

Between the Private Salon and Artistic Life

La Escuela de Música para Señoritas in Granada

at the End of the 19th Century

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On 5 October 1890, two female pianists from Granada performed at the new venue of the *Cámara de comercio e industria* (Chamber of Commerce and Industry) of Granada, the economic hub of the city, on the inauguration of its School of Commerce. The event was attended by the city's main political, cultural, and economic figures. The inauguration represented²:

Una verdadera solemnidad para la Cámara, y el acto tenía que revestir precisamente, todo el brillo y suntuosidad posible. Desde el más acaudalado banquero al industrial de menos elemento, todo el que algo tiene en esta ciudad de comerciante, veíase anteanoche en el antiguo local del Círculo³.

Endowing the occasion with solemnity required nuances that would distinguish it from other events. This distinction, in this case, was achieved through the musical performance of Laura López Ontiveros and Pilar Iglesias de la O. Laura López Ontiveros was a well-known pianist in the city who was on a scholarship

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². EL POPULAR 1890.

³. «A true solemnity for the Chamber was required, and the event had to be adorned with all the brilliance and opulence possible. From the wealthiest banker to the least prominent industrialist, everyone who had any standing in this merchant city could be seen the night before last in the old venue of the Círculo». EL DEFENSOR 1890.

from the Provincial Council of Granada to study at the Conservatory of Madrid, while Pilar Iglesias was a promising young talent who would soon become one of the city's most renowned piano teachers. Local newspapers reported on the event, mentioning the gentlemen who intervened with speeches and dedicating several lines to detail some of the works performed in the first part of the musical programme. Undoubtedly, knowing who took part and attended an event of this significance was a matter of interest for readers. But it was also important to understand what other elements lent distinction to an event in which music, and specifically female performers, played a fundamental role.

The evenings and events organised in the salons of cultural associations, societies, and economic-social entities provided new public or semi-public spaces that allowed women to attend as an audience and even to perform musically. These practices were heirs to the so-called salon culture of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, characteristic of the old aristocracy and noble sectors⁴. The new bourgeoisie, from the early decades of the 19th century, developed their own strategies to establish new networks and consolidate themselves within this emerging public sphere. Music was undoubtedly one of the mechanisms to ensure greater social visibility, whether through the so-called ornamental education of young women from families⁵, or through the organisation and participation in concerts and evenings, both in their own homes and in the nascent cultural associations and societies⁶.

In general, social and cultural historiography has not addressed this type of musical participation within civic-social events, particularly when carried out by female performers, who have often been mentioned only anecdotally as one more element of the evening. Overlooking the role of women in these evenings offers a partial view of the musical, social, and cultural history of late 19th-century Granada. Thus, is essential to explore the social and cultural context and conditions that encouraged the presence of female performers in a medium-sized city like Granada, during decades of significant change for women, as they sought to claim public

⁴. ALONSO 1993, p.10.

⁵. The new mercantile bourgeoisie required various strategies not only to climb the social ladder, but also to establish and strengthen networks with similar families and business partners. As Ricardo Franch points out, one of the primary mechanisms at the end of the 18th century was marriage, to preserve or integrate family wealth. See FRANCH 2008.

⁶. Many of the societies and associations we study restricted membership or had a distinctly ideological bent, so they should not be understood as fully public spaces. As noted by CRUZ 2017, the public sphere comprises a variety of public spaces. The incorporation of Habermas's model provides an analytical framework that allows these elements to come together for an integrated perspective.

space and secure civic rights, to gain a more nuanced understanding of the musical life of these decades.

To achieve this objective, I ask: were their performances and public appearances frequent? Where and how were they trained? Were they professional performers? What type of repertoires did they perform, and how did this influence the city's musical and cultural atmosphere? And regarding their socio-economic status, did they enjoy social acceptance and recognition? What impact did their presence have on the broader process of women's emancipation and their efforts to claim public space?

To address some of these questions, this text analyses the unconventional spaces that were public or semi-public, beyond theatres and concert halls, where many of these women carried out much of their musical activity, as well as the type of repertoire performed. The study of the musical and cultural life of small and medium-sized cities, as well as of unconventional spaces that typically hosted musical activities — such as the salons of cultural associations and societies, gardens, casinos, and monumental spaces — is essential for gaining a deeper understanding of the socio-cultural dynamics of the time. This includes examining musical flows, receptions and assimilations, contributions, and the peculiarities of places distant from the so-called cultural centres, as well as the incorporation of new musical agents, particularly women. This is why analysing these spaces is as relevant as studying the large urban centres and musical activities in conventional spaces that have occupied a central place in traditional musical historiography.

Based on the theoretical and methodological frameworks of cultural studies, microhistory, and gender musical historiography, this research aims to uncover the new civic spaces that women could access to obtain a solid musical education and the venues where they showcased their musical knowledge and skills, during decades of great importance for the institutionalisation of musical training and music profession in Spain. This methodology allows for a thorough analysis of the available sources and approaches the object of study with greater complexity, enabling the tracing of local phenomena and other aspects that are difficult to unravel in macro narratives.

TOWARDS THE INSTITUTIONALISATION OF WOMEN'S MUSICAL TRAINING: FROM DOMESTIC SPACES TO NEW CIVIC SPACES

The period I propose, the last decades of the 19th century, was fundamental for the musical training and professionalisation of women. During these decades,

crucial debates were proposed, expanded, and consolidated (debates that had begun in the mid-19th century) regarding the appropriateness of women's access to better education, their admission to university without needing permission⁷, their access to qualified jobs⁸, and the recognition of their civic and political rights⁹. Unlike the ancien régime, where musical training in Spain was largely linked to the church — chapels, cathedrals, etc. — and therefore highly masculinised, the rise of new institutions characteristic of the new bourgeoisie and middle classes, supported by both the State and cultural associations as well as non-religious educational institutions, changed the musical artistic landscape. This change allowed for greater presence of women in new civic-public spaces and expanded their opportunities for musical training.

The rich musical landscape of Granada since the mid-19th century was made possible by the interest and initiative of professional musicians, as well as by certain sectors of the increasingly powerful bourgeoisie and enlightened members of the old aristocracy¹⁰. In the 1880s, private evenings and gatherings in the residences of amateur aristocrats and high bourgeoisie, such as those of the brothers Antonio and Isidoro Pérez de Herrasti or businessman Enrique Sánchez, became common. These gatherings also included musicians and their families, such as the Guervós Mira family, Cándido Peña, and Natividad Mogollón de Cabarrús. Influences from visiting professional musicians, such as Anton Rubinstein, who visited Granada in 1881, and Jesús de Monasterio in 1883, also played a role in forging an interest in reconfiguring the musical panorama of Granada¹¹.

Alongside private gatherings in private homes, cultural societies and associations that emerged during this time were fundamental, among which El Liceo Artístico y Literario of Granada (The Artistic and Literary Lyceum), founded in 1839, stood out for its impact and significance, with its cultural legacy being taken over by the Centro Artístico y Literario (Artistic and Literary Centre) from 1885 onwards¹². Both societies had music sections that fostered the creation

⁷. FLECHA 2011, p. 158.

