

# Music teaching and the Spanish Regenerationism: Felipe Pedrell and the Academia Granados

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## ABSTRACT

During the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, a serious concern regarding the academic credentials of musicians arose in Spain. This movement was led by Francisco Barbieri and Felipe Pedrell. Drawing on Krausism and Regenerationism, Pedrell defined the cultural background required by true artists, following an ideal of musicians that went far beyond mere skilled artisans. The aim of this paper is to describe the way this concern developed, and how it influenced the pedagogy undertaken by Enrique Granados in his Academy in Barcelona from 1901 to 1916. In addition, it explores the continuation of Granados's ideological legacy after his death. The results show the way in which the Regenerationist and Pedrellian ideals were applied and developed within the walls of the Academy. Its activity, carried out even after the Spanish Civil War, contributed to the preservation of Spain's cultural heritage.

## KEYWORDS

Music education; Spanishmusic; twentieth-century music; Regenerationism; Enrique Granados

## Introduction

The French artist, painter or dancer, tends to be prodigal with the pen, helped by the kind of culture that always allows correct and harmonious expression. The Spaniards in Paris, who for years are centre of curiosity and pampering, usually remain in a celtiberian silence: nothing finds [Manuel de Falla written by Zuloaga, by Albéniz. If they ever wrote anything, they did it remaining in a middle tone of discreetness and concern: anecdotes are collected from them, but not essays.<sup>1</sup>

These words by Federico Sopeña are taken from the Foreword to his edition of Manuel de Falla's writings, first published in 1950. There, Sopeña complained about the sparse essays or autobiographical works written by Spanish musicians from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in comparison with French musicians and prolific writers such as Claude Debussy and Erik Satie. The reason for this lack of interest in leaving written testimonies was, according to Sopeña, the lack of general culture among Spanish musicians of that time.

Sopeña's thinking reflected an ideological stream generated decades before. Spanish musical development in the last decades of the nineteenth century was deemed impoverished compared with the social and cultural dimensions achieved by music and musicians in France and Germany. Although much effort had been made by the new

<sup>1</sup>Manuel de Falla, *Escritos sobre Música y Músicos* (1950), ed. Federico Sopeña (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1988).

generations of Spanish musicians – such as Santiago Masarnau, Pedro Tintorer and Juan Bautista Pujol – with regard to the technical training of both performers and composers, their intellectual and cultural instruction had often been left aside. Only when certain influential composers, musicologists and intellectuals, such as Felipe Pedrell, focused on the cultural training of musicians did some of them start to expand their horizons to wider cultural events, and to delve into literature and the arts.

The aim of this paper is to describe and analyse the pedagogy developed by Enrique Granados and his pupil, Frank Marshall, in Barcelona during the first half of the twentieth century, in line with the intellectual aims of Pedrell and Barbieri. Due to the need to provide contextualisation for Pedrell's ideas and his approach to Regenerationism, the nature of Granados's teaching in Barcelona will be introduced through a general view of some of the problems faced by music education in Spain in the late nineteenth century. Although both the pedagogic tasks of Granados and Marshall and the ideological legacy of Pedrell and Barbieri have been the subject of research before,<sup>2</sup> these two dimensions have not previously been connected. The cultural training promoted by Granados in his Academy may be understood, as will be explained, as the implementation of the cultural aspirations initiated by Pedrell and Barbieri between 1880 and 1910.

Although the relation between the cultural and intellectual interests of Granados and the ideas of Pedrell has not received full attention from musicologists and academics, there has been a recent interest in Spanish music of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries among writers from different fields. Research has focused on aspects of Spanish musical life,<sup>3</sup> its institutions,<sup>4</sup> the rise of Nationalism<sup>5</sup> and the acceptance of European music by Spanish audiences.<sup>6</sup> Isaac Albéniz and Enrique Granados, thanks to their centenaries in 2009 and 2016 respectively, have also attracted much attention.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Zoila Martínez Beltrán, 'Musica Divulgata: La Labor Divulgativa de Felipe Pedrell en Madrid (1894–1900)', *Revista de Musicología* 40, no. 2 (2017): 489–512; Alejandra Pacheco-Costa, 'Los Conceptos Pianísticos y Pedagógicos de Frank Marshall' (PhD diss., Universidad de Sevilla, 2006); Mónica Pagés, *Academia Granados-Marshall: 100 Años de Escuela Pianística en Barcelona* (Barcelona: Academia Marshall, 2001).

<sup>3</sup>Celsa Alonso, 'Los Salones: Un Espacio Musical para la España del Siglo XIX', *Anuario Musical* 48 (1993): 165–206; María Nagore, *La Revolución Coral: Estudio sobre la Sociedad Coral de Bilbao y el Movimiento Coral Europeo (1800–1936)* (Madrid: ICCMU, 2001); María Nagore, Leticia Sánchez de Andrés and Elena Torres, *Música y Cultura en la Edad de Plata, 1915–1939* (Madrid: ICCMU, 2009).

<sup>4</sup>M. Dolores Cuadrado Caparrós, 'Bartolomé Pérez Casas y la Orquesta Filarmónica de Madrid (1915–1939)' (PhD diss., Universidad de Salamanca, 2006); Ana Fontestad, 'El Conservatorio de Música de Valencia. Antecedentes, Fundación y Primera Etapa (1879–1910)' (PhD diss., Universitat de València, 2006); Nieves Hernández Romero, 'Educación Musical y Proyección Laboral de las Mujeres en el Siglo XIX: el Conservatorio de Música de Madrid', *Trans. Revista Transcultural de Música* 15 (2011), <http://www.redalyc.org/html/822/82222646004/> (accessed July 29, 2019); Gemma Pérez Zalduondo, 'La Música en España durante el Franquismo a través de la Legislación (1936–1951)' (PhD diss., Universidad de Granada, 2002).

<sup>5</sup>Celsa Alonso, 'La Música Española y el Espíritu del 98', *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana* 5 (1998): 79–108; Emilio Casares, 'Pedrell, Barbieri y la Restauración Musical Española', *Recerca Musicològica* 11–12 (1991): 259–71; Dochy Lichstentsztajn, 'El Regeneracionismo y la Dimensión Educadora de la Música en la Obra de Felip Pedrell', *Recerca Musicològica* 14 (2004): 301–23; Laura Sanz García, 'Visiones de lo Español en la Creación Artística y Musical de Entresiglos (1874–1936)', *Revista de Musicología* 28, no. 2 (2005): 1649–61.

<sup>6</sup>Francesc Bonastre, 'La Labor de Enric Granados en el Proceso de la Recepción de la Música de Bach en Barcelona', *Anuario Musical* 56 (2001): 173–83; Paloma Ortiz de Urbina Sobrino, 'La Recepción de Richard Wagner en Madrid (1900–1914)' (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2003); José Ignacio Suárez García, 'La Recepción de la Obra de Richard Wagner en Madrid entre 1877 y 1893', *Cuadernos de Música iberoamericana* 14 (2007): 73–142.

<sup>7</sup>Some relevant examples of this recent research are Walter A. Clark, *Isaac Albéniz: a Guide to Research* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Laura de Miguel, 'Las Generaciones de Pianistas Anteriores a Isaac Albéniz en el Contexto de la Cátedra de Piano del Conservatorio de Madrid (1831–1868)', in *Antes de Iberia: de Masarnau a Albéniz: Actas del Symposium FIMTE 2008*, ed. Luisa Morales and Walter A. Clark (Almería: Asociación Cultural LEAL, 2010), 3–24; Laura Sanz García, 'Isaac Albéniz y la Difusión de la Cultura Española en París, a través del Género Epistolar', *Anuario Musical* 65 (2010): 111–32.

However, the cultural dimension of Spanish musicians deserves deeper and closer attention, which the current paper aims to supply. The timespan covered by this research concentrates on the first half of the twentieth century. In order to understand the context of this period, an outline of Spanish musical life during the last decades of the nineteenth century is provided in brief. Owing to the concentration of the pedagogic activity of Enrique Granados in the city of Barcelona, this paper will focus on the musical life of this city, although reference to other cities (Madrid and Cádiz especially) will be made as these are relevant to the development of Pedrell's ideas and Granados's work. Moreover, we shall concentrate on pianists because they constituted the major part of the Academy's pupils.

### Spanish music at the end of the nineteenth century: a new beginning

At the end of the nineteenth century, the widespread feeling among Spanish musicians was that of complete backwardness in comparison with other countries of Europe, in both the creative and performing areas of music. The reasons for this backwardness were manifold, from the absence of a bourgeois middle class capable of supporting a dynamic musical industry to the lack of relevant educational institutions, the means to disseminate knowledge, or the low standing of musicians in Spanish society at that time.<sup>8</sup> Some intellectuals in that period, such as the Count of Morphy, named the bondage of fashion, the prevailing materialism and the lack of instruction as the reasons for this decay.<sup>9</sup> This feeling affected not only music, but other artistic and intellectual endeavours such as literature and painting. It denoted a deep spiritual crisis and, in some aspects, it may be considered to be a prelude of the European *fin-de-siècle* cultural trend.

