Court. Giorgio was the second of three siblings who also happened to be opera vocalists: Felice and Sebastiano. At just 16 he made his debut in the opening night of Bellini's *La straniera* (The Foreign Woman) in the Pavia Theater. Following that, other opportunities to represent exceptional works, mostly from Donizetti appeared; the maestro of Bergamo intentionally composed works with Ronconi's harmonious voice and characteristic quaver in mind. In 1837, he married 16-year-old soprano Elguerra Giannoni in Naples; with whom he had a daughter, his inseparable, cherished Tonina. On March 9th, 1842, Ronconi performed in the opening night of *Nabucco* by Verdi, in the Teatro alla Scala in Milan. This masterpiece of the opera repertoire represented a turning point in music history as it was acknowledged by the Italian public as a stand against the Austrian dominance. From this year on, the Italian baritone commenced a musical journey from one European city to another amassing triumphs and benefits: London, where he was adored and beckoned by admirers, including Queen Victoria; Vienna, where sang for the opening night of one of Donizetti's last creations, *Maria di Rohan*, becoming their opera of choice; and Paris, where he conducted the Théâtre-Italien for a number of years. From February to November of 1846, he began performing in Spain for the first time in the Teatro Circo. At the time, said theater was being run by the great Granada-born bass, Francisco Salas, with whom he struck up an engaging friendship and went on to collaborate with in sessions at the Liceo. Later, in 1850, while in charge of forming a Company for the Teatro Real inauguration, Salas insisted on Ronconi's participation as a cast member, after arduous negotiations in Paris.

At sundown on the 28th of August, 1852, from atop of the stagecoach that had made the 3-day torturous and dangerous Malaga-Granada route, including an overnight stay

at inns in Ronda and Loja, the driver yelled, “Granada! Granada!” Ronconi, his lover Antonia, her daughter and tenor Vareli, who accompanied him on the Andalusian tour, set their eyes on the prominent red towers of the Alhambra for the first time. The newly arriving soloists were joining the Company that Francisco Porcell was directing, and who had been representing operas during the spring and summer seasons. The audience of Granada, packed into the Teatro Nacional, manifested “an indescribable exhilaration, and there were spontaneous outbursts of elation” while witnessing Ronconi’s execution of the role of Antonio in Donizetti’s opera *Linda di Chamounix*. The three other operas represented were: *Nabucco* from Verdi; *Maria di Rohan* from Donizetti and *Il barbiere di Siviglia* by Rossini; increasing the idolization of the Italian singer even more. Giorgio and Antonia spent blissful periods in Granada, and did not hesitate to prolong their stay; even though it meant cancelling some of the Seville performances, to the chagrin of his followers there. Ronconi actively took part in the gatherings of *La Cuerda*, where his congenial, light-hearted nature delighted all those present. He also was in charge of several charitable efforts, such as the creation of a Shelter for the Homeless that he funded for years. All of these undertakings came about when he bought the before mentioned carmen for his retreats from the international stages. On September 18th, he left Granada, together with his inner circle of family and friends, including clarinet player, editor and businessman Antonio Romero, heading for Malaga. There, they boarded the *Elba* steamboat which would take them to Marseilles and later on to Saint Petersburg. The long-lasting impression he left on Granada was conveyed in the *Corona poética al eminente artista Ronconi*, (The Lyric Pinnacle to the Eminent Artist Ronconi) where various local poets lauded the baritone; among them, young Enriqueta Lozano:

“¡Oh Ronconi!
Si acaso otras naciones ensalcen
lo sublime de tu aliento,
di que en Granada hallaste ovaciones puras
como el celeste firmamento.”

(Oh Ronconi!
If by chance other nations extol
your sublime breath
tell them that in Granada you received ovations as genuine
as the heavenly sky.)

After his triumphs in the Imperial Russian capital, including being granted the Red Cross of Saint Ana by Tsar Nicolas I, then an exalted stint in London’s Covent Garden, where he presented the most recent creation of the genius of Busseto’s *Rigoletto*, Ronconi returned to his now rehabilitated carmen in the summer of 1853. Aside from the San Francisco Inn that lithographer Piotr Notbeck had rented out entirely and No. 16 Recogidas Street where musician Mariano Vázquez and his brother José, a painter, lived, the Carmen de Bellavista became a favorite meeting place for *La Cuerda*. There, all types of anecdotes

took place. For instance, on one occasion, Prince Adelbert of Bavaria marked the beat of a fandango with musician Ramón Entrala, accompanied by Francisco Rodríguez Murciano (eponymous son of the celebrated Flamenco artist) on the guitar, in a room full of hand clapping *Cuerda* music lovers. It was also common-place for Ronconi to have guests of the likes of the legendary tenor Enrico Tamberlick or Giuseppe Verdi and his spouse Giuseppina Strepponi lodging at his carmen in 1864. Meanwhile, Giorgio Ronconi kept up with his singing commitments during the lyrical seasons in the important European and American venues. Following his stay in London in 1854, where he had been accompanied on the piano by Granada's Mariano Vázquez, Ronconi crossed the Atlantic in order to sing for the first time on New York, Philadelphia and La Havana stages. In each of these theaters, he offered *La espumita de sal* as an encore dedicated to his dear friend Antonio de la Cruz of Granada. His return to the city of the Alhambra in 1855 coincided with an outbreak of cholera that truly wreaked havoc in the city. The baritone organized benefit activities and went out of his way to support the victims using his post as a spokesperson for the Junta Municipal de Beneficencia, or the Municipal Welfare Board. Queen Isabel II named him an honorary professor of the music Conservatory in Madrid and gave him the Cruz de Isabel la Católica award for his outstanding services during the epidemic. By this time, nearly all of the components of *La Cuerda* had left Granada for political reasons; most having settled in Madrid, where they resumed their activities in the denominated *Colonia Granadina*. Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, one of his most avid admirers, proudly made mention of one of Ronconi's visits to Rossini's soirees in Paris. He was the most sought-after artist in the Teatro Real in Madrid and other European venues for his "evoking artistic and dignified style: "The crowd presses against the ticket booth, the box seats are replete, as are the patio seats and galleries in the sold-out theater..."

While he made enormous achievements on the most impressive opera stages, he left some dependable friends in Granada entrusted with overseeing his charitable projects, including handing out bread to the poor every Monday or providing clothes for the beggars in the shelter. Even in the face of tragedies that occurred during his stays in Granada, he organized benefit functions; such as when Puerta Real suffered from the devastating fire of 1856. The press echoed the public opinion of the artist's willingness to assist: "In Granada, we are blessed to have an always great and magnificent Ronconi." The Italian also endeavored to meet the urgent needs of the families whose sons had been called to arms in the War of Africa, "with a sense of patriotism many sons from here would wish for." His friends Ramón Entrala, Francisco Rodríguez Murciano, Antonio de la Cruz and Bernabé Ruiz de Henares each dedicated a piece in their *Álbum musical*, "luxuriously and carefully lithographed," with his portrait by Miguel Pineda "printed on paper from China." The tandem of waltzes from the edition entitled *Ronconi*, were played in the program intermissions in the Teatro Circo in Madrid. Poet José Salvador de Salvador wrote:

“...Tu Ronconi..., la piedad granadina estimulaste
y el bien y la virtud has hecho
¿Dónde habrá lengua
que a tu elogio baste?”

(You, Ronconi, have stimulated sympathy in Granada
and goodness and virtue manifested
where else could a tongue
speak so highly of you?)

(José Salvador de Salvador: *Ramillete lírico*, 1860)

Nevertheless, there is another altruistic deed for which he is most known; the project of creating the Escuela de Canto y Declamación de Isabel II, initiated in 1860. It signified a complete absorption of the Italian's time, funds and illusion. He rejected the succulent offer to establish the School in Barcelona. Against all odds, the institution was opened once he obtained authorization to establish the headquarters inside the Teatro Principal, and in February of 1862, his pupils came from all over Spain to enjoy the opportunity to explore the facilities on its inauguration day. Famous singers collaborated at the School, such as the North American soprano Elena Kenneth; as well as some professors from Granada, in particular, Bernabé Ruiz de Henares, as assistant director, and pianists Miguel Rivero and Antonio Segura. Regrettably, such joy was short-lived; disputes among the musicians, business conflicts and disregard from the government authorities pushed the initiative to a dismal end. On January 12th, 1864, Ronconi penned a severe criticism entitled *Cuatro palabras al público de Granada sobre la historia y disolución de la escuela de canto y declamación Isabel II* (A Few Brief Words to the Citizens of Granada on the History and Dissolution of the Isabel II School of Song and Declamation): "Granada had been my city of choice as the cradle of my project. I have joyfully reminisced on the pleasurable days spent there amidst intelligent and earnest youth; their willingness to advance in song, coupled with their talent and desire to enhance their studies and practice, encouraging me to pursue this project. Furthermore, the people of Granada have demonstrated on various occasions that they did not look upon me as a foreigner, but rather as a son, which led me to believe, even through hardships, that there would be support for my endeavors. Such was the hopeful origin of that School of Song, that in a mere two years, both opened and closed its doors; of that School which I have cherished as one who loves all that comes from heartaches and sacrifice; of that School which, with tears in my eyes, I will write the saddest of words for its epitaph." It was the end of the intense, yet ultimately squandered love story between Giorgio Ronconi and Granada. In addition to the collapse of the School project, there was a robbery as well; not to mention the bankruptcy of the Monte Piedad where Ronconi had all of his savings. The great baritone was then forced to sell off everything, including his treasured carmen, and sadly leave the city of Granada.

To make up for his extensive losses, Ronconi set about intensifying his tours to various Spanish and Italian cities, and even to Brussels, London and Paris. In the end, he opted for settling down in New York, where he had been contracted by the Meretzek Company. In the American hub, that was in the midst of development, following the Civil

War, the Italian continued to possess his characteristic charitable spirit. He participated in the creation of the Academy Theater and a music Conservatory. Unfortunately, when his economic situation appeared to have improved, he was the victim of a callous Italian businessman who had married his daughter, Tonina, and rapidly swindled the family funds. His daughter passed away in 1868 (in Madrid, Antonio de la Cruz dedicated a song to her: *Lacrime d'un padre*), and Giorgio, Antonia and their granddaughter returned to Madrid after their five torturous years in New York. In order to do so, Ronconi had to turn down an offer he had received from Saint Petersburg. Though the illustrious baritone accepted a new contract to work in the Real venue, whose orchestra was conducted by his friend Mariano Vázquez, he was only able to perform once; apparently his voice had suffered under so many upsets in his life. The solution he found was to focus on his teaching career. Thanks to the mediation of the Sociedad de Escritores y Artistas, or The Writers and Artists' Guild, he took on the post of professor of the National School of Song and Declamation in Madrid; a job that he would carry out for the remaining fifteen years of his life. He still, however, went through further calamities; for example, when he received a letter from La Havana lamenting the death of his brother Sebastiano, wherein the widow and daughter begged him for money. His ensuing response was to send them 16,000 duros; nearly all of his savings. It would seem, though, that this had been a cruel guile; because in 1885 Sebastiano turned up, very much alive and kicking, as a tenor *bufo*, or buffoon, in the Teatro de la Zarzuela. His estranged wife, Elguerra, now living in misery, showed up in Madrid to give music classes and plead for his forgiveness, and money. The inglorious spouse died in the Hospital de los Italianos in 1881 absolutely destitute.

In 1883, Giorgio Ronconi suffered a paralysis which, though left immobile, had not affected his mental faculties, enabling him to continue giving classes until the day he died. According to his old friend Manuel del Palacio, when, on January 3rd, 1890, Giorgio heard the funeral chords for the death of Julián Gayarre from his dingy little room on No. 14 Reloj Street, Madrid, where he lived with Antonia and his granddaughter, he whispered, "Julián has died in the pinnacle of his capacities; and I, in poverty and forgotten." Three days later, the Italian baritone passed away and his remains were taken to San Justo Cemetery, where the Sociedad de Actores y Artistas (The Actors and Artists' Guild) took care of his burial arrangements. Upon hearing of the artist's demise and the ensuing situation of distress of his widow and granddaughter, the aged Isabel II sent an important donation, as manifest that she had not forgotten the generosity and loyalty of the great baritone who had been so close during her stay in Granada.



Giorgio Ronconi. c.1860

19. FEDERICO GARCÍA LORCA'S MAJOR DECISION

During the intense days of summer over a hundred years ago, Federico García Lorca, who had just turned 18, had to decide between his two great passions: music and literature. He was the youngest and most persuasive among the Café Alameda gathering, known as the *Rinconcillo*, wherein his fellow members, including Melchor Fernández Almagro, Antonio Gallego Burín, Ángel Barrios, Ismael González de la Serna or Hermenegildo Lanz; considered him to be a promising musician.

In 1909, the García Lorca family moved into number 46 Acera del Darro Street. Even as a child, Federico already played and entertained his family, especially his Aunt Isabel and Uncle Luis with theater, popular songs and basic notions of the piano. In addition, he attended classes with Eduardo Orense Talavera (Granada, 1859-1917), an excellent concert pianist who regularly performed in the concerts of the Centro Artístico and the Casino Principal. Although he was the second organist at the Cathedral, and composer of numerous religious music pieces, he was a layman with four children. In April of that same year, Don Eduardo offered a concert on the Cathedral organ for Alexander of Battenberg, grandson of Queen Victoria of England, accompanied by the Duke of San Pedro de Galatino, among others. There, García Lorca's music professor played some of the Prince's petitions, including a rendition of the *Largo* by Händel and Beethoven's *Fifth Symphony*. However, his closest and dearest music professor shortly thereafter, was Antonio Segura Mesa, an elderly pianist and composer who gave free solfege and harmony classes in the Municipal Music School. In the middle of the 19th century, Don Antonio had been a prodigious musically gifted child, who composed songs and piano pieces; permeating the Teatro Cervantes during its habitual Italian opera and great zarzuela seasons. It was he who had played the piano for Verdi in that frugal adventure known as the Isabel II School of Song and Declamation, who premiered zarzuelas and an ingratiatingly successful opera, and who participated as a performer and professor in the numerous artistic associations that had sprung up in Granada in the final decades of the 19th century.

The young man and this elderly, disenchanted professor got along so well that Don Antonio often said, "The fact that I haven't reached the clouds doesn't mean that they do not exist." With Don Antonio, Lorca not only discovered Beethoven and Chopin, but also Albéniz and Debussy; sharing his love for folkloric music in his modest home on Escudo del Carmen Street. Antonio Segura was also well-received on numerous occasions at the García Lorca home.

These were the days of debates and gatherings in the cafés of Granada. The sextets of Granada; for example, those of José, Manuel and Luis Montero, of pianist Benítez, or of the Romero family, were frequent in the cafés where shortened versions of symphonic and lyric repertoires were played. In the Paseo del Salón, the Cordobese Regiment Band, deployed in Granada, played the *March* from *Tannhäuser*, a Puccini musical fantasy; they also participated when the most modern zarzuelas of the time were performed. In the

Centro Artístico, in which Lorca had been a member since 1915, he had the opportunity to listen to Andrés Segovia on the guitar, or Fernández Arbós play the violin, hear the plectrums of the Trío Iberia, and attend conferences given by Fernando de los Ríos on Beethoven, as well as other prestigious writers such as Ortega y Gasset, Eugenio D'Ors or Ramiro de Maeztu.

At that time, the Sociedad Beethoven was established, giving access to European chamber music at the Alhambra Palace. In the theaters, the zarzuela and varieties companies predominated; there was also a growing demand for Flamenco dancing, starring La Niña de los Peines (The Girl with Flower Combs in her Hair) or the Zambra in Sacromonte (the predominantly Gypsy neighborhood) from Pepe Amaya. Of course, there were also the symphonic concerts of Corpus. I would like to imagine young Federico listening to Beethoven, Wagner or Richard Strauss performed by the Madrid Symphony in 1911, 1912 and 1914, and the Barcelona Symphony in 1915. Though most of all, I would also like to imagine his countenance full of emotion in the Carlos V Palace on June 26th, 1916, gazing at Manuel de Falla, who on this particular evening performed *Noches en los jardines de España* (Nights in Spanish Gardens), four years before the prestigious musician and then known poet joined their creative ideas inspired in the enchantment of Granada.

The death of Don Antonio, on May 29th, 1916, caused Lorca to definitively discard the idea of heading for Paris to continue with his music studies; which his parents had categorically discouraged anyway. From this moment, his internal debate between pursuing a literary career or music career commenced. On June 8th, he met with Antonio Machado in Baeza. During one of his excursions, he went to the poet's recital of fragments of his work; and here Federico, still more interested in music than poetry, illustrated on the piano. Their close relationship and frequent trips with Art and Literature professor, Martín Domínguez Berrueta, gave way to a sway towards verse and prose, though always closely linked to musical references in his texts from that period: *Un paseo por la música de la noche de otoño*, *Un vals de Chopín*, *Balada en fa sostenido mayor*, *Sonata que es una fantasía*. "The air brimming with Beethoven..." summarizes his interest in, and blend of music and literature.

In April of 1918, when the editor from Granada, Ventura Traveset, published Lorca's first book, *Impresiones y paisajes* (Impressions and Landscapes), he had initiated his road towards those clouds that his old teacher had seen so far away; and he would surpass him in his short, but extraordinary existence. Federico began the book with an emotive dedicatory to Don Antonio Segura:

"A la venerada memoria de mi viejo maestro de música, que pasaba sus sarmentosas manos, que tanto habían pulsado pianos y escrito ritmos sobre el aire, por sus cabellos de plata crepuscular; con aire de galán enamorado y que sufrió sus antiguas pasiones al conjuro de una sonata Beethoveniana"

(In venerated memory of my old music professor, who passed his old, boney hands over the piano keys, wrote rhythms in the air, and ran his fingers through his silvery hair; with an air of a suitor in love and of one who suffered from his long-standing passions

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of the spell of a sonata by Beethoven...He was a saint!).

(Federico García Lorca: *Impresiones y paisajes*. Granada, April, 1918)



Federico García Lorca in 1919. The Federico García Lorca Centre Archive, Granada

JOSÉ MIGUEL BARBERÁ SOLER

20. ANTONIO DE LA CRUZ, A MUSICIAN FROM GRANADA IN THE ARISTOCRATIC HALLS OF MADRID

Reportedly, just days before Franz Peter Schubert conducted the *Requiem* that Antonio Salieri had composed for his own funeral in the Cathedral of Vienna, Antonio de la Cruz Quesada was born in Granada. It was May 16th, 1825, and the child came into this world at No. 13 Carrera del Genil, son of the rich property owner Diego de la Cruz, 30, and his spouse Concepción Quesada, 18. In the course of his early childhood, Granada was enveloped in numerous troubling situations: the ferocious persecutions of the enemies of Fernando VII's absolutism, the first Carlista War, which coincided with a severe cholera outbreak, or the sadly common flooding caused by the overflowing of the Darro River. While these catastrophes ravaged the community, young Antonio initiated his music education beside his uncle Juan de la Cruz Rojas, a musician at the Teatro del Campillo. Shortly thereafter, Antonio went on to study with pianist José Tamayo. In addition to that, the young musician received music lessons from the prestigious Cathedral organist, Bernabé Ruiz de Henares in the Music School of the Artistic and Literary Lyceum; an association in which Antonio later collaborated as a pianist, prompter and chorister. Antonio de la Cruz aptly combined these activities with his university studies in Philosophy and Law. In 1847 he became a certified member of the bar association; which his brothers Rafael and Diego later joined as well.

His true vocation, though, was in music; he took part in the ongoing, yet intermittent opera seasons at the Teatro Principal, also known as the Campillo venue, where he became versed in the Italian opera, and, as so many others, became passionate about the melodic feats of Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti and Verdi. He developed a predilection for the *belcanto*, the lovely melodic Italian song style, along with popular Spanish music represented in traditional songs, tonadillas, or folkloric tunes, and dances. His first known composition was a one-act pioneer zarzuela of Andalusian customs: *La vuelta de Escupejumos*, from the *libretto* of writer Antonio Romero Saavedra. The work obtained significant success when it opened in Granada on the night of November 23rd, 1849; then it was represented in the Teatro Circo in Madrid (1850), the Liceu in Barcelona (1851), the Teatro de la Zarzuela (1853) and in the Teatro Principal in Valencia (1853 and 1859). Curiously enough, Antonio de la Cruz never wrote any more zarzuelas after that. Seemingly, the influence of his close relationship with Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, staunchly contrary to the genre, had something to do with his breaking off from zarzuelas. In any case, Antonio de la Cruz still maintained regular correspondence with maestro Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, who he had admired for years. In their missives, we can appreciate the jesting jargon the Granada-born musician employed with the Madrid native, who in turn, responded with traditional jokes. Near the end of the 1840's, he was linked to the famous *Cuerda Granadina*, the group of young idealists who had an influence in Granada's sway towards becoming a center of entertainment and culture. Half-way through the 1850's, however, the associates found themselves forced, for diverse reasons, to

emigrate to the “Villa y Corte,” that is to say, the royal Town and Court of Madrid. Pedro Antonio de Alarcón was the first member to flee from Granada. In the capital city, Antonio de la Cruz took no time in making a name for himself with his short pieces of refined structure and straightforward harmony for piano, or his songs accompanied by the piano; some of which being published in *Iberia musical* or *La gazeta musical* magazines. These were Spanish or Italian songs, mazurkas, ballroom polkas, waltzes or other short pieces.

In this period, the piano formed an integral part of studies within the private schools, primarily amongst the “rama de adorno,” or decorative art, in girls’ schools. Ownership of a piano, displaying it as a proud showpiece in the drawing room, and knowing how to play it signified social distinction in that era. The newspapers carried abundant advertisements, mainly from Italian named professors who offered lessons “to young women who do not wish to possess the divine art, but rather the essential knowledge to avoid being rebuffed in society.”

The music of Antonio de la Cruz was also well-accepted by the veteran musicians of the military bands, who tended to adapt his piano arrangements to their military parades and open-air concerts. An example of that would be when the prestigious clarinetist and editor, Antonio Romero, made mention of Antonio’s round of waltzes *Aves y flores*, meaning, of birds and flowers. Romero reported on the largely acclaimed dance pieces amongst the public in Madrid, “there were few ballrooms unaware of these beauties,” as well as the brilliant effect produced when the military bands played them. During the decade of the 1850’s, Antonio de la Cruz participated in the broadening *Colonia* of “exiles” from Granada residing in the capital, who, from 1854 on (year in which numerous progressives abandoned the city of the Alhambra seeking safe haven in Madrid), met on Lope de Vega Street. Some of them were voluntary refugees, such as Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, Mariano Vázquez, Manuel del Palacio, José Castro y Serrano, Luis Eguilaz, Gregorio Cruzada, Pérez Cossio and others.

In 1859, Antonio decided to return to Granada, where he resumed his collaboration at the Lyceum, and as the piano accompanist in the preparation of the productions in the Teatro del Campillo. Interestingly, he joined forces with renowned baritone Giorgio Ronconi in several projects, such as the presentation of *Nabucco*, in support of the soldiers of Granada in the War of Africa, or in the short-lived project of the Isabel II National School of Song and Declamation (1861-1864). *La espumita de la sal*, meaning a bit of salt foam, was a song which he wrote specifically for Ronconi, with the lyrics of Granada’s José Salvador de Salvador; and later, the world-famous baritone continually popularized the piece by offering it as an encore on his tours in venues in London, Paris, Saint Petersburg, La Havana, New York and Philadelphia.

Antonio’s friendship with couple Manuel Barroeta (judge and future mayor of Almeria) and Constance Scheidnagel, and the fact that his brother, lawyer Rafael de la Cruz, had ties to the province of Almeria as president of the Buena Fe Company that mined *La Unión* in Almócita, led him to settle down in that city. Antonio resided at No. 34 of the recently inaugurated Paseo de Principe Alfonso XII (later named de Cádiz, de Orozco, de la

República, del Generalísimo and since 1979, de Almería); converting his house into the meeting place of the musical bourgeoisie of the city. In the same manner, he gave lessons in piano, song and harmony in the active Liceo Artístico y Literario in Almería, where he wrote and published a specific method of music theory and another one for piano. During Holy Week of 1867, Antonio took a manuscript copy of the celebrated *Miserere* by Palacios from Granada, which would be played in subsequent years at the Cathedral of Almería. Throughout these years in the Mediterranean city, he continued to send his now distinctive short pieces to the editors in Madrid and Barcelona. Apart from the aforementioned military bands, the newly formed Sociedad de Conciertos de Madrid, created in 1866, under the baton of Barbieri, included his waltz *María* (dedicated to his sister), and the mazurka Polish dance *Florentina* to their repertoire in the summer concert series in the Gardens of the Buen Retiro park.

In 1870, he returned to Granada under the request of his brother Diego, who was now a representative of the Sociedad Cooperativa Granadina, a local co-op, to collaborate in a housing project for the working class on San Antón Street. Following his active participation in the cantonal movement, Antonio's brother was forced to seek exile in Portugal, where he went on to become president of the Chamber of Commerce of Lisbon (his son Luis de la Cruz Farrugia was a concert pianist who even performed in Granada in 1908). As for Antonio, he went back to Madrid, where he would live out his years.

