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The culture of the piano in Catalonia (1788 -1901): On the emergence of *pianomania*[1]

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Abstract

By the last quarter of the 19th century, the piano had become a prime cultural, social and commercial phenomenon and was deeply rooted in Catalan society. Proof of this is the increase in piano manufacturing and the consumption of piano music, the Catalan public's ready access to the repertoire, the consolidation of piano instruction and the massive presence of this instrument in concert halls, universal expositions, cafés, athenaeums, casinos, theatres and private salons. This article provides new information outlining the process by which the piano took root and spread from its arrival in Catalonia in the last quarter of the 18th century until the late 19th century, when it had become the most popular, iconic instrument, as evidenced by the emergence of internationally renowned pianists like Tintorer, Granados and Albéniz. This study encompasses references to piano builders and vendors such as F. Bernareggi and M. Guarro, shops that sold scores like F. España, performers and instructors like J. B. Pujol, instructional materials and centres that taught music, as well as the public and private spaces committed to welcoming the instrument's sound. This information confirms and reveals the profound development of piano activity and culture in 19th-century Catalonia.

Keywords: 19th-century piano, socialisation, teaching in Catalonia, musical culture, piano industry and trade.

Introduction

This study is framed within the cultural and social history of music. Therefore, the piano shall not be analysed in isolation but in connection with the profiles of performers and audiences, the reception of musical performances, the channels through which instruments and scores were distributed, industrial advances and the press. Studying the piano is essential in understanding the cultural and social life of a country given that it enables us to analyse the avenues through which composers, works, ideas and musical styles were disseminated and exchanged between this and other countries within a web of national and international networks. Furthermore, it also provides information on the kinds of audiences to which the music was targeted, the fashionable repertoires and the changes they underwent over time, as well as the musical materials in circulation. In short, it is an invaluable tool for illustrating the importance and social use of music in a given setting.

Yet despite being an essential issue, the process of the piano taking root in 19th-century Catalan society has only been partially researched by music and culture historians. Worth highlighting are the studies by Bergadà and Marín on piano instruction in the second half of the 19th century,[2] Fukushima's contribution on piano builders in Barcelona and musical activity in the last third of the 19th century,[3] Brugarolas' contribution on piano building and sales in the first half of the 19th century[4] and numerous biographical studies of Catalan pianists from the late 19th century[5] and others in the field of piano technique.[6] Tellingly, the majority of these studies do not fully examine the prominent role played by the piano in the connection between 19th-century music and society, nor do they question why and how the piano ended up becoming so overwhelmingly popular both socially and musically over the course of a century. In short, they do not inquire into an essential question in the history of 19th-century Catalan music: why was the piano the most popular instrument in the late 19th century? What was the process whereby the piano took root in 19th-century Catalan society? Who were the main driving forces behind the institutionalisation of the piano in Catalonia, and which in-

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structors spearheaded piano instruction and technique in Catalonia?

This article answers these questions and provides supporting documentation from the guild and commercial collection of the Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona (AHCB); the collection of the Junta de Comerç de Barcelona and the Gònima de Janer collection, both at the Biblioteca de Catalunya (BC); and the Archives Nationales de France (ANF). It also draws from a systematic, exhaustive consultation of periodicals such as *Diario de Barcelona*, *La Vanguardia, Diario de Gerona de avisos y noticias*, *Diario de Tarragona*, *La Opinión*, *La Nueva Lucha* and other similar publications. This enables us to reveal a largely unknown culture of piano and to reconsider the history of the piano in Catalonia, which paved the way for a rich musical and cultural reality around the king of instruments in the 19th century.

The dates of the period studied were determined by the evolution, dissemination and consolidation of the piano in Catalonia; 1788 is the year of the first available documentary reference on the sale of a piano in Catalonia, and 1901 marks the peak of the piano taking root in Catalonia with the creation of the Acadèmia Granados and the piano fever in Catalonia at the turn of the 20th century.

In a context in which music was expanding in general, as shown by figures on the trade and manufacture of instruments and scores in the late 18th and throughout the 19th century,[7] it is no coincidence that one of the first newspapers specialising in music in Catalonia and Spain emerged in Barcelona, which published pieces for piano and voice from the opera repertoire, or that pianos were bought and sold in Tarragona in the 1810s. Likewise, we cannot ignore the fact that there were approximately 15 active piano builders in Barcelona in around 1826, or that figures like the pianist and piano teacher Pere Tintorer emerged in the 1830s. The Associació de Pianistes Compositors was created in 1871, and pianos were the fastest-growing music industry in Catalonia in the last quarter of the 19th century and won numerous medals in international expositions. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that the piano became the most in-demand instrument for music education, or that in the second half of the 19th century, pianos furnished the public and private spaces around which musical life was organised in towns like Tortosa, Manresa and Mataró. The sum of all these factors and others outlined below enable us to grasp why a January 1888 issue of the *La Vanguardia* newspaper reported on *pianomania*, and how such internationally renowned Catalan pianists and instructors as Pujol, Vidiella, Isern and Granados emerged.

First period: The start of the piano in Catalonia (1788-1814)

The oldest available commercial reference to a piano in Catalonia dates from 1788 and comes from the Baron of Maldà in his *Calaix de Sastre*.[8] After this date, the piano gradually came to invade other Catalan towns with a strong musical tradition. The first of them was Mataró, where the cabinetmaker Jaume Parés was documented building and selling pianos in the last decade of the 18th century.[9] In Girona, the activity of the piano and organ builder Pedro Figueras[10] is documented in the early 19th century. And in the city of Tarragona, the 17 January 1810 edition of the *Diario de Tarragona* says: "There are reports that there is a pianoforte for sale in the home of Rafael Fontova, on Calle Mayor".[11]

Piano manufacturing and trade intensified throughout this early period, as reflected in the increasing number of advertisements in the *Diario de Barcelona* about buying and selling pianos and the sale of piano scores, along with the gradual increase in the number of piano builders and tuners. This phenomenon reflects the increase in demand from the commercial bourgeoisie, which ended up turning Barcelona into the centre of this emerging industry, fostering the development of the cultural and artistic life of the main cities in Catalonia and becoming the bulk of devotees who attended concerts, participated in discussions on music in private salons and bought scores, instruments and music learning methods.