Although this gloomy feeling was particularly evident in the last decades of the century, Spanish musical life by that time had experienced a considerable evolution and had little in common with that of the beginning of the century. The nineteenth century should not be considered as a single unit, and the relevance of music in society and education improved as the years passed. Music-teaching institutions, orchestras, musical seasons, etc., were created. The sojourns in France of the best Spanish musicians became almost mandatory within their training process from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, which also helped to establish and strengthen relations with other European musicians.<sup>10</sup>

A remarkable event in Spanish musical life was the visit of Franz Liszt. In 1845 Liszt visited numerous Spanish cities, from Barcelona to Cádiz and Sanlúcar de Barrameda. Liszt's tour was part of his extensive three-year trip around Europe, and it left a mark on Spanish musical life for decades.<sup>11</sup> Liszt was followed by other outstanding European

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<sup>8</sup>Emilio Casares, 'La Música del Siglo XIX Español. Conceptos Fundamentales', in *La Música Española en el Siglo XIX*, ed. Emilio Casares and Celsa Alonso (Oviedo: PPU, 1995), 13–122.

<sup>9</sup>Beatriz García-Álvarez de la Villa, 'Regeneracionismo Musical en el Ateneo de Madrid bajo la Presidencia del Conde de Morphy (1886–1895)', *Revista de Musicología* 40, no. 2 (2017): 449–87.

<sup>10</sup>Montserrat Bergadà, 'Els Pianistes Catalans a París: Un Temps Retrobat', in Ricard Viñes. *El Pianista de les Avantguardes*, ed. Màrius Bernadó (Lleida: Institut Municipal d'Acció Cultural de Lleida, 2007), 120–5; Jorge De Persia, 'Ricard Viñes a París. Primers Anys del Segle XX', in Ricard Viñes. *El Pianista de les Avantguardes*, ed. Màrius Bernadó (Lleida: Institut Municipal d'Acció Cultural de Lleida, 2007), 56–71.

<sup>11</sup>Antonio Simón Montiel, 'Liszt en la Península Ibérica' (PhD diss., Universidad de Málaga, 2015).

musicians, with frequent concerts being held in cities such as Barcelona, fostering the concert life of the city.<sup>12</sup> Shortly after Liszt, Gottschalk toured Spain between 1851 and 1852, sponsored by the Queen.<sup>13</sup> These visits became social and cultural events, and contributed to the progressive integration of Spain into the concert tours of the greatest European performers. By the end of the century, these concert tours became more frequent, and the number and merit of the European virtuosi performances in Spain became even greater in the first decades of the twentieth century.<sup>14</sup>

Regarding music education institutions, throughout the nineteenth century the Catholic Church lost its influence as the main promoter of professional musicians, as had happened in other European countries. Hence, musicians were trained mainly in conservatories of music, music schools and privately owned academies.<sup>15</sup> In the case of conservatories, the first one to be created in Spain was in Madrid, on the initiative of Queen Maria Cristina. The first Regulation of this Conservatory is dated 15 July 1830, although it was made public on 9 January 1831.<sup>16</sup> In Barcelona, the Conservatory of Liceo (*Conservatorio del Liceo*) was created in 1837 and the Municipal School of Music (*Escuela Municipal de Música*) in 1886.<sup>17</sup> More institutions were opened in other cities, such as the Music Academy of Bilbao (*Academia de Música de Bilbao*) (1878), and the Conservatories of Valencia (1879), Seville (1889) and Zaragoza (1890). Most of them aimed to mirror the Conservatory of Madrid, and they eventually constituted a network of approximately 20 institutions in the first decades of the twentieth century.<sup>18</sup>

These institutions were mostly oriented to the pedagogy of instrumental performance, singing and composition. In addition, there were complementary studies offered as part of the curriculum such as sol-fa and music literacy, music theory, harmony, chamber music and accompaniment. The Conservatory of Valencia, for example, specified in its Rules from 1884 the teaching of sol-fa and harmony, composition, organ, cello, double

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<sup>12</sup>Mutsumi Fukushima, 'La Presencia de los Principales Pianistas Extranjeros en Barcelona durante las dos Últimas Décadas del Siglo XIX', in *El Piano en España entre 1830 y 1920*, ed. José Antonio Gómez Rodríguez (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2015), 295–312.

<sup>13</sup>Estel Marín Cos, 'L'Ensenyament del Piano a Barcelona: 1850–1901' (PhD diss., Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2017), 67.

<sup>14</sup>Marín Cos (ibid., 279–81) quotes the recitals in Barcelona of, among others, Planté, Vidiella, Horzowski, Sauer, Iturbi and Rubinstein, who visited the Catalan city several times between 1916 and 1920. Fukushima ('La Presencia de los Principales Pianistas') quotes in detail the concerts in Spain by Ritter, Anton Rubinstein, Saint-Saëns, Menter, Planté, Bauer and Arthur de Greef.

<sup>15</sup>María Nagore Ferrer, 'La Escuela Municipal de Música de Pamplona: una Institución Pionera en el Siglo XIX', *Príncipe de Viana* 67 (2006): 537–60. Fontestad ('El Conservatorio de Música de Valencia', 49–50) adds the music lessons offered by private schools, addressed originally to high-society female students.

<sup>16</sup>*Reglamento Interior Aprobado por el Rey N. S. (Q. D. G.) para el Gobierno Económico y Facultativo del Real Conservatorio de Música María Cristina* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1831). See also Marín Cos, 'L'Ensenyament del Piano a Barcelona', 58. The Conservatory of Madrid was initially conceived as a boarding school – although it also admitted external pupils – and therefore the children attended general education lessons, as well as their specific musical training: Beatriz Montes Arriba, 'Institucionalización de la Enseñanza Musical en España', *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* 74–5 (2009): 37–50; Sara Navarro Lalanda, 'Un Modelo de Política Musical en una Sociedad Liberal: María Cristina de Borbón-Dos Sicilias (1806–1878)' (PhD diss., Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2013).

<sup>17</sup>Paula García Martínez, 'El Piano en Barcelona', in *El Piano en España entre 1830 y 1920*, ed. José Antonio Gómez Rodríguez (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2015), 265–93.

<sup>18</sup>Fernando Delgado García, 'La Construcción del Sistema Nacional de Conservatorios en España (1892–1942)', *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana* 12 (2006): 109–34. Many of these early institutions have attracted the attention of researchers in recent years. Some examples are the studies concerning the Municipal School of Music in Pamplona (Nagore Ferrer, 'La Escuela Municipal de Música de Pamplona'), the Conservatory of Valencia and the music education institutions before its foundation (Fontestad, 'El Conservatorio de Música de Valencia'), and the chapters devoted to the piano teaching in Zaragoza, Asturias, Canarias, Santander, Galicia, the Basque Country and Valencia, included in *El Piano en España entre 1830 y 1920*, ed. José Antonio Gómez Rodríguez (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2015).

bass, flute, clarinet, singing, violin and piano.<sup>19</sup> Among the theoretical subjects, History of Music was commonly offered, although in many cases this offering did not go beyond a mere proposition for some years. For instance, the Conservatory of Valencia did not provide History of Music tuition until 1910.<sup>20</sup>

Regarding the legal dispositions focusing on the teaching of music, the main body comprises the regulations of the Madrid Conservatory.<sup>21</sup> From a national perspective, the advanced study of music was referred to under a fine arts section in the Act of Public Education (*Ley de instrucción pública*) in 1857, also known as the ‘Moyano Act’ after the minister who promoted it.<sup>22</sup> The 58th Article of this Act specifies the subjects required to obtain a degree in music composition: Melody, Counterpoint, Fugue, Orchestration, Church Music Composition, Dramatic Music Composition, Instrumental Composition, Critical History of Music, and Free Composition. In this same Act it was determined that a later ruling would set the requirements for instrumental practice and singing degrees, as determined by the Conservatory of Madrid. This later ruling should also contain details of fees, exams, diplomas and entry requirements. The ‘Moyano Act’ was in effect until the twentieth century, and can be considered a foundation for later regulations.<sup>23</sup> However, despite this regulation, to be applied throughout Spain, at the beginning of the twentieth century History of Music was taught at Barcelona’s Conservatory of Liceo but not at the other main institution of that city, the Municipal School of Music.<sup>24</sup>

In general, there were no other academic requirements for obtaining the respective diplomas offered by these Catalan institutions apart from attending the lessons and passing the exams. The entry requirements in other institutions, such as the Conservatory of Madrid, specified that candidates should be able to read and write.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, any musician could obtain a professional diploma without having finished regular schooling, and a significant number of the alumni, or student graduates, had little instruction in common subjects such as literature or maths. They were, as Pedrell would later describe them, ‘sol-fa workers’ (*obreros de la solfa*).<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Fontestad, ‘El Conservatorio de Música de Valencia’, 371.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 376.

<sup>21</sup>Apart from the above-mentioned *Reglamento Interior* (1831), there are the *Reglamento Orgánico del Conservatorio de Música y Declamación* (Madrid: Imprenta de Tejado, 1857) and the *Instrucciones para el Buen Desempeño de las Enseñanzas para el Régimen y Disciplina del Real Conservatorio de Música y Declamación* (Madrid: Imprenta de J. M. Ducazcal, 1861), among others (Nieves Hernández Romero, ‘Educación Musical y Proyección Laboral de las Mujeres en el Siglo XIX’).