⁸. SCOTT 1993, pp. 414-415.

⁹. RAMOS 2000.

¹⁰. Between 1850 and 1854, *La Cuerda Granadina*, a private gathering led by the musician Mariano Vázquez Gómez, performed instrumental works by classical-romantic composers at private houses. VARGAS 2019, p. 288.

¹¹. As Belén Vargas points out, these residences saw an increasingly widespread practice of instrumental classical music, which would be instrumental in introducing a new repertoire based on classical-romantic composers during the last third of the century. See VARGAS 2021 pp. 22-24.

¹². Despite its peak in the early 1890s, the Centro Artístico suspended its activities between 1898 and 1908, resuming under the direction of Francisco de Paula Valladar. FERNÁNDEZ 1989.

of new musical reception spaces, both in their own salons and even in the theatres of the city, through the organisation of various cultural evenings¹³. In fact, starting in the 1860s, the Liceo began organising courses in music history and theory for its members, as well as classes in music theory, piano, and singing, also taught by its own members, which included both amateur and professional or semi-professional musicians¹⁴.

The profile of the amateurs and musicians who were part of this rich cultural framework was largely shaped by a strong Enlightenment influence. Many of them, in the case of the men, in addition to working as musicians, both professionally and as amateurs, were lawyers by profession, doctors, university professors, or elementary school teachers, among other professions. This was the case for prominent musical figures in the city such as Emilio Moreno Rosales, a pianist and diplomat¹⁵; Alejandro Ruíz de Tejada, who, in addition to being a renowned cellist, was also a magistrate¹⁶; Ramón Noguera Bahamonde, a composer, critic, pianist, organist, and property registrar¹⁷; and Cándido Peña Gallegos, who became a piano professor at the Conservatory of Madrid before turning to medicine¹⁸. The activity of these «enlightened musicians» as managers, educators, and performers were, as we will see next, key in the nascent process of institutionalising musical training in Granada.

Other names of amateur performers also stood out in the musical evenings, gatherings, musical-poetic and lyrical-dramatic events of cultural associations. This

¹³. To delve into the musical activities of the Liceo Artístico and its active musician-members, see VARGAS 2019, which details these activities from its founding in 1839 through 1876.

¹⁴. The Liceo's School of Music was founded in 1876 under the direction of José Espinel y Moya, with the support of the Provincial Council of Granada. However, the school's aspirations fell short of reaching a high standard due to the lack of a formal curriculum and rigor in the administration of exams. See EL DEFENSOR 1880, 1881. Francisco de Paula Valladar, a prominent collaborator of the Liceo, remarked on this in 1882 in *El Defensor de Granada*: «Dado el giro que ya toma la enseñanza musical en la Escuela, es preciso ante todo formar un plan de enseñanza ajustado a un programa, que sería a la vez la norma a que ha de ajustarse en los exámenes el tribunal que se designe (Given the direction that music education is now taking in the School, it is essential to first develop a curriculum aligned with a formal programme, which would also serve as the guideline for the exam board)». VALLADAR 1882.

¹⁵. MORENO – DE PASO 1900.

¹⁶. In addition to music, he studied law in Madrid. We have found records of his appointments as a state official starting in 1888. In 1931, he was appointed magistrate. GACETA 1904; DÍAZ 2012, p. 111.

¹⁷. TORRES CLEMENTE 2015. pp. 361-372.

¹⁸. VARGAS 2021 p. 42.

was the case of Antonio Bustamante, an amateur singer, teacher, and director of the Sagrado Corazón school in Granada¹⁹, and Juan de Dios Bertuchi y Criado, an amateur pianist and draftsman for the City Council²⁰; alongside established musicians and music teachers such as José Espinel y Moya, Enrique Valladar, and Antonio Guillén, among others²¹. We have evidence of the significant presence of women not only as audience members but also as amateur singers or pianists, thanks to the records of these societies, news from the local press, and specialised magazines. The journal *El Liceo Granadino*, published in 1860 and directed by Nicolás de Paso y Delgado²², weekly reported on the activities held in a high intellectual and conscious tone, as can be seen in its articles, which were aware of the considerable presence of women among its readership when publishing its reviews:

Henos aquí, bellísimas lectoras, más apurados que Arquímedes cuando sentó su principio de hidrostática, y que Praxíteles cuando se vio obligado a exhibir a Venus desnuda. [...] La segunda parte dio comienzo después de un intermedio de una hora, y la preciosa zarzuela original de Frontaura y Barbieri, *Un caballero particular*, desempeñada por la señora D.^a Victoria Acuña de Contreras, señorita D.^a Elena del Barco, y los señores D. Francisco Contreras y D. Manuel Moreno González, sostuvo la hilaridad de la sociedad, desde la primera hasta la última escena. Ni uno solo de los intencionales chistes de su chispeante diálogo, fue perdido. La *Perlita* del Liceo, la Elena del Barco, hizo una Juanita, que más de una vez nos escitó [*sic*] a intentar un viaje de circunvalación, aunque el Barco nos arrojase en cualquiera borrasca sobre las rocas de una isla desierta. La señora Acuña de Contreras nos recordó aquellas románticas del año treinta y cinco, del tiempo en que García Gutiérrez y el Duque de Rivas hicieron necesarios en el adorno del bello sexo, el puñal y el pomo de veneno [...] ²³.

¹⁹. He was a regular performer at the Liceo Artístico y Literario evenings alongside his wife, Francisca Garés, a teacher of elementary education. *MEMORIA ACERCA* 1908; *SESIONES PÚBLICAS* 1890, p. 33.

²⁰. He was a vocal and active member of the Board of the Centro Artístico y Literario of Granada. *LA PUBLICIDAD* 1912.

²¹. José Espinel y Moya was the first director of the Music School of the Liceo from 1876 until his death in 1880. Enrique Valladar was his assistant professor. Antonio Guillén became the director of the School following the death of the first. *VALLADAR* 1880, p. 4.

²². This edition was published 17 times in 1860. In 1869, it reappeared under the name *El Liceo de Granada*, which continued its publication until 1876.

²³. «Here we are, beautiful [female] readers, more pressed than Archimedes when he formulated his principle of hydrostatics, and more so than Praxiteles when he was forced to exhibit

This review reflects a culture that, since the 1860s, was closely linked to the Granadian bourgeoisie, in which its own members actively participated. The consumers of such news in a journal like *El Liceo Granadino* were the center's own members, and it is a reflection, through the style of writing and the references it provides, of the enlightened level that was sought to be promoted among its members, of which music, particularly through performances of zarzuelas and comic plays, was an integral part. Thus, it was common to see amateur performers, both women and men, at the Liceo evenings as solo singers, in choirs, or performing piano reductions²⁴, sometimes alternating with one-act dramatic works or recitations of poetry. In fact, it is quite significant that these evenings received such a positive reception, as they sometimes transcended the confines of the salons, leading to events organised in the most important theatres in the city, such as the Teatro Principal, where attendance was even expected, through paid entry, from a large audience:

El lunes por la noche se celebrará en el teatro Principal la función lírico dramática organizada por el Liceo para conmemorar el 34 aniversario de su fundación. El programa es el siguiente:

1. Sinfonía por la orquesta, dirigida por el maestro Sr. Luján.
2. El juguete cómico original, de los señores Vital Aza y Ramos Carrión, titulado,
*De Tiros Largos*²⁵.