The increase in demand stimulated both the import of pianos from abroad[12] and local production. Between 1788 and 1814, seven workshops specialising in building pianos opened in Barcelona, along with one in Mataró and one in Tarragona. Furthermore, the figures on the number of active piano builders in other cities in Spain and Europe are quite similar to those found in Barcelona.[13] This confirms the fact that Catalonia was paralleling the European expansion of this instrument, which reflects the interests of a society whose prime cultural leisure pursuit was music, particularly the piano. The types of pianos that emerged from these local workshops and became the most widespread were square pianos, which are rectangular and easy to transport and tune, although there is documentary proof that the Swiss builders Otter and Kyburz, who moved to Barcelona in 1798, also manufactured grand pianos and many organs.

Interestingly, when pianos were first taking root, not only were they purveyed by piano builders, but the burgeoning social interest in having a piano also led builders of other instruments, such as the luthiers Manuel Bertran and Valentí Fabrés,[14] and other merchants not associated with the world of music, such as the ironmonger Joseph Surnami,[15] to sell them, given that pianos were seen as safe investments and valuable objects beyond their musical purpose. In order to attract clients and spark the curiosity of potential piano buyers, piano sellers inserted advertisements about buying and selling new and used pianos built locally or internationally in newspapers, alongside adverts on piano rentals starting in 1794.[16] Rentals gave the less wealthy access to the instrument and allowed whoever wanted to change their piano model frequently to do so. In short, it better fit the demand and the needs of the different kinds of enthusiasts.

In around 1800, sales of scores were flourishing in Catalonia, spurred by the increase in demand from enthusiasts, amateurs and dilettantes from the bourgeoisie. This allowed a piano repertoire for soloists to spread quickly, such as the works for piano by Mozart, Haydn, Pleyel and Travería, along with scores for accompanists, especially for voice, and arrangements for piano and voice of arias from the operas of Piccinni, Anfossi, Cimarosa, Jomelli, Tozzi, Fioravanti and Paisiello, which were being performed at the Teatre de la Santa Creu at the time.[17] In addition to copyists and musicians, booksellers (such as the Barcelona-based Tomás Gorchs, Juan Francisco Piferrer and Mateo Echterling)[18] distributed printed and handwritten scores through appealing commercial formulas such as subscriptions or rentals to boost sales and attract a potentially broader audience. Consequently, the piano repertoire encompassed appealing, fashionable music pieces – like adaptations of famous operas for piano – which continued the tradition of music played at social gatherings in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

The piano instruction available before 1814 was offered in religious settings and therefore at music schools associated with churches or cathedrals, and the classes were taught by clergymen.[19] One example of this type of instruction was at the music school at the Cathedral of Barcelona, which had pianos for instructional purposes in around 1800. It was led by Father Josep Prats, a musician who very actively participated in and organised private concerts. As we can read in the Baron of Maldà's chronicles: "On 9 November [1797]. [...] at eight o'clock, the first music Academy, which until now had been held in the home of Father Josep Prats and his brother [...], commenced in the home of the notary Mr N. Comelles".[20] The materials used to teach piano at these schools were books of miscellany which included different types of pieces by a range of composers.[21]

Yet piano lessons were also taught outside religious settings through private classes at the student's or teacher's home imparted by both local and international music teachers. The first mention is a teacher who advertised in the *Diario de Barcelona* newspaper in 1795.[22] This confirms that Catalonia was part of the cultural and musical trade routes running between Europe and the Iberian Peninsula, and when they stopped in Barcelona, the musicians were able to offer not only private concerts and music classes but also concerts at the Teatre de la Santa Creu. Visits by international figures in the world of music facilitated local musicians' contact with the latest performance and instructional procedures from the most important music and culture hubs in Europe. These visits started at that time and kept up steadily until the turn of the 19th century. The Neapolitan Joseph Pintauro was one of these musicians who came to Barcelona as a singer in an opera company and ended up staying when he saw the music opportunities available in the city, where he was able to write religious music, participate in concerts as an accompanying pianist[23] and earn a living teaching piano lessons. Thanks to a note on this musician by the Baron of Maldà, we get a glimpse of the kinds of people who sought piano instruction: it was geared towards a domestic amateur public, often women, who attached a great deal of value to cultivating music as a leisure pursuit to while away the time.[24] Pintauro left us the first pedagogical work in Catalonia specifically for teaching piano, the *Preludij composti dal sigr. Pintauro, per uso dei suoi discepoli*,[25] an eight-page handwritten study book with pieces written for amateurs learning how to play the piano. Apart from this, no other teaching materials specifically for the piano have been located from this early period.