<sup>22</sup>*Ley de Instrucción Pública* (Spain). Consolidated September 9, 1857, <https://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1857/1710/A00001-00003.pdf> (accessed March 20, 2019).

<sup>23</sup>Antonio Martín Moreno, ‘La Enseñanza Musical en España en el Siglo XIX: El “Curso Completo de Música” de la Escuela Normal de Zaragoza (1861) y la “Historia de la Música” de la Academia Santa Cecilia de Cádiz (1883)’, *Publicaciones 35* (2005): 75–108.

<sup>24</sup>André Lavignac, *La Educación Musical* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1920).

<sup>25</sup>*Reglamento Orgánico del Conservatorio de Música y Declamación*, 16. As late as 1949, the Rules of Barcelona’s Municipal School of Music stated only that candidates should be able to read, write and do operations with whole numbers (*Reglamento del Conservatorio Superior Municipal de Música de Barcelona*, 1949, 19). However, during the second half of the nineteenth century the entry requirements in the Madrid Conservatory ranged from the bare knowledge of reading and writing and the four arithmetic rules in 1868 (*Decreto Aprobando el Reglamento para la Escuela Nacional de Música*, Spain. Consolidated December 27, 1868, <https://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1868/362/A00003-00004.pdf>, accessed March 20, 2019) to the secondary education degree required of composition candidates in 1858, as seen in Figure 1 (*Reglamento Orgánico Provisional del Real Conservatorio de Música y Declamación* (Madrid: Imprenta Nacional, 1858), <http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000047365>, accessed November 21, 2019).

<sup>26</sup>Celsa Alonso, ‘Felip Pedrell y la Canción Culta con Acompañamiento en la España Decimonónica: La Difícil Convivencia de lo Popular y lo Culto’, *Recerca Musicològica* 11–12, no. 2 (1991), 318.

Art. 3.º Para ingresar en la carrera superior de composición y obtener título de Maestro, se requiere haber estudiado durante los seis años que previene el art. 27 de la ley de Instrucción pública, las materias siguientes :

Doctrina cristiana é Historia sagrada.

Gramática castellana y latina.

Elementos de Geografía.

Elementos de Historia universal y de la particular de España.

Elementos de Aritmética.

Retórica y Poética.

Lengua italiana.

Lengua francesa.

El aspirante acreditará estos estudios con los correspondientes certificados, y necesitará además ser aprobado en exámen de piano y acompañamiento, y armonía superior.

Art. 4.º Por derechos del título de Maestro compositor se abonarán 500 rs., según establece la ley de Instrucción pública.

Por certificado de estudios se abonará la cuarta parte.

#### ESTUDIOS DE APLICACION.

Art. 5.º Corresponden á estos estudios las enseñanzas siguientes :

Canto.

Declamacion.

Órgano.

Armonía elemental y superior.

Piano y acompañamiento elemental y superior.

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Figure 1. Entry requirements for Composition students, Conservatory of Madrid. Source: *Reglamento Orgánico Provisional del Real Conservatorio de Música y Declamación* (Madrid: Imprenta Nacional, 1858). Biblioteca Nacional de España, Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000047365> (accessed March 8, 2020).

## The ideological background supporting the intellectual musician

The concern regarding the lack of intellectual interest among musicians arose in Spain in the context of the cultural revolution associated with a group of intellectuals known as

the Generation of 98, as outlined by Casares.<sup>27</sup> Regenerationism was a cultural and aesthetic trend that had arisen by 1870 and maintained its presence in Spain over the following decades. Its global aim was the revitalisation of Spanish society in all its aspects and, more specifically, the renovation of education as a means to position Spain as a modern country.<sup>28</sup> The aspects defining Spanish Regenerationism have been listed by Mainer as 'The reform of the national character, the revitalisation of the primary forms of society against the falsification promoted by politics, the pedagogic will, the search for the true Spanish tradition'.<sup>29</sup> In an environment in which the Spanish intelligentsia was imbued with the spirit of Regenerationism, it is not surprising that this trend also extended to the regeneration of Spanish music. Within this, the instruction of musicians was viewed as an essential element that could trigger this regeneration.

The idea of a global and high-standard education for musicians was present in the thoughts and writings of one of the main renovators of the Spanish educational system, Francisco Giner de los Ríos. Influenced by the German Krausism, Giner de los Ríos advocated a general and deep education for artists, considering it the only way to guarantee profound artistic work. The artist should not be tempted by money, power or celebrity. On the contrary, his or her education should guarantee a pure nature, with enough substance to face any kind of material temptations.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, the artist's education, according to Krausism, should be not only cultural, but also moral. Krausism rejected those musicians considered mere technicians and empty virtuosi. The instruction desired by Giner de los Ríos for musicians included the acquisition of general culture, technical music training, and the knowledge of aesthetics and philosophy more generally.<sup>31</sup>

In 1878, Giner de los Ríos wrote in the newspaper *El Pueblo Español* a hard-hitting article criticising the teaching provided in the Conservatory of Madrid. In his article, he clearly expounded his views on the necessity of a cultural and aesthetic education for musicians, beyond the mere acquisition of technical skills: 'Will the artist be more valued when being ignorant, rude, illiterate and naked of ideas, and will we end up such that education and studies impoverish the spirit, depleting the boundaries of genius?'<sup>32</sup>

Giner de los Ríos put these ideals into practice at the Santa Cecilia Academy in Cádiz.<sup>33</sup> Some of the Academy's teachers were closely linked to Giner de los Ríos and his pedagogic preferences: for instance, Alfonso Moreno Espinosa, Romualdo Álvarez Espino, Salvador Arpa and José Alcolea. All of them wrote treatises and theoretical works on their fields of knowledge: history of music, aesthetics, acoustics and the history of the arts.<sup>34</sup> Giner de los Ríos referred to this institution in the aforementioned article, and posited it as a model for the Conservatory of Madrid:

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<sup>27</sup>Casares, 'Pedrell, Barbieri y la Restauración Musical Española'. See also García-Álvarez de la Villa, 'Regeneracionismo Musical en el Ateneo de Madrid', 451.

<sup>28</sup>Lichstentsztajn, 'El Regeneracionismo y la Dimensión Educadora'.

<sup>29</sup>José Carlos Mainer, *La Edad de Plata* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1983), 81.

<sup>30</sup>Leticia Sánchez de Andrés, 'Francisco Giner de los Ríos y la Formación de los Músicos Profesionales', *Revista de Musicología* 33, no. 1–2 (2010): 119–37.

<sup>31</sup>Sánchez de Andrés, 'Francisco Giner de los Ríos y la Formación'.

<sup>32</sup>Francisco Giner de los Ríos, 'Cartas Literarias', *El Pueblo Español*, October 8, 1878, 2.

<sup>33</sup>Martín Moreno, 'La Enseñanza Musical en España'; Sánchez de Andrés, 'Francisco Giner de los Ríos y la Formación'.

<sup>34</sup>Sánchez de Andrés, 'Francisco Giner de los Ríos y la Formación'.

It surely has not gone unnoticed through the zeal of the Director of our first musical institution [the Conservatory of Madrid] that he had been urged three or four years ago to create theoretical classes (of Universal History, Acoustics, Aesthetics and General History of Fine Arts), discreetly understanding the fatefulness of the general lack of culture of our artists – with very few exceptions.<sup>35</sup>

## The education of musicians in public institutions

A deep transformation in the organisation of the Conservatory in Madrid was carried out in 1901 when some theoretical subjects, such as History and Philosophy of Music, were finally included in the curriculum.<sup>36</sup> A few years later, the first specific law to regulate the curricula for music teaching was enacted, the *Real Decreto Aprobando el Reglamento para el Gobierno y Régimen del Real Conservatorio de Música y Declamación* (Royal Decree approving the Rules for government and system of the Royal Conservatory of Music and Drama), dated August 1917.<sup>37</sup> The Decree specifies the length of instrumental teaching in the Conservatory of Madrid, and the subjects to be studied by the instrumentalists: Sol-fa and Theory of Music, Harmony, Vocal and Instrumental Ensemble, the History of Music (especially Spanish) and Aesthetics, as well as performance of the instrument itself. Neither the need for a diploma of general education in order to obtain the diploma of the Conservatory, nor any minimum age requirements were included in the regulation. It only specifies that any applicant could start to study music if he/she had sufficient physical and intellectual capacity: 'it will be enough if the student shows, in the judgement of the Jury [of access], the necessary physical and intellectual development'.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, although some steps were taken towards offering a more complete education and training for musicians, it was still the case that a musician could obtain a diploma with poor academic skills, with some of the candidates barely able to read. The situation, even if better than that offered in the 'Moyano Act', was still far from the ideal of Krausism and the hopes of Pedrell.