Toman parte en su ejecución las señoritas D.^a Francisca Garés y D.^a Rosario J. Luján, y los Sres. D. Joaquín Peso y D. Antonio Bustamante.

Venus naked. [...] The second part began after an intermission of one hour, and the precious original zarzuela by Frontaura and Barbieri, *Un caballero particular*, performed by Mrs. D.^a Victoria Acuña de Contreras, Miss D.^a Elena del Barco, and gentlemen D. Francisco Contreras and D. Manuel Moreno González, kept the society in hilarity from the first to the last scene. Not a single one of the intentional jokes from its sparkling dialogue was lost. *La Perlita del Liceo*, Elena del Barco, made a Juanita, which more than once prompted us to attempt a circumnavigation, even though the Barco (boat) might throw us into any storm upon the rocks of a deserted island. Mrs. Acuña de Contreras reminded us of those romantics from thirty-five, from the time when García Gutiérrez and the Duke of Rivas made the dagger and the poison bottle necessary adornments for the fair sex [...]». MENDO DE FIGUEROA 1860.

²⁴. In addition to the bibliography and secondary sources cited throughout the work, the hand programmes preserved from the *Liceo* between the years 1870 and 1890 were consulted, as well as those from the Lyrical-Dramatic Society *Las Delicias*, directed by the professors of the Liceo, along with a selection of information gathered from local press. See LICEO DE GRANADA 1872, 1878, 1882, 1885, 1888, 1890; LAS DELICIAS 1871, 1874, 1876.

²⁵. See RAMOS – AZA 1880.

3. La zarzuela en un acto denominada,
*Chateaux Margaux*²⁶.

Desempeñada por las Srtas Luján (Julia y Rosario) y los Sres. Peso, Luján (Antonio) y Pavés (Enrique). En el intermedio cantará la Srta. Doña Concepción Botella una preciosa Romanza.

4. La bonita comedia en un acto y en verso, original de D. Mariano Pina, titulada,

*Aquí paz y después gloria*²⁷.

El desempeño de esta obra está a cargo de la Srta. Luján (Julia) y los Sres. Bustamante, Peso, Lasala (Luis) y Pavés²⁸.

In these decades, there were notable exceptions regarding the types of evenings and repertoires performed, promoted by the Sociedad de Cuartetos Clásicos de Granada (Classical Quartets Society of Granada) (1871-1874), directed by Eduardo Guervós, and later, the Sociedad de Conciertos de Granada (Concert Society of Granada) (with seasons in 1880 and 1884), led by Carlos Romero Vargas. Both sought to incorporate the classical-romantic repertoire by presenting concerts featuring solely instrumental repertoire performed by orchestras or chamber ensembles²⁹. At the same time, the Centro Artístico y Literario inaugurated its music section in 1886, from which it organised informative sessions led by musicians Emilio Vidal, Cándido Orense, and Manuel Romero, on the works of Beethoven and Mozart and «other great

²⁶. Zarzuela with a libretto by José Jackson Veyán and music by Manuel Fernández Caballero premiered in Madrid in 1887.

²⁷. Comic-lyrical play by Mariano Pina (1820-1883), published in Granada in 1851.

²⁸. «On Monday night, a lyrical-dramatic performance organised by the Liceo will be held at the Teatro Principal to commemorate the 34th anniversary of its foundation. The programme is as follows: 1. Symphony by the orchestra, conducted by Maestro Mr. Luján. 2. The original comic-lyrical toy, by Messrs. Vital Aza and Ramos Carrión, titled *De Tiros Largos*. Participating in its performance are Misses Mrs. Francisca Garés and Mrs. Rosario J. Luján, and Messrs. Mr. Joaquín Peso and Mr. Antonio Bustamante. 3. The one-act zarzuela titled *Chateaux Margaux*. Performed by the Misses Luján (Julia and Rosario) and Messrs. Peso, Luján (Antonio), and Pavés (Enrique). During the intermission, Miss Mrs. Concepción Botella will sing a beautiful Romanza. 4. The beautiful one-act comedy in verse, original by Mr. Mariano Pina, titled *Aquí paz y después gloria*. The performance of this work is entrusted to Miss Luján (Julia) and Messrs. Bustamante, Peso, Lasala (Luis), and Pavés». EL RADICAL 1890.

²⁹. Efforts to inform and educate a new audience were remarkable. Both societies began with the formula of opening and closing with overtures and symphonies from well-known operas, alongside arrangements of symphonic and vocal works, sometimes even adapted to the available ensemble. VARGAS 2016, pp. 134-136.

Masters»³⁰. However, the reality was that the predominant taste of the public was still associated with the lyrical repertoire, common in the programming of theatres and evenings of associations until the last decade of the 19th century. It was in the 1890s that this repertoire began to diversify and become increasingly consolidated in the cultural spaces of the city³¹.

The truth is that the high presence of amateur women, generally singers or pianists, without professional musical training, was largely due to the fact that until 1891, the year the Escuela de Música para Señoritas of the Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País was established, there was no institution in Granada that provided a high level musical education for women. Although this educational musical space coincided with the increasingly widespread establishment of music schools and academies throughout much of the country at the end of the 19th century, the particularity of this Escuela lay in its exclusive dedication, during its more than fifty years of operation, to the musical training of women. In fact, it was the only stable musical training institution in Granada capable of preparing a large number of students at a professional level, under regulations and a curriculum similar to those of official centres, until the Conservatory of Granada 'Victoria Eugenia', was founded in 1921.

The situation of women before 1891 contrasted with that of male musicians who, despite the difficulties of lacking an official centre for musical education, had greater and better musical training options in the city. Until that time, despite the reduction of the Church's power following the *desamortización de Mendizábal* (disentailment) and the Concordat of 1851 in Spain³², the main educational opportunity in Granada was through the music chapels. In these, men could train and later work as singers, instrumentalists, or composers. This was the case for the Masters of Chapel Celestino Vila de Fons (1829-1915) and Bernabé Ruíz Vela (d. 1913), or the organist Eduardo Orense Talavera (1859-1917)³³, among other

³⁰. In BOLETÍN 1886, p.1.

³¹. In the quote documented by Belén Vargas, Francisco de Paula Valladar already sensed this change in 1894: «[...] la música instrumental se irá abriendo paso lentamente entre nuestro público, y es seguro que llegará la época en que agrade tanto como asistir a la representación de una ópera la audición de varias obras instrumentales (Instrumental music will gradually make its way among our audience, and it is certain that the time will come when listening to various instrumental works will be as appreciated as attending an opera performance)». VALLADAR 1894. [Seen in VARGAS 2021 pp.16-17]

³². A series of land reforms in Spain during the 1830s aimed at redistributing church property.