Slowly but surely, the piano started spreading into the public and private spaces of amateur and professional musicians. The earliest reports of this instrument's presence at a Catalan public concert venue like the Teatre de la Santa Creu, or at a semi-public one like the main auditorium in the Sailmakers' Guild (Sala dels Velers), both in Barcelona, are the concerts that the Italian pianist Antonia Bocucci held in September 1798,[26] in which she performed piano solos and accompanied arias from operas by Tozzi and Paccini, as well as the concerts at the Teatre de la Santa Creu and the Sala dels Velers featuring the Italian pianist Henriquette Borghese in 1800, and Sophie Gail's recitals at the main auditorium in the Sailmakers' Guild in 1802, where she performed variations by Mozart.[27] Likewise, household spaces such as parlours also began to incorporate pianos both for the family's private use and enjoyment and socially to host concerts for guests. Hence, parlours became the largest rooms in bourgeois houses, filled with chairs, mirrors and chandeliers, the best furniture and the most valuable objects alongside the piano. One example is the musical space in the flat of the foreign exchange broker Roberto Marning on Passeig de la Muralla in 1808; this parlour gave onto the seawall and contained the following objects: "A mahogany piano decorated with bronze and covered with crimson leatherwork, two table clocks (one of bronze and the other decorated with small marble plates), a mahogany dresser with a mirror, 25 chairs and two sofas brought over from Genoa, paintings with family portraits of Mr and Mrs Marning, […] four bronze candelabra, a small chandelier and white striped muslin curtains for the parlour windows".[28] Another example is the flat of a prominent merchant, Onofre Glòria, located on Carrer de la Mercè, which had three parlours and a small hall next to the main room, with fourteen wooden chairs with thin white borders, a used pianoforte, two birdcages and a gilded piece of furniture. This space was not overly large compared to the other homes owned by the Glòria family, but it was set up for gatherings that were open to the public at large while also being usable as a private retreat and an amateur studio. Judging from the size of the room, it must have had a square piano. In a social milieu like this one, the demand for musical instruction is understood to have increased because musical training was needed to participate actively in soirées and concerts, as well as in domestic musical practice geared towards the family.

The social, economic, political and cultural instability in which Catalonia was enmeshed during the Peninsular War (it was occupied from February 1808 until May 1814) obviously had repercussions on musical consumption in general and piano manufacturing and trade in particular. The *Diario de Barcelona* reflects this by omission, as there are hardly any news reports on music and even fewer related to piano building and trade. The number of piano builders working during wartime dropped drastically, and only the activity of Joseph Martí and Johan Kyburz (Francisco Otter, with whom the latter shared his workshop, had died in 1807) can be documented. Kyburz remained in Barcelona until 1810, when he moved to Ciutadella to build an organ on commission from the Franciscan order.

Second period: The piano, an object of desire (1815-1848)

The rigours of the Peninsular War wrought havoc at all levels and triggered severe political, economic and social instability in Catalonia. According to Sánchez, the population grew considerably during this period, the integration of the Spanish home market was promoted, relations with the newly independent American countries were resumed, and new forms of modern manufacturing were introduced into industry. All of this turned Catalonia, with Barcelona at the fore, into one of the most important industrial regions in the European Mediterranean in the 1840s.[29] This process came hand in hand with a burgeoning commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, including the Bacardí, Gònima-Janer, Sagnier and Villavechia families, who were the most important driving forces and consumers of cultural activity in Catalonia.[30] Likewise, the traditionally dismal picture of the Catalan cultural scene during this period should be reconsidered, because it was richer and more active than it may appear.[31] Musical activity started to resurge in Catalonia in 1815, and so, in turn, did the demand for music instructors. Furthermore, the number of workshops building instruments multiplied, there was a considerable increase in the sale of scores, the first music stores opened, and the first music periodicals were founded, such as the *Periódico de Música* and the *La Lira de Apolo* in 1817.[32] All of these changes are a clear reflection of the expansion of the music market.

In this context, as we have noted, the piano became an essential part of cultural entertainment, the instrument with the strongest presence and most social visibility, in addition to being one of the most in-demand by music lovers and an object of desire. Proof of this is the emergence of new workshops which built, repaired and tuned pianos, as well as imports of pianos from abroad. If we take a look at the figures, Barcelona had 21 active piano builders between 1815 and 1839, [33] which rose to 24 in the 1840s.[34] City maps show that almost half the piano builders were concentrated on the southeast corner of the former Plaça de la Constitució (currently Plaça Sant Jaume), a zone located between two major retail streets, namely Carrer Escudellers and Carrer Argenteria, and very close to one of the streets where Barcelona's merchant bourgeoisie lived, Carrer Ample. Likewise, another major hub of piano manufacturers and workshops could be found in the lower part of the Raval district and near the Teatre Principal, an industrial zone occupied by the textile sector. There was also a small cluster of builders – at numbers 7, 21 and 23 – located near the Conservatori de Música y Declamación del Liceo de S.M. Isabel II. This proximity was no accident but instead revealed acute commercial acumen: being next to such a pioneering music institution as the Liceu opera house boosted the number of potential buyers. Some piano builders who had large workshops shared their construction space with other builders to lower the maintenance and material costs, such as Andrés Puig and Jaume Ribatallada and the Bordas brothers.

There is documentation proving that there was one piano builder each in Figueres and Girona, a symptom that the local initiative in this trade had become entrenched. These manufacturers mainly worked in small artisan workshops, although upon seeing the possibility of expanding their business, some of them transformed their workshops into small factories, such as Urivarrena (who even introduced mechanisation into the manufacturing process), Rafael Gabriel Pons and Lorenzo Munné. Sometimes large foreign factories reached agreements with local builders, such as the agreement between the French piano house Boisselot and the Barcelona-based builder Francisco Bernareggi in 1845,[35] which allowed Boisselot to distribute French pianos in Catalonia and thus expand and consolidate its sales market. The competition among manufacturers was fierce, and the drive to land clients and ensure product sales led some of them to pursue unusual commercial strategies. One example is the manufacturer Bergnes: to prove that its pianos were as good as those of any other European manufacturer, it challenged the Boisselot factory to hold an exhibition with Bergnes and Boisselot pianos so enthusiasts could compare the sound and quality of both manufacturers' pianos.[36] Another example of a sales strategy is from the piano builder Lorenzo Munné: in order to capture a larger market share and attract an audience with a clear penchant for the Romantic aesthetic, he built pianos "*embellished* with elegant Gothic architecture",[37] most likely imitating the cathedral-style aesthetics on the covers of some books (in which the information is presented within a Gothic architectural frame), inspired by the mediaeval manuscripts which had become fashionable in France through the publication of picturesque journeys during Romanticism.[38] Thanks to the *Diario de Barcelona*, we have even detected sales of foreign pianos in Girona in the 1830s.[39]