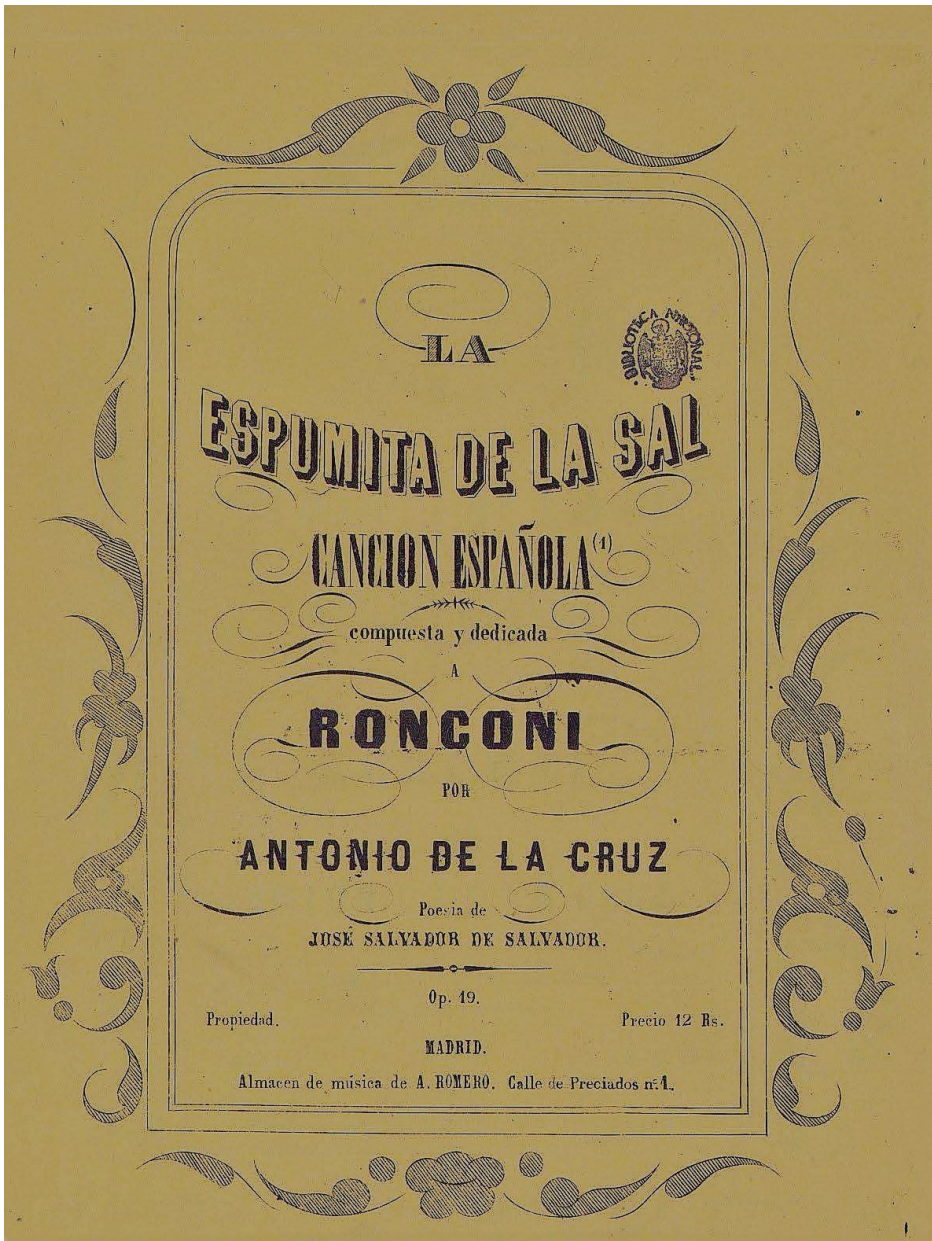
His music continued to be adored in ballrooms and in the luxurious halls of some of the aristocratic mansions, such as that of the Countess of the House of Chaves, the Marquise of Medinaceli or the Duchess of Alba. Regarding his personal life, the unwed musician mostly associated with married friends Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, who loaned him a multitude of texts for songs; and Paulina Contreras, to whom he dedicated numerous pieces, one of which being an elegant minuet inspired in her husband's work *El sombrero de tres picos*. In addition, Antonio de la Cruz was good friends with Murcian writer Antonio Arnao, his primary literary collaborator; and his spouse, Sofía Vela, a virtuoso pianist and composer, who also received dedications of several of his works. His friendship with Barbieri waned substantially after the latter stopped answering his letters and deemed his music as "frivolous" in an article. Truth be told, a certain faction of the music critics spurned him and never forgave his lack of creative ambition. The notorious, and often feared critic, specialized in bullfighting articles, Antonio Peña y Goñi tended to pejoratively call him "Don Opus." His fondness for the opera seasons at the Teatro Real, whose orchestra was occasionally conducted by his fellow musician from Granada, Mariano Vázquez, gave him the privileged opportunity to make acquaintance with the most renowned vocalists of the time; therefore, he dedicated a number of his musical pieces to them as well. Because of that, there were songs composed for the highly praised tenor Enrico Tamberlick (enamored with Granada and idolized by his admirers), Adelina Patti (who, in the Paris gatherings of 1864, sang the piece *A Grenade* by Rossini, the maestro of Pesaro, for the first time), or Murcian Mariano Padilla (who he had met in Ronconi's music school). Then there was Desirée Artot, Padilla's wife (the only woman, as the story goes, that Tchaikovsky confessed having loved, and the muse of his symphonic poem *Romeo and Juliet*); and Marie Sass (Wagner's choice for the second premiere of *Tannhäuser* in Paris).

Antonio de la Cruz also cherished his friendship with the mythical Julián Gayarre (to whom he dedicated two pieces; one of which being *El juramento*, with the text from Alarcón, and *Il primo amore*, with which the Navarre soloist closed a concert series in London in 1881), as well as other prominent figures in the music world.

In regards to the political aspects of his life, he was, as his brothers, a republican, and even composed some hymns for the cause, for instance, with *Patria y libertad* in 1868, following the restoration of the Bourbons. He did likewise by dedicating various hymns and marches to Alfonso XII, once the throne was established in 1874. As mentioned beforehand, his brother Diego lived in exile in Lisbon, while his other brother, Rafael, remained in Granada where he became a wealthy landowner, director of Granada's delegation of La Unión and El Fénix, of the Banco Hipotecario, the Banque Transatlántique, and trustee of several businesses, including *La Magdalena* copper mine near Güejar Sierra, Granada.

In 1877, the Sociedad de Conciertos "Unión Artístico Musical," conducted by Ruperto Chapí, who had taken charge of the above-mentioned summer concerts in the park of Madrid, thrilled the audience with two of the *Seis danzas americanas* from the musician from Granada.

By the decade of the 1880's, his creative activity, or at least the amount of his publications, had begun to diminish considerably. The rare occasions when he wrote compositions became limited to those essentially of a religious nature. Among them there are: professional marches dedicated to the Virgin de las Angustias, the patron saint of Granada, Good Friday, and processional marches, which, together with others he had composed earlier in memory of the heroes of the 2nd of May, Daoiz and Velarde, and for the funeral of the Marqués del Darro, constitute his positioning as one of the forerunners of this type of music in Spain. During the last three years of his life, there is no evidence given as to his publishing any work whatsoever. On September 25th 1889, Antonio de la Cruz died in his home on Biblioteca Street, Madrid; which no longer exists (that space is now occupied by the Paseo de la Castellana), and his body was laid to rest in San Justo Cemetery. As was to be expected, his siblings, Rafael, Diego and María inherited his estate. There was barely an obituary in any of the newspapers of Granada, while the musical journals made no reference of his death. In the papers of Madrid, only a brief communiqué appeared: "The distinguished composer of Granada, Don Antonio de la Cruz Quesada passed away in this Court." For a number of years, his niece, Concepción Farrugia, daughter of Diego de la Cruz, paid for masses on the anniversaries of her uncle's death in the San Antonio de los Alemanes Church, before known as San Antonio de los Portugueses Church.



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JOSÉ MIGUEL BARBERÁ SOLER

21. THE MUSIC OF ÁNGEL BARRIOS IN THE SYMPHONIC CORPUS CONCERTS

Ángel Barrios was the most authentic of all the Granada native composers of the XX century. He was born on January 4th, 1882 on Aben-Hamar Street in the Albayzin neighborhood, and spent his early years and adolescence on No. 43 Real de la Alhambra Street. There, his father, the Flamenco guitarist and singer-songwriter, Antonio Barrios, ran "El Polinario" Tavern, which, not only served drinks, but also was a special place for diverse artists to meet. Unsurprisingly, young Ángel promptly showed a calling for music; initially manifested as a guitarist, and later as a composer. He formed the Trío Iberia composed of a guitar, lute and bandurria, or mandola, with Ricardo Devalque and Cándido Bezunartea, that surprised audiences with their interpretations of Spanish music; leading the three to go on various tours. In Paris, composer Isaac Albéniz (their lucky charm), organized a number of auditions for them in the most select music halls of the city; likewise, Enrique Fernández Arbós enabled their performances in London. Be that as it may, Ángel's setting of choice was his hometown: "I would not change that corner of the world for anything;" was what he wrote in a letter to his family after performing before the King of England, Edward VII. In fact, even when he resided in Madrid, where he studied and collaborated with Conrado del Campo, he never stopped returning to Granada, as he was actively involved in the musical scene of the city, especially after the re-opening of the Center for the Arts, of which he was a spokesperson, alongside the pianist of the Café Alameda, Juan Benítez. By 1910, he definitively settled down in the city of the Alhambra and his trips to Madrid became more sporadic.

Since 1887, the symphonic Concerts in the Carlos V Palace had upheld Tomás Bretón, who had been nurturing many ties to the city, as its unquestionable prominent figure. Once the Sociedad de Conciertos disappeared, the Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid, with Enrique Fernández Arbós on the podium, took over in 1906, 1908, 1909 and 1911. Thanks to the persistence of Bretón's friends in Granada, in particular, Francisco de Paula Valladar, who published in his magazine *La Alhambra* that Arbós did not want to come to Granada, clearly originating quite an uproar, the maestro from Salamanca conducted the concerts again with the Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid in 1912 and 1914; then Arbós returned in 1916. Said Orchestra, under its chief conductor, performed the opening night of *En el Albaicín*, a zambra by Ángel Barrios, in the Teatro Real of Madrid on May 12th, 1917. If the commentaries from the press are to be believed, the work definitely achieved considerable acclaim: "freshness, poetry and an excellent sense of color" (*La acción*); "inspired in that inexhaustible color, light and feelings of the popular culture of Granada" (*La correspondencia de Madrid*); "a fine work that reveals the profound technical knowledge of the author" (*El día*); "a delicious evocation of Granada, exceptionally rich in color, rhythm and harmony" (*El heraldo*); "a highly promising composer" (Tristán: *El liberal*); "a lovely musical scene unveiling a privileged nature, solid discipline and great artistic sincerity" (Julio Cesares: *La Nación*). Not long after, with the

same orchestra and conductor, another piece from Ángel Barrios premiered: *Una copla en la Fuente del Avellano*, in their first popular concert series. It also received notable success, though in general, the press deemed it inferior to the previous zambra. A young musicologist, Adolfo Salazar, however, defended this work in the *Revista musical hispano-americana*, for its modern character and instrumentation influenced by composer Paul Dukas; as well as for possessing a distinct style from the habitual “Andalucismo” of Ruperto Chapí.

Clearly, these triumphs paved the way for many music admirers to want to hear these works in Granada; and what better setting than in the Corpus Christi Concerts. In 1917 the Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid was unable to come to the city as the majority of their components were already contracted by the orchestra accompanying Diaghilev’s Russian Ballets. And, even though they were replaced by the Orquesta Filarmónica de Madrid, Barrios’ works were not included in the programs. Similarly, in 1918, his symphonic compositions could not be presented in Corpus due to economic issues. Nevertheless, in 1919, the Granada-born composer’s symphonic pieces did get to be performed in the Carlos V Palace. After a five-year gap without the Orquesta Sinfónica – eight without Arbós- the Orchestra completed a long peninsula tour in Granada, where they offered six concerts full of novelties, including *En el Albaicín* and *Una copla en la Fuente del Avellano*. It occurred precisely in the fifth concert, given on the 27th of June. The dedicated journalist Aureliano del Castillo encouraged all music lovers, from his article in *El defensor de Granada*, to attend the concert in the Emperor’s Palace: “Tonight we will flock to the concert where our fellow Granada native, Ángel Barrios, unconditionally applauded by the critics and public alike in Madrid, will delight us with two of his works.” The program, which normally consisted of three sections, also included new works presented in Granada such as the *Symphony No. 4* by Tchaikovsky, *Prélude à l’Après-midi d’un faune* (Prelude to the Afternoon of a Faun) from Debussy in the first segment; *The Firebird* from Stravinsky; and in the third, the works of Barrios, and “Prelude and Love-Death” from *Tristan und Isolde* by Wagner, the only composition which had been performed other years. The journalists of *La gazeta del Sur* and *El defensor de Granada* gushed over the works of their “paisano,” or fellow townsman, which were energetically applauded by a thrilled audience. The orchestra musicians and conductor also joined in, calling Barrios up to the stage various times “even though, known for his tremendous modesty, the composer fled the stage as soon as he could.” The first work delighted the public for its “delicately warm melody and exquisite harmonies full of tranquility and pleasure;” and when referring to *En el Albaicín*, the before mentioned critic of *El defensor* considered the work to be more significant, and that it encompassed “the prevailing atmosphere, the local color, that Barrios extraordinarily and unbeatably conveys in the truly authentic popular music concepts and rhythms.”

En el Albaicín was performed again in the Corpus Concerts by the Orquesta Sinfónica and Fernández Arbós in 1925, 1929 and 1935; and also, by the Orquesta Filarmónica de Madrid, conducted by Bartolomé Pérez Casas in 1923 and 1928. In spite of the author’s endeavors, he was unable to publish the work at the time. Manuel de Falla, Barrios’ friend, even attempted, to no avail, to convince the Chester of London Printing

House to take care of the matter. Thirty years after its last execution on stage, *Zambra en el Albaicín* was retrieved in the International Music and Dance Festival of Granada in 1965, by the Orquesta Nacional de España, conducted by Rafael Frühbeck de Burgos, and it was heard for the last time in the 1978 Festival with the Orquesta Sinfónica de la RTVA under the baton of Enrique García Asensio. *Una copla en la Fuente del Avellano* suffered a worse fate, as there is no record whatsoever of it being performed since its glorious year in the Carlos V Palace, now over 100 years ago.

MÚSICOS ESPAÑOLES



ANGEL BARRIOS

Ángel Barrios. *Nuevo mundo*, n.º 1250. Madrid, December 21, 1917.

JOSÉ MIGUEL BARBERÁ SOLER

22. THE OPERA IN GRANADA'S THEATERS

In order for a town to have an opera season, it is essential that they have a theater that meets certain requirements: a vast stage, an orchestra pit, dressing rooms and various areas for wardrobes, make up, and so on. In Granada, until 1966, there were actually two theaters which complied with these criteria. The first one underwent various name changes; it was originally called Napoleón, but later renamed Nacional, then Principal, and in its final 60 years, Cervantes, though everyone called it the Teatro del Campillo because it was located in that central square of the city. From 1864 till 1936, there was also a venue with larger seating capacity, the former Isabel la Católica Theater, situated on a plot where the Carlos V Hotel and some adjacent businesses now occupy.

After the decade of the 1820's, though visitors had to sojourn the torturous roads and trains to get to the city of the Alhambra, the Teatro del Campillo began to be a featured stop on tours for opera companies which usually came from Madrid or Seville. Even years earlier, in the old Teatro de Puerta Real, Granada could assure performances from its own comic companies dedicated to recitals and song, who gave light-hearted and patriotic comedies, diverse types of dances and stage tonadillas, or folk tunes. Once the construction of the Teatro Napoleón was completed, these shows continued to be commonplace, subsequent to the period when the works were paralyzed due to the French occupation. When the French departed Granada, the name of the theater was changed to the Nacional. And, although there is scarce documentation in reference to it, because of the forced void of press and printing from the absolutism hold, it is safe to assume that some of Rossini's operas were represented in said theater. Notwithstanding, according to the Royal Decree of the end of the XVIII century, which was still in force, the operas had to be translated into Spanish: "any work that is not in Spanish, be it sung, danced, or interpreted by performers who are not nationals or nationalized in this kingdom, is prohibited."

The 1814 arrival of violinist, composer and conductor Francisco Valladar, a veteran musician who had toured the peninsula with various companies, played a key role in the establishment of an orchestra in the city. This group combined instrumentalists from the Royal Chapel, the Cathedral and El Salvador Church, as well as numerous music professors and members of military and civilian bands that succeeded one another. The only documentation regarding the lyrical activity in that year had to do with the Promulgación de la Constitución, or official proclamation act in which the Compañía Granadina de Ópera Cómica performed fragments of *Le calife de Bagdad* by François-Adriaen Boieldieu as well as some patriotic hymns. More information is given pertaining to the 1822 presentation of the Juan Zafrané Company and the Pedro Andraca Company in 1823; both with considerably prestigious soloists of the day such as Carolina Bossi or Manuel García's daughter, Juana de los Santos, Malibrán's sister. These artists did not limit their interpretation to the relevant repertoires of the time, which was mainly the Rossini style, but they also thrilled the privileged local aristocracy present with arias, tonadillas and

popular songs in their private palaces. Another significant moment in music history began when stage director Luis Muriel decided to settle down in the city in 1821; he would be the first of an illustrious saga that would last until his grandson of the same name, in the XX century.

Granada held the distinction of being an obligatory destination for European travellers, and its unique setting drew guests of the likes of Chateaubriand, the Hispanist Louis Viardot, or the playwright Baron Isidore Justin Taylor. All of the above held the choicest box seats at the theater in Granada; not only for the opera, but for the celebrated dramatic performances, where first-class actors such as those in the mythical José Maiquez Company collaborated too. Most likely, operas as renowned as *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, *Il turco in Italia*, *La gazza ladra* and *Semiramide* delighted audiences within the walls of the theater during these years. Singers from Madrid such as Concepción Cobo, Juan Munné or bass José Rodríguez Calonge, also resided in Granada. What's more, famed Leandro Valencia, who discovered and mentored Granada's great soloist, Francisco Salas, lived and worked in the city. In 1827, operas *Matilde di Shabran* and *Tancredi* appeared in publicity, wherein the abovementioned artists would be performing together with Juana de los Santos, Manuel Alcázar and Pietro Coggiola. Writer Washington Irving, inhabitant of the Alhambra, and owner of a box seat next to the Duke and Duchess of Gor and the Count and Countess of Luque, declared his commendations for Manuel García's daughter in his writings. Though in those years, Rossini was considered the king of lyric theater, other composers, with now forgotten operas, also had their moments of glory: Saverio Mercadante and his *Caritea, regina di Spagna*, or Francesco Morlacci with *Tebaldo e Isolina*. One of the most noteworthy, *Moses in Egypt*, by Rossini, was the Company's choice for the celebration of the wedding of Fernando VII and María Cristina of the Two Sicilies in 1829. Three months previous to that, Washington Irving sent a missive to Prince Dolgorworski, lamenting that the opera theater had been closed due to the death of Queen Maria Josepha of Saxony: "I do not have much incentive to walk down to the city. In the last few days I have barely descended the hill."

In the decade of the 1830's, the opera seasons were held in consecutive years in the Campillo venue, with one, two, or even three different opera company productions each year. In the performances organized by the Town Hall in honor of the marriage of Fernando VII and Maria Cristina of Bourbon-Two Sicilies, the highlight was the presentation of the opera *Moses in Egypt*: "A majestic attendance; brilliant and festive, in which the women wore their most precious jewels and finest apparel, adding splendor and allure to their natural grace." The press underscored the impressive interpretations of Josefa García, Juan Munné and Eduardo Torres in the role of the pharaoh. Rossini continued to be the most treasured composer, however soon the sweetness and charm of Bellini's operas began gaining ground amongst the public's musical taste. The Company still counted on Leandro Valencia as their leading tenor and José Rodríguez Calonge as the first bass; while other soloists such as Giuseppe Lombardi, Adelaida Cresoti, Concepción Ridaura or Teresa Lavigne completed their notable cast. In his 1831 travel log, Irish playwright Henry David Inglis praised the work of this Company, which, due to economic hardships, was unable to conclude all of their opera commitments. Another British sojourner, Charles Scott,

recommended that Rossini admirers attend the masses at Santo Domingo Church, where fragments of *La gazza ladra* were being played. American Hispanist Richard Ford lodged in the Alhambra during the summers of 1830 and 1831, leaving his lasting impressions of the exquisite opera set decoration in his notes. By 1831, the fortunate theatergoers were able to enjoy *Il Pirata* by Bellini and Adele di Lusignano, an Italian opera from Spanish composer Ramón Carnicer. This took place in a ceremony that had been organized as a demonstration of allegiance to the “generous monarch” Fernando VII, in which a hymn by Mercadante also premiered and the celebrated *El Trípili* tune was sung. The aforementioned American writer commented on the numerous details during a representation of *La donna del lago* by Rossini, in a performance where Infanta Isabel de Braganza, widow of the King of the Two Sicilies and daughter of Carlos IV, attended. The Lavigne couple held the leading roles in operas such as: *Zelmira* and *Semiramide* from Rossini; *Elisa e Claudio* by Mercadante; or *La Schiava in Bagdad* by Pacini. Apparently, they presented original language operas for the first time this year; provoking debates which would last for some time. The prestige that the Company of Granada had reached with their meritorious cast members and determined local musicians gave rise to contract offers in theaters in nearby Jaén, Andújar and Córdoba during the summer of 1834. Wagons, carriages and horses loaded down with cardboard or wooden set material, together with costumes, instruments and the rest of their equipment all managed their way along the serpentine, rugged tracks – the smugglers tended to lurk about. Once at their destination, they offered a mostly Rossinian repertoire of *Il Coradino*, *La Cenerentola*, *Zelmira*, *La donna del lago* and *L’assedio di Corinto* to the audiences in the adjacent provinces. At the same time, Granada received the equally esteemed Compañía de Ópera de Sevilla; who were gladly welcomed and who offered a similar repertoire to the novelties being presented in Cadiz and Seville.

Granada started catering to more and more travellers longing for the oriental experience and flair without having to venture out to countries further east and possibly more dangerous. Painters David Roberts and Genaro Pérez Villaamil, or writer Thomas Roscoe were among those who sought out said orientalism in the home of the Alhambra. Alejandro Dumas also delighted in the performances in Granada; on June 30th, the French playwright attended the productions of *Anna Bolena* and *La gazza ladra*, in a program which included an English dance captivatingly executed with twelve knives, as well as a genuine fandango, or typical Spanish dance. These travellers intermingled with the aristocrats in the box seats at the Teatro Nacional or in the Sacromonte, a mostly Gypsy neighborhood of Granada, while they drew and depicted the sumptuous, and occasionally idealized landscape of a city which lived, despite such fantasy notions, with the majority of its population in poverty. That same year Granada suffered from a terrible cholera epidemic which compounded its already unsanitary conditions. On top of all that, the social unrest, which eventually meant the implantation of a constitutional regime closely related to Granada’s Francisco Martínez de la Rosa and his actions, had vehemently befallen the city. During that troubling year of 1835, the Teatro Nacional reopened its doors in September, after a summer hiatus; boasting operas from Rossini, Morlacchi and Pacini. According to press sources: “pure expression of the elegant public, contrary to those who still wish for the bad taste incarnated by the typical roles of hapless Andalusians and other plebes...they

must do away with the rancid, monotonous tonadillas, or traditional tunes, from the era of our grandfathers. Decrepit shepherds, ‘majos de rumbo,’ or wayward youth, and other playthings incomparable with the distinguished Rossini and other philharmonic wonders.” In 1836, soprano Cristina Villó made her debut in Granada, and then she settled down in the city with her sister Carolina and other cast members of her Company: Giuseppe Provini, Francisca Fernández, and Emilia Secchini, joining the known artists Leandro Valencia and Rodríguez Calonge. This Company managed to give forty performances in the spring. Apart from that, the soloists collaborated in various events in the city; for instance, in the first tribute to Granada’s martyr Mariana Pineda, executed by the *garrote vil* five years prior, and the sumptuous constitution ratification ceremonies on the 14th and 15th of May. In September, Bellini, the preferred composer of inspirational and melodic operas *Il Pirata*, *Norma* and *Montecchi e Capuletti*, died at just 34 years old. In addition, *Chiara di Rosemberg* came out, and became one of the most popular operas of the time. That same year, three operas premiered in Granada, of which one turned out to be the third of the great public choice works: *Parisina*, *Il furioso delle isla di Santo Domingo* and *Il disterrato di Roma*: “The Company makes us impatient to hear gorgoritos, or skilled voice vibrations, creschendos, chromatic scales, syncopated notes and of all those delicacies that the audience loves, at least those who enjoy satiating a sensitive soul able to embrace the sensations of a noble, enrapturing art.” The 1837 season, taking place between May and September, offered three titles from Donizetti, two from Bellini (the opera *Norma* was chosen to celebrate the Promulgation of the Constitution to the benefit of the Third Battalion of the National Militia, together with the diverse dances and patriotic hymns offered), two from Rossini, one from Morlacchi, and another from Ricci. The contralto Rafaela Venier stood out in her roles as “contralto transvestite” in *Semiramide* by Rossini and in *Tebaldo e Isolina* by Morlacchi. The finest of Donizetti’s productions was showcased in 1839: *Anna Bolena*, *Belisario* and *L’elisir d’amore*; kindling the inevitable rivalry with Bellini and his crowd-pleasing operas *La sonnambula*, *Beatrice di Tenda* and *I puritani* with which the public reveled in six of the performances given in the summer of 1838. *Norma* soon became the favorite opera, along with *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, Rossini’s only stage production; the only comic presentation that could resist the pull of the dramatic lyric works. In these final years of the decade, specifically in 1838, the theaters were eclipsed by the presence of couple Carlo Magnan and Mariana Levi, along with other Italians, and Spanish Manuel Ojeda, a magnificent singer and company director: “the performance of soloist Manuel Ojeda, with his highly commendable voice and versatility from *I due Figaro* by Mercadante, to Giovanni Pacini” (José Fernández-Guerra, BOPG. November 11th, 1839). The baritone also offered several pieces of popular Spanish music, of which he possessed expertise, and tended to cause delirium in the public with the Polo del contrabandista by Manuel García. The Company premiered *Lucia di Lammermoor* and *Lucrezia Borgia*, with which Donizetti became definitively consecrated tantamount to his fellow Italian composers Rossini and Bellini. These superb artists coincided with the theater Company comprised of the celebrated recital actors Julian Romea and Matilde Díez, who were still able to intone some typical tonadillas in the interludes of their comic and dramatic performances. In the summer of 1839 they opted for swapping companies with that of Malaga, whose Italian soloists gave twelve performances; seven of which being

operas from Donizetti.