³³. Eduardo Orense Talavera is noted as a former *seise* and organist of the Royal Chapel of Granada. His younger brother, Cándido Orense, also appears as an organist of the Royal Chapel at the end of the century, although his official position is unclear. See TEJERIZO 1991, p. 568.

musicians in the city³⁴. Similarly, it was common to find musicians, whether or not they were linked to ecclesiastical chapels, who privately taught instrumental classes and provided the essential foundation for their students, who were generally male, to continue their studies in the capital.

Fortunately, despite the city's lack of a stable centre that would promote quality musical education for women, several names of female performers stood out, thanks to the efforts of private teachers who provided lessons in their own homes, as well as the incipient contributions of institutions like the Liceo. Among them were Natividad Mogollón de Cabarrús (b. 1838), a pianist and composer of salon and religious music from Granada³⁵; Elena Rodríguez-Bolívar (1874-1972), a pianist who studied in Granada with Eduardo Guervós Castillo and José Tragó in Madrid³⁶; and later, the pianist Laura López Ontiveros and her sister Luisa López Ontiveros, a singer³⁷. All of them were exceptional cases from the enlightened upper-middle classes—daughters of lawyers, politicians, or teachers—who, probably due to family support, were able to obtain a musical education that went beyond the mere adornment expected of women. Except for Laura López Ontiveros, none of them managed to transcend the professional limits of the city, and they had few public appearances as performers beyond private settings³⁸. Although this limited public presence makes it more challenging to trace their activities, the references that remain in the press and the recognition they received demonstrate this slow process of conquering new spaces for women through music, serving as precedents and, in some ways, as role models for female musicians in the following decades.

³⁴. In Granada, there was significant musical activity by women in the female cloistered convents since the 16th century. In these convents, women were primarily trained as singers and occasionally as organists. According to María Julieta Vega, various musicians collaborated with the convents as teachers in the 19th century. Among them were Bernabé Ruiz Henares, Bernabé Ruiz Vela, José Guervós del Castillo, Eduardo Guervós del Castillo, Mariano Vázquez Gómez, Cándido Orense, Antonio Luján, and Antonio Palancar. See VEGA 2004, p. 300.

³⁵. VARGAS 2021, p. 41.

³⁶. Apparently, despite receiving lessons from José Tragó, she never officially took the exam at the Conservatory of Madrid. LORENZO – PÉREZ 2022, p. 45.

³⁷. ARCSM 1891.

³⁸. Despite her recognised musical level as a performer, Elena Rodríguez-Bolívar chose to maintain her profile as a pianist in the private sphere. Josemi Lorenzo, in analysing the correspondence between Elena Rodríguez-Bolívar and Manuel Gómez-Moreno, highlights this deliberate decision by the performer to enhance her husband's career as a prestigious cataloguer. LORENZO – PÉREZ 2022 pp. 45-50.

A SPACE OF THEIR OWN: THE ESCUELA DE MÚSICA PARA SEÑORITAS
OF THE REAL SOCIEDAD ECONÓMICA DE AMIGOS DEL PAÍS
A CATALYST IN THE CULTURAL AND MUSICAL ENVIRONMENT OF GRANADA

The establishment of the Escuela de Música para Señoritas in 1891 within the Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País represented a significant change in the musical and cultural life of Granada, as well as in the professional opportunities for women. The school was promoted and directed from the outset by the aforementioned Emilio Moreno Rosales, one of the city's «enlightened musicians», as he was a lawyer, Spanish ambassador in various countries, and a piano performer and teacher³⁹. Educated at the Conservatories of Madrid, where he obtained first prizes, and Brussels, as a pianist, he was a regular performer in Granada and other cities such as Madrid, highlighting his connections with renowned musicians like Alejandro Ruíz de Tejada, a cellist, and Antonio Fernández Bordas, a violinist and director of the Conservatory of Madrid from 1921 to 1940⁴⁰. He served as president of the music section of the Centro Artístico y Literario de Granada and was appointed an Academician of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes (Royal Academy of Fine Arts) of Granada in 1900⁴¹. Within the Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País of Granada, he held various positions on the governing board and, in 1891, he was the driving force and first director of la Escuela de Música para Señoritas.

Similarly to the director, the first teaching staff consisted of some of the male musicians who made up the rich musical environment described, and whose professional profiles were very varied. Among them, it is worth highlighting Aureliano del Pino, director of the *Orfeón* (choir) of the Centro Artístico y Literario, in charge of the subject of solfège; Manuel Benítez, in Singing⁴²; Emilio Moreno himself in piano; and the aforementioned Celestino Vila and Ramón Noguera in Harmony and Composition, respectively. As stated in its own regulations⁴³, the teaching staff had to be appropriately replaced by female teachers

³⁹. MORENO – DE PASO 1900.

⁴⁰. LA ILUSTRACIÓN 1887; LA ESFERA 1920.

⁴¹. MORENO – DE PASO 1900.

⁴². Manuel Benítez Mesa, organist of the church *Nuestra señora de las Angustias*. See GUÍA ECLESIASTICA 1885 p. 27; EL TRIUNFO 1901.

⁴³. The earliest preserved regulations date back to 1917, although there are earlier references regarding the functioning and evaluation methods in the press and other documents. AUG 1917.



ILL. 1: Emilio Moreno Rosales, Alejandro Ruíz de Tejada, and Antonio Fernández Bordas at the inauguration of the Regional Exhibition of Fine Arts and Industries. BNE 1889.

who were generally trained within the school itself and/or by those who held an official degree obtained from an official music education institution⁴⁴:

Art. 10º=Las vacantes que ocurran en el Profesorado se proveerán a petición de parte y por rigurosa antigüedad entre las alumnas de la Escuela que al terminar la Carrera hayan obtenido el Premio correspondiente, siendo preferidas, en igualdad de circunstancias, las que hubieran revalidado sus estudios en el Conservatorio de Madrid y obtenido el Título de capacidad⁴⁵.

⁴⁴. The third teaching staff of the school, corresponding to the 1892-93 academic year, includes for the first time Pilar Iglesias de la O, the first former student of the school to validate her studies at the Conservatory of Madrid. CUADRO GENERAL 1894, p. 3.

⁴⁵. AUG 1917, p. 141.

Additionally, the subjects offered followed the official programmes of the Conservatory of Madrid, the only institution at the time with official recognition of its teachings⁴⁶. This was intended so that those young women who completed their studies and wished to do so could validate their degree at that institution, thereby enhancing their chances of making a living through music:

Art. 1º = El objeto de esta Escuela, creada en 1891, es dar la enseñanza de la música en sus ramas más importantes para la mujer, como son: Solfeo, Piano, Violín, Canto Coral y Armonía, con sujeción a los Programas oficiales del Conservatorio de Madrid⁴⁷.