Just as in the previous period, the square piano was the model that sold the most, and grand pianos to a lesser extent, but starting in 1819 it became common to find ad-

Figure 1. Piano teachers and builders in Barcelona from 1815 to 1848. **Piano teachers (in yellow): 1.** Don Antonio Gallard. Botella, 38*; **2.** Francisco Rodríguez. Conde del Asalto; **3.** Lorenzo de Castro. Ciudad, 10; **4.** Anonymous. Avinyó, 19*; **5.** Anonymous. Corner of Carrer Abaixadors, near Santa Maria, Casa Nadal number 1*; **6.** Anonymous. Corner of Plaça de l'Oli*; **7.** Anonymous. Canuda, 11*; **8.** Anonymous. Capellans, 13; **9.** Anonymous. Carrer del Carmen; **10.** Anonymous. Conde del Asalto, 37*; **11.** Anonymous. Hospital*; **12.** Anonymous. Mercaders, 5; Anonymous. Plaza de les Cols, 7**; **13.** Anonymous. Robador, **14.** Anonymous. Roca, 30; **15.** Anonymous. Santa Anna, 30; Anonymous. Santo Domingo, 12**; **16.** Anonymous. Semuleras*; **17.** Anonymous. Tresllits.[88]
Piano builders (in orange): 1. Adolf Lerch. Perecamps,10; **2.** Andrés Puig, Conde del Asalto, 32; **3.** Antonio Lladó. Barbará, 11; **4.** Antonio Orfila. Trentaclaus, 14; **5.** Antonio Vergés. Borne; **6.** Antonio Vila. Templarios, 10; Auguste Rideau**; **7.** Bartolomé Camps. San Pablo, 94; **8**. Cayetano Piazza. Plaça del Palau, 9; **9**. Cayetano Vilarderbó. Tallers, 24; Evaristo Bergnes**; **10.** Faugier, next to the Porta de Santa Madrona; **11.** Francisco Antiga. Lancaster, 7; **12a. 12b.** Francisco España. Escudellers, 13 and 58; **13.** Francisco Puig. Conde del Asalto, 86; **14.** Jaume Anglada. Flor del Lliri, 4. **15.** Jaume Ribatallada. Conde del Asalto, 32; **16.** Jerónimo Bordas. Fontseré, 23; **17.** José de Urivarrena. La Rambla, 26; **18**. José Vila. Gigantes, 3; **19.** Josef Cabañeras. Plaça San Jaime; **20**. Joseph Martí. Bellafila, 1; **21.** Juan Munné. San Pablo, 94; **22.** Llusà. Carabassa, 2; **23**. Lorenzo Múnné. San Pablo, 100; **24**. Luis Davila; Manuel Bordas. Fontseré, 23; **25.** Manuel Rosell. Lladó, 7; **26.** Manuel Vila. Ciudad; **27.** Martín Plana. Perot lo Lladre, 3; **28.** Miguel Trepat. Puerta Nueva, 10; **29.** Pedro Figueras; Rafael Gabriel Pons. Lladó, 2.

vertisements in newspapers selling other models (upright pianos, *pianinos*, cabinet pianos, baby grands and piano harps), which reflect an interest in pianos not only as musical objects but also as furniture. That is, pianos became an element of bourgeois furnishings while also serving as a symbol of the family's economic wherewithal and fine taste. This also reflects a commercial interest, as clients had to be offered different sizes and shapes of pianos appropriate for both large houses with spacious parlours and more modest homes with smaller spaces. This is clear in a piano catalogue from 1828 which contains a wide array of piano types, shapes and prices capable of covering the needs and wishes of all kinds of clients. The most expensive model, a grand piano made of mahogany with six and a half octaves, three strings per note and seven registers (forte, bassoon, damper, harp, kettle drum, celeste and cymbals), cost 4,000 *reals de velló*; a mid-range model, such as a square piano which imitated the German models, also made of mahogany and with six octaves, could be purchased for 2,400 *reals de velló*; the cheapest piano in the catalogue was a square piano with five and a half octaves; and a pianoforte register cost 1,000 *reals de velló*. If we bear in mind prices and salaries from that time (in around 1831, the cheapest ticket to the Teatre de la Santa Creu cost 4 *reals de velló*, the salary of a conservatory teacher at a place like the recently created Real Conservatorio de Música y Declamación María Cristina in Madrid was around 14,000 *reals de velló* per year, and the

earnings of a talented singer could range from 7,000 to 10,000 *reals de velló* per year),[40] it becomes clear that pricing a piano that imitated the fashionable Viennese models at 1,000 *reals de velló* made it an instrument that a relatively broad swath of Catalan society could afford. It should also be noted that another option was to purchase imported pianos, which were usually more expensive than those crafted in Catalonia and only suitable for the privileged individuals who could afford them. In addition to fulfilling their musical purpose, foreign pianos became prime symbols of cultural exclusivity and economic and social status that few could attain, such as the piano bought in Vienna by the merchant Baltasar de Bacardí for his residence at the corner of Carrer Lladó and Carrer Caçadors in Barcelona.[41]