In 1927, the Conservatory of Liceo in Barcelona, which already had a Chair of History of Music, created a Chair of Aesthetics. However, the Municipal School of Music in Barcelona lacked both of these.<sup>39</sup> Shortly after, in 1930, the pedagogue Mariano Perelló published a brief volume entitled *Nuestros Conservatorios de música. Lo que son y lo que deberían ser* (Our music conservatories. What they are and what they should be). Therein, Perelló analysed the situation of the Spanish music education institutions, specifically in Barcelona, focusing on their key strengths and weaknesses. In considering the curriculum, he suggested the inclusion of History and the Aesthetics of Music to be essential subjects.<sup>40</sup> However, it would not be until the advent of the Second Republic in 1931 that official rules for the integral formation of the musician could be found.

It was during the Second Republic that music, for the first time at an official level, acquired a presence in Spanish society and the education system. Some of the measures

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<sup>35</sup>Giner de los Ríos, 'Cartas Literarias', 2.

<sup>36</sup>Sánchez de Andrés, 'Francisco Giner de los Ríos y la Formación'.

<sup>37</sup>*Real Decreto Aprobando el Reglamento para el Gobierno y Régimen del Real Conservatorio de Música y Declamación* (Spain). Consolidated August 30, 1917, <https://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1917/242/A00545-00551.pdf> (accessed March 28, 2019).

<sup>38</sup>*Real Decreto* 1917, 549. Its Article 44 specified the entry requirements for music students as an exam consisting of reading, writing and basic mathematical operations (*Real Decreto* 1917, 549).

<sup>39</sup>Mariano Perelló, *Nuestros Conservatorios de Música. Lo que son y lo que Deberían ser* (Barcelona: Martí, Marí y C<sup>a</sup>, 1930).

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, 20–4.



adopted by the republican government were the inclusion of music as a compulsory subject in primary education, the creation of the *Comité de Misiones Pedagógicas* (Board of Pedagogic Missions) and the *Junta Nacional de Música* (National Board of Music).<sup>41</sup>

The National Board of Music was as an ambitious project, set up in 1931, aiming to raise awareness of Spanish traditional music; create and administer the *Escuelas Nacionales de Música* (National Schools of Music); initiate state-dependent orchestras and choirs; organise the *Concursos Nacionales de Música* (National Music Competitions); and take measures aimed to improve the social and professional situation of Spanish musicians.<sup>42</sup>

In the context of the general interest in education of the Republican government, a decree dated 15 September 1931 was issued, which regulated music schools in a more detailed way than the previous regulations.<sup>43</sup> This decree included the creation of the National Schools of Music, the institutions for professional musical training in public ownership. These National Schools included the High School of Music in Madrid, as well as a National School in each region. Regarding the general education of musicians, it was specified in the decree that '[students] will take the subjects whose content provide the musician with a general culture, essential to be placed in that neutral plane in which society estimates the total and undifferentiated capacity of the individual, regardless of their technical skills or their strictly professional talent'.<sup>44</sup> Here, a mention of the need for musicians to have a minimum level of general culture is found for the first time.

After the Civil War, in 1939, it was necessary to rebuild musical life and the music education institutions. This process was carried out in a traumatic way in many cases, through the purge of the former faculties originating in the Republican period.<sup>45</sup> Different regulations were issued to manage the process, such as the Decree of 15 June 1942<sup>46</sup> (completed by the Order of 14 March 1952<sup>47</sup>), which dictated rules for appointing teachers to a position at the conservatories. However, it was not until the Decree on the General Regulation of the Music Conservatories, dated 1966,<sup>48</sup> that there was a requirement, for the first time, for candidates to have reached a certain level of study (secondary education) in order to obtain the official diploma.

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<sup>41</sup>M. Belén López Casanova, 'La Política Educativo-musical en España durante la Segunda República', *Música y Educación* 50 (2002): 15–25.

<sup>42</sup>The decree establishing the National Board of Music (*Junta Nacional de Música*) stressed the importance of the 'national' music as a genuine expression of a nation's spirit and soul. The decree also mentioned the backwardness of the Spanish musical structures if compared with other 'countries in the avant-garde of social progress' (*Decreto* (Spain). Consolidated July 21, 1931, <https://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE//1931/203/A00637-00638.pdf>, 637–8, accessed March 28, 2019). The Board was composed of relevant musicians. Its President was composer Oscar Esplá, the Vice-President was also a composer, Amadeo Vives, and the members of the Board included Manuel de Falla, Conrado del Campo, Joaquín Turina, Ernesto Halffter and Bartolomé Pérez Casas, among others. The Board's Secretary was the musicologist Adolfo Salazar (*Decreto*, 1931, 638).

<sup>43</sup>*Decreto Disponiendo que las Funciones de la Junta Nacional de Música y Teatros Líricos se Desarrollarán con Arreglo al Programa que se Indica* (Spain). Consolidated September 16, 1931, <https://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE//1931/259/A01845-01847.pdf> (accessed March 29, 2019). An analysis of the main issues contained in the decree and its contexts is offered in López Casanova, 'La Política Educativo-musical'.

<sup>44</sup>*Decreto Disponiendo que las Funciones*, 1845.

<sup>45</sup>Igor Contreras Zubillaga, 'Un Ejemplo del Reajuste del Ámbito Musical bajo el Franquismo: la Depuración de los Profesores del Conservatorio Superior de Música de Madrid', *Revista de Musicología* 32, no. 1 (2009): 569–83.

<sup>46</sup>*Decreto de 15 de Junio de 1942 sobre Organización de los Conservatorios de Música y Declamación* (Spain). Consolidated July 4, 1942, <https://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE//1942/185/A04838-04840.pdf> (accessed March 28, 2019).

<sup>47</sup>*Decreto de 14 de Marzo de 1952 por el que se Separan las Enseñanzas de Música y Declamación de los Actuales Conservatorios* (Spain). Consolidated 1 April, 1952, <https://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE//1952/092/A01484-01485.pdf> (accessed March 29, 2019).

<sup>48</sup>*Decreto 2618/1966 de 10 de Septiembre de 1966, sobre Reglamentación General de los Conservatorios de Música* (Spain). Consolidated October 24, 1966, <https://www.boe.es/boe/dias/1966/10/24/pdfs/A13381-13387.pdf> (accessed March 28, 2019).

## Felipe Pedrell and the education of musicians

Although the influence of Giner de los Ríos in the educational context was huge, this 'regeneration' process in music was led by two composers and musicologists of the late nineteenth century, Francisco A. Barbieri and Felipe Pedrell, who aimed to improve what they called *el arreglo intelectual del músico* (the musician's intellectual arrangement).<sup>49</sup> Pedrell was closely linked to Regenerationism in this concern for the intellectual training of musicians, as shown by his writings of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>50</sup>

The model pursued by Pedrell and Barbieri is that of the Central European romantic musician, interested in literature and arts, and author of literary and critical texts demonstrating the proximity of music and poetry in the romantic ideology. A representative of this model was Robert Schumann, but also Franz Liszt who was better known among the Spanish public. Liszt, through his writings, has been considered as a paradigm of the musician-intellectual from the point of view of Barbieri and Pedrell.<sup>51</sup>

The first to initiate this musicological and intellectual process was Barbieri, although Pedrell achieved greater eminence among pianists. The ideology of Barbieri was based on the defence of Spanish culture against foreign influences, the study of history and aesthetics as a way to advance the acculturation of musicians, and knowledge of the Spanish history of music itself, in which composers were to find the models on which to build the new Spanish national music.<sup>52</sup>

The interests of Pedrell went far beyond the musicological grounding for a particular 'Spanish national music'. As stated by Montserrat Bergadà,<sup>53</sup> one of his most important activities was the fostering of musical culture and to this end he took into account not only the background of the public, but also that of performers.

Based on their concern regarding the musicians' lack of culture, Barbieri and Pedrell focused not only on composers, but also on a wider range of musicians, as the composers were the ones who had received a more complex and complete training. The comments on this lack of culture are profuse among the writings of Pedrell and Barbieri, as reflected in their correspondence.<sup>54</sup> For example, in a letter to Barbieri of 10 April 1887, Pedrell refers to Spanish musicians as 'lazy' and 'ignorant'.<sup>55</sup> On 3 April 1890, in a letter celebrating the release of Pedrell's *Cancionero musical de los siglos XV y XVI*, Pedrell made the following remark to Barbieri: 'I say bookstores and not music stores, because it will not be the musicians who buy it'.<sup>56</sup> Barbieri's answer alludes to the Spanish musicians insisting on their lack of interest in true art, in the following terms:

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<sup>49</sup>Casares, 'La Música del Siglo XIX Español'.

<sup>50</sup>Lichstentsztajn, 'El Regeneracionismo y la Dimensión Educadora'. Regarding the configuration of Pedrell's ideology, Álvarez Losada has argued that it was already clearly defined in his early writings, barely being modified in his later writings (Cristina Álvarez Losada, 'El Pensamiento Musical de Felipe Pedrell (1841–1922)' (PhD diss., Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2017)).

<sup>51</sup>Casares, 'Pedrell, Barbieri y la Restauración Musical Española'.

<sup>52</sup>Emilio Casares, 'La Música Española hasta 1939, o la Restauración Musical', in *España en la Música de Occidente*, ed. Emilio Casares, Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, and José López-Calo (Madrid: INAEM, 1987), 261–322.