The Escuela de Música para Señoritas became the only institution in Granada that offered a stable and high-level musical education in piano, singing, and later, violin⁴⁸. Furthermore, its classes were not exclusively directed at students related by family to the institution's members. Like other educational initiatives for women promoted by the Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País of Granada⁴⁹, its classes were free and specifically aimed at the middle and working classes. However, in practice, the social profile of its students was quite varied. This approach significantly increased the educational opportunities for women, specifically regarding access to a type of musical training that had previously been barely attainable for them in Granada.

Thus, a significant number of women were trained there, some of whom would make music their profession, especially as teachers, and, to a lesser extent, as performers. In the analysed period between 1891 and 1936⁵⁰, I have identified

⁴⁶. This situation persisted until 1917 when, following the 1905 law that extended official recognition to other centres of musical learning in the country. In 1911, the Valencia Conservatory obtained official validation for its Elementary studies. It was not until 1917 that it achieved full official recognition for both elementary and advanced studies. See DELGADO 2003, pp. 318-322; GACETA 1905.

⁴⁷. AUG 1917, p. 139.

⁴⁸. The subject of Violin was first taught by Carlos Romero in 1898, see: CUADRO GENERAL 1898. Additionally, he trained a large number of female students, among whom Francisca Alonso stood out, who would become a teacher starting in 1931. EXPEDIENTES n.d.

⁴⁹. In 1882, their recently founded Schools of Teaching and Schools of Commerce, Postal Services, and Telegraphs, had 382 women enrolled. EL DEFENSOR 1882.

⁵⁰. The enrolment books that are preserved date from 1891 to 1936, coinciding with the beginning of the Spanish Civil War. Additionally, the enrollment books corresponding to the following courses are not preserved in the AHPGR: 1892-93, 1893-94, 1899-1900, 1904-05, 1905-06, 1906-07, 1908-09, 1913-14, 1914-15, 1915-16, 1916-17, 1919-20, 1924-25, 1925-26, 1926-27, 1929-30, 1931-32.

more than 3,000 enrolled students⁵¹. In its first ten years alone, at least 627 students registered at the Escuela de Música para Señoritas. Most of them only acquired certain knowledge of solfège or completed two or three years of piano studies, intending to enhance their so-called ornamental education. However, a significant number of students did complete their studies at the school, taking between six and eight courses in piano or violin, complemented by other advanced theoretical subjects such as harmony, musical aesthetics, instrumentation, or composition.

The training of a large number of students in a musical education that ranged from acquiring basic knowledge aimed at ornamentation to one of high or professional level undoubtedly facilitated the dissemination, assimilation, and theoretical understanding of the classical-romantic repertoire, which was part of the pedagogical canon of the time promoted in European conservatories⁵². This resulted in the creation of a new and numerous specialised female audience, an essential part in shaping taste — an intention that cultural and intellectual elites had been attempting to promote since the mid-19th century⁵³. Works such as those by Peter Burkholder (1983), William Weber (1999), and Marcia Citron (1993) reveal the strategies through which the musical canon and the hierarchy of masterpieces were constructed and institutionalised during the 19th century in Europe. According to these authors, this canon was not only aesthetic but also ideologically necessary in establishing music as a profession. Paradigmatically, the musical activity of women in educational institutions as students and teachers, as well as performers in other spaces, was fundamental in the construction of a canon that excluded them from being recognised as composers⁵⁴.

⁵¹. This number should be considered even greater since 17 enrolment books from the 45-course period are not preserved.

⁵². William Weber, in his study of the Western musical canon and its establishment throughout the 19th century in Europe, distinguishes three types: the performative canon, the theoretical canon, and the pedagogical canon. Additionally, he highlights the historicity of the term to avoid falling into its apparent current crystallisation. Examining the repertoires performed in the musical institutions of the 19th and early 20th centuries allows us to ask which works were incorporated into and remained in that canon and how they gained authority. See WEBER 1999, pp. 337-341. See also BURKHOLDER 1983.

⁵³. Private gatherings such as *La Cuerda* stood out, meeting since the 1850s at the home of the musician Mariano Vázquez and including intellectuals and professional musicians who debated and performed works by classical-romantic composers. However, this repertoire would not become established until practically the beginning of the 20th century. As musicologist Belén Vargas points out, Granada did not yet have a sufficiently large audience interested in this repertoire. See VARGAS 2016, p. 139.

⁵⁴. CITRON 1993.

In some way, the 'traditional' musical evenings from the late 18th century to the mid-19th century lost their capacity to mark cultural status and social distinction⁵⁵. In Granada, the Liceo, a symbol of this tradition, was in decline, and the new impulses channelled through the Centro Artístico and the Real Sociedad Económica reflected the emerging interests. Until then, the piano and salon music had been a distinguishing element of the new bourgeois class; however, their growing popularity and consumption among the masses blurred this distinction. This interest in shaping taste was simultaneously supported by music criticism, particularly through the magazine *La Alhambra. Revista quincenal de Artes y Letras* (1898-1924), under the direction of the aforementioned Francisco de Paula Valladar Serrano⁵⁶. As noted by Francisco Giménez:

Esta publicación, lejos de reflejar ampliamente el ambiente cultural de la ciudad, supone la materialización de unas ideas socialmente definidas, que son comunes a otros ámbitos urbanos en el mismo periodo histórico. Así, la reacción contra la música 'popular' que se va fraguando en la segunda mitad del siglo, presente de un modo u otro en las páginas de *La Alhambra* en sus distintas épocas, no es un fenómeno aislado⁵⁷.

For the wealthy bourgeoisie, cultural distinction allowed them to differentiate themselves and reinforce, alongside other mechanisms, their position in the social structure. The tastes of the working class were not considered *good* for the ideals of the elites in the decades of the turn of the century. Thus, that music that had previously been part of the bourgeois repertoire became a symbol to be avoided in

⁵⁵. The repertoire performed in these types of gatherings throughout the 19th century in Granada was characterised by the rise of Italian opera, featuring a large number of arias and piano reductions, along with other arrangements of zarzuela, fantasies, Spanish songs, and more. This repertoire was quite common in the salon culture of the 19th century throughout the country. See ALONSO 1993, pp. 169-170.

⁵⁶. The journal *La Alhambra* was directed by Francisco de Paula Valladar Serrano during its two periods. The first was from 1884 to 1885, during which 47 issues were published, and the second from 1898 to 1924, during which 588 issues were published.

⁵⁷. «This publication, far from broadly reflecting the cultural environment of the city, represents the materialisation of socially defined ideas that are common to other urban areas in the same historical period. Thus, the reaction against 'popular' music that began to take shape in the second half of the century, present in one way or another in the pages of *La Alhambra* during its various periods, is not an isolated phenomenon». GIMÉNEZ 2006, p. 123.

order to maintain their status by the end of the century⁵⁸. The Escuela de Música para Señoritas was created within these impulses, and perhaps that was the key to its success by giving it a professionalising orientation aligned with these interests aimed at achieving the institutionalisation of musical education and profession. Furthermore, the musical activity of the Escuela was not confined to the walls and salons of the Real Sociedad Económica, but its influence transcended its walls through its students, who became frequent performers in the main associative and cultural spaces of the city. As we will see next, we can also find them in the salons of the Centro Artístico y Literario, or civic spaces such as the Casino and the City Council, as well as notable performances by the most talented students in theatres or monumental spaces.