Dovetailing with the spread of pianos, in this second period the circulation of scores in the Catalan music market also increased, which gave both amateurs and professionals access to a broad piano repertoire, including mood pieces (nocturnes, ballads, romances, etc.), dance and salon numbers (fantasias, variations on famous opera tunes by fashionable composers), methods and studies, and transcriptions of opera overtures and arias or parts of symphonies. At the same time, the expansion of this repertoire and its specialisation in different kinds of music consumption and technical levels normalised piano practice, which logically boosted piano sales. The main actors in the score market were booksellers such as Manuel Riera and Juan Francisco Piferrer,[42] who tended to sell both printed and handwritten scores[43] which they had previously purchased abroad. They sold the works that publishers left on deposit or scores they printed themselves, and they even reprinted scores by famous living composers, as did Ferran Sor, who purchased the scores abroad and then sold them in his shop or as compilations of miscellany. There were also music stockists such as Francisco Bernareggi and Francisco España, who ran a kind of shop which purveyed everything from musical instruments to scores to strings for instruments, lined paper, and engravings and lithographs of famous musicians. Music distribution (and publishing in general) in Catalonia was conducted through an effective network of local booksellers connected with Barcelona, like Ignacio Boix, who had one bookshop in Tarragona and another in Barcelona.[44] The advertisements for sales of or subscriptions to musical works that appeared in the *Diario de Barcelona*, whose readership extended all over Catalonia, mention the bookshops in the different Catalan towns where they could be purchased: "You can subscribe in the Saurí y Compañía bookshop on Calle de Escudellers, in Reus at Sánchez, in Tarragona at Puigrubí and Ferrer y Vives, in Figueres at Ripoll, in Tortosa at Puigrubí, in Cervera at Casanovas, in Manresa at Abadal, in Lleida at Corominas and in Girona at Figaró. The catalogues are handed out free of change in all these shops."[45]

The need to fill new professional positions drove new music instruction initiatives in general, and piano instruction in particular, while also forcing it to expand within what we could call a secular framework, given all the implications of the wane in the Church's influence. The fall of Ferdinand VII's absolutism in 1833 and the disentailment measures which had previously been begun by Godoy in 1798 and were capped by Minister Mendizábal in 1836 led to the economic ruin of the Church and therefore the gradual disappearance of music chapels. Indeed, an 1842 decree pared them down to a minimum: the chapel master, two choirboys, an organist and a psalmist.[46]

This new situation steadily shrunk the Church's reach in music instruction, spurring the advent and consolidation of conservatories and private music pedagogy initiatives like private teachers, academies and music schools. In terms of private piano instruction, the press from this period – unlike the previous period – documents intense activity by instructors with a wide range of profiles. The first were chaplains or former chaplains without a post in a chapel who taught piano privately, stripped of sources of income after the secularisation process, such as José Menéndez, who moved to Barcelona as a piano instructor after working in different music chapels in Catalonia.[47] The second were itinerant domestic and foreign pianists who made stops in the main Catalan cities, especially Barcelona, to offer concerts in public theatres, private concerts or private piano classes, such as Joaquín Gaztambide, Franz Liszt and Maurice Strakosch. These visits by international figures from the world of piano also put Catalan musicians in touch with the interpretative and instructional procedures being used in the most prominent music and culture hubs of Europe.[48] The third were settled domestic and foreign pianists who either already lived in or had moved to Catalonia to work in the field of music as instructors, such as the Mataró-based Jaume Isern, who moved permanently to that city in 1821 after living in Montpellier and Barcelona, where he had been a prominent music instructor.[49] Other examples include Antonio Nogués, who combined his work as a pianist in the theatres and cultural societies of Barcelona with his job as an instructor, as well as countless others who advertised in the *Diario de Barcelona* to offer their services: "A young piano, voice and composition instructor wishes to engage in lessons for young ladies and gentlemen whose parents are kind enough to honour him with their trust; which I shall do for a moderate price".[50] The supply of instructors was quite large and the competition to secure students rather fierce, judging by the instructor Antonio Gallard's offer to tune the pianos of the enthusiasts who hired him to teach classes at home.[51]

In terms of private initiatives, there was also an entire series of music schools, academies and cultural associations which shaped a scene rich in opportunities for piano instruction. The first private music academies were opened in the mid-1830s and offered instruction on piano and other instruments. Two examples are the academy at number 92 Carrer de Sant Pau, or the one run by

Francisco Berini, the first violin at the Teatre Principal.[52] Starting in 1840, Mataró residents could study piano at the newly created Escola Municipal de Música run by Jaume Isern, and in Girona, the composer and pedagogue Joan Carreras i Dagas founded a musical training centre, the Establecimiento Musical, in 1848.[53]

In the field of private cultural associations among the bourgeoisie, a new pedagogical institution was founded in 1837, the Liceo Filarmónico Dramático de Montesión, popularly known as the Conservatori del Liceu, an association of enthusiasts led by the commandant of the national militia, Manuel Gibert, which provided its members music and theatre training.[54] The Liceu's activity enlivened Barcelona's musical life and provided it with stability, which was further bolstered by the opening of the Gran Teatre del Liceu in 1847, upon which it moved from the former Montsió convent to the convent of the Trinitarians on the Rambla and adopted its permanent name of Reial Conservatori.

Back in the realm of piano instruction, not all educational institutions were exclusively focused on music. One example was the Escuelas de Enseñanza para Señoritas, where young ladies "were taught the following: how to sew all kinds of linens and other household items; how to knit all kinds of goods; how to embroider both by hand and with a hoop and *en hasta*; catechism and the principles of religion; how to read and write French".[55] And these schools also taught another subject that was part of a girl's "finishing": piano. For this reason, women were the main recipients of much of the piano (and non-piano) literature in the first half of the 19th century, and some didactic works for piano were targeted specifically at them. Music was also taught in some primary and secondary schools, sometimes with piano as an elective, such as the school run by José Alegret and the Instituto Barcelonés, founded by the Barcelona Town Hall in 1827, where pupils could also study piano.[56]

In order to teach, specialised instructional materials were needed, such as methods, musical treatises and books of studies.[57] Most of the materials circulating in Catalonia, which could be purchased in bookshops specialising in scores and in music shops, came from abroad and had been written by prominent instructors at the most important schools and conservatories around Europe, like the methods developed by Louis Adam, Bernard Viguerie and Francesco Pollini.[58] On the other hand, local materials produced in Catalonia and Spain were also available to a lesser extent; they were written either by renowned musicians such as the José Nonó method, or by less known or anonymous piano instructors, such as *El arte del fortepiano simplificado y reducido al orden natural* piano method from 1820-1821, whose author is unknown.[59] There was an upswing in the circulation of instructional materials for the Catalan music market after 1815. The *Diario de Barcelona* contained many reports on piano study methods, treatises and books which could be purchased in specialised bookshops and music stores. Their regularity is evidence of the demand for pedagogical works from both amateurs and professionals, given that the manufacture and sale of pianos and scores was rising at the time,[60] and with them the demand for piano instructors.