It could be assumed that this was a prodigious decade for opera in Granada, boasting a stable, efficaciously conducted orchestra by veteran Francisco Valladar; who eventually left the podium in the hands of Antonio Palancar, director of the Cathedral Chapel. From 1839, the Lyceum contributed to the creation of an enabling environment for the elite class of Granada to have increasingly more access to music: organizing frequent soirees wherein the daughters of aristocratic music supporters, such as the Count of Villamena or the Ansotis, could sing or play the most famous fragments of the opera on the piano. In regards to the linguistic controversy, what is significant is the fact that even though original Italian was now acceptable in the librettos, the discussions continued: "We would not dare request that the Company present the operas in Italian because the audience longs to hear them in Spanish; we do, however, reprimand their careless translations."

During the 1840's, the enthusiasm for lyrical works did not falter. In particular, the distressed chronicler of *La Alhambra* newspaper conveyed how the opera admirers were affected by the parting of diva Cristina Villó: "We lament the absence of Sra. Villó after having been gratified with her presence on stage for a year; she will live on forever in our memory." Fortunately, the Galician soprano returned to charm her admirers in the city of the Alhambra. The list of soloists throughout the 1840's is staggering: Corina di Franco, Concepción Ridaura once again, Antonia Campos, and among the male vocalists Antonio Aparicio, the 'resident' José Rodríguez Calonge, and tenor Pedro Unanue, who lived in Granada for various years and was even considered an accredited citizen. The theater atmosphere could presume of notorious travellers, some as renowned as Alejandro Dumas or Theophile Gautier, along with various members of the *crème de la crème* of Europe. Subsequent to a parenthesis due to a lack of contracts in 1840, a company consisting of students of the music Conservatory of Madrid performed in the summer months of 1841, staging four titles: *Lucrezia Borgia* by Donizetti, *Don Chisciotte* (Don Quijote) by Mercadante, *Un'avventura di Scaramuccia* from Luigi Ricci and *Il templario* from Otto Nicolai. The 1842/1843 season brought the world premiere of a four-act opera from Granada's composer Juan Antonio Martos: *Veleda, sacerdotista de los galos*. The opera, from the *libretto* of Granada native Nicolás Peñalver, originated various commentaries, mainly about the local authorities' audacity venturing into a genre dominated by the Italians. The work turned out to be highly esteemed, though it was only put on stage a couple of times. The season had to be suspended due to the indisposition of the *prima donna* Antonia Campos: "It has been an eternal week in the absence of an opera, one of many that the Company has promised the extremely patient season ticket holders; who await the advent of the saint as would the patriarchs of Limbo; anxiously waiting to know whether the soprano improves, or not – because it is believed that she suffers from a mental illness." Luckily, the promising young artist, Corina de Franco, showed up in Granada for the presentation of *Lucia di Lammermoor*, receiving many accolades:

"Joven cantor, digna de renombre,
jamás el pueblo granadino olvidará tu nombre,
ni tu acento dinivo..."

(Young soloist, worthy of praise,
the people of Granada will never forget your name,
nor your divine accent...)

In the same manner, some of the long-awaited operas from Donizetti were presented; for example, *Gemma di Vergy*. In the summer, the bass-baritone Francisco Salas, a Granada native, joined the excellent Company. His presence in the city coincided with the eminent Paulina García Viardot; who, along with Juana, were both daughters of the mythical Manuel García. Paulina, a notable soprano and composer was on her way to Malaga, where she had planned on visiting her sister Juana who was struggling to make ends meet in the neighboring provincial city. Paulina made the journey accompanied by her husband, the writer and Hispanist Louis Viardot. The diva took advantage of the circumstances to sign a contract wherein she would perform *Norma* and *Il barbiere di Siviglia* in the theater. Meanwhile, Francisco Salas, born in the Albayzin district, and considered to be the most prestigious baritone of the time, joined forces with the famed soprano in *L'elisir d'amore* and *Lucia di Lammermoor*. Moreover, both of them collaborated in a legendary concert in the Alhambra, where he intoned some of his more applauded songs, such as the highly popular *Los toros del Puerto*; while García delighted the public with fragments of her father's revered *Yo soy contrabandista* and some of her own compositions too. For the concert Francisco Salas organized for his benefit, he chose *La zarzuela ininterrumpida o lo que suene sonará*, a pioneer work of the avalanche of zarzuelas produced later on.



Paulina Viardot (Carl Timoleon von Neft, 1842. Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Even though Italian opera compositions seemed to be a field inevitably exclusive to the Italians, there were some Spanish musicians, such as the before mentioned Martos, who were making headway. Navarre composer Miguel Hilarión Eslava premiered his Italian opera *Las treguas de Tolemaida* in the Campillo Theater in 1844; which, shortly before, had celebrated its opening night in Cadiz, receiving acclaim tantamount to that of some of Donizetti's compositions. The return of Cristina Villó to the stage that year "revived the spirit of the philharmonics," who, on the evenings that she had a leading role, assured a full house. Her performances were considered unmatched in the finest operas of the repertoire with works such as *Marino Faliero*, *Lucia* or *Norma*. In this same opera season audiences enjoyed the premiere of another opera from Spanish composer Baltasar Saldoni, the *Ipermestra*, which had been greatly fortuitous in Madrid; not to mention, the premiere of *Robert le diable* by Giacomo Meyerbeer, who would later become even more famous. And, let us not forget the importance of the inclusion of pieces from a Verdi opera, premiered in Milan a year and a half earlier; *Nabucco* also appeared in Granada for the first time. The city of the Alhambra held the distinction of being the second Spanish city, after Madrid, where the renowned, mythical opera was at least partially represented.

The adoration that many followers felt for Cristina Villó swayed her to decide to remain in Granada in 1845, even though it meant her breaching a finalized contract with a theater in Valencia. Indeed, the situation became the cause of a full-blown conflict between the theater businessmen, resulting in the maximum displeasure of the Valencians who had been awaiting her arrival with keen interest. Tenor Vicente Caltañazor, who a few years later would become Francisco Salas' inseparable comic zarzuela partner in its early years, arrived at the Campillo Theater with Francisco Porcell's Company. At the moment though, audiences continued to demand operas from Donizetti (*Marino Faliero*, *Lucrezia Borgia* and *Maria di Rohan*), Bellini, Rossini (*Il barbiere di Siviglia*) and some now forgotten works, such as *Giulietta e Romeo* by Nicola Vaccai, which the theater ran for the summer opera season undertaken by a Malaga-based Italian company. Composer, Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka, considered the father of Russian opera, resided in the Alhambra for four months; his interest, however, appeared to be less aimed towards "refined music," and he was completely engaged in the folklore and popular music scenes in taverns such as that of guitarist Rodríguez Murciano in the Albayzin district.

After a year of scarce contracts, 1847 proved to be significant in that three companies were contracted by way of businessman Antonio Saavedra between April and December. And, with them, the first operas from Giuseppe Verdi arrived; and from the initial performances, he became the most paramount Italian opera composer of the second half of the XIX century. *Nabucco*, *Ernani* and *I Lombardi* were the first of his operas to be represented on Granada's stages. Of the Company's forty-seven opera productions, thirty-four were dedicated to the genius of Busetto. Furthermore, said Company had the privilege of being conducted by the *libretto* writer of Verdi's early works, Temistocle Solera. He came accompanied by his wife, soprano Teresa Rusmini, a famous virtuoso violinist, Giuseppe Austri, who gave various recitals and performed sublime opera fantasies in the intervals, and other prestigious soloists such as Ángela Morena de Faro, Giuseppina Locatelli, Felicita Rocca, Adela Fernández, and more. Apart from the Verdi operas, and

others in the customary repertoire, *I Lombardi alla Prima Crociata*, The Lombard and the First Crusade, written and composed by the before mentioned Temistocle Solera, was presented in tribute to Mariana Pineda and edited by the local Manuel Benavides publishers. In the third Company that year, soprano Leonida de Rossi was the leading artist, offering programs well into 1848 with a variety of primarily well-known operas. Altogether there were 107 representations, boasting over twenty different opera productions, among which Verdi's *Nabucco* stood out the most, cheerfully received by genuinely appreciative audiences. A generation of outstanding musicians from Granada began their journey under the safe haven of the Italian music influence that dominated the sessions at the Lyceum. The adolescent Mariano Vázquez, the future conductor of the Sociedad de Conciertos de Madrid and renowned composer, at merely sixteen years old, prepared a 4-hand piano arrangement of *Nabucco* that astounded attendees when it was played at the Lyceum events. The re-creation on piano of the successful staged operas was a commonplace practice, which, specifically in Granada, various musicians and concert pianists engaged in during the XIX century.

Despite the fact that it was habitual to respect the original *libretto* language, some continued to be reluctant, voicing their attitudes in the press: "We beg the businessmen not to bring us any more companies who give us the harmonious sounds of Verdi and Bellini expressed in the sweet, yet for us, unintelligible tongue of the Tassos, and Petrarca; when they could express themselves in the language of the Herreros and Cervantes; or as they say in my country, they could sing 'en cristiano y no en gringo,'" meaning in English, not in an incomprehensible foreign language (*Revista literaria granadina*. June 26th, 1848). The use of Italian would provoke the growth of the budding Spanish lyric genre, spurred on from Madrid, and gaining more acolytes every year. Even in 1848, the Murcian composer Mariano Soriano Fuertes obtained hearty applause in Granada's theaters with his Spanish-style light comedies such as *Joselito el cantaor* or *El calesero*.

In 1849, the immensely sought-after diva Cristina Villó, returned to the home of the Alhambra. For her first performance she offered one of her favorite operas: *Lucia di Lammermoor* by Donizetti, composer from whom she had also performed in the opening night of *La figlia del reggimento*. Verdi still astonished audiences with his new productions: *I due foscari* and *Attila*; performed along with his known works. However, it was clear that this was the year in which the blossoming zarzuela works, fervently backed from Madrid by Francisco Salas and meritorious writers and composers, would triumph. From the halls of Granada's Lyceum and other associations throughout the city, local composers set out to write musical texts in Spanish. So, for that year, and some more, musicians such as Mariano Vázquez (who would continue this facet in Madrid from 1856 on), Antonio de la Cruz, Ramón Entrala or Antonio Luján; and writers of the likes of Mariano Pina or Manuel del Palacio soon found themselves gaining a foothold in the theaters of Madrid. Thus, after 1850, the opera companies were forced to compete with zarzuela companies. While the latter was generally deemed musically inferior, it possessed the advantage of being sung in its original tongue; and its arguments, traditional nature, patriotic sway and treatment of current affairs, quickly won over the majority of spectators.

In 1850, an Italian opera company, who could boast of soprano Marina Barberini, tenor Ricardo Ciro and bass Manuel Rodríguez among their ranks, premiered Verdi's latest creation: *Macbeth*. This opera, along with consolidated works from their repertoire (*Nabucco*, *Norma*, *Poliuto*, etc.) and the new *Il ritorno di Columella*, by Vicenzo Fioravanti, a frivolous opera that Francisco Salas had popularized in Madrid, completed an ingratiating season wherein a 36-member strong mixed chorus and orchestra of 40 instrumentalists under the baton of Antonio Palancar, performed. The members of the Lyceum were energetically engaged in coordinating the stage production of *Don Bucefalo* from Antonio Cognoni, and *I due foscari*, conducted by Baltasar Mira and with the assistance of Mariano Vázquez. Even so, as was mentioned earlier, the opera genre was no longer in its prime in the city. 1851 turned out to be the first year in a long time without any opera production whatsoever. The increasingly advancing zarzuela companies could now assure a more profitable outcome for the businessmen in charge. In 1852, Mariano Fernández arrived in Granada with his group dedicated to the Spanish lyric theater; the first important company to perform in the Campillo venue with fortuitous productions from Gaztambide, Oudrid and Barbieri (*Jugar con fuego* drove audiences mad, and soon became the great hope of those striving to put the genre on the level of the Italian opera works); then add to that the innovative compositions of young Mariano Vázquez with his *Las brujas del Albaicín*.

In the summer of 1852, Giorgio Ronconi arrived in Granada during his tour of some of the Andalusian cities. The baritone, venerated as the greatest of the time, came to participate in the opera season with the Company performing in the Campillo venue, directed by Francisco Porcell. His performances in *Linda di Chamounix* by Donizetti; *Nabucco*, of which he sang in the opening night in Milan in 1842; or *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, worked the enlivened audiences up into a frenzy. It stands to reason that the Italian was the receptor of all types of accolades and gifts; including a book of laudatory poems written by various local authors, one of which being Enriqueta Lozano. His debut in the Teatro del Campillo was with a company of genuine *belcanto* celebrities such as Carlotta Vittadini, Catalina Mas-Porcell, Manuel Testa or Luigi Bottigisi. And, let us not forget, tenor Giuseppe Volpini; who had initially arrived with Ronconi in the city of the Alhambra. These renowned soloists not only managed to revitalize opera in Granada, but they also premiered one of the primordial works of the genre: *Rigoletto*, by Verdi.

Thanks to timely articles written in *El granadino* newspaper, we have access to some data concerning the June 1853 performance of a company formed by soloists Enriqueta Sulzer, Antonia de Montenegro, Buenaventura Belart and José Folgueras in leading roles. They offered a number of famous operas of the likes of *La sonnambula*, *Matilde di Shabran*, *L'elisir d'amore* and *Lucrezia Borgia*. And, following a two-year operatic gap, a company that had been working in Seville with first-rate artists on their roster, such as diva Marietta Spezia, was contracted to perform in Granada in July 1855; thereby having the opportunity to escape from the grievous cholera epidemic afflicting Seville. Regrettably, the spread of the disease took no time in reaching Granada as well, forcing them to eventually abandon the city. At the beginning of the following year, Ronconi coordinated several opera events as a member of the Junta Municipal de

Beneficencia y Salud Pública, or the Municipal Welfare and Public Health Board. The aim was for the music enthusiasts, professors and Lyceum associates to represent *Rigoletto*, in order to raise money for the lamentable state of the city in the aftermath of so much misfortune. These efforts on Ronconi's part even received the recognition of Queen Isabel II, who granted him the Cross of Isabel la Católica award.

Not all of the music supporters were inclined towards zarzuela, as opposed to the opera. The most prominent figures of the privileged society continued to voice their consideration of the opera as the supreme expression, in harmony with their elevated status; whilst deeming the zarzuela as a decadence of the lyric genre. Some musicians and writers also heaped severe criticism on the Spanish lyric genre. The most fervent among them was Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, who constantly judged the Italian opera as superior to the zarzuela, be it in the press of Granada, in Cadiz, or even in Madrid after 1854. During his stays in the city Ronconi never ceased to promote the opera by way of his active participation with Granada's musicians involved in the Lyceum; and always for charitable reasons; for instance, in a performance held in January 1857 when the baritone offered his most acclaimed arias. Notwithstanding, it would not be until July of 1858 that any opera company would be contracted; in this case it was the Compañía de Ópera del Gran Teatro del Liceu in Barcelona. With a grandiose line up of cast members, featuring Mariana Barbieri, Catalina Mas-Porcell, Antonio Agresti, Luigi Bottagisi, Gio-Bautista Bencich and César Nanni, the Company represented four operas in eighteen performances, in which *Il trovatore* by Verdi, with four different stage productions, stood out the most. They rounded out the cycle with *L'ebreo* from Giuseppe Apolloni, of which the press underscored his action in one of the episodes of the conquest of Granada; *Bondelmonte* from Giovanni Pacini, both in three performances; and *Lucrezia Borgia* in two. Yet, the public failed to respond as was expected. The theater had more empty seats than when the zarzuelas of Gaztambide, Barbieri and Emilio Arrieta were on stage. In the summer, the renowned contralto Carlotta Borgh-Vietti offered two recitals together with bass Francisco Rodríguez Murciano and the theater orchestra. From that moment, the opera ceased to be performed until 1859 when various components of the Teatro Real, including the distinguished Virgilia Tilli, Angelo Louise, Pietro Giorgi Paccini and bass Fernando Peñate, performed. The great novelty was Verdi's *La traviata*, although the public demonstrated their preference for the more well-known *Ernani*. In addition to that, they offered productions of *Rigoletto*, *Il trovatore* and *Maria di Rohan*. Coincidentally, the zarzuela companies, who completely dominated the theaters during the spring and autumn seasons, even dared to incorporate a bit of opera within their programs during these years, at the beckoning of some of their followers.

In the course of the 1860's, the opera increasingly lost support. The Lyceum, under the leadership of their advocate, Ronconi, and the music professors and followers in the city, put on the presentation of *Nabucco* as a commemorative gesture for the Spanish victory in the War of Africa. By this time, the Italian baritone had already initiated his project of creating a School of Song and Declamation in Granada to enable young artists in their musical pursuits. In order to carry this out he was relying on the collaboration of several local music professors such as Bernabé Ruiz de Henares, who would also be the

assistant director and his right hand, young Antonio Segura, and the composer and bass soloist Francisco Rodríguez Murciano, son of the popular guitarist bearing the same name. The School adopted the name of Queen Isabel II; and for nearly four years Granada became recognized as one of the most reputable centers for music studies. Numerous prestigious musicians arrived in the city, invited by Ronconi, such as his *caro amico* Giuseppe Verdi, who, taking advantage of the premiere of *La forza del destino* in Madrid, made his way to Granada with his spouse, the famous singer Giuseppina Strepponi. Both of them were able to witness the advancements of the pupils at the School of Song and Declamation in a private session. Another one of Ronconi's guests was North American soloist Elena Kenneth, who participated in some of the organized recitals of the pupils. For instance, in a presentation of *L'elisir d'amore*, Ronconi and several advanced students delighted the attendees, even though they had scarce set and musical resources.

In 1862 a modest itinerant company was contracted; and against all odds, obtained a satisfactory reception from the public. The press favored its dedicated artists: Carmelina Poch, Biancha Bellocchio, Pascual Belmonte, Giorgio d'Antoni; and the 24-strong chorus and 34 orchestra members, under the baton of expert maestro Antonio Palancar. They premiered two of Verdi's newest productions: *Un ballo in maschera* and *Les vêpres siciliennes*. As of 1863, Granada boasted a vast new stage: the Isabel la Católica Theater, with more seating capacity and facilities than the Nacional venue, which from then on became known as the Principal, so as to underscore its historic context. For the new theater to get up and running, an orchestra had to be created: "Today another orchestra has magically sprouted in our city, and we can be assured that Sr. Rodríguez will make immense achievements through perseverance and implementation." The greatest setback facing both venues had to do with "the excess of woodwinds and the lack of stringed instruments." Some also regretted that a reputable opera company had not been selected for the inauguration; indeed, a rather competent, dramatic troupe performed for the occasion incorporating accomplished actors of the likes of Antonio Vico and Elisa Boldún (Mariano Vázquez' sister-in-law). In 1864, both theaters were able to offer productions from opera companies. Luigi Ponti dell'Armi and Luigi Casserini held the leading roles in the opera productions that the public had been longing for: *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, *Lucia*, *La sonnambula*, or the more recently premiered *Les vêpres siciliennes*. With them, the orchestra conductor Luis Salarich arrived; he would go on to lead in the theater for various years. In 1865, news of soprano Luigia Ponti's interpretation in *Linda di Chamounix* was reported as part of the festivities dedicated to Mariana Pineda; giving special attention to her rendition of the bolero in *Les vêpres siciliennes*. Yet, even though Granada now had two magnificent theaters, two years went by before another opera production would take place. The plays, comedies, zarzuelas and other spectacles became increasingly popular; for example, magic shows and circus numbers had more followers. During Lent of 1867, the members of the lyrical group led by the husband and wife artists, baritone Gottardo Aldighieri and soprano Marietta Spezia, along with tenor Giorgio D'Antoni and bass Rossi-Galli, all highly acclaimed in Madrid, arrived from Malaga to spend some days in Granada. There were ticket re-sales for those anxious to see and hear Sra. Spezia's unrivaled rendition of Violetta in *La traviata*; according to the press, her performance "marked an epoch" in stage performances. In addition, *Il trovatore* and *Un ballo in maschera* received

huge applause from the audiences; and they premiered the most notable French opera composition of the time: *Faust*, by Charles Gounod. All in all, the Company offered twenty-one performances in which the owner made a profit of 6,000 duros; bearing in mind that the famous Spezia-Aldighieri couple earned 6,000 reales for each one of their performances. Be that as it may, and despite its success, the operas were paused again for another two years to make way for the zarzuela, which offered more and more one-act pieces of a light humor character. What would later be known as the “género chico,” or the humorous Spanish lyric genre, was beginning to be forged in music history.

The incredibly famed Italian tenor Enrico Tamberlick appeared on Granada’s stages for the first time in 1870; provoking overwhelming fervor among audiences. The Roman arrived in the city of the Alhambra along with other soloists from the Teatro Real and their music director, Granada native Mariano Vázquez; greatly adored in his hometown where he spent some of his summers and was an active member of the music atmosphere, primarily in the Lyceum. The leading cast featured magnificent artists such as soprano Carolina Fern, baritone Leon Giraldoni and bass Ostava Torriani (his real last name was Tornquiot, a native of Hamburg, but he took on the Italian name to blend in with the genre); all true eminences in the lyrical panorama of the time. The July 1st production of *Il trovatore* was described as “the greatest and most stunning performance ever heard in Granada...the divine Fern and the champion Tamberlick...Vázquez, our fellow townsman, illustrious conductor...” On the stages, each one of the opera productions signified an authentic milestone: *Maria di Rohan* and *Otello* by Rossini; *Ernani*, *Rigoletto* and *Un ballo in maschera* from Verdi; the indispensable *Norma*, *Linda di Chamounix* and *Lucia*; and the new *Saffo* by Pacini, rarely performed nowadays. In correspondence between Mariano Vázquez and composer Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, the maestro of Granada conveyed the difficulties entailed in these provincial tours: “...wretched working in provincial town theaters. The public demands a different opera production for each performance; making it impossible to provide ideal conditions.” During his stay in Granada, Mariano Vázquez suffered the loss of his sister; yet, though grief stricken, the conductor had no other alternative but to lead from the podium that day, as there was no one else who could replace him. The ticket offices distributed leaflets with biographies of Tamberlick and Vázquez alike for 1.5 reales; the music bands offered serenades for the exalted guests, and they were cheerfully welcomed and treated to meals by the local authorities: “The artists were invited by the Town Hall. Sr. Tamberlick is a genuine philanthropist. Granada must always conserve a fond memory of him.” At the end of some of the operas, the exhilarated public begged the remarkable Italian tenor to indulge them with his “prodigiously robust high C sharp..” catapulting the audience into an utter state of frenzy.

The Alhambra, declared a national monument, wielded a significant influence on painters, writers and musicians who attempted to capture its orientalism from a romantic viewpoint in their works. The town prided itself on having painters such as Henri Regnault or Mariano Fortuny; writers of the likes of José Zorrilla; and composers Emilio Arrieta and Jesús de Monasterio among their ranks producing works. At this time folklore also began to be taken into consideration, primarily in the Sacromonte neighborhood, where the zambra shows, or Gypsy parties, originated from singer-songwriter and guitarist Antonio Torcuato

Martín “El Cujón” from Ítrabo, Granada. Novelty cultural associations started to flourish with the support of the upper bourgeoisie who promoted music lessons and chamber music recitals from the great Central European composers such as Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven or Mendelssohn, although this type of music continued to have a minority following. The upper echelon was now mostly inclined towards the authentic zarzuela movement, and then, for the Italian opera. With the growing affluence of the “newly rich,” whose businesses were prospering, craftsmen and primarily merchants attended the theaters, playing a key role in the preference that the majority had for zarzuela. Since these emerging clusters came from the lower class, going to the zarzuela performance meant that they could boast of a certain cultural level in an atmosphere where the performance was in Spanish, easily understood, dealing with daily happenings and written in comic format. Little by little, the aristocrats and gentry of Granada began to find themselves in minority. Their preference still leaned towards the mythological tragedies or exquisite bourgeoisie histories which were so commonly found in the blueprint of opera. It was not until 1874 that another opera reached the stages of the city of the Alhambra. Curiously, it would be with the collaboration of Enrico Tamberlick, the genuine lover of Granada, who was the architect of a project with a spectacular company that had just completed its season in the Teatro Real, setting foot in the city with a brand-new opera. Amalia Fossa, Cesare Boccolini and Juan Ordinas, all stellar cast members in the operatic world, had already been performing in theaters in Jerez, Cadiz and Malaga before reaching Granada in mid-June. They offered the four highly applauded operas from their profitable season in Madrid: *Poliuto* from Donizetti, *William Tell* from Rossini, of which only the famous overture was known in Granada, *Il trovatore*, and *L’africane* from Giacomo Meyerbeer, the German-French-Italian composer, who, with his combination of the Italian and French styles, was beginning to outdo Verdi in regards to audience preference. In fact, Granada’s illustrious writer Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, a frequent chronicler of music related articles, considered him to be the finest; in the music discussion groups at the well-known *Cenáculo* of Granada, made up of the most adept local figures in the arts. The eternal debate over the *belcanto* as compared to the modern productions from Verdi, Gounod or Meyerbeer had already been brought up on numerous occasions. In no time the controversy over the German opera, and its most relevant figure, Richard Wagner, would add fuel to the association’s ongoing theoretical fire. The distinguished and immensely appreciated Tamberlick and his no less celebrated colleagues in the Company were wholeheartedly received, and once again it appeared as if the opera would reign in the theaters of the city. However, another three years had to go by before the members of the Company of the so called “tenor angélico,” or angelic tenor, as Angelo Masini was honorably denominated, shared the leading roles with Matilde Cuini in Malaga and Granada, following their performance in the Teatro San Fernando in Seville. Little more is known about this Company because the press gave it scarce coverage that year; although they commenced their representation in Seville and Malaga with *Rigoletto*, so it is safe to assume that it also figured in Granada’s repertoires. The same goes for the opera season of May 1875 in which Rosina Penco, one of the most outstanding divas in history, finally performed in Granada (according to her biographer, Kurt Gänzl, it figured as her final stage interpretation before retiring, though it is true that she also sang in Malaga until mid-June). The mythical

soprano arrived in Granada accompanied “by a large entourage,” and with a cast that included Filomena Llanes and soloists Baltenni and Farvaro. The unmatched soprano’s visit enabled audiences in Granada to hear her exquisite renditions in *Poliuto*, *Norma* and *Il trovatore*.