The impact that the Escuela de Música para Señoritas had on the musical landscape of the city was thus documented in articles from that time. The journal *Ilustración musical hispano-americana*, directed by the notable composer Felipe Pedrell (1841-1922), highlighted this as early as 1892⁵⁹:

Desde que el Sr. Moreno Rosales fue nombrado Director de la Escuela, se inició en Granada una revolución en el arte de tocar el piano, que ha dado en tierra con *el antiguo régimen*.

Implantado, por el Sr. Moreno Rosales en la Económica, el plan de enseñanza que siguieron los señores Compta en Madrid, Dupont en Bruselas y Mamontel en París, las alumnas de la escuela, distingúense [*sic*] sobre todas por su correcto mecanismo, serena y clásica dicción, buen sonido y elegancia en el fraseo. Seguramente el día no lejano que esas alumnas se dediquen a su vez a la enseñanza, han de recogerse los óptimos frutos que hizo germinar en Granada el señor Moreno Rosales⁶⁰.

The scope of the Escuela transcended the city's limits and received great musical support thanks to the excellent work of its director, Emilio Moreno Rosales, who identified the way to achieve the best recognition and prestige for the Escuela, through a teaching plan similar to the finest European conservatories with which he had been associated as a student years earlier. At the same time, the students who

⁵⁸. John Frow discusses the category of waste as a principle that underpins social distinctions. To this end, he highlights the complexity of the term and its relativity according to social class. See FROW 2013 pp. 69-86.

⁵⁹. Published every two weeks with great national and international impact. See ÁLVAREZ 2011.

⁶⁰. MENDOZA 1892.

progressed in their studies were essential for strengthening the *Escuela* and gaining acceptance within Granadan society. The students who triumphed in Madrid, where a large number of them sought to validate their studies, were constantly of interest to the local press and, in a way, served as a measure of the success of their education:

Tenemos la satisfacción de participar a nuestros lectores, que la alumna de la Sociedad Económica en la escuela de música, D.^a Amelia Arenas Ramos, que en el curso anterior obtuvo premio y carta de aprecio en el 4^a año de piano, como antes lo obtuvo en los precedentes, ha revalidado todos sus estudios de solfeo y piano en el Real Conservatorio de Música de Madrid, obteniendo en todos la calificación de sobresaliente [...] dejan muy alto su nombre como profesor, [Emilio Moreno] y enaltecen esta escuela, pues obteniendo hace dos años el primer premio la señorita D.^a Pilar Iglesias, y revalidando ahora tan brillantemente todos sus estudios aquí hechos la señorita Arenas, no queda duda alguna que con razón se llama ya en Granada a la Escuela de Música de la Económica, el Conservatorio granadino⁶¹.

The gradual inclusion of female teachers in the faculty of the Escuela de Música para Señoritas provided a professional space, with significant symbolic weight, for women in Granada during its more than fifty years of operation. The women who served as teachers at the school not only had agency in imparting their knowledge and generating understanding within the classrooms, but they also participated in the organisation and performance of musical evenings. By 1926, they even began to take on the role of directors of the school, marking a transformative change in their ability to occupy spaces and make decisions about them⁶². It is true that teaching, in general, became a feminised profession in Spain after women's admission to Normal Schools in 1857⁶³. However, through music, these female teachers took a further step in occupying public space and gaining social recognition. Practising music was an activity that, in addition to requiring specific training, demanded a certain level of prestige as a criterion for securing contracts and advancing professionally. This public presence is reflected in their frequent appearances in the press, as well as in concert programmes and other cultural events.

⁶¹. LA OPINIÓN 1895.

⁶². After the death of its first director, Pilar Iglesias de la O succeeded him as the technical director of the School, followed by Carmen Santaolalla, and later in 1940, Consolación Cruz Martínez. See AHPGR 1926.

⁶³. Widely studied. Among others, see BALLARÍN 1989; FLECHA 2004, 2010.

UNCONVENTIONAL SPACES FOR (UN)CONVENTIONAL WOMEN:
FEMALE PERFORMERS IN GRANADA AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURIES

The spaces that opened their doors to these young women and their teachers — cultural associations, civic halls such as the town hall or casinos, etc. — are part of the so-called unconventional musical spaces that, during those decades, formed a dense cultural and musical network that introduced changes to the previously hegemonic landscape. The transition from private salons to civic spaces also meant the participation of women in this public and cultural sphere, both as performers and as audience members. These environments provided these women with a showcase to demonstrate their musical knowledge and their mastery as performers.

In a way, music offered them a new space where they could develop both professionally and personally without completely breaking away from their gender role. Through these non-conventional musical spaces, women were able to occupy new roles and contribute their own experiences to revitalise the cultural life of the city, without completely breaking away from the conventional limits placed on women at the time. Moreover, their activities in these spaces helped disseminate what became the foundation of the repertoire in Granada during the first third of the 20th century.

Musical gatherings and end-of-year award ceremonies were commonly held in the hall of the Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, located at Calle Duquesa 18, where the Escuela de Música para Señoritas was situated. The auditorium of the Económica thus became a must-visit venue throughout the year to hear from both teachers and students, garnering notable media and public acceptance:

Dos verdaderos conciertos han resultado los exámenes y oposiciones a piano que han tenido lugar noches pasadas en la Real Sociedad, por las distinguidas señoritas alumnas de aquella enseñanza en la Sección de Estudios que sostiene la ilustre corporación de Amigos del País. Un público numeroso, compuesto en su mayoría de señoras y señoritas ha presenciado ambos actos, ocupando por completo la amplia clase de música y dibujo de la escuela y sus habitaciones inmediatas. [...] Las oposiciones revistieron importancia musical, ejecutándose por las alumnas del primer año la sonata núm. 11 de Dussek; por las del segundo la núm. 14 del mismo autor; por las de tercero, la núm. 10 de Kuhlau, y por las del quinto, la sonata patética núm. 8 de Beethoven⁶⁴.

⁶⁴. EL DEFENSOR 1897.

Although studying the audience through the press can be a complicated task, as it is necessary to consider the omissions or possible hyperbole in the news written for their readership, it is genuinely useful because it explicitly refers to the high presence of women at various events, such as the examination evenings or end-of-year award ceremonies at the Escuela de Música para Señoritas. It seems reasonable to assume that most of the audience would have consisted of other students from the school, mothers, family members, and authorities from the Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País⁶⁵.