Accordingly, the presence of the piano in public and private concert spaces was also rising compared to the first period. After 1840, the piano ended up acquiring and then solidifying the public profile that would define it throughout the second half of the 19th century. This arose from the convergence of a series of factors, such as the development of a musical life marked by active associations among the bourgeoisie,[61] the institutionalisation of concerts as the main expression of urban music life, the consolidation of the music market (music shops, publishers and manufacturers) and the appearance of the specialised music press. Indeed, in the 1840s piano lovers could subscribe to *Álbum Musical*, *El Arpa del Creyente*, *El Eco de la Ópera Italiana, El Filarmónico, El Termómetro del Teatro Español, El Trovador* and other publications in Catalan bookshops.

In short, the piano began to gain the limelight on the concert circuit, which would gel in the next period, gaining theretofore unseen aesthetic, social and economic prominence and becoming a prestigious cultural leisure object. Within this context, we can see how the visits to Barcelona by world-class figures like Franz Liszt, Émile Prudent and Sigismond Thalberg were crucial in galvanising piano concerts in public spaces such as theatres and cafes, as well as in the private spaces of music associations like the Societat Filharmònica, the Casino Barcelonés and the aforementioned Liceo Filarmónico Dramático de Montesión, where musicians like Antonio Llorens, Eusebi Font and Pere Nolasc Llorens actively participated.

Likewise, particular insight can be gleaned from the testimony of Francisco Bernareggi, a prominent instrument-maker and owner of one of the most important music stores in Barcelona in the first half of the 19th century, which sheds light on the intensity with which the piano was penetrating Catalan homes: "The swiftness with which the germ of knowledge is developing among us in all branches of literature has felicitously spread to that sublime art which drew both cries of enthusiasm and tender tears, avenues of joy and prayers of repentance and devotion as soon as it took off: music. Indeed, the love of this art is gradually taking deeper root among us; there is no moderately well-off home without a piano; there is no private gathering where singing or dancing is not one of its main diversions".[62] Indeed, the desire to own a piano had become a reality for an increasingly broad swath of Catalan society.

On the other hand, the 1848 arrival of Pere Tintorer, the pianist, pedagogue and composer from Mallorca, marks the end of an expansive phase in the culture of the piano and the onset of a period when this instrument gained solid ground and took root all over Catalonia. Tin-

torer, who had been trained at the Madrid Conservatory and in Paris, became one of the most influential pedagogues-performers in Catalonia, spearheaded the modernisation of piano technique and introduced a repertoire associated with the modern piano which took shape throughout the second half of the 19th century.

Third period: Consolidation of the piano's crystallisation (1848-1901) as an essential social object

The second half of the 19th century witnessed a true expansion of the music market. The radical shift in manufacturing and retail systems, technological and industrial applications and social habits during the second Industrial Revolution had a decisive influence on all spheres of music, from the manufacture and sale of instruments to the publishing industry and sales. Within this context, which is associated with the industrialisation process, the walls of some of the most important cities of Catalonia started to be torn down, such as Barcelona and Tarragona (both of which started in 1854), Manresa (1877) and Tortosa (1878), with the consequent expansion and modernisation of these cities. Indeed, cities became the essential places where liberal culture was defined for two main reasons: because of their quality as social spaces and sites where new ideas could spread, and because the new liberal institutions (administration, government) and public policies (education, military service) were launched there.

In Catalonia, Barcelona was the city that gradually emerged as a manufacturing and commercial hub of high-quality pianos, which actually started to compete with the major foreign manufacturers in the late 19th century, a clear sign that the piano was exponentially gaining more adherents. Around 20 off the 27[63] active piano builders in Barcelona in the second half of the 19th century were small workshops, while the remainder steadily became factories with an important commercial and distribution capacity both at home and abroad. Likewise, the builders found in some Catalan towns, like Vicente Arbona in Tarragona and Francisco Torrent in Cervera, were artisanal, and not only did they sell their own pianos, but they also purveyed those by other builders and offered repairs, restoration and tuning.[64]

One good example of interest in the piano and its social rootedness is the presence of this industry in national and universal expositions. Music held pride of place in the industrial sections of these shows because of its particular relationship with technology; industrial expansion spurred experimentation and the consequent transformations in the manufacturing techniques of instruments, especially those that required metallurgical applications or had complex mechanisms, like the piano. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that at some of these expositions, the piano was not presented with the other instruments but in the section devoted to machinery. These expositions were the perfect place for piano manufacturers to showcase their wares to society in the second half of the 19th century, displaying the latest technical and industrial novelties applied to this instrument.

At the 1860 Exposición Industrial y Artística de Productos of the Principality of Catalonia, special recognition was given to the pianos by the Barcelona-based builders Boisselot-Bernareggi y Cia., those by M. Guarro because of their modern mechanism and enormous precision, and a piano by E. Daniel which was able to withstand changes in temperature and humidity.[65] Likewise, honourable mentions went to the pianos by Bernareggi, Plana and Auger at the Paris Universal Expo of 1867. By the 1871 Exposición General de las Cuatro Provincias, there were twice as many exhibitors of pianos from Barcelona as in previous editions. And the presence of these piano manufacturers at national and universal expositions kept growing. For example, at the Vienna World's Fair of 1873, the piano builders Raynard y Masseres (Barcelona), Hijos de Montano (Madrid) and Gómez e hijos (Valencia) were awarded three of the bronze medals among the 100 piano exhibitors. Moreover, the Bernareggi Gassó i Cia factory (Barcelona), still the strongest piano building industry in Catalonia, won a silver medal.[66]