Francisco de Paula Valladar, a man of encyclopedic culture, musician, chronicler and grandson of the former Teatro del Campillo conductor, commented in 1879, that, “the opera signifies a longed for, rare delight for us.” He bemoaned that in Malaga the public could enjoy companies such as Tamberlick’s, nearly every year, while in Granada’s theaters there were only recitals, zarzuelas or magicians, dancers and other “chabacanos,” or gaudy spectacles. Be that as it may, Valladar, and the other music supporters did not have to wait long to enjoy the foremost of the Italian opera. Following the 1880 performances of a company who alternated zarzuela and opera in the Isabel la Católica Theater, a sensational cast, featuring Giuseppina Vitali, Ottavio Nouvelli and young tenor Francisco Valero (who, although born in Écija, Seville, lived in Granada since childhood, where he was discovered by Tamberlick), came on the scene. Audiences could relish in *Don Pasquale* from Donizetti (possibly for the first time in Granada), two operas from the prevalent composer Meyerbeer: *L’africaine* and *Les huguenots*; apart from *Linda di Chamounix*, *La sonnambula*, *Rigoletto* and *Il barbiere di Siviglia*. While it is yet to be confirmed, we can assume that, like in Seville, the novelty of *Aida* from Verdi, was also premiering on Granada’s stages. This Company had been performing in the capital of Seville for two months, and there, the public had been fortunate enough to hear the great Navarre tenor Julián Gayarre, who, sadly, could not perform in Granada due to a previous commitment in the Teatro Real in Madrid.

Se faja de tenerse comprendida entre la
 Duda y la certidumbre de Escorial, entre
 todo y el objeto de teatro.

TEATRO PRINCIPAL

GRAN COMPAÑIA DE ÓPERA ITALIANA.

Escogida funcion para el Domingo 6 de Junio de 1875.

EN LA QUE TOMA PARTE

LA CELEBRIDAD EUROPEA

SEÑORA PENCO.

LA PRIMERA CONTRALTO Y MISO SOPRANO ABSOLUTA

SEÑORITA FILOMENA LLANES,

Y LOS SEÑORES

BULTERINI Y FARVARO.

IO DE ABONO.

ULTIMA REPRESENTACION de la popular y magnifica ópera en cuatro actos escrita expresamen-
te para la Sra. PENCO por el célebre maestro Verdi, titulada:

TROVADOR.

REPARTO.

PERSONAJES.	ARTISTAS.
Leonor	Sra. PENCO.
Isés	Sra. Alejandro.
Manrique	Sr. BULTERINI.
El conde de Luna	Sr. Farvaro.
Fernando	Sr. Caprili.
Aruceña	Sra. Llanes.
Ruiz	Sr. Zamora.
Un gitano	Sr. Bartual.

Soldados, pajes, gitanos, damas.—Coro general.

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IMP. Y LIT. DE LA SRA. VIUDA E HIJOS DE ZANDEL.

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On April 14th, 1881, the Company, directed by Aristi de Fiorini, publicized a June production in *El defensor de Granada* newspaper which would incorporate all of its components and hand-written repertoire in exact, yet clear Italian. Nevertheless, the contract fell through because of a now frequent motive – insufficient season ticket sales. In October of 1882, Julian Gayarre made a stop in Granada on his way to Malaga and took advantage of this opportunity to visit the city and the Alhambra. Valladar complained about the matter in the press: “if we were not so awful in questions of theaters, he would sing;” and sing he did, eventually! While performing in Malaga with a discreet company, he sought out the owner of the Isabel la Católica Theater in order to formalize a contract for Granada; though it was only in three performances, it would prove to be enough to briefly pacify the audiences who had so longed to hear him. Once the objective was obtained, Gayarre returned to the city on December 1st, 1882; and along with his group, they offered: *Lucrezia Borgia*, *La favorita*, *La sonnambula* and *Lucia di Lammermoor*: “The king of tenors is in Granada. Prior to witnessing his interpretation the other night in Isabel la Católica Theater, I had no idea of his grandeur. And there it was; the celestial harmonies poured from his lips; the angels reflected it in the alluring countenance of our female counterparts, and the stars, in the fire in their eyes” (Enrique Gálvez: *Revista granadina*). Truth be told, the Navarre’s stint in the Campillo venue left much to be desired in the economic aspect, though his debut on stage in Granada sparked an authentic passion among theater goers: “no other artist has stirred such fervor since the time of the concert pianist and composer Anton Rubinstein.” The Company was deemed mediocre and a lamentable incident tarnished their visit. Allegedly, in the Company’s farewell representation of *Lucrezia Borgia*, it was assumed that the illustrious tenor was going to insert a technically sophisticated aria from another, lesser known opera of Donizetti; a piece which he often incorporated to exhibit his extraordinary dexterity. However, as each scene came and went with no sign of the *romanza*, or romantic lyrical piece, the public began openly manifesting their displeasure by stomping, hissing and even hollering. Valladar, a steadfast anti-bullfighting advocate, pronounced: “for a moment there, we were transported to the bullfighting ring as if by magic. ‘The romanza! The romanza!’ they yelled.” Gayarre had no other option but to face the vehement audience and earnestly offer explications for the slight; it turned out that they did not have the orchestra sheet music available during the tour, forcing them to omit the piece. Needless to say, the slip, humorously picked up by the national press, caused quite a bit of embarrassment; even more so, considering the presence of Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia in the imperial box seats. Valladar questioned whether the public of Granada was truly worthy of having such eminent artists, not only from the opera companies, but from zarzuela ones as well.

Be that as it may, the opera did not take long to return. In February of 1883, the beloved, and now veteran vocalist Enrico Tamberlick returned to Granada’s stage once again, leading a magnificent group of soloists of the likes of Blanca Donadio, María Mantilla – who had just finished an extended tour full of triumphs in Saint Petersburg and London – the 19-year-old Gemma Bellinconi, whose attractiveness seduced more than one: “she is as dazzling as the new dawn,” and Ida Lumley; as well as soloists Salvatore Bellinconi, Napoleone Guone and Albino Verdini. Tamberlick was once again showered with tributes and affectionate shows of adoration; while the press in general demonstrated

an outpouring of reverences for the entire Company. The group gladly took part in the ongoing musical atmosphere in the city when, for instance, they willingly performed for the recently formed Sociedad para el Fomento de las Artes, or Arts Enhancement Society, in soirees in some of the local affluent homes. What is more, they gave renditions with the musicians from the city, such as notable concert pianist and doctor, Cándido Peña, during the habitual sessions of the Lyceum. In the repertoire they offered a noteworthy premiere in Granada of *Dinorah* by Meyerbeer, who continued to gain followers. Besides that, they presented a program of the more classic operas: *Il barbiere de Siviglia*, *Maria di Rohan*, *Otello*, *I Puritani*, *La sonnambula*, *Linda di Chamounix*, *La favorita*, *Poliuto*, *Lucrezia Borgia*; and others pertaining to the denomination of modern opera: *I Lombardi*, *Ernani*, *La traviata*, *Il trovatore*, *Un ballo in maschera*, *Aida*, *Faust*, *L'africaine*, *Les huguenots*, and the before mentioned *Dinorah*. *Aida*, in its superb opening night in Granada, was energetically acclaimed for the lush set decoration; along with the charanga, or brass band, of the Regimiento de Cuba, praised for being "perfectly tuned." Throughout the three-month season, Tamberlick, Donadio, Mantilla, Bellinconi and the orchestra received the most superlative accolades. Their closing performance of *Marina*, the zarzuela that Arrieta had converted into opera at the insistence of Tamberlick, took place on the 26th of April. Joined with Bellinconi, Mantilla, Verdini and Ordinas, the famous Italian tenor managed to fill the theater, even though it was raining outside and there was no light in the streets. This division of operatic styles revived the controversy between the devoted advocates of the *belcanto*, and the progressives leaning towards innovations. Wagner's operas, though absent from the provincial stages for various reasons (costly set design, the German language, and so on) were becoming more familiar and inserted in the discussions of the adept music realm; news of his productions and the debates that these generated in the Lyceum of Barcelona and the Real venue in Madrid even reached Granada.

Technical mishaps constantly occurred due to the precarious lighting conditions of the time: "The lights went out and the theater was left pitch dark; the audience in the galleries openly voiced their discontentment. The soprano became distraught without giving any explanation and the crowd cried, 'The gas! The gas!' That 'diminuendo,' or diminishing, of the gas lighting was from a lack of water; adding some, the stage will return to its correct state." This is precisely what happened to contralto Amalia Kumber in February 1886 when she was on the stage of Isabel la Católica Theater with the other components of Vallini and Martín's Company: soprano Eloísa Ocampo, tenor Balzofieri and bass Wagner, as they interpreted two operas from Donizetti and five from Wagner. It seems, they had tried to contract the eminent soprano Adelina Patti, but her binding contract with the Teatro Real and the elevated cost of her prestigious status, made it impossible. Sofía Irigoyen took the limelight of a company under the lead of the diligent orchestra conductor José Tolosa. Regrettably, the young soprano, who was one of the most promising figures on Spanish stages, died tragically four months later in unclear circumstances, according to the press. *La traviata* had been chosen for her debut in Granada, followed by other, well-known elements of the repertoire. The Company was considered worse than the one hired in 1886, even though it was more expensive, drawing even harsher criticism from the press.

In July of 1887, the Concerts of the Corpus Christi Festival initiated under the baton of Tomás Bretón and the Sociedad de Conciertos de Madrid. So, now, the lyric genre had to compete with the ever-increasing rise and keenness evoked by symphonic music; which had been making a comeback with the continued endeavors of creating a symphonic orchestra in Granada, though repeatedly thwarted. The Orchestra from Madrid also offered fragments from Wagner's operas; granting some of his devotees their much-desired wish of hearing the so called "music of the future."

In October of 1888, José Tolosa's Company of Italian opera performed for the second time in the Teatro Principal, marking a period in provincial theaters. The troupe proved to be greatly successful, boasting excellent soloists such as tenors Lorenzo Abruñedo, former pupil of Ronconi's School of Song in Granada, Rodrigo Montiano, reputable baritone Ramón Blanchart, bass Narciso Serra, the precocious soprano Enriqueta Incera, contralto Eva Treves, and diva María Mantilla, who only sang in two of the performances. As a whole, the press conveyed satisfaction as to the choice of operas: *La favorita*, *Lucia*, *Faust*, *Il travatore*, *La traviata*, *Un ballo in maschera*, *Rigoletto*, *L'africaine* and *Les huguenots*, as well as selected acts, as was customary in the performances where the proceeds went to the artists (*Ernani* and *Norma*). The same held true for the bonus performances of the soloists in the intermissions, as well as the dancers. Such was the case of the leading dancer of the Teatro Real, Leticia Milón, who collaborated in the preferential concert for her friend Rodrigo Montiano. For the fall of 1889, they attempted to contract a company where the most distinguished soprano of the time worked: Emma Nevada; though to no avail. Her impatient admirers had to wait until 1890 to hear the Californian make their wish come true: "when the renowned diva appeared on front-center stage, the audience greeted her with a prolonged applause; a prelude to the hearty ovation she received at the end of the work...she is a nightingale, trained for the art." The diva eclipsed the rest of the lesser known artists, in a company in which the owner and orchestra conductor, José Tolosa, had prepared an Andalusian tour. Their repertoire of: *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, *La sonnambula*, *Lucia*, *L'africaine*, as well as the premiere in Granada of *Lakmé* by Léo Delibes, and especially, *Carmen* by Georges Bizet, was the talk of the town: "The Andalusians are more French than Spanish and manifest the scarcity that some writers in the nearby republic know about life here." In any case, witnessing the delights of Bizet's music was enough for it to receive absolute appreciation. The spring of 1891 also meant the arrival of a fantastic company with soloists such as Nadina Bulichioff, the mezzo soprano Giuseppina Pasqua, lead vocalist in the premiere of *Falstaff* by Verdi in the Scala alla Milan two years later, Regina Pacini, who later wed Alvear, the president of Argentina, Giuseppe Huguet, the French baritone Paul Lherie and bass Giuseppe Escolani. Once again, they represented works from Donizetti (*La favorita* and *Lucia*), Rossini (*Il barbiere di Siviglia*, the only opera from the musician of Pesaro that continued on stages), Bellini (*La sonnambula*), and Meyerbeer (*L'africaine* and *Les huguenots*); along with the premiere in Granada of *La Gioconda* by Amilcare Ponchielli. Curiously, there were no Verdi operas included; which could be simply an anecdotal fact. For these productions, the theater orchestra had to be reinforced with instrumentalists from Malaga; following the indications of the second maestro of the Teatro Real, Pedro Urrutia.

Enterprising José Tolosa managed to get an outstanding roster of soloists, led by Emma Nevada, along with Febea Strakosch, a regular at the Scala alla Milan, Emma Cisterna, Celia Cappelli, Inés Salvador, Dante del Papa, contracted and highly valued at the Liceu in Barcelona, Francisco Pandolfini, Mario Ansaldo, Gaetano Roveri, who was called the finest bass ever heard in Granada, and more. They were joined by the chorus of the Teatro Real and the Orquesta del Teatro, reinforced by additional musicians from Madrid. Of their eleven productions, there were some novelties, such as *Mignon*, by Ambroise Thomas, and *Cavalleria rusticana* from Pietro Mascagni; giving the public the first experience with authentic Italian. Emma Nevada was, of course, “fervently adored” by the audience, offering her most splendid renditions in: *La sonnambula*, *Lucia*, *Lakmé* and *Il barbiere di Siviglia*. They completed the opera series with *Faust* and the comic opera, *Crispino e la comare* from the Ricci brothers. Even though the quality of the opera sessions produced upheld an outstanding level, the two zarzuela companies who used the stages afterwards had even more public appeal. That year, the orchestra that had performed in Isabel la Católica, together with members of the Banda del Regimiento de Córdoba deployed in Granada, played in the Corpus concerts because the festival organizers had been unable to finalize a contract with the orchestra from Madrid. The next year they reached an agreement with tenor Emilio Giovannini's Company, which ordinarily combined comic operas, operettas and zarzuelas; mostly with Italian singers. Their programs consisted of a variety of productions, from the celebrated *Il barbiere di Siviglia* or some now forgotten Italian operas, to works from Franz von Suppé, Jacques Offenbach and Charles Lecocq; and zarzuelas such as the “operized” version of *Marina* by Arrieta. This same Company returned in October of 1895 to produce three operas of the classic selection, apart from numerous operettas: *La sonnambula*, *Il barbiere di Siviglia* and *L'elisir d'amore*, interpreted by prestigious soloists Aida Saroglia, Giovannina Coliva, Enrico Grassi and Elda Marotto.

TEATRO PRINCIPAL.

GRAN COMPAÑÍA DE ÓPERA ITALIANA
EN LA QUE FIGURA LA CÉLEBRE PRIMA DONNA DRAMÁTICA

MILA KUPFER
Y EL EMINENTE BARÍTONO

EUGENIO LABAN
bajo la dirección del maestro concertador

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DESPEDIDA DE LA COMPAÑÍA
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PARA EL MARTES 22 DE ENERO DE 1895

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REPARTO

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Laura	<i>Sra. Blasco,</i>
Cieca	<i>Sra. Galán.</i>
Enzo	<i>Sr. Brotat.</i>
Barnabá	SR. LABAN.
Alvise Badoero	<i>Sr. Boldá.</i>
Un barnabotto	<i>Sr. Noguera.</i>
Un marinero	<i>Sr. Garcia.</i>

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Several months later a notable company comprised of the extraordinary Austrian soprano Mila Kupfer-Berger, alongside contralto Adela Blanco, Catalan tenor Joan Brotat, baritone Eugenio Labán and bass José Boldú performed on Granada's stages. Joined with part of the Teatro Real chorus, the large productions of: *I Puritani*, *Lucrezia Borgia*, *La favorita*, *La traviata*, *Ernani*, *Il trovatore*, *Un ballo in maschera*, *La Gioconda* and *Carmen* returned to the theater. In the latter, a 16-year-old María Galván, though born in Mancha Real, Jaén, at two went to live with her grandparents in the village of Pinos Puente, Granada, made her stage debut. The youth caused quite a sensation and shortly thereafter went on to become one of the greatest singers in the world. In addition, an event was organized in which some of her acquaintances of the music world, Cándido Orense, for example, collaborated, so as to raise money for her music studies in Madrid. On April 30th the Company gave their farewell presentation of Tomás Bretón's much adored work, *Los amantes de Teruel*; they even enjoyed the maestro's arrival in Granada in time to rehearse and conduct his work. The press gave extensive coverage dedicated to the beloved composer from Salamanca, who promised his friends in Granada that he would conduct the opening night of his brand-new opera, *La Dolores*. On May 6th, 1896, he kept his word and presented it together with the Compañía de Ópera y Zarzuela of Juan Elías. Mercedes, the daughter of the orchestra conductor, and Joan Brotat interpreted the leading roles. This new Spanish opera, inspired in the lyric drama by Feliú y Codina, with *libretto* and music by Tomás Bretón, obtained even more acclaim than the previous one: "At last there is no one who can say that we do not have opera in Spain." The Company director, Francisco Pérez Cabrero, took the leadership of the Corpus Christi Concerts, reinforcing the theater orchestra with musicians from Malaga and Madrid. Apparently, the contract talks with the Sociedad de Conciertos had fallen through, to the dismay of their supporters in Granada, and even more so of Tomás Bretón himself.

Maestro Güelfo Mazzi's Company arrived at the Isabel la Católica Theater on the 7th of June to perform in a brief opera season that prided itself on having the participation of María Galván as *prima donna*. Subsequent to her triumphant work in Malaga, she premiered what became known as her specialty: *La sonnambula*; and absolutely thrilled the public. Galván shared the stage with tenor Joan Brotat and bass Abulke Leoni in four more operas: *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *La favorita*, *La traviata* and *Dinorah*. In the Cathedral of Granada, the soprano gave a recital for her friends, where she sang famous religious pieces accompanied on the piano by the organist, her friend and former mentor, Eduardo Orense. And later, behind the closed doors of the temple, she regaled her closest friends with diverse arias from operas.

On the 9th of June, the inauguration of the new open-air summer theater, called the Alhambra, was announced. The ceremony contained Italian opera works and the presence of diva Regina Pacini, although, in the end there were troubles with the Company and they changed for a zarzuela troupe at the last moment, who, eventually chose to perform during two summer months. A year later Giovannini's Company returned with their repertoire of operas and zarzuelas, and with diva Ida Saroglia. They offered two novelties: *Les pêcheurs de perles* (The Pearl Fishers) by Georges Bizet, and *I pagliacci* from Ruggero Leoncavallo, that, together with *Cavalleria rusticana* and the enduring *La*

sonnambula, *Lucia di Lammermoor* and *La traviata*, were an essential part of their repertoire, which mainly consisted of operettas.

On account of the economic crisis and overall gloom as a result of the War of 1898, the mood was discouraging for public amusements. An opera company managed to publicize programs at the end of 1899, only to cancel the event from lack of season ticket sales. The itinerary opera troupe run by orchestra conductor José Tolosa, seemed to be the most likely option, as they had already been offering operas in the provinces for some time. In 1900, the Company came back to Granada with a cast of soloists formed by soprano Ana Lopetegui, Emma Petroski, Augusto Dianni, Isabel Riera and Juan Torres de Luna. For the first time in Granada's theaters (it would also be the last) an opera from Wagner was produced: *Lohengrin*; but it was translated into Italian, and had significant shortcomings. In any case, the German's opera induced countless commentaries in the academic circles throughout the city, as well as in the press, where all types of opinions were voiced. This was not the only novelty that stood out. It was also the first time that an opera from Giacomo Puccini, *La bohème*, was put on stage in Granada. Seemingly, not all of the opera was understood, though *Musetta's Waltz* received great applause and had to be graciously given an encore. The third and final innovation put forward by the Company was Arrigo Boito's opera, *Mephistopheles*. The opera *Aida*, receiving praise for its magnificent decoration and *Lucia di Lammermoor*, along with the three before mentioned works, ended up being the only ones represented; the Company withdrew from their contract before its term due to their low revenue from ticket sales: "with a company like that of Tolosa, with premieres and lush decoration unable to complete the contracted season...Who would risk presenting opera productions in Granada? We will have to settle for the Spanish lyric genre." (Francisco de Paula Valladar)

Two years later, in 1902, another opera company, run by Italian Ernesto Baratta, formalized a contract to perform in the city with exceptional soloists such as Ana Lopetegui, Enriqueta Casa, Susana Vigier, Rosa Vila, Joan Brotat, Cordobese tenor Granados and bass Leoni. Their inaugural choice was *La bohème*, whose now famous melodies were commonplace in the Paseo del Salón, where the Banda de Regimiento often gave renditions of them. However, according to the press, "the public still has not understood the musical transcendence of the work." They went on to give representations of *Un ballo in maschera*, *I pagliacci* and *Lucia*; yet just as in 1900, the calamitous economic outlook forced this Company to bail out too. They only performed ten of the fifteen contemplated productions, and the publicized premiere of German Engelbert Humperdick's *Hansel und Gretel* never made it to the stage. Audiences were now definitively reluctant to attend opera functions; symptomatic of the decadence of the genre; it had now fallen into a full-blown crisis, overwhelmed by the lack of itinerant companies and new creations, and, not only in Granada. From this point on, Granada was considered a risk-filled destination for any remaining artists performing opera in the provincial cities. During the years that followed, there were not even any endeavors to make it possible. From what we know, the next time that there was a proposal it came in 1906, from the hands of known businessman Arturo Baratta. That fell through also; stirring up even more dismay among music lovers who were looking forward to attending another production of *Lohengrin* and the opening night of

Tosca by Puccini, now on stage in other provinces. Fortunately, in 1907, they were able to settle a contract with the unrelenting José Tolosa. In the outdated Teatro Cervantes, that is to say, the former Principal (the name was changed in 1904 in tribute to the illustrious writer), the businessman and director of the Company presented a stellar cast of veteran Spanish soloists; by this time there were very few Italians about. This cast included names such as Enriqueta Aceña, Rosa Vila, Matilde Blanco, Félix La Sierra and Gustavo Clavería, among others. The works from the venerated classic composers – Rossini, Bellini and Donizetti – were scarcely present in the repertoire, as they seemed to have less appeal with the audiences. They interpreted Verdi's *Aida* and Meyerbeer continued to be undisputed: *Le prophète*, *L'africaine* and *Les huguenots*; all of which the press raved over: "the operas of Meyerbeer are tantamount to that of Shakespeare..." Puccini's *La bohème*, his only opera represented in Granada till then, returned to the stage, as well as *Carmen*, now greatly admired and sought-after in theaters around the world. Nevertheless, reality was rapidly sinking in – there was little interest and there are few supporters willing to buy season tickets: "if it is punishable for the Spanish lyric genre to be of a suggestive nature; if the public has withdrawn because it says that it cannot concede belligerence to the immortals, why does it not attend the opera?" On October 18th, a "never-ending" production of *Les huguenots*, even though the fifth act had been eliminated, made the audience feel "at home" in the theater. The chronicler of *El defensor de Granada* complained that few people were present during the first act because they arrived late. The Company in charge of the theater, beset by hefty economic losses, suspended the rest of the opera series after merely six representations.

Once again, the lack of season ticket holders impeded the possible contract with Emilio Giovannini's Company; and Valladar strongly voiced his opinion in his magazine: "while other, less important populations than Granada are able to maintain the opera, here, despite our tradition of good taste and culture, it is out of the question. The public's distancing from the theaters has undone our artistic history; having been, perhaps, more illustrious than any other city in this part of Spain. There are no businesses to enable it here" (*La Alhambra*, November 15th, 1910). On May 15th, 1913, the great tenor Emilio Sagi-Barba and his zarzuela Company incorporated the third act of *Rigoletto* as part of his supplementary benefit performance. It had become standard that the zarzuela companies included the popular *Cavalleria rusticana* in their repertoires, as in 1916. Apparently, there were no efforts to contract an opera company until 1918, because the negotiations often fell through; then, in 1919, the 12-year hiatus was finally broken when Italian Arturo Baratta's Company returned to the Teatro Cervantes. The components of the group had been fostering young vocalists, especially a promising 22-year-old Catalan named Mercedes Capsir; who would later go on to have a brilliant career. In addition to that, the Company had been promoting bass Victoriano Rodríguez de Castillo throughout various provinces. They interpreted four productions: *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, *Lucia*, *Rigoletto* and *La traviata*; yet for the public and the press in general, the experience was somewhat rancid. The press incessantly lamented that while Granada had to settle for a modest company, the audiences in Malaga delighted in the "crème de la crème" of soloists of the time: Tito Schippa and Ofelia Nieto. At the end of October 1927, and subsequent to leaving a great impression in Cadiz and Seville, Francisco Fionti's Company performed in the Isabel la Católica venue

with mostly national soloists such as Concha Corominas, Emilia Viñas, Teresa Gamboa, Joan Valls, Juan Gayola and Miguel Mulleras. They offered, at last, the enormously longed for production of *Tosca*, along with *La bohème*, *Cavalleria rusticana* and *Marina*.