<sup>53</sup>Montserrat Bergadà, 'Pedrell i els Pianistes Catalans a París', *Recerca Musicològica* 11–12, no. 2 (1991): 243–57.

<sup>54</sup>Francesc Bonastre, 'Documents Epistolars de Barbieri Adreçats a Felipe Pedrell', *Recerca Musicològica* 5 (1985): 131–77; M. Cruz Gómez-Elegido, 'La Correspondencia entre Felipe Pedrell y Francisco Asenjo Barbieri', *Recerca Musicològica* 4 (1984): 177–242.

<sup>55</sup>Gómez-Elegido, 'La Correspondencia entre Felipe Pedrell', 188.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, 218.

I applaud your noble literary and musical purpose, and I wish to see it accomplished, even though I believe that, with it, you will do benefit to Art, but not to musical artists, who are, in their immense majority, sol-fa workers who neither know nor want to know more than the purely mechanical part of Music.<sup>57</sup>

However, the attitude of Pedrell and Barbieri should not be considered as mere complaining. Their musicological works were oriented towards setting the basis for a modern school of musicology in Spain, at the same level as that which could be found in Central Europe, capable of disseminating Spanish musical heritage in Spain and abroad.<sup>58</sup>

This imprint was transmitted to some of the major musicians of his generation, Manuel de Falla, Enrique Granados, Ricardo Viñes and Adolfo Salazar among them, through Pedrell's courses and conferences. In 1892 and 1893 Pedrell gave special lectures at the Ateneo in Barcelona,<sup>59</sup> which had a great influence on some of his students, such as Enrique Granados, who felt deeply moved by them.<sup>60</sup> One of the most important places in which this dissemination took place was the Ateneo of Madrid. In his School of Higher Studies Pedrell offered, from 1895 onwards, courses and conferences attended by de Falla among other musicians.<sup>61</sup> The conferences were usually conceived as a lecture with live music passages, to which Pedrell invited students and young performers, and provided Pedrell with great prestige within specialised circles.<sup>62</sup> One year later, in 1896, Pedrell was appointed as Professor of History of Music in the School of Higher Studies at the Ateneo. From 1896 to 1903 he taught various courses there on the history and aesthetics of music, comprising approaches to traditional music, Wagner, and the essence of national music.<sup>63</sup> In 1900, Pedrell achieved the role of Professor of History and Aesthetics of Music at the National School of Music and Drama, which became his new academic forum from that date.<sup>64</sup> However, Pedrell left Madrid and moved back to Barcelona shortly after, leaving his position vacant in 1909; it remained so until 1921.<sup>65</sup>

## The early results: Granados, Viñes and Falla

Pedrell was acknowledged as master by a remarkable number of Spanish musicians during this period, including Albéniz, Granados and Nin, although there is no real evidence for considering other musicians as his pupils, as happened with Viñes or Lliurat.<sup>66</sup> Some of these musicians showed a new attitude towards arts, literature and

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid., 136.

<sup>58</sup>Casares, 'Pedrell, Barbieri y la Restauración Musical Española'.

<sup>59</sup>Josep Maria Gregori, 'Felip Pedrell i el Renaixement Musical Hispànic', *Recerca Musicològica* 11–12 (1991): 47–61.

<sup>60</sup>Bergadà, 'Pedrell i els Pianistes Catalans'.

<sup>61</sup>Jorge De Persia, *En Torno a lo Español en la Música del Siglo XX* (Granada: Diputación de Granada, 2003).

<sup>62</sup>Martínez Beltrán, 'Música Divulgata'. Pedrell's conferences in Madrid are also addressed by Cristina Álvarez Losada ('El Pensamiento Musical de Felip Pedrell (1841–1922)') and Beatriz García-Álvarez de la Villa ('Regeneracionismo Musical en el Ateneo de Madrid'). In her research, García-Álvarez de la Villa presents a list of the conferences and concerts offered in the Ateneo under Morphy's direction, including three conferences by Pedrell in 1894 and 1895, just at the beginning of the period studied by Martínez Beltrán.

<sup>63</sup>Francesc Bonastre, 'Felipe Pedrell', in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares, vol. 8 (Madrid: INAEM, 2001a), 548–59; Martínez Beltrán, 'Música Divulgata'.

<sup>64</sup>Gemma Salas Villar, 'La Enseñanza de la Historia de la Música en el Real Conservatorio Superior de Madrid', *Inter-American Music Review* 18, no. 1–2 (2008): 451–61.

<sup>65</sup>Salas Villar, 'La Enseñanza de la Historia de la Música', 454.

<sup>66</sup>Bergadà, 'Pedrell i els Pianistes Catalans'.

other cultural and intellectual events, as is the case with Manuel de Falla, Ricardo Viñes and Enrique Granados, thus reflecting the ideals of Regenerationism.

The example of Manuel de Falla was that of an exquisite and educated man, friend of intellectuals such as Emilio García Gómez, writers such as Federico García Lorca, and painters such as Zuloaga.<sup>67</sup> Ricardo Viñes is an example of a musician who acquired an encyclopaedic knowledge through his own endeavours. As was common among musicians of his time, Viñes left school at a very early age to devote his time exclusively to the study of music. However, his considerable natural intelligence and curiosity led him to study languages (English, German, Latin, Arabic and some Russian and Greek), write poetry, and study astronomy, mathematics, literature and many other disciplines including esotericism.<sup>68</sup>

Enrique Granados is another example of a musician guided by his intuition to diverse artistic contexts. Granados started his studies with Pedrell in 1884. These lessons took place for a short time and in a rather informal way, although Granados talked about the influence of Pedrell respectfully and considered Pedrell to be an influence on his own artistic thought.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, Granados took part in some of Pedrell's conferences in the Ateneo of Madrid by the end of the nineteenth century, playing the musical passages along with other musicians.<sup>70</sup> The following description of Granados's house, written by a contemporary, mixes the great names of the Catalan *Renaixença* with others belonging to Romanticism and Modernism, as well as the composers who constituted the basis of pianistic repertoire and Granados's inspiration:

I've gone to Granados's house. I've been listening to him playing music for three hours. Chopin, Schumann, Mendelssohn. Years later, I've grouped names, and I've understood better: Apeles [Mestres], Schumann, María de Jorge Isaacs [sic], Schubert, the gothic suggestions of Victor Hugo and, reproduced to an endless degree, Chopin, Vidiella, Bartrina, Sorrilla, Guimerà and the father of all them, Rousseau.<sup>71</sup>

This quotation also reveals the cultural heritage present in his works, as well as the aesthetic and pedagogic ideology of the composer. In this sense, although the influence of

Pedrell over Granados has been seen for the most part in the light of Granados's compositional style, it is also present in his pedagogic experience, as will be explained.<sup>72</sup>

The general education of Spanish musicians continued to improve throughout the twentieth century, and some of them, such as Julio Gómez or Joaquín Turina, engaged in literary criticism.<sup>73</sup> Others, for example Joaquín Nin or Conrado del Campo, wrote in the specialised press. No doubt these personalities represent very few of the Spanish musicians of the time, but they are also an indication that the situation was beginning to change.

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<sup>67</sup>De Falla, *Escritos sobre Música y Músicos*.

<sup>68</sup>Nina Gubisch-Viñes, 'Ricard Viñes, l'Home de les cent Cares', in *Ricard Viñes. El Pianista de les Avantguardes*, ed. Màrius Bernadó (Lleida: Institut Municipal d'Acció Cultural de Lleida, 2007), 44–55.

<sup>69</sup>Carol A. Hess, 'Granados y el Contexto Pedrelliano', *Recerca Musicològica* 14–15 (2004): 47–56. The photograph in Figure 2, dedicated to Pedrell, is an example of this esteem.

<sup>70</sup>García-Álvarez de la Villa, 'Regeneracionismo Musical en el Ateneo de Madrid', 484–5.

<sup>71</sup>Amadeu Vives, 'N'Enric Granados i l'Edat d'Or. Evocació', *Revista Musical Catalana* 13 (1916): 177.

<sup>72</sup>Hess, 'Granados y el Contexto Pedrelliano'; Miriam Perandones Lozano, 'Revisión Bibliográfica y Compositiva de la Etapa Madrileña de Enrique Granados (1894–5) a través del Epistolario Familiar y de su Relación con Pedrell', *Inter-American Music Review* 18, no. 1–2 (2008): 323–35.

<sup>73</sup>Tomás Marco, *Siglo XX*, vol. 6 of *Historia de la Música Española* (Madrid: Alianza, 1983).



Figure 2. Photograph of Enrique Granados, with a dedication to Felipe Pedrell, 1895.

Source: Arxiu del Museu de la Música de Barcelona, Fons Enric Granados, <http://hdl.handle.net/10970/media/0186ad4f-92e2-c12d-3ffe-121fbc0cc206.jpg> (accessed 7 April 2020).