In around 1880, the Bernareggi factory had approximately 200 workers, exported pianos primarily to Portugal, the Antilles and Central America, and manufactured 500 pianos per year. This was a significant figure in Catalonia and Spain, yet paltry if compared to the major French manufacturers like Pleyel and Érard, which produced around 15,000 pianos per year around the same time, or the German industry, such as the Rönisch and Bechstein piano factories, which built between 60,000 and 70,000 pianos per year. In addition to Bernareggi, the company founded by Juan Chassaigne in 1864, later known as Chassaigne Frères, was also prominent. By 1900 it had become one of the largest factories in Spain and had won awards at different national and universal expositions, such as the silver medal at the Paris Universal Exposition in 1900, and its pianos were exported to France, the Philippines and South America.[67]

The pianos by these Barcelona-based manufacturers, most of them uprights, as square pianos had fallen out of fashion, were also distributed all over Catalonia through local music shops, which were often branches or outposts of their larger counterparts in Barcelona. They included the Juan Ayné music shop, which had shops in Barcelona and Tarragona; the merchants Salas and José Masanet of Girona,[68] which distributed Bernareggi-Gassó & Cia and Chassaigne Frères pianos; and the Parramon music establishment in Ripoll,[69] which also supplied Bernareggi pianos. Likewise, some piano teachers like the Tarragona-based Francisco Bonet, the Reus-based Ramon Vidal and the tuner from Cervera, Francisco Torrent, served as middlemen between amateurs and the most renowned Catalan piano builders such as Boisselot-Bernareggi, Guarro and Chassaigne Frères, among others. In fact, some of

these music shops opened concert halls – also called salons – where they showcased musicians, instruments and musical repertoires while enlivening cities' music scenes; two examples were Juan Ayné, who opened the Salón Ayné in Tarragona in the early 1880s, and the Salón Bernareggi-Gassó y Cia of Barcelona.[70]

Another sign that the piano was deeply rooted in Catalonia was the presence and use of this instrument in Catalan theatres and culture centres from Tortosa to Puigcerdà, and from Tremp to Manresa. Throughout the second half of the 19th century, in the throes of the country's economic boom from its steady industrialisation, the wealthier classes started furnishing their milieux and filling towns and cities with cultural and intellectual venues like casinos, schools and academies and entertainment venues like cafés. The working and middle classes also promoted their own spaces of socialisation and interaction, like athenaeums and cooperatives.[71] Pianos could be found in all these venues, and the cultural entertainment and social life of that time revolved around them. One can grasp the sheer scope of this phenomenon and the regularity with which reviews of music activities with piano appeared in all sorts of spaces simply by perusing the Catalan press. For example, on 11 February 1883 the *Eco de Granollers* reported on a musical soirée with voice and piano at the Casino de Granollers on the occasion of the *Candelera*; the *Cronica Mataronesa* on 8 September 1866 reads: "Today there will be a piano concert at the Ateneo Mataronés by the celebrated Catalan instructor Juan Miralles". Likewise, the newspaper *El jueves* from the county of El Ripollès reported on a town festival in Montesquiu in which the people gathered in the Cafè del Feliuet to sing a waltz and several pieces "from the choruses of the immortal Clavé, which have garnered their author such fame, and ending with *peteneras*, all accompanied by the young Ramon Perramon". The *Diario de Tarragona* dated 9 February 1878 reported that "the owner of the Cafè del Centro on the new Rambla de San Juan has acquired a magnificent grand piano, which we are certain his customers will appreciate upon hearing fine musical pieces during the hours of custom"; and the bimonthly newspaper *La comarca del Noya* dated 11 October 1891 reported on a chamber concert organised by the Centre Saturninense society of Sant Sadurní d'Anoia in which a string quartet with piano played. The afternoon edition of the *Diario de Tarragona* dated 1 March 1872 reports that the young pianist Adolfo Barroso Zampa performed with the Centro Tarraconense cultural society, and the *Diario de Tortosa* dated 12 May 1882 and the weekly from Tortosa *La Verdad* dated 25 September 1881 stated that both the Casino de Tortosa and the Círculo de Artesanos of Tortosa were programming concerts and cultural activities with the piano. Also worth noting is that during intermission on the opening day of the Teatre del Casino Ceretano in Puigcerdà, "Miss Martí sat at the piano and played, as only she can, a beautiful composition accompanied on the flute by the clever musician from this town, Sebastián Carol,"[72] and that several years later, in around 1890, the pianist Enrique Granados performed at this same theatre.[73]

With this cultural blossoming, there was still a demand to learn to play the piano in the majority of bourgeois and moderately well-off households, yet it also spread widely to the lower social echelons thanks to athenaeums and grassroots associations. This social aspiration to play the piano led directly to an increasing need for instructors who could teach it and music centres where lessons could be taken. Thus, piano instruction reached its peak in this last period with its institutionalisation through conservatories and municipal schools (the Conservatorio de Música y Declamación del Liceo de S.M. Isabel II opened in 1847, the Escuela Municipal de Música de Barcelona[74] did in 1886 and just a few years later, in 1892, the Escola Municipal de Música de Girona opened). Likewise, there was a steep increase in the number of private academies in Barcelona, such as the Acadèmia Musical Barcelonesa, the Acadèmia Nicolau and the Acadèmia Pujol, along with the piano and voice academy of the pianist Eduardo Amigó[75] in Tarragona and the music academy of Juan Pastallé in the city of Valls.[76] Moreover, there were spaces not designed specifically for music education but which taught piano and played a significant role in the spread of art in society, such as the Escuela de Ciegos,[77] which offered blind persons music training as a means of inclusion in society, along with the music activities of private music associations whose members organised piano concerts. Pedagogical music education organisations were also founded where piano instruction was later introduced, such as the Societat Filharmònica in Barcelona (which emerged in 1844 with the goal of holding recitals, and where harmony, composition, music theory, eloquence and drawing were taught by 1851), the Conservatori Barcelonès and the Institut Musical or the Societat Lírico-Dramàtica. Likewise, casinos, associations and culture centres opened which provided music lessons, especially piano classes, such as the Centre de Lectura in Reus, the Obrera Vallense in Valls, the Círculo Villanovés in Vilanova i la Geltrú (which operated in the 1880s) and the Alianza Fraternitat in Sant Sadurní d'Anoia. All the spaces where people could learn music were interconnected, and this relationship was forged through teaching, which was no longer limited to confined spaces but instead became permeable. This sheds light on how, for example, there was no clear division between private classes and instruction in an academy, given that music academies emerged as an extension of private classes. Thus, academies where piano and other subjects were taught were founded by prominent concert pianists, renowned composers and virtuoso pianists such as Nicolau, Pujol and Granados.