On the 8th of March, 1936, grave altercations took place in the center of Granada between supporters of the Falange and the Frente Popular (both radical political parties). Then, from a palace along the Acera del Darro, home of the Count of Guadiana, owner of the Isabel la Católica Theater, shots were fired at a workers' rally. On the morning of the 10th, amidst great social upheaval, a group of radicals set various fires around the city; this included the vast aforementioned theater, which was promptly reduced to ashes. The modest zarzuela Company "Artistas Unidos," who had performed a treasure of the Spanish lyric genre, *La del manojo de rosas*, on the afternoon of the 8th and a double session of *La revoltosa* and *La verbena de la Paloma*, found themselves in dire need of charity as all of their wardrobe and scenery material had been consumed in the fire. The Teatro Cervantes, though almost exclusively engaged in cinema by this time, was now the only venue left meeting the requirements to represent operas. In the midst of the World War, the Club Penibético managed to contract an Italian opera company on tour in Spain with the Orquesta Bética to give two performances (*Lucia* and *La Bohème*) in April of 1942; they were fortunate enough to count on the stellar participation of Japanese-American soprano Toshiko Hasegawa and tenor Mario Filipeschi. Two years later, the Press Association oversaw the contract of the National Opera Company with María Greus, Ángela Rossini, Cristóbal Altube, Raimundo Torres, Luis Corbella, Augusto Gonzalo, 30 chorus members, and an orchestra formed by 18 musicians from Granada reinforced with 12 from the Orquesta Bética de Sevilla and 10 more from the Sinfónica de Málaga. José Sabater conducted their productions of *Il trovatore* and *Tosca*. Then, in 1948, at the initiative of the Civil Governor, with the Department of Culture, Education and Leisure, a private company, owned by Navarre tenor Esteban Leoz and baritone Giuseppe Malacchini, including renowned solo artists such as Antonia Campó, María Clara de Alcalá and Alto Pojesi, were contracted to stage a single production of *Cavalleria rusticana*. Selected fragments from *Marina* closed the evening presentation of what would end up being the last opera performance in a theater created for said purpose.

In 1966, the last of the great opera theaters of Granada was demolished to make room for the construction of buildings in the Plaza del Campillo: "The curtain slowly descended for the last time to the chords of the *Himno Nacional*, executed by the Banda Municipal under the lead of maestro Faus...Farewell Teatro Cervantes!" (*Hoja del lunes*, January 24, 1966). Ruiz Molinero wrote in the pages of *Ideal* newspaper: "we must lament the loss of the sole link that remained in Granada with the stage world...a symbol that is much more than a sentimental after taste, has been lost." It is true, be it sporadically or occasionally, that some opera representations have returned to Granada. Some have taken place in the patio of the historic Carlos V Palace, in the new, yet lacking, Isabel la Católica Theater, situated in the Acera del Casino square (although only shortly after its inauguration, between June 6th and 8th of 1952; *Carmen*, *Rigoletto* and *Lucia* were performed), and other venues which do not fit the necessary criteria for a large-scale opera production to be held.

MUSIC AND MUSICIANS IN GRANADA'S SETTING



Enrico Tamberlick, c.1870

JOSÉ MIGUEL BARBERÁ SOLER

23. THE ISABEL II SCHOOL OF SONG AND DECLAMATION

The voyage of the modern steamboat *Canada*, which had set sail from Liverpool, heading for Boston, ran into violent storms as the sun was setting on September 12th, 1857. On this, its seventh day at sea, the craft was perilously swept off course towards the precipitous, threatening coasts of the Newfoundland Island along the northeastern seaboard of North America. For three days straight, the petrified passengers remained at the mercy of the Atlantic, enduring furious winds over the lonely sea. The damage on deck and the rage of the waves, slamming relentlessly against the starboard and port, heaving the boat to and fro, foreshadowed their imminent sinking, and doom. One of the passengers, a robust baritone, raised his outstretched arms to the sky and, in the most dramatic trance imaginable, begged for mercy; and in his plea, he vowed to create a benefic conservatory where he would teach his pupils the marvelous secrets of the art of music, if only they would be spared.

This *cavaliere*, a Milanese baritone named Giorgio Ronconi; an admired soloist and highly acclaimed among the affluent society in the finest opera theaters around the world, had been living in his *carmen* close to the Alhambra for five years.

As fate would have it, the high winds died down on the morning of the 20th, and five days later, the battered steamboat reached its final destination, where it miraculously disembarked all of its passengers safe and sound.

In the summer of 1852, Ronconi had arrived in Granada, with his daughter, Tonina and his future second wife, Malaga native Antonia Onrubia, prepared to join the opera Company that had been currently performing in the Teatro del Campillo. What had initially been intended as a brief stay, ended up being his residence of choice, motivated by the unique atmosphere which he immediately embraced; the jovial, cultural and humorous *Cuerda* association, and, of course, the enrapturing beauty of the city of the Alhambra.

The Italian's philanthropic drive to help the needy became noticeable as soon as he settled down in Granada. In particular, he got involved in moments when tragedies such as fires, epidemics and other catastrophes occurred. His social commitment with the city continued even when he was away on tours. It came as no surprise that he was considered a genuine benefactor in Granada; evoking appreciation and gratitude as such a distinguished neighbor.

Between February and August of 1857, Ronconi was an unquestionably major figure in Her Majesty's Theatre in London and, not long after that, accepted a contract to perform in America. He set off from Liverpool on the before mentioned turbulent voyage accompanied by his inseparable Tonina and Antonia. Subsequent to a brief stay in New York, they set sail again, this time in the *Granada* steamboat, from New Orleans to La Havana, where they landed on the 23rd of November. Three months after receiving

countless accolades and generous outpourings of affection from the island gentry, Ronconi fell into misfortune once again when he caught yellow fever on the trip back to New York. He had to be transferred to the prestigious Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia where he hovered between life and death for over a month; yet, he eventually recovered and was able to fulfill part of his contract in Burton's New Theatre near Broadway, New York.

Upon returning to Europe, Ronconi continued his triumphant tour at the re-inaugurated Royal Opera House in London's Covent Garden, and in the Imperial Theater in Saint Petersburg. Both Queen Victoria in Great Britain and Tsar Alexander II of Russia held him in the utmost regard.

At last, on September 3rd, 1859, once he had completed his singing commitments, he retired to his congenial carmen in Granada for a well-deserved break from so much disquiet. However, he also sought to keep his solemn vow pronounced over the remote northern seas.

In order to put this into effect, he relied on a considerable amount of money, in part from his fortuitous career, along with the numerous gifts that he had received from his admirers. Besides that, the press reported that he had inherited a hefty sum from an uncle "en Indias." Notwithstanding, the existing social and political situation, given that Spain was in the middle of the bloody Hispano-Moroccan War, was far from propitious for ventures related to the arts. In fact, upon his arrival, Ronconi focused on assisting the families of the militiamen who had been sent to the front lines. In January of 1860, the famous tenor managed to represent *Nabucco*, from Verdi, in a performance that was both charitable and patriotic, in which he himself had sang in the Teatro alla Scala sixteen years earlier; accompanied by local vocalists, a chorus and an orchestra. The extraordinarily profitable event raised 19,000 reales for the cause and proved that the city possessed enough talent and supporters to become a point of reference for opera in Spain, and thus, the ideal location for the creation of a music conservatory.

Ronconi had already intended on retiring from the international opera stages and seemed to be convinced that this learning institution would also be a satisfying undertaking, enabling him to spend more time in his now renovated carmen, enjoying the city of the Alhambra, and his friends.

Once his "final" opera season in London was completed towards the end of 1860, Giorgio Ronconi initiated the necessary legal paperwork with a petition to Isabel II to formalize the institution and grant the use of her royal title. The technical committee in Madrid, comprised of Arrieta, Hernando and Eslava, conceded the authorization "bearing in mind the prestige of the applicant," though under the stipulation that it had to be denominated "school" instead of "conservatory."

Without any further impediments, the enterprise was underway; they purchased furniture for the offices and classrooms located on the No. 14 Duquesa Street site. They bought costumes and props for the stage scenes and established a room and board allowance for the 40 initial registered students; which, in less than a year, grew to 60.

The principal setback they faced had to do with the Teatro del Campillo; where they were supposedly going to give a performance every month. Although the Town Hall had authorized its use, the theater's disdainful businessman, Ramón Cursi, did not make it easy for them, especially when they asked to extend their utilization of the facility to two Saturdays a month.

From all parts of Spain, avid young people travelled over the muddy tracks to reach Granada, anxious to learn from such an illustrious teacher. In order to be admitted in the School, students had to pass an entry exam consisting of: a demonstration of basic knowledge of solfege, aptitude for singing, and they had to be literate. Besides that, the applicants needed to present a "certificate of good conduct" signed by their priests and the local authorities in their hometown, as well as an income statement in order to request financial assistance.

In October of 1861, the bylaws drawn up by Ronconi and the board of directors of the Isabel II School of Song and Declamation were approved. The distinct levels and teaching curriculum stipulated consisted of: solfege and vocalization, opera singing, vocal refinement, declamation and piano accompaniment. The esteemed composer and Cathedral organist, Bernabé Ruiz de Henares took on the charge of assistant director, while writer José Salvador de Salvador became the School secretary. At the onset, Baltasar Mira and José Espinel y Moya were the chief professors, but eventually both of them grew discontent with their salaries; so, when they left, their replacements were young Antonio Torres, Antonio Segura (who gave lessons to Federico García Lorca 50 years later), and Miguel Rivero.

When the School was fully operational, on February 15th 1862, they held a solemn inaugural act, presenting the male pupils dressed in black and the females in white. The civil governor agreed to preside over the ceremony with the unveiling of portraits of the King and Queen, set in the preferential box, to the sounds of the *Marcha Real*. Following the speeches and poetic praise, Ronconi and his students charmed the attendees with arias from the most renowned Italian opera repertoire. The theater seated family members and guests of the so-called Sociedad Unida a la Escuela de Canto y Declamación de Isabel II, formed by wealthy supporters who funded the project with their monthly dues.

At long last, in October of 1862, Queen Isabel did have the opportunity to see the progress of the School during her visit to the city. After a representation of the drama of Moors and Christians in *La toma de Granada*, commemorating the conquest of the city, Ronconi and the pupils performed, at the Queen's express request, the last two acts of *Nabucco*. Six months later, said opera's notorious composer, Giuseppe Verdi himself, while visiting Granada, delighted in witnessing the advancements of the finest vocalists in the School of his *caro amico*, Giorgio.

There were numerous and promising expectations towards the end of 1863. In order to make the School's monthly performances more attractive, British soprano Elena Kenneth was invited, offering a truly thrilling event for her admirers. Similarly, some of the prominent figures in the international lyrical panorama were scheduled to collaborate in the

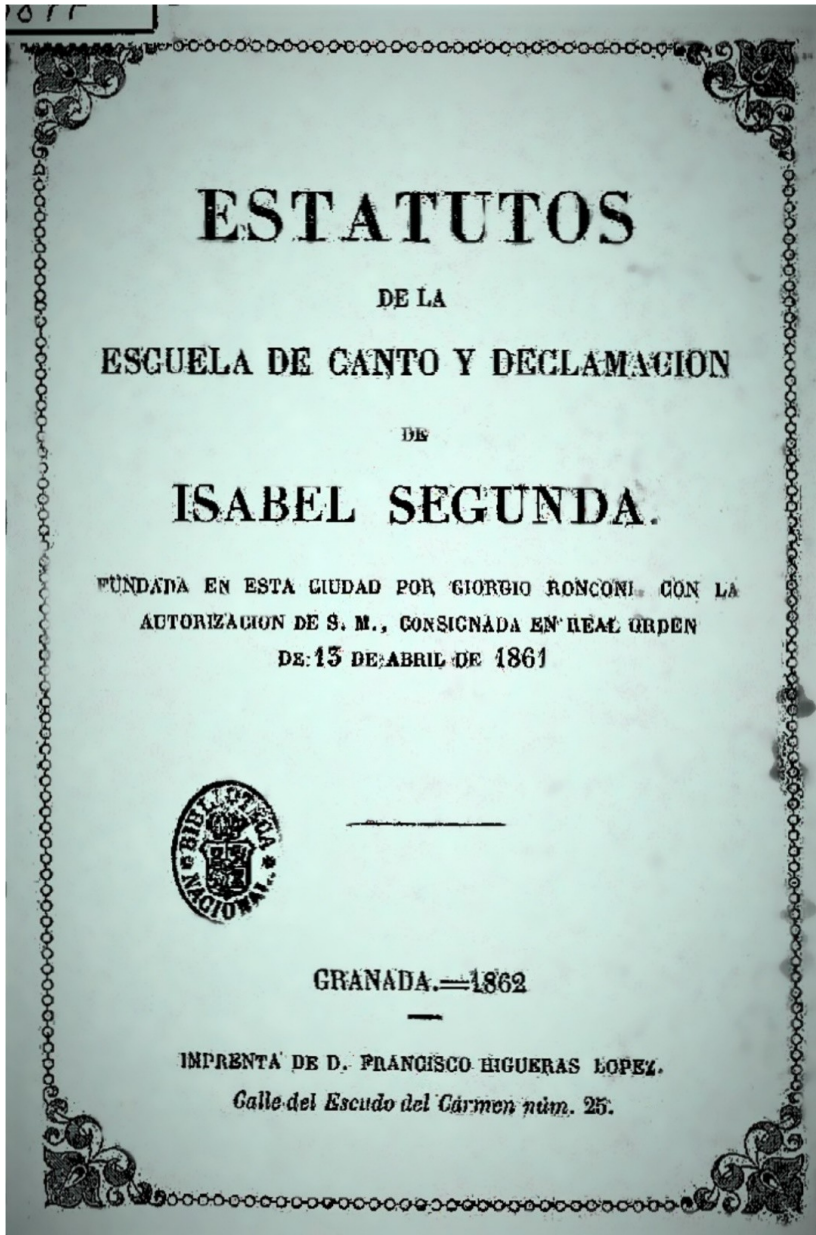
upcoming months. In addition to that, they could now take advantage of the newer Isabel la Católica Theater near the Campos Plaza, which had more sizeable seating capacity and whose managing director seemed to be much more willing to work with them.

Be that as it may, it would not be smooth sailing for long. Squabbles arose amid the orchestra members; the intrigues and conflicts with the business running the Teatro del Campillo increased; the brand-new, recently inaugurated venue preferred to dedicate its first months to theater productions instead of the lyrical genre; and the municipal authorities were losing interest in the venture. As if this was not enough, Ronconi, distressed and engrossed in a wave of discouragement, lost all of his funds in a robbery and the subsequent bankruptcy of the Monte de Piedad savings institution of Granada. On January 12th, 1864, the rueful soloist had no choice but to publish a leaflet entitled *Cuatro palabras al público de Granada sobre la historia y disolución de la Escuela de Canto y Declamación Isabel II*; wherein he regretfully narrated the misadventures that led them to begrudgingly put an end to such a praiseworthy initiative. His pupils also suffered certain abandonment, as they were forced to fend for themselves and return home as best they could; some, though, were able to join itinerary zarzuela companies. Asturian Lorenzo Abruñedo, for example, made a name for himself; and in 1866, he made his stage debut at the Teatro Real of Madrid.

Ronconi and his family had to depart from Granada with no more than the clothes on their backs; having to part with his beloved carmen, his valuable musical archives, and all of his personal possessions at the School. He then took on singing contracts from different theaters throughout northern Spain in order to mitigate the extremely dilapidated state of his finances. Shortly thereafter, Giorgio Ronconi returned to London, and following some years performing in New York when the deterioration of his voice became manifest, he accepted the post of music professor in the music Conservatory in Madrid.



Giorgio Ronconi: photograph dedicated in 1857 to Francisco Rodríguez Murciano. (Museo-Casa de los Tiros)



Biblioteca del Hospital Real (Hospital Real Library)

24. THE MUSIC IN TRIBUTES TO MARIANA PINEDA

“The delicate throat of a beauty, a heroine, was choked against the vile wooden structure on May 26th, 1831 by the defenders of obscurantism and the devotees of the Spanish Inquisition” (*El español*, June 5, 1836).

The death of Fernando VII in 1833, the swearing in of the young Princess of Asturias, Isabel, and the regency of María Cristina, opened a new period in the history of Spain, shedding its ten years of horrid absolutism. In 1836, subsequent to the cholera outbreak and terrible damage caused by the flooding of the Darro River, the authorities and affluent families of Granada who had fled these afflictions were making their way back to their residences. What the so-called “good society of Granada” found upon returning, though, was a city abounding with beggars, “that are swarming the streets and disturbing the peace in the homes, offending the culture of this illustrious population, bothering neighbors with untimely demands...they present a horrible spectacle of their misery, are unpleasant, and are a blight on the decorum and the moral public with their perchance ostentation of their suffering.” It did not take long for the expert authorities to answer to these problems by implanting urgent solutions, that included expulsing “outsider” beggars from the city, and dealing with the local ones by giving them two loaves of bread a day and offering them shelter in the municipal hospital. From Madrid, the government of Mendizábal attempted to smother the overwhelming poverty by confiscating ecclesiastical properties, using the long-standing hostility over what was considered an abuse of the clergy and those in monasteries or convents as leverage. So, in Granada, a number of convents were demolished and turned into public spaces. The imposition of liberal ideology took over, and from the Constitutional City Hall, they allowed for “oscurantismo” flags to be burnt in the Campillo Plaza as the military bands of the Milicia Nacional and the Zapadores Bomberos paraded the streets with the portrait of “the respected Queen María Cristina” as they played patriotic and martial hymns. The wealthy preferred to trust in the recuperation of their pastimes: “Heaven help us to promptly return to the public amusement, so crassly interrupted by these foul and devastating calamities that have befallen us!” At the end of 1835, the Teatro del Campillo re-opened its doors amidst an overall fanfare, liveliness and excitement for the queen regent, and the young Isabel. Likewise, there was encouragement because they had managed to avoid the closure of the Real Chancillería, or the judicial court of Granada, as a result of the tri-provincial division, thanks to the perseverance of some who considered it “indispensable to have plenty of people living in the city awaiting trials or having activity relevant to long-term court proceedings; and that it would constitute a base for the property of the people.”

In this setting of social vehemence, the figure of Mariana Pineda as a martyr and defender of freedom began to be re-vindicated. The local authorities decided to pay tribute to her in a patriotic and religious commemoration on the fifth anniversary of her execution. At 7 am on the morning of the 24th, her remains, deposited in the Almengor Cemetery (next

to the Triunfo gardens), were exhumed and five officials transported the urn to the San Ildefonso Church. The following day, the battalions, companies and military squads solemnly accompanied her remains in procession to the Cathedral. There, on the 26th of May, she was given her last rites in the depleted Music Chapel with barely 12 instrumentalists and a chorus of 20 who interpreted the *Oficios*, or the service. Said piece had been expressly composed for the occasion by maestro Vicente Palacios, who, though still gravely ill and practically living off of charity (he died two and a half months later in absolute poverty), insisted on conducting the event himself. The chorus was joined by the principal soloists from the current opera Company in the theater; there were even true celebrities such as tenors Leandro Valencia (a favorite of the Court for various years) and Félix Ramos, the Italian baritone Giuseppe Provini and bass José Rodríguez Calonge, that caused “plenty of gaiety among those present.” Subsequent to that, the military, the authorities, and an “impressive band playing somber harmonies” filed out in procession towards the church of Nuestra Señora de las Angustias, where a committee from the Town Council handed over the urn with her remains to priest José Garzón, who had accompanied the condemned woman till her final moments, for safe keeping. That evening in the Teatro Nacional del Campillo, all of the Compañía Filarmónica de Ópera members, “dressed in mourning,” offered a *Himno fúnebre* for the first time. The music had been composed by Galician flutist Domingo Martín (a resident in Granada for some years) and written by “the patriot” Vicente Moreno Bernedo (military explorer in one of the National Horseback Squads); Francisco Valladar conducted the theater orchestra creating an atmosphere “of great ponderance for all those present.” In regards to the recital Company, they interpreted an allegorical piece entitled *Aniversario de la inmortal Doña Mariana Pineda*:

“De Mariana y su noble heroísmo
oiga España la historia de horror
¡Maldición al atroz despotismo!
Gloria y prez de Mariana al valor.”

(Of Mariana and her noble heroism
let Spain hear the story of horror.
Damned monstrous despotism!
Glory and honor to courageous Mariana.)

To perpetuate her memory, the Town government agreed to erect a monument in the Bailén Plaza (it is known today as Mariana Pineda), “so that our fellow citizens never forget those atrocious scenes, of destruction and extermination that can only come from despotism and tyranny.”

The commemoration ceremonies to the heroine continued along these lines every year on the 26th of May. In 1839 they laid the first foundation stone of the monument, “which must preserve her memory,” with a solemn act wherein the National Militia Bands “raised their hymns dedicated to liberty, alongside the exalted public.” In order to cover the

cost of the burial site, they organized a masquerade ball and various benefic events in the theater. On one such occasion, in 1842, an anecdotal controversy arose. The renowned soloist Paulina Viardot, present in Granada at the time, had been asked by the mayor to collaborate in a charity opera event for the monument; but she turned it down, alleging that the proceeds from said representation had already been allocated in favor of her sister, who was living in a state of utter destitution. That same year, Francisco Martínez, violinist at the Royal Chapel, wrote the music to a text from Manuel de Castro y Muñoz that the chorus of the opera company sang dressed in black inside the Cathedral along with the traditional *Vigilias y Responsos*.

By 1844, the enthusiasm died down with the arrival of the moderates in the City Hall, and, although the ceremonies were celebrated as in previous years, the liberals refused to participate under the pretext that “they are the same ones presiding over the ceremonies who led Mariana to the scaffold of the *garrote vil*.” The situation continued this way until 1847, year in which they made an appeal to “the progressive citizens in the city,” so that, under the protection of the new constitution, they could meet at the abandoned site of the monument on the 26th of May. The funeral act was restored with the rendition of the *Oficios fúnebres* from Vicente Palacios, under the direction of Cathedral organist Bernabé Ruiz de Henares. In the theater, the composer and celebrated *libretto* writer of Verdi's first works, Temistocle Solera, presented a lyric drama based on the life of Mariana, however, the moderate government made them change the setting to XII century Milan; eventually entitling the opera *I Lombardi alla Prima Crociata*, or The Lombards on the First Crusade; and the text was edited that same year in the printing press of Granada's Miguel de Benavides. While not boasting so much dazzle, the commemoration continued to be held, although the protocol was reduced to bell tolls, firing artillery and funeral services in the Cathedral. Regrettably, the monument ended up being erected unfinished; an indication of the somewhat half-hearted keenness regarding the issue. In spite of all that, this was a period in which the biographies, heroic dramas, studies concerning the figure of the martyr, as well as historic paintings including episodes of her agony, proliferated.

In 1854, the society was once again under the appropriate circumstances essential to reviving the former fanfare for the occasion. Famous liberal-minded baritone Giorgio Ronconi, now a home owner in Granada from two years prior, cancelled his engagements in the Teatro Real in Madrid in order to take part in the civic-religious festival by singing the *Misa de los difuntos* by Vicente Palacios and the *Stabat Mater* by his beloved friend Gioachino Rossini within the Music Chapel of the Cathedral. In 1855 and 1856 the ceremonies took on a considerably solemn tone but the social and political environment was one of discord; both the population and the authorities seemed to be rather divided as to dealing with the festive celebration. The issue of completing the monument eventually turned into a type of political joke due to the changeovers that coincided with its abandonment and re-activation of its completion depending on who was in charge.

With the Revolution of 1868, the strength of the libertarian majority was renewed and the figure of Mariana Pineda bolstered in its symbolism once again. On May 26th, 1869, a rally of 20,000 people, according to some sources; and 1,000 according to others,

marched through the streets; all of the women wore “gorro frigios,” or liberty caps, and carried banners with Mariana’s portrait and that of Sixto Cámara, the legendary “utopic socialist,” who had died ten years earlier. The particular willingness of the progressive Town Council gave rise to the revival of a splendid celebration. In the parade, the bands from the Regimiento de Mallorca deployed in Granada and the Beneficencia gave renditions of patriotic, republican hymns such as *¡Abajo los Borbones!* (Down with the Bourbons!), by Emilio Arrieta, and Granada-born Antonio de la Cruz dedicated *Patria y Libertad* to the short-lived Batallón de Cazadores of “La Mariana,” with lyrics from Juan Márquez. In the Cathedral, the chapel master Antonio Martín Blanca led his musicians in a rendition of the *Misa de difuntos* from Vicente Palacios, along with some of his other works. During the years that followed, the underlying anti-clericalism led to the omission of the habitual religious tone in the commemorations; and by doing so, in the 1870 parade, the flags had images of proclamations and references to religious freedom. Simultaneously, the Carlists and other traditional groups organized events to exalt patriotism and religious spirit where they hurled insults against the existing institutions.