Let us remember that the curricula followed to train the students at the Escuela de Música para Señoritas were aligned with those of the Conservatory of Madrid, which simultaneously represented a clear centralisation of Spanish piano education in most cities across the country⁶⁶. The news articles recounting the celebrations of the public examinations often reflected these works:

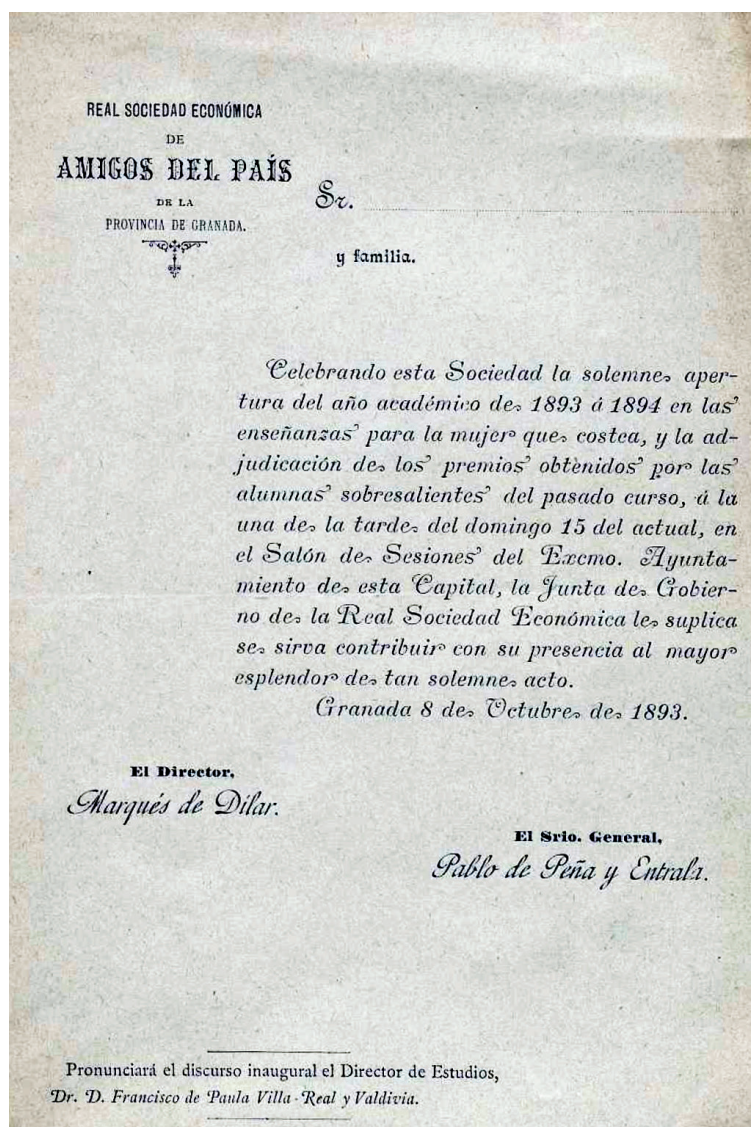
Alumnas de tercer año: [...] 3º. tres estudios de Czerny y tres de Cramer, del 1 al 10, a la suerte; su explicación teórica y su ejecución práctica. 4º. Primera sonatina de Kulhan. Del cuarto año [...] un estudio en mi menor de Clementi, y la sonata num. 19 de Mozart. Del sexto año [...], el estudio La ligereza de Moscheles, estudios segundo y séptimo de Chopin, preludio y fuga trece de Bach, polonesa en do mayor de Chopin, arreglada por Czerny, prodigio de la agilidad y el sentimiento⁶⁷.

Furthermore, from the year 1891 onwards, the Real Sociedad Económica began to hold several of its evenings and events in another emblematic location in the city, the salons of the City Council of Granada, which were used informally as musical spaces. The presence of women in this civic space was significant, even if it was due to the organised cultural evenings. The City Council represented a political body that was still inaccessible to women at that time in terms of being

⁶⁵. The Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País in Granada not only had the Escuela de Música para Señoritas, but also offered other specific teachings for women, creating schools for teaching, postal services, telegraphs and telephones, commerce, and drawing and painting. See CUADRO GENERAL 1894, 1898.

⁶⁶. During this period, the inclusion of contemporary Romantic composers in concert repertoires became normalised, as well as in Spanish piano methods, which, in addition to the studies of Bertini, Czerny, Cramer, Moschéles, Clementi, Chopin, Thalberg, etc., began to incorporate recommendations for works by Bach, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Weber at the end of the 19th century. See VEGA 1998. p. 142.

⁶⁷. EL DEFENSOR 1893.



ILL. 2. Invitation to the Event at the City Council. AUG 1893.

able to vote and be voted for⁶⁸. With those evenings they could, in a way, now express themselves artistically.

Other evenings were also characterised by greater splendour as they were part of the broader public projection of the Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País. These evenings, sometimes musical-literary events, were often held to

⁶⁸. Until 1924, there was no woman councillor or mayor in Spain. Furthermore, universal women's suffrage was not achieved until 1931 in Spain. See GÓMEZ-FERRER 2015.

commemorate significant celebrations for the city or the Sociedad Económica, such as the inauguration of the academic year or *Corpus Christi* festivities in Granada, featuring a more carefully selected repertoire aimed at attracting an audience. In fact, it is noteworthy that the first evening was organised just one year after the establishment of the Escuela de Música para Señoritas, on 17 October 1892, for the Opening of the Academic Year, which was a special occasion that included the expected attendance of Queen Regent María Cristina and her son, Alfonso XIII:

N.º 1 *Serenata Húngara*..... FONCIÉRES.

Para dos pianos y ocho manos, por las Srtas. de Iglesias, Juárez y Martínez Sureda, alumnas premiadas de 5.º, 4.º, 3.º y 2.º año de piano

N.º 2.

A- *Nocturno en mi bemol* transcrito para Violoncello y piano..... CHOPIN. [Tr. R. De Tejada]

B- *Tarantela*..... POPPER.

Por el Socio Sr. Ruíz de Tejada.

N.º 3. *Andante y allegro giojoso*, para Piano con acompañamiento de orquesta.... MENDELSSOHN.

Por la Srta. D.ª Pilar Iglesias, alumna premiada de 5.º año de Piano. Dirigidos por el Socio Sr. Moreno Rosales.

N.º 4. *La Noche*, andante coral..... LLANOS.

Por las Srtas. alumnas de la Escuela de Música de la Sociedad y Sres. Orfeonistas del Centro Artístico. Dirigidos por el Socio Sr. Del Pino⁶⁹.

The evening described was held at the Teatro Isabel la Católica and not in the salons of the Real Sociedad Económica, as was customary, probably due to the visit of the Queen Regent⁷⁰. The selection of the four musical performances aimed to be as appealing as possible, featuring contributions from the professors, who were prominent performers recognised in the city, along with performances by award-winning students playing together and a choral performance alongside the male voices of the Orfeón of the Centro Artístico. Undoubtedly, the special number was performed by pianist Pilar Iglesias, who played as a soloist accompanied by

⁶⁹. SOLEMNE SESIÓN 1892

⁷⁰. The visit of the Regent Queen and the King was expected in mid-October 1892, but this never occurred, causing protests and discontent among the citizens of Granada. *El Defensor* published a harsh editorial on November 2, 1892, titled 'Do Not Come' rejecting the visit of government ministers in their place. EL DEFENSOR 1892

an orchestra in a work by Mendelssohn, possibly Op. 43, a piece of great pianistic complexity⁷¹. Certainly, the most outstanding students at the school's evenings were those who also enjoyed the greatest success as performers in other venues.