### Music teaching in private and public institutions at the turn of the century

The poor academic reputation of Spanish conservatories in the decades described has become a topic of interest among researchers. In the words of Emilio Casares, the Conservatory of Madrid, the first to be founded, was born 'deceased, without any institutional help, without goals and without direction'.<sup>74</sup> Thereafter, many private music academies were established in Spain during the first decades of the twentieth century. By the end of the nineteenth century, 22 music teachers, as well as 31 piano teachers, were to be found in Barcelona. Regarding the academies, in 1901 15 music academies were counted by Mariano Perelló in the same city, along with five sol-fa academies and 11 piano academies.<sup>75</sup>

These academies blossomed thanks to the frequently unfortunate situation of the official conservatories.<sup>76</sup> Perelló describes as an example the situation of the teachers of the Conservatory of Liceo and the Municipal School of Music:

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<sup>74</sup>Casares, 'Pedrell, Barbieri y la Restauración Musical Española', 261.

<sup>75</sup>Marín Cos, 'L'Ensenyament del Piano a Barcelona', 146–58. See also García Martínez, 'El Piano en Barcelona', 269.

<sup>76</sup>Perelló, *Nuestros Conservatorios de Música*.

Teachers, as in most private academies, receive a fixed amount per student, but they have the obligation to admit into their classes, free of charge, up to ten percent of the students enrolled in the Conservatory. That is, those who lack the resources to pay the corresponding fee. As the monthly payments are extremely small . . . they have to accept a considerable number of students. There are teachers who, in two hours, give twelve and fourteen lessons. Therefore, the success and even the very existence of the Conservatory depend on attracting the greatest number of enrolments. This situation means that there has not been established any age limit for entry, nor has it ever been thought to impose an admission exam for the applicants.<sup>77</sup>

His contemporary Enric Morera described the Municipal School of Music in Barcelona in harsher terms:

The Municipal School of Music has been directed for 34 years by Nicolau.

Everyone will think that, after so many years, in Catalonia, Barcelona, or at the already mentioned school, there is an undoubted artistic feeling. But, after so many years, we find ourselves like the first day, that same day when Saint-Saëns said, after visiting the old School, that it was a 'factory of musicians'.

And, from a School of the category of the Municipality of Barcelona, where there are some veritable artists among their teaching staff, there must exist something more than mere masons. And, if any artist exists, it has not been thanks to the work or the initiative of its director, but to that of the teachers who, even when they find the icy indifference of Nicolau, show their strength in their courage and their love for the School.<sup>78</sup>

Similar circumstances prevailed in other public institutions, such as the Municipal School of Music in Pamplona, or the public music schools in Valencia.<sup>79</sup> Teachers' salaries were low compared with other professions, and in many cases these schools lacked facilities or institutional support.<sup>80</sup>

This situation was one of the reasons explaining the rising number of unofficial students sitting the exams in the Conservatory of Madrid. Between 1891 and 1904, the number of unofficial students in this institution exceeded the number of official students.<sup>81</sup> In many cases, the same teachers in academies also taught private lessons as a way of improving their economic situation.<sup>82</sup> It has also been argued that the piano training in these academies was better than that provided in public conservatories, with more musicians further developing a professional career.<sup>83</sup>

It is noteworthy that one of the purposes of the public music institutions was to offer a professional career to economically disadvantaged young students. This was one of the aims of the Conservatory of Madrid, and it can be found also among the aims of other institutions, such as the Municipal Music School in Pamplona. Therefore, public institutions had to admit a minimum number of impoverished children, who attended the lessons free, as described by Perelló. This social commitment helped some of the public

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<sup>77</sup>Ibid., 8–9.

<sup>78</sup>Enric Morera, *Moments Viscuts (Autobiografia)* (Barcelona: Gráficas Barcelona, 1936), 78–9.

<sup>79</sup>Nagore Ferrer, 'La Escuela Municipal de Música de Pamplona', 547; Fontestad, 'El Conservatorio de Música de Valencia', 74.

<sup>80</sup>Begoña Gimeno Arlanzón, 'El Piano en Zaragoza entre 1830 y 1920', in *El Piano en España entre 1830 y 1920*, ed. José Antonio Gómez Rodríguez (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2015), 143–67.

<sup>81</sup>Delgado, 'La Construcción del Sistema Nacional de Conservatorios', 119.

<sup>82</sup>Marín Cos, 'L'Ensenyament del Piano a Barcelona', 127.

<sup>83</sup>Gimeno Arlanzón, 'El Piano en Zaragoza', 167.

music schools or conservatories to survive, but at the same time forced the necessity for teachers to admit as many students as possible in order to increase their salaries.<sup>84</sup>

Private music lessons became also a principal setting for music training. The boundaries between the academies and private lessons at the teacher's or the student's home were not always clear, because on many occasions these institutions were considered by their staff as part of their own private tuition facilities.<sup>85</sup> Some of the teachers at the Granados Academy shared this double role, as shown in their press advertisements.<sup>86</sup>

Some of these academies were led in Barcelona by notable musicians, such as the Belgian Jacques Ainaud or the French pianist Blanche Selva. Other academies were supported by charity or Catholic institutions, as was the case of the Escola Sant Jaume or the Music Academy of the Regional Charity House.<sup>87</sup> Although, for the most part, the academies placed special focus on teaching the instrument of their director, they were also open to other instruments and subjects, as was the case with the Ainaud Academy. Enrique Granados founded his own academy in 1901 and in 1906 Mathieu Crickboom created the *Academia de la Sociedad Catalana de Conciertos* (Academy of the Catalan Society for Concerts) in Barcelona aimed at teaching the violin. The same model was followed by the *Institut Musical Ardèvol* (Ardèvol Musical Institute). Finally, Blanche Selva created the Barcelona Academy in 1931 and the *Centre de Estudis Musicals Blanca Selva* (Centre for Music Studies Blanca Selva) in 1934.<sup>88</sup>

### Materialisation of an ideal: the Academia Granados

Granados created his academy through financial necessity. As a composer and pianist he had a well-deserved reputation, but his income was not enough to support his large family, hence from a young age he had to dedicate himself to teaching, first at the Ainaud Academy (where he met some great musicians of his time such as Pau Casals), and later in his own institution. The academy, which was supported financially by pupil enrolments and some private donors, specialised in piano teaching, although violin, harp, singing and other instrumental specialities were also taught, as well as the relevant lessons of sol-fa, theory of music, chamber music, and so on. The instrumental tuition and theoretical subjects diverged and evolved through the academy's life. An early advertisement in the press in 1904 only specified: 'Course opening on October 1, 1904. Advanced piano lessons. Initial levels, taught by the teachers of the Academy, under the supervision and direction of E. Granados.'<sup>89</sup> Some years later, similar advertisements were richer in details: 'Academia Granados. Introduction to the musical official doctorate in Paris. Tuition of initial and advanced piano courses, harmony, sol-fa, history of music, violin, cello, ensemble and eurhythmics. Private lessons.'<sup>90</sup> The academy soon acquired great prestige within the

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<sup>84</sup>Fontestad, 'El Conservatorio de Música de Valencia', 80; Nagore Ferrer, 'La Escuela Municipal de Música de Pamplona', 545.

<sup>85</sup>Marín Cos, 'L'Ensenyament del Piano a Barcelona', 154.

<sup>86</sup>Frank Marshall advertised his private lessons at the same time as highlighting his position as vice-director of the Academy (*La Vanguardia*, October 10, 1915, 2). Mariano Perelló was often advertised as violin teacher at the academy and private teacher (*La Vanguardia*, September 19, 1912, 1). Even more blatantly, the cellist José Rabentós announced his private lessons adding: 'Course opening on October 1, Granados Academy' (*La Vanguardia*, October 1, 1910, 1).

<sup>87</sup>García Martínez, 'El Piano en Barcelona', 269.

<sup>88</sup>Xosé Aviñoa, *Del Modernisme a la Guerra Civil (1900–1939)*, vol. 4 of *Historia de la Música Catalana, Valenciana y Balear* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1999); García Martínez, 'El Piano en Barcelona'; Pagés, *Academia Granados-Marshall*.

<sup>89</sup>*La Vanguardia*, August 21, 1904, 1.

<sup>90</sup>*La Vanguardia*, October 1, 1911, 3.

higher society of Barcelona, thanks to the fame of Granados and the quality of the pianists who studied there.<sup>91</sup> From a technical point of view, the piano teaching at the academy was also distinguished by Granados's heritage. As a student of Juan Bautista Pujol, Granados made wide use of Pujol's treatise *Nuevo mecanismo del piano*, which consisted mainly in exercises aiming to develop technical skills and the use of the pedals.<sup>92</sup> Granados himself wrote some treatises on piano technique, focusing on the use of the pedal and the legato technique. However, in his piano lessons he drew mostly on his teacher in Paris, Claude de Bèriot, and his treatise *Mécanisme et style*, which he recommended to his students.<sup>93</sup> The imprint of Bèriot on Granados led him to divide his lessons at the academy into two branches, mechanism and style, following the model proposed by Bèriot in his work.<sup>94</sup>

From its inception, the academy took two complementary approaches, which somehow defined the orientation of the lessons taught, as stated in its *Reglament* (Rules), from 1910, as may be read in [Figure 3](#).<sup>95</sup> On the one hand, it aimed to train students as both performers and audience, with the goal of creating the musical culture of the future. On the other hand, it encouraged the holding of artistic sessions, thus helping to develop musical sensitivity and to increase the culture of young musicians. This second objective is crucial to Granados's pedagogy: his interest in training musicians who were not only mere instrumentalists but also artists in the broadest sense of the word. This required improving their training in various ways: musical, literary, artistic and aesthetic.