The monument in the plaza, now denominated Mariana Pineda, was finally completed in 1873. The site became a testimony of the civil celebration and a focal point for the veneration of the liberals. The commemoration, however, took on a monotonous slant and the ceremonies were reduced to a civic parade and some decoration of the monument, including a leisurely gathering to listen to one of the four bands that Granada had at that time: the Zapadores Bomberos, the Cazadores de Cuba, the Regimiento de Antillas and the Hospicio Provincial; and in later years, the Regimiento de Córdoba (1892), Ave María (1897) or the Banda Municipal (1917). Notwithstanding, the criticism from the press abounded: “The commemoration has been extremely feeble, sloppy and inappropriate, considering the historic occurrence and the city where it took place” (*El defensor de Granada*, 1887). Apart from that, a multitude of popular coplas and romances emerged in reference to Mariana Pineda in those years. In the carnivals, the processions intoned *Las colegialas*, with Mariana as the main character of the text. In 1927, Federico García Lorca used one of these romances as a prelude to his dramatic play *Mariana Pineda*, when it premiered in the Teatro Goya of Barcelona, wherein the renowned poet arranged segments for children’s voices and violins. He also instructed the Catalan children in the flexibilities and intricacies of the accent of Granada:

“Oh, qué día tan triste en Granada
que a las piedras hacía llorar
al ver que Marianita se muere
en cadalso por no declarar...”

(Oh, what a sorrowful day in Granada
when the stones wept
at the sight of Marianita’s death
on the scaffold for not betraying others...)

(Federico García Lorca: *Mariana Pineda*, Madrid, June, 1923)

MUSIC AND MUSICIANS IN GRANADA'S SETTING

The premiere of Lorca's play in Granada in 1929 prompted a banquet held in the Hotel Alhambra Palace, where the poet and Manuel de Falla, Antonio Gallego Burín, Fernando de los Ríos, José María Rodríguez Acosta, Manuel Fernández Montesinos and others gathered. There, they conversed over the proposal of making the 26th of May a local holiday, as well as what the preparations for the 1931 centenary celebration would consist of.

The fact that this centenary coincided with the emergence of the Segunda República (the Second Republic) was a conveniently employed advantage: "The flowers begin to bloom in spring, in Spain the republican ideas open their petals of freedom as the earth is covered in a florid blanket...Mariana Pineda, upon surrendering to the executioner, perpetuated her smiling face in the Republic" (Eduardo del Castillo García). There were sumptuous parades, headed up by minister Fernando de los Ríos, from Granada, conferences, religious ceremonies in which the music chapels of Valentín Ruiz Aznar in the Cathedral and Julio Vidal in San Ildefonso, interpreted pieces from Lorenzo Perosi; children sang romances at the foot of the monument, and the Masa Coral, conducted by Juan Mula, sang a hymn he had written for the República and for the Riego (the official hymn in Spain at the time) with the military and municipal bands. Subsequent to the centenary, the tributes went back to the customary format and soirees "where the crowds munched on barretas, or small pieces of bread, fried chick peas and other snacks." During the Franco dictatorship, the figure of Mariana Pineda was ignored, though she never ceased to form part of the collective imagery of the people of Granada.



Mariana Pineda Monument in the plaza of Granada bearing her name. (Miguel Marín and Francisco Morales, XIX century)



Biblioteca del Hospital Real (Hospital Real Library)

JOSÉ MIGUEL BARBERÁ SOLER

25. GOYA, LEOCADIA, ROSARIO AND THE MONTERO FAMILY

This is a chronicle which begins with Francisco de Goya working from the scaffolds of a church near Zaragoza, and ends with the fanfare within the bullfighting ring of Granada. Between both of these scenes a whole 160 years elapse, during which specific facts and anecdotes of the family are disclosed. There are some uncertainties and an element of stealth behind the abundant biographical notes that have been handled; yet there is also plenteous verified data through the press and consulted documentation. The historical events should be oriented in the period in which they took place; keeping in mind the miserable bleakness that much of the society suffered from, while a few lived a blissful existence. As with every account, there are women and men who must overcome obstacles, have been led by their uncontrollable impulses, and that, in the end, were prisoners of their own circumstances or that irrefutable phenomenon called fate.



Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (Self-portrait, 1815. Museo del Prado, Madrid)



Leocadia Zorrilla de Weiss (Francisco de Goya, 1816. Museo del Prado, Madrid)

GOYA AND LEOCADIA

It was in 1773 when the ingenious Aragonese painter Francisco de Goya suspended his painting of the walls of the Cartuja Dei Aula Deu church on the outskirts of Zaragoza. His destination was Madrid, where he was to marry the also Aragonese, Josefa Bayeu, the sister of his Court patrons, painters Francisco and Ramón Bayeu. Goya and Josefa had seven children, yet only one, Javier, reached adulthood. The family ended up settling in Madrid in 1775; first in a house on Reloj Street where Josefa's brother Ramón

resided and later at No. 1 Desengaño Street where they would remain between 1779 and 1800. Goya's brother Camilo also lived with them for a few years before joining the clergy. After living at No. 15 Valverde Street, Goya and his family moved again to No. 7 Reyes Street in 1803. All four dwellings were located in the old center city neighborhood called Universidad.

Leocadia Zorrilla y Galarza was born in Madrid at No. 3 Esparteros Street in 1788. She was the youngest of five children born to the Basque Francisco Zorrilla de Cándamo y Brena and the Navarre native Sebastiana de Galarza y Bacaioa, both members of the upper bourgeoisie as their families dealt in banking and commerce. Then, between 1792 and 1794, both of Leocadia's parents died; leaving her under the care of her uncle Miguel de Galarza, along with her four siblings. In 1801, one of her brothers, Ventura, passed away, while her sister María took her holy vows. Once her brothers Gregorio and Mateo reached adulthood, they became her legal tutors. As fate would have it, in 1805, when Goya's son Javier married Leocadia's cousin Gumersinda Goicoechea in the church of San Ginés, young Leocadia, at merely 15, had the opportunity to meet Goya. Afterwards, the newlyweds decided to live with the painter at the house on No. 7 Reyes Street. On October 10, 1807, Leocadia's brothers, fearing that once she became legally of age, would claim her part of the inheritance, pacted a marriage of convenience. The groom they chose was Isidoro Weiss, son of Ausburg native Isidro Weiss Ktnaldin and Spanish mother Augustina Alonso, who were the proprietors of two *El Tirador de Oro* jewelry stores at No. 3 and No. 18 Mayor Street; but they were known as the shops of "the Germans" by everyone. Within this nuptial concoction, Leocadia's dowry was depleted by her husband in no time. The agreement, conserved in the notary archives, states under no uncertain terms that the Zorrilla family and, by deduction, the Weiss family, unscrupulously connived to liquidate their economic quandaries with this bond. According to the stipulations that Isidro Weiss had included under advice from his lawyer, even an eventual marital dissolution was taken into consideration. The Weiss family contribution was ridiculous compared to Leocadia's dowry, from which even the most superfluous expenses of the wedding were paid for. The bound 17-year-old bride and her husband moved into the No. 3 Mayor Street jewelry store premises, which they shared with Isidoro's brothers Felipe and Agustín, her father-in-law and three servants who lived in the storage room. A year later, on August 20th 1808, their first son, Joaquín, was born; and in 1811 their second son, Guillermo came into the world. His birth, though, was far from well-received by Isidoro, as he considered the child to be fruit of an adulterous relationship, demonstrated in his written accusation against Leocadia claiming "infidelity, haughty character and a threatening attitude." During the Napoleonic siege, Isidoro and his father enlisted in the Militia to fight for the French troops. Leocadia and her husband would not live under the same roof again. Her son Joaquín went to live with his father's family, while Leocadia was left homeless and destitute with Guillermo, and condemned to subsist on nothing more but the charity of her friends.

Meanwhile, in June of 1811, Francisco de Goya drafted up his will in favor of his spouse and son, just as many other Spanish citizens did sensing the onset of death during the grueling, uncertain period of war. On June 20th, 1812, Goya became a widower amid the

French troop deployment over the peninsula; and his son Javier and Gumersinda moved into the house the family had kept at 15 Valverde Street. Although belonging to the before mentioned upper-class family, Leocadia passed herself off as a housekeeper with Guillermo. This way she and her son Guillermo were able to be discreetly taken in at the Goya household while avoiding the dangerous ecclesiastical accusation of cohabitation; these were times in which Spain's post-war Inquisition, lasting until 1834, was not known precisely for its clemency. Once Isidoro returned from the Militia, he and his son took up another residence. According to the census documents, the house where they had lived remained empty even after the death of Isidro Weiss (it is unknown whether he died from natural causes or from war injuries).

Leocadia appears in three of Goya's paintings on display in the Prado Museum. There was an initial painting including Leocadia dated in 1814. The second, *Una manola: Doña Leocadia Zorrilla*, belonged to his "pinturas negras," or dark paintings collection. In addition to that, he painted her in *Aguelarre*, the witches' coven, where her seated silhouette appears to the right. The two latter works pertained to the murals at La Quinta del Sordo estate. Experts have also speculated as to whether she was one of his models in some of the celebrated drawings belonging to the "Álbum de la Inquisición" collection. Examples of these are in the drawing of a reclining bare-breasted youth of *Murió la verdad* (Truth Has Died), or as a beggar of the *Cofradía del Pecado Mortal* in *Para los que están en pecado mortal* (For Those in Mortal Sin). During this period in which Leocadia lived in the Goya household, specifically, on October 2nd, 1814, Rosario Weiss was born. On her birth certificate she was registered as the daughter of Isidoro, businessman and parishioner of Santa Cruz, and Leocadia. At her christening, however, no one from neither the Weiss nor Zorrilla family attended; a symptom of the non-existent relationship between Leocadia, "the Germans," and her brothers. Most certainly, Isidoro, who on verifiable occasions demonstrated his greed, accepted a sum of money to assume the paternity of Rosario and not report Leocadia again. On the 27th of February, Goya purchased a property in what was at that time, the outskirts of Madrid. It was called La Quinta del Sordo, or the Deaf Man's Villa, named, not for the painter, but after its former owner. The home where Goya, Leocadia and the children had formerly resided on Reyes Street was passed on to Javier. The four of them settled into the house on the banks of the Manzanares River, discreetly distanced from the totalitarian and reactionary Court of Fernando VII. Then, in 1823, the French expeditionary force of the King's cousin, the Duke of Angulema and his Cien Mil Hijos legion took Madrid in the name of the Holy Alliance. Their aim was to re-establish an absolute monarchy, putting Leocadia in grave danger, as she was a known liberal and the daughter of a Jacobin republican. She immediately went into hiding with her son at the house of her canon friend José Duaso y Latre. Since May, Rosario had been left in the care of Goya and Leocadia's trusted architect friend Tiburcio Pérez. We must bear in mind that this was a severe absolutist regime, capable of publicly shaming women by shaving their heads or even hanging them for merely not taking part in religious ceremonies. Leocadia was not a devout Catholic; or one might say that her ideology was practically anti-clerical at that time, as many others outraged by the strong arm of oppression from the clergy. We can deduce, through a careful look at her correspondence, that although women were especially expected to make mention of religious symbols, she eluded it in all of her signed

texts. Her son, Guillermo, was also in peril because he had been a member of the *Milicia de Voluntarios de Madrid* (Madrid Volunteer Militia Corp); and not even youth were safe from execution at the hands of the tyrants. It was clear that Leocadia and her two underage children had to flee from Spain, so Goya had to leave as well. The painter gave his Manzanares property over to his sole grandson, Mariano, and sought permission from Fernando VII "to receive spa treatment" in Plombières, France. His real destination however, was Paris, where he arrived on August 18th after fifty-six hours crammed into a "diligencia con cupé," or covered stagecoach. There, he met his father-in-law, Miguel Martín Goicoechea and his daughter and son-in law, Manuela and Juan Francisco Muguero. A month later, Leocadia was able to reach Bayonne with her children, using, according to registered documents, "a provisional pass for Bordeaux to meet her husband." On the 16th of September, they moved into number 13 San Seurin Street, Bordeaux, where just a few days later, the painter joined them from Paris. As Leandro Fernández de Moratín, another refugee in Bordeaux affirmed, Goya arrived "deaf, aged, cumbersome and weak; and without knowing a word of French."

During those four years in exile, Goya was able to enjoy the satisfaction of Rosario's company; for she was an incipient artist who made the elderly man's life more bearable. Since Goya was well aware of the youth's creative abilities, he tried to convince Leocadia to let her study in Paris. He wrote a letter to Joaquín María Ferrer, an exiled politician and serviceman, requesting that she be left in his care: "This notable youth would like to study painting in miniature, and I also want for her to learn it, as I consider her to be a phenomenon beyond her years. She is highly skilled, as you will see if she were to be given the opportunity. I would like for her to spend some time in Paris; but that you would take care of her as if she were my own child, payable by my art work or assets." Despite Goya's petition, young Rosario stayed in Bordeaux. Not only did she prove to be a nurturing piano student, but she also studied drawing intensively in classes with painter Pierre Lacour, who was the director of the School of Fine Arts located within the Museum of Santa Dominique. The prestigious painter was won over by her grace and aptitude, and in time she began earning a small income painting rolls of wallpaper at the workshop. Likewise, Rosario studied in the "Colegio Silvela" School for Spanish and Americans, founded by the Spanish writer and lawyer Manuel Silvela y García de Aragón, who was a friend of Moratín and Goya. In the case of Guillermo, he started his apprenticeship as a wood worker, which later became his livelihood, in a licensed workshop in town, while also receiving classes from Moratín and Silvela.

It seemed like Leocadia was finally able to savor some pleasures in life. She didn't miss any of the Circo Olímpico shows, delighting in seeing its acrobats, magicians, jugglers, acrobatic horsemen, wild animals and other distractions that usually appeared at the circus. Goya and Rosario were avid fans of these events, as both depicted scenes in several lithographs and drawings. Under the encouragement of their friends Silvela and Moratín (the latter being a theater and opera critic in the French press), Rosario frequented performances in the Gran Teatro de la Place de la Comedie. Evidently, due to his hearing impairment, Goya preferred more visual public shows such as bullfighting, which, as he was always impressed, was a recurring theme in his works. Leocadia was also able to

practice horseback riding in Bordeaux; as she was often spotted elegantly riding along the promenades. The enfeebled painter, though, was racked with uneasiness due to the lack of communication with his son Javier. In correspondence between Moratín in Bordeaux and ecclesiastic Juan Antonio Melón in Madrid, reference is made as to Goya's downcast spirit in Bordeaux. In a letter written on April 14th, 1825, he described Goya as: "Despite having a favorable life here, he is occasionally burdened by concerns over so many things pending in Madrid; and if he could, he would hitch up his black mule, with his saddle, cloak, walnut stirrups and saddlebags." Another letter six months later refers to, "Doña Leocadia, in her customary fearlessness, at times denies the fact, while other times she enjoys her life. *La Mariquita* (ladybug), referring to Rosario, already speaks French effortlessly; she is sewing and skipping around, and busy with the merrymaking of her age..." Young Rosario was Goya's "dear ladybug," a tender nickname for the child with whom the painter habitually worked; so much so that even today there are experts who have difficulty distinguishing whether some drawings of that time were of the master artist or of the clever girl. In one of the portraits of Goya that Rosario painted in 1828 on a re-used envelope, she wrote the name of Fanny Lepage and Félix Montero. The latter name, Montero, which Rosario penned at 14, could be an important link to this account some years later; as will be subsequently assessed.

Thirteen years after Isidoro and Leocadia's separation, "the German" reappeared in 1824. It was just after the family business in *El Tirador de Oro* finally went bankrupt; Isidoro had to transfer ownership to pay off accumulated debts and he had received numerous court citations. Under these circumstances, Isidoro remembered his wife. The occasion arose when Leocadia had to get in touch with him regarding the partial inheritance of her family home in the Valle of Carranza, for which she needed her husband's signature. His avaricious response was to consent to signing for a considerable sum of money, thus momentarily being spared from economic disaster. Goya was the bearer of the document validated in Bordeaux; it was drawn up so that Isidoro would not be called upon in the French city, as was regulatory.

Javier, Gumersinda and young Mariano lived in No. 10 Desengaño Street until 1824, when they fled to Gibraltar; the peninsular stronghold of political dissidents. His son's distant attitude was for one clear reason: Leocadia's presence in the painter's life and the ensuing fear that she would convince him to change his will. Indeed, Goya was annoyed and infuriated with his son, who on various occasions did not even answer his missives. Between May and July of 1826, Goya, as Moratín had feared in his correspondence, hitched his mule and headed for Madrid. There, he set about resolving his pension paperwork as a painter of the Court. To this end, he spent two months with his friend Juan Antonio Melón, who not only assisted him with the bureaucratic aspects, but also with his grandson Mariano, who travelled from Gibraltar to meet with him. During his stay in the Villa and the Court, he posed for his admired colleague Vicente López Portaña, under the express wishes of Fernando VII; now one of the most celebrated portraits on display in the Prado Museum. Rosario Weiss made a magnificent copy of that same portrait which has been safeguarded in the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid's Academy of Fine Arts. This was not to be the last journey Goya would make between Bordeaux and

Madrid. On the 20th of September 1827, after attending the wedding ceremony of Manuel Silvela's son, he rushed off once more to Madrid; where the Court continued to believe that he was staying in France for mere health reasons. This time his objective was to receive his 50,000 reales payment, and most likely to change his will of 1811 in order to bestow part of his benefits to Leocadia and the children. Be that as it may, his trip back to Bordeaux left him terribly weary. He arrived just in time to bid farewell to his friend Moratín, who had decided to settle down in Paris as his faithful friend Manuel Silvela had done (unfortunately the playwright died a few months after his arrival in the capital). The grueling circumstances of the exhausting ride, coupled with Goya now being eighty-one years old, proved to be too much for the master painter, leaving him so weakened that he never fully recovered from it.

Goya's daughter-in-law and grandson reached Bordeaux from their Gibraltar residence on March 28th, 1829. Leocadia had prepared accommodation for them in their new dwelling at No. 57 de la Cours de L'Intendance. (This home, which they had only moved into a few months previous, is the headquarters of the Instituto Cervantes nowadays). On April 1st, only three days later, Goya fell down the stairs at the house. Although his fall initially did not appear to present any serious consequences, when he awoke the following morning, he was unable to speak and half of his body was paralyzed. For the next 13 days the aged painter was in agony, yet he was conscious the entire time. His son Javier remained in Madrid preparing the notarial papers so that he would have them ready to present himself as the sole legitimate heir. Goya, in anguish, pleaded with his son by letter to come to Bordeaux promptly, even offering to pay for the cost of the journey. Not only was the painter afflicted by the calamitous effects from the fall, but he had to cope with the additional emotional stress of Gumersinda and Leocadia's animosity and continual mutual hostility as well. On the 15th, a debilitated Goya fell into unconsciousness in Bordeaux; meanwhile Javier continued in Madrid, procuring his baptismal certificate in San Ginés Church. On the 16th of April, Goya's son was still engaged in his bureaucratic objectives at the royal notary's home, assuring the validity of the 1811 will; and from there he went to the French Consulate in Madrid to have the documents certified. Goya passed away that very night. In his final hours he was accompanied by the young painter Antonio Brugada, José Pío de Molina and Leocadia, who shortly after his death "groomed him and prepared the mortuary room." Fifteen-year-old Rosario had probably moved into the residence of their painter friend, Francisco de Torre, on the same street from the moment that Goya's health had worsened. The fact is that Pío de Molina had requested a drawing of the deceased painter on his deathbed. When Javier finally arrived in Bordeaux on the 21st, the first thing he did was head to the notary, Sr. Montard, in order to have the documents he bore translated into French. He made sure to keep a distance from Leocadia and immediately took the papers to the hotel where Gumersinda and Mariano were now lodging.

In the days leading up to his death, the painter, true to his character and contradictory ideology, did not ask for a confessor, nor did he ask to receive the holy sacraments. So, immediately following his death, José Francisco Muguero, one of Goya's distant relatives, came on the scene; more importantly, this banker's presence was in

representation of Javier's interests, as they had previously agreed. The funeral was held in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame and his body was laid to rest in Chartreuse Cemetery, specifically in the Goicoechea family pantheon, next to Gumersinda's father, who had died three years earlier. Antonio Brugada painted an oil on canvas composition of a view of the tomb, onto which he had the master's palettes and brushes inlaid. Today, this painting is kept at the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando. Three months later, Javier went to the notary in Madrid and forwarded the document to Bordeaux by way of the French Consulate. Said document, after undergoing a series of modifications, granted Javier the sole entitlement of the whole inheritance. Dejectedly, Leocadia wrote to Moratín, "Goya had attempted to amend his will in our favor; to which his daughter-in-law, Gumersinda, responded that he had already done it" (Letter from Leocadia Zorrilla to Leandro Fernández de Moratín). In Madrid, Javier, accompanied by witnesses Miguel Echarri, Galarza, Goicoechea and Muguero, was definitively declared sole heir on May 10th, 1829. Even the piano, which was absolutely necessary for Rosario to continue her studies, was seized: "Little Rosario is heartbroken for various reasons. Four years studying piano and now she is without a piano, as it was on loan. It was her great passion" (Letter from Leocadia Zorrilla to Moratín). Thus, Leocadia and her children were plunged into a precarious situation in Bordeaux, and in her pitiful correspondence with Moratín it was more than evident. "I find nothing as afflicting as my poor daughter's misfortune; well, I must be strong for her." Even so, she did not lose confidence in her friends: "Pío de Molina went to Madrid on the 19th to inquire on our behalf as to if there was some part of the will for us, and would speak to the son to that effect." While her friends Silvela and Moratín were in Paris, several military migrants gave them some funds to get by during those days. In the end, Leocadia had to give up the house, as it was too costly. Javier and his proxies only conceded to her receiving a small amount of money, clothing, a few worthless items and 100 francos in cash. In addition, she was given a citizenship certificate, valued in 1000 francos, effective only in the case of "her foreign status being revoked and having to return to Spain." Initially, Leocadia and Rosario were taken in by painter Pierre Lacour, "who felt sorry for them," until a few days later when the before mentioned military officials found a modest apartment for them on Palais Gallien Street. Several of these friends signed a petition that Leocadia sent to the French Minister of Interior. In it, they asked for a daily allowance of 1.5 francos; however, as Guillermo was already receiving said assistance, it was denied. Of Goya's works, she could only conserve some of the *Caprichos*, a handful of sketches, and Goya's last canvas painting, *La lechera de Burdeos*. It is highly likely that the portrait is of Rosario; in any case, it also ended up being sold. Curiously, the painting was bought by banker Juan Bautista Muguero, brother of the aforementioned José Francisco, for the ridiculous sum of one gold escudo.

Camilo Goya, the previously mentioned parish priest of Nuestra Señora de la Piedad Church in Chinchón, Madrid, had named Javier as his only beneficiary in 1825. His will, recorded by the municipal notary public, indicated that his nephew "would receive the full sum of money, wine and spirits he possessed, as well as his silver pocket watch, under the condition that upon his death Javier would pay for his funeral expenses." Notwithstanding, five months after his brother's demise and shortly before his own death, Camilo changed his will in September of 1828. The clear reason was his indignation

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towards Javier's grave lack of ethics regarding his brother and Leocadia. Instead, the priest named Eugenio Francisco García y Valero as his inheritor; "a neighbor with whom he had shared company," under the stipulation that he would repay Leocadia the 7000 reales she had lent him. Strangely enough, the presbyter at the Chinchón church and executor of Camilo's will, for unknown reasons, ignored these wishes and gave power of attorney over to Javier de Goya, who in turn collected the sum and overlooked the debt owed to Leocadia. Considering the deceitful administrative maneuvers Goya's legitimate son used in the past, it would come as no surprise that he would employ similar tactics against his uncle's will.



Rosario Weiss (self portrait). Biblioteca Nacional de España (The National Library of Spain)



Guillermo Weiss (Lithograph by Rosario Weiss, 1842. Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid)

GUILLERMO AND ROSARIO

In 1830, young Guillermo enlisted in the military in response to the public appeal to fight for the liberation of Spain. In the *Gaceta del Gobierno de México* one of these proclamations appeared under the heading of Francisco Espoz y Mina, a heroic general during the French invasion. This resident in Bordeaux declared: “The laurel leaves we obtained in the War of Independence have withered away and our rights have been trampled upon; since then, our nation has been a downtrodden herd falling into misery, persecutions and death; following the whims, unbridled greed, despotism and cruelty of the Spanish rule.” Given his upbringing, with his mother’s constant energetic presence, Guillermo, unsurprisingly, possessed a vehement progressive ideology; thus, it was reasonable to assume his joining a collective number of exiled activists. Together, they actively defended the emergent declarations. Soon after his enlistment, he was promoted to

second lieutenant, and in October of 1830, he participated in the “Vera Expedition” with a group of “realistas” volunteers. They left Cambo-les-Bains, heading for Vera de Bidasoa under the command of Navarre army man Joaquín Romualdo de Pablo y Antón. As we know, the incursion ended in a clear defeat for the brave, battered liberals. José de Espronceda, one of the beaten fighters, dedicated an *Oda a la muerte de Joaquín de Pablo*, to the rebellion leader shot dead during the thwarted advance. Afterwards, Guillermo tried to return to his family in Bordeaux, but an unexpected turn of events made it impossible. The political direction in France, initiated by Luis Felipe I, who had at first supported the Spanish liberation cause, changed, sending Guillermo to a work camp near Bergerac with other prisoners. After submitting numerous petitions and pleas for him to return to Bordeaux, arguing his ill health and the need to “recover close to his mother,” months later his much-desired permission was granted. Once in the French city, he was employed as an apprentice in cabinet-maker and piano builder Guillaume Demmer’s workshop. Meanwhile Leocadia had no other choice but to continue turning to her friends for support. On the 14th of October, 1831, she sent a missive to the French Minister of Interior Affairs to implore refugee status, with its corresponding benefits; however, it was denied as well.