The news that began this article, referring to the inauguration of the School of Commerce in 1890, featured the two most representative performers of this shift in the institutionalisation of musical education, Laura López Ontiveros and Pilar Iglesias. The former began her musical training under the guidance of a teacher, Antonio Guillén. Although her activities were also linked to the Liceo Artístico y Literario and its School of Music, she was an unusual case both within that society, where neither men nor women typically reached such a high level of training, and in the landscape of female musical education prior to the Escuela de Música para Señoritas⁷².

Pilar Iglesias made her public debut as a performer in 1886, at one of the evenings organised by the Liceo at the Teatro Isabel la Católica alongside Laura López Ontiveros⁷³. However, her educational path was different. In 1891, she enrolled as a third-year student at the new Escuela de Música para Señoritas, and in 1894, she went to Madrid to validate all her studies in a single exam⁷⁴. From 1894 onward, she was, in fact, the first teacher at the Escuela de Música para Señoritas. Although we do not know the social and family background of Pilar Iglesias, we do know that she remained single and that, in addition to being a teacher at the Escuela and from 1921 also at the Conservatory of Granada, she was able to earn a living with her own salary as a Special Music Teacher at the Escuela Normal Superior de Maestras (Higher Normal School for Teachers) of Granada⁷⁵.

⁷¹. Based on the provided title and according to the production for piano and orchestra, the work must actually correspond to Mendelssohn's *Serenata e Allegro gioioso*, Op. 43. As a second available source, Francisco de Paula Valladar reviewed the event, mentioning this performance: «Pilar Iglesias ejecutó con verdadera corrección y delicadísimo gusto artístico, un «andante» y «allegro» de Mendelssohn [*sic*], para piano y orquesta, obra notable, de admirable corte clásico y de grandes dificultades para el piano (Pilar Iglesias performed with true correctness and exquisite artistic taste an 'andante' and 'allegro' by Mendelssohn, a notable work of admirable classical style and great difficulty for the piano)». VALLADAR 1892.

⁷². In fact, in 1888, she was granted a scholarship by the Provincial Council to continue her studies at the Conservatory of Madrid, where she graduated in 1891 with first prize under the tutelage of José Tragó. In 1895, she was admitted to the Conservatory of Paris, where she obtained first prize and triumphed as a performer. Finally, she was a professor at the Municipal School of Music in Barcelona. GACETA 1891; EL DEFENSOR 1903.

⁷³. EL DEFENSOR 1886.

⁷⁴. ARCSM 1894.

⁷⁵. AUG 1939.

At the evenings where both pianists performed together, they were presented as exceptional cases and young piano talents in Granada. During the aforementioned inauguration of the Cámara de Comercio, Pilar Iglesias played two piano works: *La Fileuse* by Joaquim Raff and *Pavana-Capricho* by Isaac Albéniz. The first was a virtuosic piece, while the second was simple and expressive, showcasing the most recent piano literature. The works performed by Laura López Ontiveros were not named but were described as «pensionada del Conservatorio de Madrid, nos hizo oír varias piezas de ejecución, de esas que la han acreditado como inspirada artista (a pensioner of the Conservatory of Madrid, who made us hear several performance pieces that have accredited her as an inspired artist)»⁷⁶. This news is representative of the change that was beginning in not only the cultural environment but also the political, economic, and social landscape of Granada in the last decade of the 19th century. The process of institutionalising musical education and professionalisation, initially promoted by musical and intellectual circles, was now aligned with the interests of Granada's economic and political elites. Through acts of this nature, cultural, economic, or political entities and associations found a showcase in which to distinguish themselves socially and culturally. Pilar Iglesias and Laura López Ontiveros represented, through the repertoires studied in official musical training centres (or with an education based on regulated programmes) this new musical taste and legitimised, through their performances, the select environment that was intended to be conveyed to society.

With the reopening of the Centro Artístico in 1908, after its cessation of activity in 1898, this change of era and taste became even more evident. At the evenings of this new era, the presence of students and teachers from the Escuela de Música para Señoritas, which had by this decade solidified its position as the only available music training centre in the city, was very common. Among them were prominent pianists such as the Bertuchi sisters —Rosa, Rosario, and Araceli— who performed at the piano during conferences and concerts dedicated to Beethoven, other classical-romantic authors, and the emerging inclusion of contemporary Spanish composers:

Rosarito Bertuchi, hermana de una joven artista a quien tan solo en una ocasión se ha aplaudido en público, de Araceli, una de las más notables alumnas de las clases de piano, que en la enseñanza de la Real Sociedad Económica, dirige el celebrado maestro aficional,

⁷⁶. Possibly, the reporter of the news was not familiar with the works or did not know their names beyond knowing that they were pieces typical of the programmes learned by the pianist at the Conservatory of Madrid. EL POPULAR 1890.

D. Emilio Moreno Rosales. [...] Interpretó obras de Bach (la fantasía cromática), Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Weber, Chopin, Liszt, Godard, Daquin y Guervós (de éste, el gran pianista granadino, el primoroso estudio Recuerdos)⁷⁷, y aunque en todas ellas demostró exquisito gusto y correcta escuela de expresión, su espíritu de artista apasionada se reveló más que en otra alguna en las de Weber y Chopin, los dos grandes románticos de la época clásica de la música moderna⁷⁸.

CONCLUSION

Informal musical spaces, such as the salons of town halls, cultural associations, or economic entities, served, at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, as a means for the incorporation of many women into artistic and professional life without requiring an evident transgression of their gender roles. These environments became transitional spaces between the private salon and public artistic life, allowing women to present themselves in the public sphere while shaping it with their presence, musical knowledge, and professional aspirations.

In Granada, the Escuela de Música para Señoritas emerged as the primary centre that musically educated a considerable number of women, who needed spaces to demonstrate their acquired knowledge and skills. The existence of this Escuela made it possible for places not originally intended for musical evenings to transform into makeshift concert halls. Conventional venues, such as theatres and concert halls, also transformed their musical landscape with the presence of these young female performers and their audience, helping shape the city's musical culture.

Furthermore, this Escuela de Música para Señoritas, along with its female students and faculty, helped to introduce and popularize a new repertoire (now understood as the pedagogical and interpretative canon) bringing it closer to that which was heard in European halls. The introduction of this canon in Granada, both in piano and orchestral repertoire, was fostered by musicians and intellectuals from the mid-19th century onward. Ironically, women, who had traditionally been excluded as composers from this canon, played a crucial role in its consolidation, serving as teachers and regular concert performers in the main cultural venues of Granada.

⁷⁷. José María Guervós Mira (1870-1944), a native of Granada, was already an established pianist and composer by then, as well as a professor at the Conservatory of Madrid, holding the chair of Accompaniment. See TORMO 2015, p.291.

⁷⁸. EL DEFENSOR 1908.

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