This broad vision of musical education was materialised through the concerts, courses and conferences taking place at the academy. The concerts, or *sesiones* as they were called, focused on the performance of a renowned musician, or on monographic programmes about a particular composer. As an example, on 11 May 1904 a concert was dedicated to Schumann, when different chamber music works by the German composer were performed. It was followed by concerts dedicated to Edvard Grieg, G. F. Handel and J. S. Bach, in which other instrumentalists, apart from pianists, took part. In the concert devoted to Handel, for instance, the summoned musicians were violin students: 'A Haendel [*sic*] session was held in the Granados Academy, in which the violin students directed by D. Enrique Ainaud pleased the Academy'.<sup>96</sup> The opening of the new academy's concert hall, the Sala Granados, in 1912, helped Granados to widen his presence within the cultural life in Barcelona. The venue was funded by Granados's sponsor Dr Andreu, and was inaugurated through a concert performed by Granados and Federico Longás.<sup>97</sup> From there on, Granados could promote actions such as the fundraising for a statue to honour Isaac Albéniz,<sup>98</sup> and it served as the stage on which their students, such as the singer Conchita Badía, consolidated their artistic career.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>91</sup>García Martínez, 'El Piano en Barcelona', 273.

<sup>92</sup>Juan Bautista Pujol, *Nuevo Mecanismo del Piano* (Barcelona: Juan Bta. Pujol, 1895); Alejandra Pacheco, 'La Pedagogía Pianística de Juan Bautista Pujol y su Lugar en la Formación de la Escuela Pianística Catalana', in *El Piano en España entre 1830 y 1920*, ed. José Antonio Gómez Rodríguez (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2015), 313–25.

<sup>93</sup>Pacheco-Costa, 'Los Conceptos Pianísticos y Pedagógicos'.

<sup>94</sup>Alejandra Pacheco-Costa, 'La Idea de Mecanismo y Estilo en la Pedagogía de Granados', *Música y Educación* 82 (2010): 54–65.

<sup>95</sup>*Reglament i Pla d'Estudis de l'Acadèmia Granados* (Barcelona, 1910). Arxiu del Museu de la Música de Barcelona, sign. AMDMB R19287.

<sup>96</sup>*La Vanguardia*, April 26, 1906, 2.

<sup>97</sup>*La Vanguardia*, February 1, 1912, 5.

<sup>98</sup>Concert Hall of the Granados Academy. Tibidabo Av., 18. Sunday, March 24, 4.30 pm. First concert of the series devoted to fund the Isaac Albéniz monument' (*La Vanguardia*, March 24, 1912, 7).

<sup>99</sup>As an example, Conchita Badía and Granados himself performed the concert opening the hall in 1915 (*Programa del Primer Concert de la Sèrie de Primavera a la Sala de Concerts de l'Acadèmia Granados* (Barcelona, 1915). Arxiu del Museu de la Música de Barcelona, sign. AMDMB R19041.



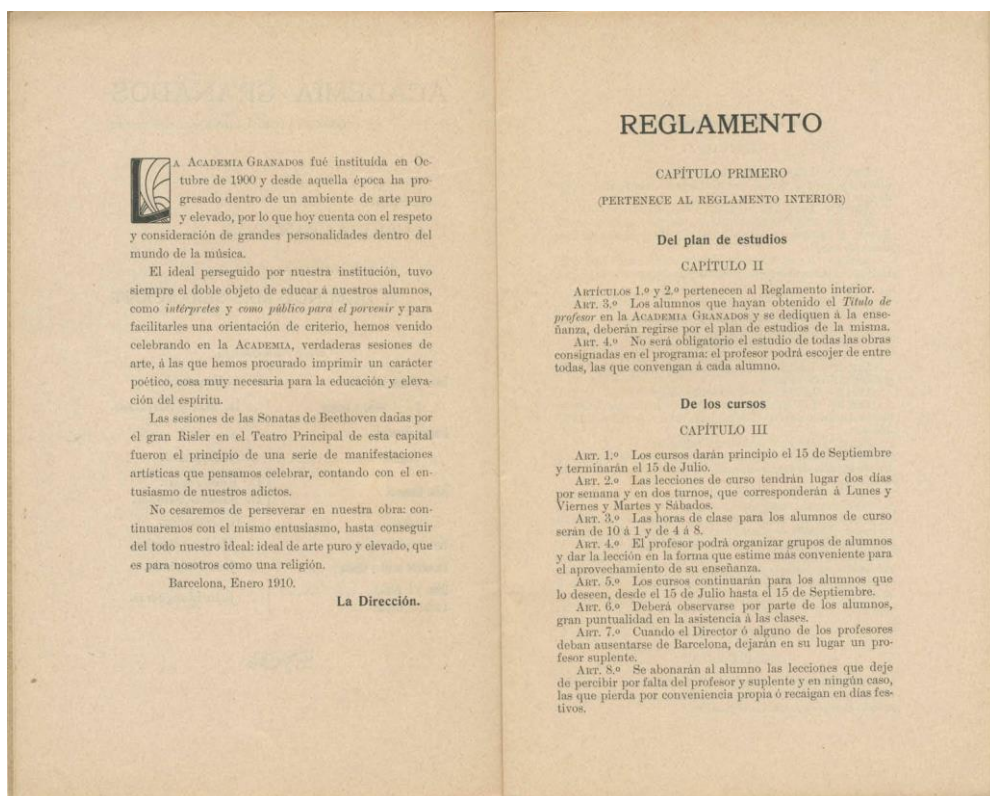


Figure 3. Academia Granados, *Reglamento y Plan de Estudios*, 4–5.

Source: Arxiu del Museu de la Música de Barcelona (sign. AMDMB R-19287).

One of the most celebrated of these concerts, put on by the academy and the Barcelona musical society, was the performance by the French pianist Edouard Risler of Beethoven's piano sonatas in a series of three concerts at the Principal Theatre in Barcelona in 1907. The press proudly heralded this series:

As we said, the honourable campaign has been undertaken by maestro Granados who, anxious that the series had all the features of an extraordinary solemnity, has called an undisputed performer: the conscientious and exquisite pianist Eduardo Risler. The stages of this memorable cycle will constitute an epoch among the musical performances of our city.<sup>100</sup>

As for the conferences, they dealt with the most diverse topics related to music, and were often complemented by recitals related to the theme of the conference, following the model put into practice by Pedrell in the Ateneo of Madrid some years earlier, in which Granados played the music passages on some occasions. For instance, the conference by Rafael Doménech *El Ideal y sus elementos de expresión* (The ideal and its expressive elements) was supported by the performance of piano works by Beethoven, Grieg,

<sup>100</sup>*La Vanguardia*, May 2, 1907, 9. The press reports on this series were frequent and laudatory, such as the announcement of the whole cycle (*La Vanguardia*, April 29, 1907, 5).

Schumann, Chopin and Franck. Sometimes the speaker was Granados and sometimes Pedrell himself, who joined the academy in 1905, as the press announced proudly:

Since October 1, the Granados Academy will incorporate two artistic personalities so famous as D. Felipe Pedrell and D. Domingo Mas y Serracant. The eminent master Pedrell will offer in this Academy a series of conferences about the origin and evolution of the musical forms, illustrated by music auditions. From that date, the new class of History and Aesthetics of Music will be inaugurated, taught by the famous professor F. Alfredo G. Faria.<sup>101</sup>

Some other concerts were conceived as literary sessions, where poetry and music were combined with the specific aim of disseminating the poetic link between music and literature.<sup>102</sup> In 1904, these literary sessions consisted of a singular series, where music by Chopin, Schubert, Schumann and Spohr, among others, was performed, both at the Wagnerian Association and at the academy itself.<sup>103</sup> Granados was planning further conferences on arts and literature until his death in 1916, as explained by Frank Marshall in an interview for the newspaper *El Poble Català*.<sup>104</sup>

These activities were maintained until the sudden death of Granados in 1916. Following his death, the academy was directed by one of his students, Frank Marshall, who had formerly been deputy director of the centre. Marshall picked up the baton from Granados on the advice of Pedrell,<sup>105</sup> and directed the academy until his death in 1959. The aim of Marshall was to perpetuate the legacy left by Granados:

Everything continues as before, owing to the formidable imprint that the Master left on us when he left for such a long journey. It seems that we are waiting for him, and, meanwhile, his doctrine is as effective as his presence. For this reason we, his humble apostles, go on practising and disseminating it with the most holy devotion.<sup>106</sup>

In the meantime, Pedrell also acted as mentor to the institution. A consequence of his involvement in the cultural life of the academy was the journal *Musiciàna*. Conceived as a periodical publication, issued twice per month, Pedrell published his work *Origen y transformaciones de las formas pianísticas* (Origin and transformations of piano forms) there after his conferences in the academy.<sup>107</sup> Only nine editions of the journal were released, in 1916 and 1917, one of them being displayed in [Figure 4](#).<sup>108</sup>

The survival of the academy after Granados's death was a matter of great concern among Barcelona's musical society, and the academy itself made a big effort, announcing

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<sup>101</sup>*La Vanguardia*, September 25, 1905, 2.