Posterior to the political amnesty decreed in October, 1832, some of the exiles began returning to Spain. On July 8th, 1833, subsequent to several administrative adversities, Leocadia’s documents were finally signed, permitting her and the children the possibility of initiating the long-desired journey. Regrettably, when they reached the customs post, all of the drawings that Rosario kept in her sketchbooks were confiscated: “Upon arriving at the Miranda border crossing they searched all of the baggage and seized the folders and all of the girl’s drawings inside, many of which from Goya’s compositions over the last four years. These poor women have practically been living on handouts since the death of Goya...” (Letter from humanist José Mussó y Valiente). As soon as they settled in Madrid, Guillermo started earning a living as a piano maker in a workshop belonging to Francisco Flórez. In the meantime, Rosario also began receiving a small income making penciled copies at the Prado Museum; in the beginning, she made them at the request of the English Secretary Ambassador in Spain. At a later date, she made copies for a man who was supposed to be a conservator who provided her with aged, tattered canvasses; but when Rosario drew her magnificent copies, the sly individual passed them off as originals. By 1835 some of her original compositions had been put on display in the annual exposition of the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, or Fine Arts Academy, alongside other artists, including renowned ones. However, in 1836 she was denied authorization to continue making copies of Prado works, as reflected in a letter she wrote to the Queen Regent María Cristina: “From my earliest years I was directed and aided by the distinguished Francisco de Goya. And having been abandoned by my deceased mentor and benefactor, I needed to produce copies of paintings at the Prado.” After a final, long ignored petition, her approval was eventually granted on the 14th of November, 1837, thus resuming her fine copies. Some of these were commissioned by private collectors; and occasionally from the Fine Arts Academy, where each year her talent received more and more recognition, as was recorded in various newspaper articles of the time. In 1841, encouraged by her former instructor Pierre Lacour to entry the competition, she was awarded the silver medal from the Société Philomathique of Bordeaux for her canvas

painting *El silencio*. Regarding the romantic aspects of her life, no biographical data is known; however, on April 17th, 1837, she gave birth to an illegitimate daughter named Eleuteria. Apart from the last name Núñez, nothing is known about the father. According to the official documents, Rosario continued under an unwed status. Only one day before, on the 16th, Guillermo, now 31 years old, married María Abad de Berra. At his wedding, Isidoro Weiss re-appeared living at 12 Hernán Cortes Street; and Guillermo's employer at the piano building shop, Francisco Flórez, attended the event as well. Rosario became the godmother of Enrique, the first of Guillermo and María's five children, born on May 20th, 1838. Guillermo continued to be actively involved in the liberal cause; his name even appeared in various political episodes. For instance, he participated in the tribute to the hero for independence, Juan Martín Díez, better known as "El Empecinado," or The Determined One. He also undersigned beside José de Espronceda and other committed comrades in a communiqué in protest of politician and army coronel Antonio Oro being designated chief of a military regiment (Published in *La Constitución* newspaper).

Rosario took part in the lively Madrid social atmosphere through the novel and progressive Artistic Lyceum. She was a member of their "Distinguished Ladies Roster" from the offset. Additionally, she was the only female in the historic painting department, while Petronila Menchaca was in the miniaturist section. In the association's first exposition on January 1st, 1838, they both put paintings on display beside artists such as Vicente López, Genaro Pérez Villaamil, Antonio María Esquivel, Antonio Brugada and others. There, she met important figures of the Spanish society, as the press declared: "The Liceo gathered Spain's most illuminating geniuses within its core." This included names such as: José Zorrilla, Mariano José de Larra, José de Espronceda, Ventura de la Vega, Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, Antonio de los Ríos, Luis González Brabo and more; some of whom Rosario drew portraits of. In the meantime, the young artist began carrying out her compulsory projects in order to be admitted as an academic in Fine Arts; for this purpose, she painted a careful half-length, natural size *Virgen de la Contemplación*. In 1840, thanks to both her talent, as well as being on good terms with the liberal cluster (especially Goya's old friend, Joaquín María Ferrer, who apart from being a serviceman and politician, at that time was the president of the Ministerial cabinet), Rosario Weiss was elected the first female Honorable Academician in the historical painting section. Subsequently, on January 18th, 1841, she obtained the coveted post of music teacher, and later, drawing instructor of Infanta Isabel, the future queen; as well as for her sister, Infanta Luisa Fernanda, which paid her a yearly salary of 8000 reales of fleece. The royal tutor, Agustín Argüelles and his friend, the influential poet of the Illustration period, Manuel José Quintana, both being from liberal-attached groups, were able to sway the monarchical decision. As their instructor, she substituted an "unsatisfactory" French painter, Clara Brunet, in the coveted position. In *Episodios nacionales*, Benito Pérez Galdós made mention of Rosario as a music teacher in the Court: "Isabel II and her sister returned to the palace for dinner, followed by their music lesson, given by the interim instructor Doña Rosario Weiss. Music theory was tedious for them and their teacher had to employ every inch of kindness and gentleness to keep them in line..." During the summer of 1841, she sought permission to remain in El Escorial so that she could copy Rubens and Velázquez paintings for several private commissions, and to "escape the intense heat in Madrid,"

according to one of her biographers. By then, her advancing state of pregnancy was evident; this being her second son, Adolfo Montero Weiss. He was born on September 16th, 1841 in the town of El Escorial, adjacent to the Royal Palace. It is at this point in which the before mentioned name Montero, penned on the reverse side of an envelope containing a Goya portrait takes on new meaning. The man referred to could have been Félix Montero, a circus acrobat and horseman who had toured the European circuit, including France, before returning to Madrid that same year with the Circo Olímpico. His paternity of the child obviously cannot be verified on such a frail argument. At the same time of Adolfo's conception, Félix Montero y Morajelo, an Extremaduran doctor, pharmacist of the Charity Services of Madrid, and later well-known playwright, was also in the close circle of the Court. Once opened this line of speculation as to the list of possible fathers of Adolfo, logic would lead us to consider that the predecessor would be named Adolfo, Eustaquio or Genaro, as those were the names under which Adolfo Montero Weiss registered on his marriage certificate in 1865. Finally, there is one hypothesis based on what Adolfo Montero Peña, great-grandson of the alluded figure, wrote in a text stating that his grandfather was the son of a certain Rodolfo Montero, a piano builder and instrument maker for the Court. He also taught Adolfo Montero Weiss the trade and accompanied him to Granada. This reference appears in María del Carmen García Mallo's book *Peters y España: edición musical y comercial entre 1868 y 1892*; although as neither supporting documents are cited, nor is there any Montero of said occupation on record in the Royal Palace archives, this will remain as another conjecture.

Guillermo and his family rented part of the building at 10 Desengaño Street where Javier had lived years before; this property was on the former site of the convent of San Basilio. In the period of the Disentailment of Ecclesiastical Properties, the building was purchased by a French businessman, Dionisio Lefebre, who had been living in Madrid for over twenty years and owned a stagecoach transport company. On the same plot of land there was a Milicia Nacional base, the Trade Board, Lope de Vega Theater and other businesses. Guillermo, Manuela, (literally registered as: "occupation: with her spouse"), Leocadia with Rosario's children and the couple's three children: Enrique 7, Amalia 3 and Manuela, born on January 1st, 1843, all lived there. Afterwards, Leopoldo was born on July 15th, 1845 and their last daughter, christened Rosa Weiss, was born on February 26th, 1847. A housemaid named Petra García from Montilla, Cordoba, lived in the home as well. As Rosario had wished to maintain her pregnancy in secret, she had left the home of her mother and brother's family to live in a "small, modest guesthouse" from where she would head out every day to give the Infantas drawing classes. Suffering from a nervous disorder in the summer of 1842, she managed to obtain authorization from Agustín Argüelles to spend the summer "sea bathing" on the Cantabrian coast while receiving half her salary. Her physician, Mariano Lorente, stated, "Rosario is suffering from a corporal nervous condition which provokes partial convulsions, and constant heart palpations in addition to a long-standing urinary incontinence." Yet, instead of heading for Cantabria, she went to Barcelona, where she stayed until December. Rosario returned to Madrid just after the city of Barcelona was bombed by the Espartero government on December 3rd, in their attempt to stamp out the working-class Catalan insurrection who had forced the national army to seek refuge in the Montjuïc castle. If her intention of going to the Catalan capital had been to

treat her nervous affliction, it was clearly in vain, as the situation only proved to have a worsening effect. As reported by historian Lafuente Ferrari, “upon returning to Madrid they began to fear for her mental health.” Then, on July 22nd, 1843, the day before General Espartero fell as regent, Argüelles ceased being tutor to the Queen and the other liberals were forced to flee the country. As Rosario crossed an entrenched array of troops on the road in the midst of a frantic uprising, she fainted from a terrible inflammation; only to die shortly thereafter. The true causes of her demise remain unclear. Several probabilities have been put forward: a panic attack, mortal non-contagious cholera, an intestinal infection, or even a fatal wound during the riot. On the 23rd of July, coinciding with General Narváez entering Madrid, Dr. Ángel Díez Hernández Canedo informed the mayor of Rosario’s death. She was buried in a common grave, as was logged in the “pauper death register” in the San Sebastián parish and two undertakers served as witnesses. There was no obituary published until September. The first note appeared in *La gaceta de Madrid*, and two months later, an anonymous biographical account came out in *El semanario pintoresco español* praising the artistic value of her work and lamenting how unfair life had been to her as a female: “She was a woman; and simply that aspect would be enough to extol her merit. She could have been great in Spain if only a decent salary would have allowed her the opportunity to dedicate her full time to art; she would have flourished.”

In the period ensuing Rosario’s death, the Queen granted Leocadia a daily pension of four reales and “decorous incomes for some of the recipients,” as a gesture of the Royal Family’s gratitude “to one who had been in their service.” We do not know exactly who might have been the beneficiaries, although we cannot rule out the possibility that the ever-greedy Isidoro, who still figured as her father, could have been one of them. Her belongings, particularly her drawings, were passed on to Guillermo and later to his daughters, who subsequently sold them to diverse buyers such as the Madrazo family, José Lázaro or Valentín Calderero. Guillermo rented out an apartment on the third floor, left-hand side of number 17 Desengaño Street (right in front of his piano workshop) from wealthy businessman Felipe Machón, for the sum of 80 reales per month. Here, as recorded in the census, Leocadia resided as renter along with her two orphaned grandchildren.

Guillermo stood out for his expertise and application in his trade: “The competent piano craftsman makes expressive organs that play the high-pitched flute and oboe while carrying the precision of the bass bassoon and cello. Yet we find his piano to be the most impressive.” (Ramón de Valladares: *Semanario pintoresco español*, 1844) Indeed, Guillermo obtained two silver medals for his pianos in the Spanish Public Industry Expositions of 1845 and 1850, from the hand of Queen Isabel II. On October 30th, 1850, Isidoro Weiss died and was buried in a “pauper’s grave.” Leocadia attended his burial with her oldest son Joaquín, now a single man of forty-two, pianist and member of the 5th Battalion of the First Company in the National Militia; he had lived with her and young Eleuteria and Adolfo during that year. Guillermo Weiss continued receiving awards and gaining prestige as a piano maker while he filled purchase orders at his music store; at least until 1859, after which there is no longer documented references about his business.

Leocadia died from an enterocolitis on August 6th, 1856 at the age of sixty-six. She

was interred in a common grave pertaining to the Church of San Martín, very close to her home on 17 Desengaño Street where she had lived with her grandchildren Eleuteria and Adolfo Montero, of 19 and 15 respectively. Additionally, Baldomera Cañizares, a widow from Almagro who did “labors suitable to her sex,” as the Archivo Municipal de la Villa register attests, resided there as well. Her son Guillermo could not attend the funeral because he had been recruited in April as second lieutenant of the 5th Infantry Battalion of the National Militia. He had been called up in support of the Unión Liberal of General Espartero and Leopoldo O’Donnell until it was dissolved in August of that same year. Leocadia left no will, so her possessions were passed on to her sons Joaquín and Guillermo. Eleuteria and Adolfo are listed as “taken in for lack of family” at Guillermo’s house, in said property on No. 10 Desengaño Street. Two years later, Eleuteria, according to documentation, is registered under the name Eleuteria Perfecta, “servant and refugee of Sr. Weiss,” and Adolfo Montero as apprentice at his uncle’s piano workshop. When the Museo de la Trinidad purchased one of Goya’s paintings upon Leocadia’s death, Guillermo went on to buy the house at 10 Desengaño Street, where he lived till his death in 1896, at eighty-six years of age. Adolfo Montero and his stepsister went to live in a small room at No. 12 San Vicente Alta Street (4th floor center) in the Maravillas neighborhood, following the death of their grandmother. In 1860, Adolfo was employed as a wood engraver at the recently inaugurated piano craftsman workshop on 6 Ancho de San Bernardo. It was opened by the music editor and luthier Bonifacio Eslava, nephew of composer Miguel Hilarión Eslava.

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General catalog from the music workshop of piano builder and editor Bonifacio Eslava, Madrid, 1864. The National Library of Spain

ADOLFO MONTERO WEISS

On May 10th, 1862, Adolfo Montero Weiss struck a blow to a young woman using a metal polisher. Supposedly, he had been in love with her for little over a month, and immediately tried to commit suicide, though he only caused a few minor self-inflicted injuries: “This was provoked by jealousy...Nicolasa del Cerro y Fernández, a single woman of twenty and servant of Don Víctor Moreno, received a serious wound from Adolfo Montero y Weiss of twenty-one, with whom she was involved in a romantic relationship. Weiss promptly stabbed himself twice on his left side with the same tri-horned buffer, without causing any serious injuries. Montero was instantly arrested and held by a guard until he could be taken to a room for detainees at the Hospital General, before his arraignment in front of the judge of the Universidad district. The reason behind this regrettable incident was Montero’s jealous rage, as he himself wrote in an unaddressed letter found in his pocket when he was apprehended; there, he bid farewell to this world, for his life no longer held any meaning. We regret this disgraceful occurrence, seeing as Sr. Montero is the son of an honorable family, given the circumstance that he was living with and providing for his sister” (*La Iberia*, May 11, 1862). At the beginning, they had feared for the young woman’s life: “After undergoing treatment twice and receiving the holy sacraments and last rites, she remained in the local Casa de Socorro on Silva Street in grave condition.” The public prosecutor asked for a sentence of nine years’ imprisonment, but Nicolasa’s recovery, the appeal, and other factors led to his sentence being initially reduced to seven years: “The case has gone to trial and although they had asked for seven years, with the subsequent appellation, in the end, he was convicted to only five months in prison.” “The young man who just months ago seriously injured a maid who was also his girlfriend, has received a definitive sentence of five months imprisonment instead of the petitioned nine years...Considering that he has already been in jail for the past months, he has merely one month left of his sentence” (*El contemporáneo*, January 17, 1863).

We do not know up to what extent Guillermo was involved in resolving his nephew’s violent mishap, nor if he came to his aid at this time. The fact is that Adolfo was neither living with him, nor did he work at the piano builders’; giving way to the supposition that they were not on good terms. It is likely that Guillermo covered the daily five reales to pay for the “rental” of his shared cell. The prisons at that time were foul, dismal places, and on many occasions, worse than the grim dungeons where prisoners barely had cots to rest on. Moreover, it goes without saying that Guillermo would have used his influence to attempt to have the sentence reduced. Once he left prison, Adolfo tried to get as far away from the area as possible; perhaps following his uncle’s advice, or his boss’ (neither found his presence convenient; be it because of the violent nature of his acts, or how it could affect their reputation, or the business itself). So, Adolfo Montero ended up settling down in Granada, where he was employed in the piano workshop and storehouse that businessman Antonio Solá (sharing commercial ties with Bonifacio Eslava) owned on San Miguel Alta Street. A few weeks after his arrival, he put anonymous advertisements in the newspaper offering his services as a piano tuner and repairman. To this end, Antonio

Arnau, owner of a hat warehouse, loaned or rented him the space to do so at 12 and 14 Zacatín Street. Apparently, he had also managed to transport 2 or 3 pianos from Madrid to sell from No. 14 Plaza Nueva; which he advertised in *La Alhambra* newspaper in 1864, thereby securing funds to begin his new life.

When Adolfo Montero Weiss arrived in Granada in April of 1863, music admirers had just fulfilled their collective emotional dream of Giuseppe Verdi's visit to the city. There, Verdi accompanied his longtime friend Giorgio Ronconi (he had premiered *Nabucco* in the Teatro alla Scala in Milan in 1842); who was attempting to create the Escuela Nacional de Canto y Declamación. The renowned soprano Amalia Ramírez had just finished singing the most popular zarzuelas of the time in the Teatro Nacional (later to be named the Principal and Cervantes). She was about to begin the Italian opera season with headliners such as *Lucrezia Borgia*, *Norma*, *Maria di Rohan* and Verdi's *Macbeth*. In June, the new Teatro Isabel la Católica was inaugurated, with more seating capacity and more modern conveniences than the Nacional of the Campillo Plaza, which from then on became known as the Principal. In Granada's music circle there was an increasing demand for art philharmonic genres and related materials; since between the Darro and Genil Rivers there were three military bands, a civilian band, two orchestras in every theater, three music chapels, organs in each church and great fondness towards the lyrical genre. The city's affluent bourgeoisie customarily had pianos in their homes as a sign of distinction and practicality when they would delight their guests in the drawing room with their instrumental and vocal abilities in the fashionable songs and arias. Furthermore, we cannot forget the tremendous devotion that always existed for the popular songs and folk music, especially led by guitar, although in that period these modalities were almost exclusively maintained in the lower social classes.

On the 11th of September, 1865, at nearly twenty-four, Adolfo married Eduarda Gallegos Gómez in the parish of San Pedro. This 19-year-old Granada-native became the mother of their twelve children; eleven of which reached adulthood. On his before mentioned marriage certificate, the groom is documented as Adolfo Eustaquio Genaro Montero Weiss, yet, not only did he leave his parents' spaces blank, but he also chose to limit his city of origin to El Escorial. The couple settled down in Santa Ana Street, and they might have owned their own business by then, as there is reference to one in a press release in 1870: "Adolfo Montero Weiss: Piano and Organ Builder...Providing all types of pianos, cash sales, installments and replacements...Custom-made pianos. Those interested can visit the showroom at 27 Carrera del Darro, Puente de Espinosa" (*La Alhambra*, July 12, 1870).

Between 1873 and 1874 he worked in a village of Almería called Berja, where he was commissioned with constructing the church organ. His daughter Matilde was born there; followed by his sixth son José María Montero Gallegos, on November 17th, 1874. Upon returning to Granada, he moved the music warehouse to 20 Alta del Campillo, and his residence to number 19 Monterería Street. Adolfo kept in contact with his business associates in Madrid, primarily with the merchant Juan Giménez, from whose storage facility in Puerta del Sol, he advertised his products and expertise within the pages of the *Diario de avisos* in 1870. By this time Adolfo was perfectly integrated in the upper

echelons of Granada, and on May 5th, 1878, he was chosen amongst the Craftsmen's Guild to represent the Sección de Fomento de la Diputación Provincial (The Development Section of the Provincial Council) of Granada in the Paris World's Fair. Soon afterwards, he was their representative again in a public exhibition in honor of the wedding of Alfonso XII and María de la Mercedes de Orleans. Said expositions took place in order to seek "the advancement of the arts and trades," according to demonstrable newspaper headlines. He was highly sought after as an organ restorer as well. It is known that apart from building the organ in Berja, he also crafted or repaired organs in: the Cathedral of Almeria in 1878; in the Sagrario Church in 1878, the Convent of the Concepción in 1879 and 1892, the parish of Viznar in 1882, Pulianas in 1883, the Monastery of Isabel la Real in 1885, the parish of Albox in 1887, again in the Cathedral of Almeria in 1889, the Convent of Vistillas in the Realejo in 1892 and in the Church of Gádor in 1896 (the latter ones signed as Adolfo Montero and Sons). Concerning the social aspects of his life, he appeared in the press as a sympathizer of the Federal Republican Party of Francisco Pí Margall. Adolfo made a poetic toast to the honored autonomist democratic leader in the Hotel Siete Suelos near the Alhambra: "A toast, here without distinction, class, gender nor age...A heartfelt toast...A toast to the federal and the illustrious noble Don Francisco Pí Margall!" (*El defensor de Granada*, April 11, 1881). He took part in diverse commissions and committees due to his connection to the Sociedad para el Fomento de las Artes, or Arts Development Society, as well as in the committee in charge of bringing a Monte Piedad entity to Granada in order to initiate charitable activities. In one such instance he was cited by the newspapers while representing the Arts Development Society in 1882. His speech, expressed in perfect erudition and social consciousness, spoke to the pressing needs that Granada had; one of which being a determined course of action towards the advancement and wealth within the industrial and commercial sectors. Adolfo continued by advocating for "improving the miserable lives of the working class," and stating his personal objective and hope that said association would "assist in uplifting this underprivileged class." As his social and cultural influence stood out at this period in Granada, he unsurprisingly maintained a close relationship with distinguished figures in the city, for example – Francisco de Paula Villareal, Luis Seco de Lucena, Manuel Caro Bedoya, Melchor Almagro or Nicolás de Paso – all of whom being dignitaries of Granada's most elite circles. That same year, 1887, Adolfo Montero presented a striking "musical instrument called a salterio, or psaltery, and a frame with piano building materials" at the Antique Art Section of the Art and Industry Exposition. There, his first-born son, Adolfo Montero Gallegos, now an 18-year-old, conjointly presented "a dactylophone" or musical typing machine.

Adolfo Montero Weiss also carried out considerable humanitarian efforts in the aftermath of the terrible earthquake of December 24th, 1884. In particular, he gave ample attention to Alhama de Granada, one of the most affected areas, where, according to local newspapers, he was a registered resident, although his name does not appear on the town's census. In order to raise funds to combat the devastating effects of the quake, he mediated with the corporate owners of *El imparcial* newspaper in Madrid and the Merchantile Circle; committed to gaining support from others from Granada: Melchor Almagro, José Vallejo and Antonio Pagés. They signed a document stating: "The industrial Adolfo Montero Weiss agrees to the building of 100 cabins and 2 apartments with a church and wooden

schoolhouse funded by the subscription proceeds of *El imparcial* in an astonishing period of just two weeks.” Likewise, his philanthropic work included participation in charity raffles for schools, popular festivals such as Corpus, velocipede cycle races (his son Manuel was a notable competitor in this domain), and the Royal Hospice or the Red Cross. With regards to his entrepreneurial prospects, the satirical magazine *El manicomio* (The Madhouse) and the *Boletín del Centro Artístico* (the Bulletin of the Center for the Arts) carried his advertisements over a long period of time. To demonstrate his well-intentioned character, Adolfo publicized altruistic piano repair classes in his music storehouse. In 1885 and 1887; the latter being the year in which he opened a new instrument repair shop at 41 Plaza Nueva, he was awarded the medals of honor in the Exposiciones del Comercio, or the Commerce Expositions of Granada. At just 23, Adolfo Montero Weiss figures in the 1888 census as head of his family of seven siblings living at No. 3 Cárcel Alta Street. For approximately one year, Adolfo and his wife were living outside of Granada; undertaking projects in Malaga and Almeria. During the summer of 1888, or the “swimming period,” he spent the time in Almeria; and yet he still found time to tend to his work obligations, as his advertisements in the local *La crónica meridional* newspaper stated: “Adolfo Montero Weiss, organ craftsman, builder and repairer, currently offering his services in town throughout the summer season.” Then, in January of 1889, he was charged with the commission of restoring the Epistle pipe organ in the Cathedral of Almeria; a task that would take him various months to complete. Soon after, Adolfo bought a house at number 3 San Luis Street in the Mediterranean city and quickly integrated in its political and social life. On March 12th of that same year, the press recounted one of his speeches during a town “meeting” in which diverse demands were made towards the central government in Madrid. In his speech, the singularity of his character stood out: “No one more unworthy than myself should have anything to say on this matter, yet in the light of your zeal, I cannot help but try to contribute to your noble cause...You might say, ‘Who is this unknown person who addresses us?’ I am a national artist, son of Madrid, neighbor of Granada, and your guest since the past summer.” After going into a number of details, including insisting on President Canaleja’s obligation to keep his promises, specifically over the Linares railroad concession, he was finally exhorted by the organizers to finish up his monologue and give others the chance to speak; who by this time were thoroughly agitated. The inauguration of the restored organ of the Cathedral took place on June 1st, receiving praise from everyone. A month later he finished the repairs on the organ at the Santuario de Santo Domingo. He kept the house in Almeria and from there continued accepting jobs during the summer months.

Upon returning to the city of the Alhambra in 1890, Adolfo opened a new establishment on 57 Zacatín Street, on the premises he offered a wide array of articles: “Piano repair workshop, church and sitting room organs, aristonos (a type of miniature organ), accordions, etc...Sale of ‘national and international’ pianos; fantasy, grand, crossed, stringed and second-hand vertical pianos...In addition, violin, piano, harp, and double bass strings, prongs, bows, tuning forks and other accessories.” When the music store opened on May 18th, some of the Granada’s most prominent musicians turned out – Eduardo Orense, organist of the Cathedral, composer Ramón Noguera, pianist Emilio Vidal and his own son Adolfo Montero – who played pieces on his pianos as part of the inaugural

event. Over this period part of the music warehouse on Zacatín Street was equipped to suit the frequent musical meetings; some of which were described in the press. In the August edition of *El defensor* a detailed account of one of those meetings was given, in which various musicians in the city came together to listen to a version of the latest symphonic poems for piano by famed composer Ramón Noguera entitled *El suspiro del moro*. It was to be premiered by Tomás Bretón and the Sociedad de Profesores de Madrid in the Concerts of the Alhambra. This was the most prosperous, dynamic period of his business, as attested to in a letter from Adolfo Montero Weiss to C.F. Peters of Sächsisches Staatsarchiv of Leipzig regarding a business deal. In this letter, dated January 9th, 1892, he offers the German company use of his storage space on the Zacatín premises, while asking for information concerning the requirements to obtain catalogs of music editions. In the same letter he mentions his former business deals with two other houses in Stuttgart and Berlin; proof of his regular mercantile relationship with German companies. Adolfo usually headed his letters with detailed information about his business: “Large warehouse/workroom for repairs of: pianos, organs, harmoniums, accordions, harps and all types of string and wind instruments. Replacement of prongs, bone and ivory stringed arrangement in felt keyboards and padded crates. Organ craftsman specializing in the construction of bellows for church organs...Construction agreements...Church and artistic expression organs...Wooden and metal organ pipes...Reeds, keyboards, trémolos (music vibrators), gearing, mechanical contras and related items.”