<sup>102</sup>This Association [Wagnerian Association], loyal to its aim of popularising the works of great musicians, analysing them and extracting their poetic spirit, hosted yesterday a concert and study of Beethoven's *Sonata in C Major* (op. 53), and Bach's *Sarabande*, *Chromatic Fantasy* and *Fugue*. The analytic study of the pieces mentioned was in charge of masters Antonio Ribera and Enrique Granados, and their performance at the piano was carried out by Granados' (*La Vanguardia*, May 2, 1902, 3).

<sup>103</sup>*La Vanguardia*, February 19, 1904, 2–3; June 11, 1904, 5.

<sup>104</sup>Orpheus, 'Parlant amb el Subdirector de l'Acadèmia Granados, En Frank Marshall', *El Poble Català*, April 20, 1916, 2.

<sup>105</sup>Antonio Fernández-Cid, *Granados* (Madrid: Samarán, 1956).

<sup>106</sup>Orpheus, 'Parlant amb el Subdirector de l'Acadèmia Granados', 2. As an example of the subjects taught at the academy shortly after Granados's death, an advertisement dated 1925 announces piano lessons, as well as sol-fa, Music Theory, Harmony, Counterpoint, Fugue, Composition, Instrumentation, Musical Forms, Analysis, History of Music, Chamber Music, History of Art, and Harpsichord lessons aimed to study Ancient Music (*Lyceum*, 1925).

<sup>107</sup>Pagès, *Acadèmia Granados-Marshall*.

<sup>108</sup>Álvarez Losada, 'El Pensamiento Musical de Felip Pedrell', 391–2.

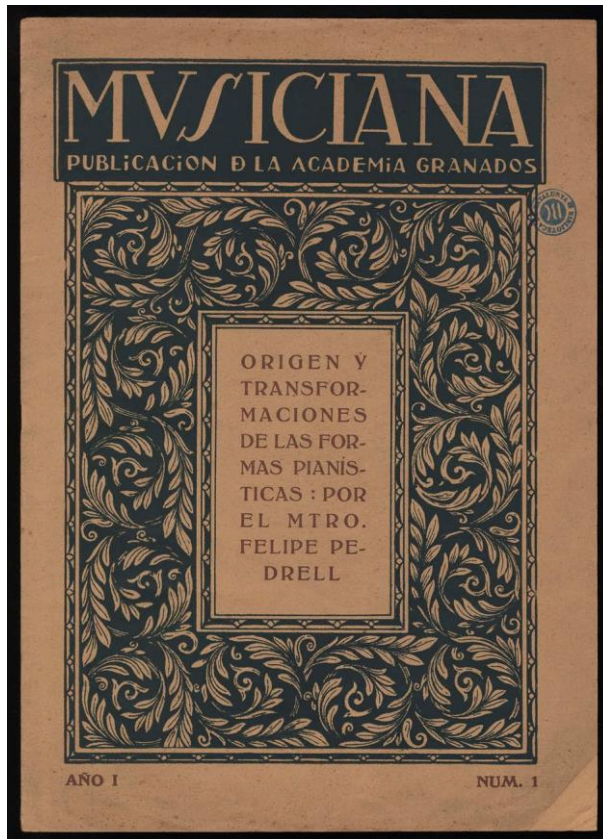


Figure 4. Felipe Pedrell, 'Origen y transformaciones de las formas pianísticas', *Musiciana* 1. Source: Biblioteca de Catalunya (sign. BNC S-Fol-1496).

the continuity of Granados's legacy. The press articles reporting the end of the first academic year after his death may well be considered as propaganda with this aim:

The Granados Academy has closed the 1915–16 academic year, and it has made it so brilliantly that we feel the re-birth inside us of the hopes that vanished with the loss of the brilliant director of this Academy. Master Granados left among his heirs good sap and a tough boost, and after the first moments of bewilderment, the reaction has come, and the serenity, felt by one or the other, united by the strong ties of love and duty, has set everyone to work with an eagerness worthy of the task.<sup>109</sup>

Marshall, being also a man of vast culture, maintained the imprint of Granados regarding the cultural activities of the academy. Instrumental teaching was complemented by the study of musical forms, the history of music, and the history of the arts. Marshall had a close friendship with Manuel de Falla, Ricardo Viñes and Joaquín Turina, but also with other European musicians, such as Wanda Landowska, Emil von Sauer and Alfred Cortot among others, who often played and taught at the Academy.<sup>110</sup> In 1931, Marshall founded the Barcelona branch of the *Asociación de Cultura Musical* (Association for

<sup>109</sup>*La Vanguardia*, August 4, 1916, 4.

<sup>110</sup>Pacheco-Costa, 'Los Conceptos Pianísticos y Pedagógicos'.

Musical Culture), popularly known as 'the Cultural'. The association played a significant role in the musical and cultural life of Barcelona before the Civil War, promoting concerts by performers such as Wanda Landowska, Andrés Segovia, Claudio Arrau, Jasha Heifetz, Arthur Rubinstein, José Iturbi, Igor Markevitch and many others. Many of them also visited the academy and took part in its academic life.<sup>111</sup>

These activities ceased during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) but resumed shortly after the war's end. The difficulties in the early 1940s were many, but Marshall was still able to summon performers such as Arturo Benedetti-Michelangeli, Walter Gieseking and Wilhelm Backhaus.<sup>112</sup> Despite the growing presence of some of the most outstanding musicians of that time (Alicia de Larrocha, a pupil of Marshall, among them), the relevance and quality of this second period of the Association could never rival that of the period before the Civil War. During these post-war years, the academy was the meeting point for a number of composers and performers: Federico Mompou, Xavier Montsalvatge, Eduard Toldrà, Rosa Sabater, Victoria de los Ángeles and others, who contributed to the maintenance of the prestige of the academy.

Teresa Cabarrús, Frank Marshall's wife, held literary sessions, musical events, conferences and so on in the academy.<sup>113</sup> From an aristocratic family, Cabarrús left her mark on the academy's life thanks to her extensive cultural knowledge and strong personality. She also directed a series of *Cursos de Instrucción Literaria y Declamación* (Courses of Literary Instruction and Recitation) that included the study of literature from Ancient Greece to the twentieth century, notions of linguistics, rhetoric and theory of literature, literary creation, and performances by the students (mainly female) of dramatic plays of various genres and from different eras. Taught over three years, these courses sought 'to facilitate an artistic-literary culture and to provide the technical elements to speak and write with all correctness and good taste'.<sup>114</sup>

## Conclusions

Amidst the complex and diverse panorama of music and piano teaching in Spain in the first decades of the twentieth century, the nature of teaching provided at the Granados Academy may be seen as a rare exception. The activities carried out at the Granados Academy (and Marshall Academy), under the leadership of both its founder and his successor, Frank Marshall, showed an educational spirit strongly influenced by the ideas of previous generations, with Barbieri and Pedrell at the forefront. Both Marshall and Granados shared the ideal of a musician far beyond the mere technician, and aimed to imbue musical performance with the spirit of truly artistic mastery. This artistry could only be fully appreciated by a public sharing this same ideal. For this reason, the cultural programme of the academy was addressed not only to the musicians but also to the general public. As shown in the current research, the academy could be considered as a forum where the ideals set up by Pedrell were translated into reality. During Granados' leadership at the academy, this task was carried out following Pedrell's

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<sup>111</sup>Ibid.

<sup>112</sup>*Ritmo* 217, 1949, 11.

<sup>113</sup>Alejandra Pacheco-Costa, 'Teresa Cabarrús: una Iniciativa para la Formación Artística en la Academia Marshall de Barcelona', in *Desde Andalucía: Mujeres del Mediterráneo*, ed. Mercedes Arriaga (Seville: Arcibel, 2006), 366–72.

<sup>114</sup>*Cursos de Instrucción Literaria y Declamación* (Barcelona, n.d.). Archivo de la Academia Marshall, sign. AAM A-1-1.

model of lecture-recital at the Ateneo of Madrid. Pedrell's series of conferences at the academy, but also the lectures by other musicologists, frequently included music passages played by teachers and students of the academy.

The long period of Marshall's directorship (from 1916 to his death in 1959), the powerful personality of his wife and his strong links with a wide range of musicians undoubtedly contributed to the academy holding a premium position in Catalan musical and cultural life.

As a result, the concept of culture and intellectual life supported in the academy surpassed the kind of music education that any official institution, such as the Conservatory of Liceo or the Municipal School of Music, could offer. Moreover, the academy differed from other private institutions of its time, conceived as an extension of their teaching staff's private lessons. Granados's aims at the academy, more focused on the intellectual training of musicians and the public, were innovative when compared with many of his contemporaries. It was only in the fullness of time and as a result of successive regulations that the formal training of musicians became established, thus allowing Spanish musicians to have a complete education that dignified their role in society and enriched them as artists. Although, in a global sense, the general culture of musicians was ultimately attained, the spiritual dimension of both Pedrell and Granados had been lost, and the aesthetic education of the public, as conceived by Granados, was not matched.

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