Eduarda, Adolfo’s spouse, passed away on June 1st, 1892, at 46 years old. Her death greatly affected the organ craftsman, as from that moment on he lost all interest in his business; giving it over to his offspring. In the first six months of 1893, his name appeared various times as an insightful participant in *El accitano* newspaper’s leisure section. That same year, though a layman, he accepted the post of second organist in the Cathedral of Almeria, where he remained till May of 1895. Five months before returning to Granada, the press posted advertisements where he offered to give classes of church organ repair “to anyone who wished” in the Zacatín premises. Meanwhile, the press published his candidacy for the Municipal Census Board, along with the industrial clockmaker Agustín Caro Riaño, writer and fire chief Antonio Joaquín Afán de Ribera, and other known figures in Granada. At this stage he decided to divide the family business up between his sons, particularly with Adolfo, who opened a workroom in Almeria, and the three other brothers, Eduardo, Luis and José María, who moved the Zacatín location to No. 4 Verónica de la Magdalena Street. Adolfo Montero Weiss opted to maintain ownership of a restoration workshop at 7 Progreso Street. There, he specialized in varnishing pianos: “The former manufacturer, using French varnish, made the pianos look like new.” A year later Eduardo inaugurated his own business; first on No. 30 Méndez Núñez Street, then later on No. 4 Carrera de Genil. By 1899 José María started his own shop at 18 Reyes Católicos, and Luis on the corner of Fray Luis de Granada, No. 1, in the Plaza de los Campos. The last piece of documentation concerning Adolfo was in a press release in 1899 when a wallet containing an unclaimed lottery ticket (the lottery agent had already been advised to annul it). The owner had offered a reward for its return, leaving the Reyes Católicos address of José María’s store. Adolfo Montero Weiss died in Granada on October 29th, 1900; yet, neither the civil registry nor San José Cemetery can produce his death certificate, which adds even more to the

MUSIC AND MUSICIANS IN GRANADA'S SETTING

enigmatic aura of his life. In the press, the deceased was merely mentioned within the commonplace news items and the accompanying obituary was brief and vague. In *La crónica meridional* of Almeria, there was more news coverage; perhaps due to his family's relationship with its director: "Don Adolfo Montero Weiss has passed away in Granada. This accredited music storeroom owner and master piano maker was father to our dear music professor of the same name. The deceased was a model of honesty and industriousness; well known in Almeria...May he rest in peace."



Organ of the Catedral of Almeria

THE SEXTETO MONTERO

Adolfo Montero Weiss sought to ensure that each of his sons studied music, learned his trade and were versed in playing various instruments. There is a photograph in which some of the brothers, yet children, formed a music group with guitars, the bandurria and lute. In 1892, three of them started in the Sexteto Montero: Luis (harmonium, piano and conductor in the early years), Manuel (violin, cello and bass) and José María (metal Böhm system flute “with a surprising new mouthpiece and key system” of his own creation, and piano); together with other young musicians from Granada: Manuel Lissorgues and Joaquín Corrales (violins) and Eduardo Moreno and Enrique Marín (viola and cello). The youth ensemble was asked to perform in diverse events, many of which were picked up by the local press: “A serenade for General Arsenio Martínez Campos in the palace on Tablas Street. The members of the Sexteto Montero were given pastries, sweets, wine and cigars and they played well into the night.” “A concert the Sexteto Montero gave as a treat to the consecrated French sailors Meersman and Bardon, who urged the development of the mining industry in Granada for their compatriots.” “There was a concert given in the home of Antonio Pérez de Herrasti on his patron saint day alongside violoncellist Alejandro Ruiz de Tejada and concert pianists Eduardo Orense and Emilio Vidal.” During the first months of 1894, they played for the Círculo de Obreros, or the Workers’ Guild, and that same summer they were in the coast of Granada: “In the lively atmosphere of the summer season, the Sexteto Montero will be playing in that delightful village of Almuñecar; their satisfying and prosperous tour will include Motril and other areas at the shore.” In October they were hired to liven up the Café Universal of Almeria, most likely recommended by the Adolfos, father and son, who occasionally lived there. At the beginning of November, they headed off to Algeria where they performed in the city of Oran, a French colony at that time. Even in Madrid, word of their tour in Africa reached the newspapers: “The concerts these young people are giving in the Café Boulevard Seguin are a true milestone for music in Oran. This remarkable youth ensemble ‘gratify the art,’ receiving a nightly ovation from the great number of attendees who come out to hear their masterly performed pieces” (*La correspondencia de España*, October 26, 1894). In spite of the offer they received from the Café Universal’s owner when they performed again in Almeria “with exquisite refinement and finesse,” they opted to return to Granada on December 20th: “The Sexteto Montero came back from their tour in French Algeria and the Almeria coast with enviable successes.” In 1895, they were contracted by Café Suizo in Granada to perform on Sundays and holidays, while fulfilling other offers in a variety of events: “A serenade for the originator of the Gran Vía project, Juan López Rubio...Student University Orchestra, with whom the Sexteto Montero collaborated. They played the *López Rubio* pasodoble by José Moral, the *Colón* jota from Joaquín Corrales, *La Gran Vía de Colón* waltz by Manuel Lissorgues and *Medicina* by Ruperto Chapí.” Once again in November they returned to the Café Universal in Almeria where they were always well-received. In the years to follow they were the most frequent musical group to play at the Café del Siglo on Poeta Zorrilla Street (now Mesones), while keeping up with their other party engagements: “A brilliant soiree in the home of the Señores de Burgos on Duquesa

Street. Words cannot explain how delectable it was. Granada has, by far, the greatest number of beautiful women that any other part. The young married women captivated by the glamour and atmosphere of the moment; meanwhile the single dames assembled, awaiting dance and charm. The Sexteto Montero superbly entertained everyone; carrying on till well into the middle of the night. There was no lack of pastries, hors d'oeuvres, exquisite wines, delicious liquor, champagne and much desired tea during this uplifting musical oasis." The newspapers also gave them frequent praise in reviews; as they appeared in the social section alongside "the most distinguished dames," as well as giving every detail on the attire of the "sexo fuerte," referring to the men. The Sexteto participated in tributes, charity events, christenings, weddings or events for organizations such as: The Catholic Workers' Center, the halls of *El defensor de Granada*, the Economic Society of Countrymen, the Hispanic-French School or the Jockey Club. In nearby cities such as Loja or Guadix, and even in Almeria, they returned to give concerts in 1898; at a banquet of the Republican Party in the Teatro Principal, and again in June at the Café Universal's summer bandstand.

Their musical repertoire covered works ranging from Waldteufel's acclaimed waltzes, pieces from Bretón, overtures by Suppé and Weber to arrangements with fantasies or overtures from famous operettas and zarzuelas. In addition to that, they represented pieces composed by members of the ensemble and other musicians from Granada, especially from the Royal Chapel organist, Cándido Orense or by Ramón Noguera. As the years went by, they added some novel pieces, many of which have since been forgotten; and others from the ever-illustrious Albéniz and Granados, to their repertoire.

If their most sought-after niche was to perform at social events, they could not miss the opportunity to shine at their own weddings. On April 3rd, 1899 they played at Manuel Montero and Francisca Garrido's nuptials; then at José María Montero and Guillermina Molina's ceremony a month later.

On February 21st, 1900, after a month playing at the Café de la Terraza, located beside the old Teatro Principal del Campillo, the ensemble headed off to Montecarlo. They held in their possession a work contract at the Café de Paris in the Mediterranean city of Almeria; which they upheld, performing "in traditional Andalusian apparel," according to press sources. A few months later they went on to Paris where there were heard on various stages at the World's Fair. Even though there are practically no references to them during their stay in Paris, it goes without saying that they would most likely have been requested in some of the Spanish pavilions, such as in the lavish Alhambra palace representation or the plentiful cafés along the Seine River. They certainly would have drawn attention with their folkloric costumes in the midst of the splendid Paris atmosphere between April and October; not only for their appearance, but surely for their Spanish repertoire of *En la Alhambra* by Bretón or *Moraima* by Gaspar Espinosa de los Monteros. One might imagine that the Montero brothers could have visited the exposition dedicated to Francisco de Goya to see the exalted painter's *La lechera de Burdeos* (Would they have known that the woman depicted was their grandmother?). Coincidentally, next to Goya's painting hung a portrait of the banker and politician Juan Bautista Muguero, who had bought *La lechera* from

Leocadia 60 years earlier; both paintings were on loan from his granddaughter. As a zenith to their tour, they set sail to New York on a transatlantic, where they began to run into certain difficulties and were forced to return home from their unprosperous adventure sooner than expected. According to *El defensor*, the cause was the scorching heat in the city, not yet capped by skyscrapers. We must keep in mind, however, that New York was in its largest surge of immigration; and therefore, the border control regulation was very strict. It would come as no surprise that this circumstance, coupled with the reciprocal anti-American sentiment following the War of Cuba, influenced in their experience in the United States. Also, while the three Montero brothers were away from home that year, they received the somber news of their father, Adolfo Montero Weiss, passing away on October 28th, 1900. It is unknown whether they were in Paris or in New York at the time.

Upon returning to Granada, they re-signed with the *Café del Siglo*, where they would be on stage for the following years; with the exception of 1908, when they went back to play in the *Café de la Terraza*. On the thirtieth of April, 1904, they received the young monarch Alfonso XIII to the sound of the *Marcha Real* in the terrace of the Palace of the Condes de Gabia, or the Count and Countess of Gabia Palace. At this time the estate was inhabited by Doña Ángeles Losada; and from there the monarch was showered with petals from the house of the Marquesa de Villaseca, on the adjacent Jesús y María Street.

Over these years there was a strong competition between *café*s to offer the best musical group. Since the *Café del Siglo* had contracted the ensemble, the *Café Alameda* bet on the Romero music family, while the *Café del León* opted for a dance troupe and popular songs. One of their last performances as the Sexteto Montero took place in March 1911 at the Hotel Alhambra Palace, where they shared the stage with the Cuarteto Albéniz to celebrate the visit of Queen Victoria Eugenia. Their final concert of which the press records, was offered on November 28th, 1911, when they performed at conservative councilman Miguel Zambrano Pizarro's banquet. Afterwards, between 1917 and 1919, they occasionally reappeared with the incorporation of some Montero sons and others from Granada's musical scene for charity fundraisers for the Marianas Congregation and in collaboration with the School and Workers' Center of Ave María.

ADOLFO MONTERO GALLEGOS

The chronicle of the eldest son of Adolfo Montero Weiss must be addressed in a chapter of its own. Adolfo Montero Gallegos was highly considered as a pianist, organist, organ craftsman and composer. He settled down to live in Almeria alongside his father in 1893 and soon became known as a respected pianist in the kiosk of the *Café Universal* and other cultural centers. He conducted the Music Chapel at the Santo Domingo Church, where he premiered some of his own religious music. Many of the pieces were dedicated to the venerated patron of Almeria, La Virgen del Mar, or the Virgin of the Sea. The press reported specifically on *Misa*: "This piece satisfies the supreme ideal of the modern

composers; fusing inspiration with musical science, and uniting the balance, harmony and infinite melody into a valuable assembly of religiousness and beauty." Furthermore, he introduced various works into the liturgical Holy Week celebrations, such as the *Miserere* by Esclava and the *Gozos y Dolores a San José* (The Joys and Sorrows of Saint Joseph) from Granada's own Bernabé Ruiz de Henares. In 1897, he obtained the post of sales representative at the prestigious Catalan piano makers company, "Estela & Bernareggi," in Almería. The newspapers carried their advertisements for years, using its address on No. 7 Santo Domingo Street, and shortly thereafter, at No. 11 of the same plaza. These advertisements were published alongside heralding reviews on their expertise as piano craftsmen, including those honorably signed by celebrated musicians such as: Isaac Albéniz, Enrique Granados, Joaquín Malats, Joaquín Larregla or the Frenchman Vicent D'Indy.

In 1896, Adolfo was appointed second organist of the Cathedral of Almería, just as his father had been two years previous. Until then he had appeared in the census of Granada as a resident of the now obsolete Violeta Street, next to the Carrera del Darro, in the vicinity of the Church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. In December of this same year, he was involved in a brawl with the first organist of the Cathedral, José Bedmar, to whom he struck a blow to the forehead. Apparently, the fight was provoked by Bedmar's accusation that Adolfo was playing secular music as opposed to religious music; as was mandatory on the Cathedral pipe organ. In any case, the Cathedral Chapter suspended Adolfo without pay, although some months later he got off with the warning: "from now on you must show due respect towards the priests at the Cathedral." In August of 1897, he asked for a small raise in his salary; but when the clerical board denied his request, he decided to quit his job. The ensuing vacancy was announced, though they could not find anyone to fill it. His Granada-born friend, the journalist and director of *El defensor de Granada*, Francisco Seco de Lucena, wrote about his appreciated friend and respected music professional: "Just look at Adolfo Montero Gallegos; not only is he a notable pianist and maestro, but he is an inspired composer as well. He has given these churches many works, some of which of a somber nature, others of a marked character as in his coplas or a Chopin-style waltz, and most recently a serenade of Granada that brought great pleasure when it was performed by the Sexteto Montero." In January 1898, the Cathedral Chapter of Almería named Pedro Rodríguez to fill the vacancy left by Adolfo Montero; although only one month later, he resigned, forcing them to seek a new organist once again. Meanwhile, Adolfo was the pianist at the Café Universal, where he brought out numerous ballroom pieces for piano, which were graciously received by the attendees. After 1901, he changed his job at the Café Universal for the Café Suizo. A number of his piano compositions were published in magazines such as *El organillo* or *La colonia*.

By this time, the ecclesiastical Chapter of the Cathedral, not being able to fill the post of second organist (now they were posting advertisements requiring that the candidate must not only be an organist, but an organ-maker as well); turned to Adolfo once again. Thus, in 1899, without having to audition for the job, Adolfo re-entered as the only person capable of meeting their criteria. This time his salary was stipulated at 6 reales per day, which in all likelihood, satisfied his economic pretensions. Throughout 1900, he was

registered on the Granada census as living within the Magdalena district, widower and sharing a house on No. 2 Panaderos Street with Dolores Pérez, a 78-year-old woman from Turón, a village in the Alpujarra. That same year, he appeared on the Almeria census as a resident of that city and under unwed status. Be that as it may, his residence seems to have been in Almeria, although he frequently stayed in Granada. In 1903, *El defensor* pointed to a “lovely musical work” which was presented in its opening night during one of his stays in Granada; attributed to various reputable professors – *Los siete dolores de la Virgen* – for voices and orchestra. At the end of this year, as a demonstration of his industrial competence, he set about building the so-called “Pombia,” or crank piano, in his music workshop. This curious instrument shared characteristics with the celebrated Madrid-style organ grinder, but with perforations instead of metal picks where the melody is made. Two years earlier these types of instruments were beginning to be commercialized in Madrid by instrument builder Víctor Bermejo.

On the fateful, freezing winter night of January 16th, 1905, Adolfo Montero left the Café Suizo after a typical performance. He headed for the home of Candelaria Fernández Rodríguez, as he often did, located on Méndez Street, in the bullfighting ring neighborhood of Almeria. Allegedly, this young woman met her economic needs by offering sexual favors to Adolfo. He was accompanied by Julio Fernández Rubio, a simple, 56-year-old married landlord who had also been Candelaria’s lover for six years. Supposedly Julio went to the house to demand that she return some furniture. Regrettably, his presence at the door was probably for an ulterior motive; he was most likely jealous of Candelaria’s new relationship, although he himself had initially encouraged it in order to get money out of Adolfo so that they could run off to Barcelona. Apparently, earlier that afternoon, Julio had already been at the house, as on other occasions, where the woman lived with her mother. Julio was threatening Candelaria, who had been trying to avoid him for some time, so she refused to let him in the door. In his ensuing rage, Julio went to the Café Suizo, where he would wait until Adolfo had finished playing for the evening. Thus, as mentioned before, Julio and Adolfo showed up together at her doorstep around 11 pm. This time Candelaria opened the door for them. Once inside, Julio demanded that she return his furniture; to which she replied that the only furniture that belonged to him was “two worn sofas.” Then she called him a “disgusting old man;” offense to which Julio responded with heated insults and claiming that Candelaria belonged to him alone. Right then, Julio took out a 16-caliber revolver and pulled the trigger. His shot missed Candelaria because Adolfo deflected it with his cane. At this point, a brutal fight broke out between the two men; both smacking and clubbing each other. Candelaria’s mother fled to the balcony to call for help in the midst of the confusion and subsequently ran out the front door with her daughter in tow. Adolfo immediately followed them out the door, but unfortunately the pianist wasn’t so lucky. Julio shot him in the leg, knocking him to the ground. From there, Adolfo laid in the street twisting and screaming in agony. When Julio approached, he stabbed him twice in the thorax with a cattle slaughter knife that he had hidden in his clothes. One of the stabs punctured his heart; then Julio hacked at his abdomen, leaving the pianist with gaping wounds in a pool of blood.

The ferocity of Julio’s jealous madness brought Adolfo Montero Gallego’s life to

a rapid, violent end as the gory image of his bloodied corpse on the street remained in the collective memory of the neighbors for years. On the 18th of January, the press of Granada published the account: "The attacker wielded a 16-caliber pistol and a large puncture knife with which he carried out the atrocity. The deceased was greatly cherished for his chivalry, excellent craftsmanship and outstanding artistic knowledge of music." The trial took place in May amidst rash public outcry and courtroom scuffles; leading the judge to even dislodge the court. During the hearing, the defense brought up some of Adolfo Montero's past altercations; the most recent being a fight with lawyer Antonio Iribarne. Nevertheless, in the question of brawls, Julio outdid Adolfo; even back in secondary school he had been punished by the disciplinary board for injuring a classmate, apart from numerous reports of physical abuse filed by his wife over the past 15 years. Julio Fernández was condemned to 14 years, 8 months and 1 day for homicide, as well as an additional 3 years in correctional prison for shooting a fire arm. The sentence satisfied the majority of those who had been seeking justice for the cause.

Many of Adolfo's admirers, disciples and friends turned out to his funeral held in the Santuario de Santo Domingo, where he had given them so much music dedicated to the Virgin del Mar. His brother José María took charge of his business until all of the pending orders and commissions were taken care of. He also upheld Adolfo's part of the contract at the Café Suizo till it was finalized in the month of May. In the Fiesta del Árbol (the Tree Festival), so characteristic of the city, children from the Escuela de La Cañada continued singing a hymn composed by Adolfo Montero Gallegos every year until 1927.

THE MONTERO SIBLINGS

The most noteworthy musician of Adolfo Montero Weiss' sons was José María, who managed the reputable "Casa Montero" music store for many years. In that time, he catered to numerous acclaimed clients such as: Manuel de Falla, Andrés Segovia, Enrique Fernández Arbós or Ángel Barrios. Curiously enough, music was not his primary calling; instead, he was passionate about painting. He studied this discipline in the workshop of José Larrocha with the likes of José María Rodríguez Acosta, Eugenio Gómez Mir and José María López Mezquita. Decidedly, the musical realm was where he began to stand out as an exceptional flutist, pianist, organ craftsman, organ restorer (he restored the pipe organ at Nuestra Señora de la Alhambra in 1903), and popular music composer. José María was a pledged pianist and committed member of the Centro Artístico and at the Sociedad Económica de Amigos de Paris. Additionally, having passed the highly contested public exams in 1908, he taught as a music professor in various centers such as the Escuela Normal and the University. Furthermore, he conducted the Municipal Band of Granada from its constitution in 1917 in addition to teaching music classes as a professor of the "Victoria Eugenia" Conservatory since its 1921 inauguration.

Another brother of the saga, Eduardo Montero Gallegos, had his own business on

number 4 Carrera del Genil Street, at least until the middle of the 1930's: "Pianos, autopianos or pianolas and gramophones. All types of musical instruments...The oldest music house of Granada." Whenever there was a theater performance or cultural event, they frequently called on Eduardo and José María's music stores to supply them with pianos. Inside their stores, they also sold concert tickets; an example of such being the case of those given during the Corpus Christi celebration. In his fondness for technological innovations, Eduardo patented a gadget he invented in 1905 called the "Moto-Litro Montero;" it was a type of automatic water-powered elevator; although initially it became highly popular, it quickly grew obsolete. In 1932, the Dirección General de Telecomunicaciones granted Eduardo the privilege of representing "Radio Granada," which was the first radio broadcasting station in the city. Its radio installations were inaugurated in the Carmen de Alhamar, of the Albayzin district on October 17th, 1933, once a "powerful, broad reaching station transmitter" was acquired from the Marconi Society. The eldest Army musician, Juan Mula, conducted the Banda del Regimiento de Infantería in various commencement pieces in a concert given to "an invisible, yet enchanted radio public," as was stated by the surprised *El defensor* journalist.

Little is known about the rest of the siblings. In regards to Antonio Montero Gallegos, there is scant information of his political commitment, thanks to the fact that his name appears among the Ruiz Zorrilla Partido Republicano representatives for the 1886 territorial constituency of Busquistar, Granada. One of the sisters, Elena Montero Gallegos, wed a doctor, Antonio Moya (her brother Adolfo was the bestman), on the 25th of December. Concerning Matilde Montero Gallegos, there is merely information, as before stated, that she was born in Berja, Almeria in 1873. Guillermina Montero Gallegos was recorded as being a primary school teacher in Seville in 1906. And Eduarda became a nun in the convent of San Gregorio el Alto; thereby changing her birth name to Sister Inés de Cristo Rey. Notwithstanding, in 1932, she was registered in the municipal census as a teacher living on Varela Street.

Finally, our attention must be briefly drawn to brothers Luis and Manuel Montero Gallegos, who were, as mentioned previously, members of the Sexteto Montero alongside José María. Luis was in charge of one of the inherited businesses of his father in Plaza de los Campos till after 1910. In 1915 both brothers went on to work as piano tuners and repairers in their competitor's music shop; which is to say the one belonging to entrepreneur and music editor Paulino Sabatel. A year later they opted to abandon their music related activity and they set up an automobile rental company in Granada at No. 6 Campillo Bajo Street. On March 3rd, 1915, Luis passed the much envied theoretical and practical driving exams; a fact important enough to be mentioned in the local newspaper: "Yesterday Don Luis Montero passed his 'mechanical chauffer' exam, compulsory to work in the profession."

Luis, along with his 5-year-old son of the same name, left the city on a chauffeuring service on the 17th of October, 1916. At their destination of Baeza, Jaén, they picked up the bullfighter Curro Posada and his crew to take part in a bullfight in Granada's coastal town of Motril, to celebrate the inauguration of a new ring. On the road back

towards Granada, just 14 kilometers from Jaén, the vehicle Luis was driving went off the road and fell into an embankment, flipping over several times. In the ensuing wreckage, the only injured party was the driver, who had had the steering wheel smashed into his chest. Although Luis was quickly taken to the Casa de Socorro medical center in Jaén city, he was pronounced dead on arrival. Curro, his bullfighting crew and the child walked away unharmed. The following day, everything was in place for the inauguration of the Motril bullring: "Curro willfully entertained the expectant crowd, even after suffering emotionally from a tragic car crash on the road to Motril last night, where the driver lost his life...He cut off three bulls' ears and a tail; he was even carried out of the plaza on his crew's shoulders." The funeral was held in the Capilla del Sagrado Corazón in Granada, where the Music Chapel of the Cathedral offered the *Misa de difuntos* by Celestino Vila de Forns, under the lead of Rafael Salguero. Curro Posada paid his respects and visited the widow, offering to organize a benefit bullfighting spectacle at the ring in Granada to raise money for her and the children. A year later, his promise was put into effect; during the fanfare, the Municipal Band of Granada played various pasodobles led by José María Montero: "Today we celebrate this charity bullfight for the five children and the widow of Luis Montero; who have been left in absolute abandonment." Other fundraising activities arose in which many prominent people of Granada participated; among them, there was one where banker Manuel Rodríguez Acosta contributed the then sizable amount of 150 pesetas. Manuel Montero Gallegos kept the transport business running for a considerable number of years. In addition, as an avid bicycle hobbyist, he participated in and won several races during the Corpus celebrations at the end of the XIX century. In 1928, he was the owner of an automobile company that offered "public taximeter non-scheduled services;" while continuing to play the cello.

JOSÉ MIGUEL BARBERÁ SOLER



José María Montero Gallego by Félix Esteban Larios, 1918. Property of the Adolfo Montero Peña family

EPILOGUE

There are many descendants of the children of Adolfo Montero Weiss, some of them being notable public figures; such as in the case of poet Luis García Montero, son of Elisa Montero Peña, grandson of musician Adolfo Montero Molina, great-grandson of José María Montero Gallegos, great-great-grandson of Adolfo Montero Weiss, great-great-great-grandson of Rosario Weiss, and possibly great-great-great-great-grandson of Francisco de Goya y Lucientes.

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