In Barcelona, for example, the majority of these music schools were located between the historical centre of mediaeval and modern Barcelona and the area just above Plaça de Catalunya, on the right and left sides of the Eix-

ample district. Likewise, the large number of piano teachers compared to general music teachers is another sign of the culture's enjoyment of this instrument and of teaching activity outside conservatories.[78] As illustrated in Figure 2, the perimeter of music teaching shifted between two zones: the first one fully covers the streets in the historical city centre of mediaeval Barcelona, in what are today the neighbourhoods of El Raval, the Gothic Quarter, Sant Pere, Santa Caterina and La Ribera. The second is the northern zone, just above Plaça de Catalunya, on the right and left sides of the Eixample district. Piano teachers' northward shift was directly related to the bourgeoisie, the prime music clients, who were moving from the city centre to the Eixample. Nonetheless, there were many teachers in this second period who had begun to teach classes outside this perimeter in places like Sant Gervasi, Sarrià, Gràcia and Sant Andreu de Palomar, which were not part of Barcelona proper until the late 19th century (the majority of villages on the Barcelona Plain were not annexed to the city until 1897). In contrast, the piano builders' workshops and factories remained within the walled city, just as other industrial sectors did, concentrated on the Raval side, which was still the most industrialised part of old Barcelona.

At the professional level at both of the conservatories in Barcelona, piano classes were the most in demand: "Thus, apparently the most popular classes at both the Conservatorio del Liceo and the Escuela Municipal de Música are the piano classes, not counting the infinite number of instructors who teach private lessons. In the past there was only a handful of them, including most prominently Pujol, Tintorer, Biscarri and Font; today there are countless piano instructors".[79]

With regard to the Escola Municipal de Música, piano appears on the first list of lessons offered by this entity in 1886, and a large number of piano instructors sat for civil service exams in order to secure a teaching post in this institution. At the same time, piano instructors were also appointed, quite an advanced organisational level for the period. Nonetheless, the conservative gender models and social mores were quite difficult to break away from in Catalonia compared to other European countries, which is why great male pianists emerged from the music schools, while women could only occasionally aspire to being anything more than amateur pianists. Generally speaking, they were highly versatile and talented women who alternated piano studies with other activities. Thus, a bourgeois woman could cultivate herself through painting, reading or music, but within the private domain of the home, always limited to the category of amateur because the status of piano virtuoso was reserved for men. The music made by women was considered merely ornamental.

Just as the range of musical instruction was quite varied (from professional to amateur), the profile of musicians was, too: from musicians who focused exclusively on teaching to those who had to cobble together different musical activities to earn a living. The majority of piano instructors at the two conservatories in Barcelona were trained both at the Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation of Paris, where Catalan pianists furthered their training, and with the leading figures in European piano. This is why the instruction in Barcelona was similar to the methodology found in the rest of Spain and abroad: the instructors had been educated in Paris, where they were able to learn the French technique, the pattern to be followed in Europe in the second half of the 19th century.

If we briefly trace the careers of the piano instructors in the Barcelona conservatories, we find that they were trained with the great pianists of the day, and this is one of the reasons behind the penetration of foreign composers' piano instruction in Catalonia. The links in the chain of masters were Pere Tintorer and Joan Baptista Pujol, since piano pedagogy in Catalonia particularly advanced thanks to the materials they produced, which reveal the clear acquisition of piano technique. Later, it continued to grow with such prominent instructors as Pellicer and Vidiella. The latter, for example, devoted his life to piano instruction and trained many pianists in his private academy.[80]

Pere Tintorer was trained with the peak representative of the Spanish piano school, Pedro Albéniz, and he returned from Lyon in 1848 after a stint abroad with representatives of European piano virtuosity. The quote below from the *Diario de Barcelona* dated 2 November 1848[81] corroborates the fact that Tintorer was already holding concerts in Barcelona: "In the music concert scheduled tomorrow at the Gran Teatro del Liceo, the performance will feature Mr Pablo Tintorer, a Catalan pianist whose distinguished artistic merit is felicitously known in this capital and in different points around Spain and abroad, particularly in France, where he lived for many years". Tintorer taught piano classes at the Conservatorio de Música y Declamación del Liceo de S.M. Isabel II in Barcelona in 1849, while also publishing the first piano methods which would become compulsory at that institution and serving as its chair of piano until 1891.

His disciples include another musician who would prove to be crucial in the evolution of piano instruction in the city, Joan Baptista Pujol. Pujol had entered the Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation in Paris as a student of Adolphe-François Laurént at the age of 15,[82] and he would come to represent the versatility of the 19th-century musician by combining piano instruction, the organisation of contests,[83] his activity as a performer, debates on aesthetic questions, composition and a business purveying scores. But most importantly, he was the core of the piano school in Barcelona, with the piano instructors and pianists Vicent Costa i Nogueras, Carles G. Vidiella, Antoni Nicolau, Isaac Albéniz, Joan Baptista Pellicer, Enric Granados, Carme Matas and Joaquim Canals, among others, all training with him.[84]

More specifically, we can divide the groups of students and key instructors who furthered and developed piano instruction in Catalonia into four phases. The forerunners

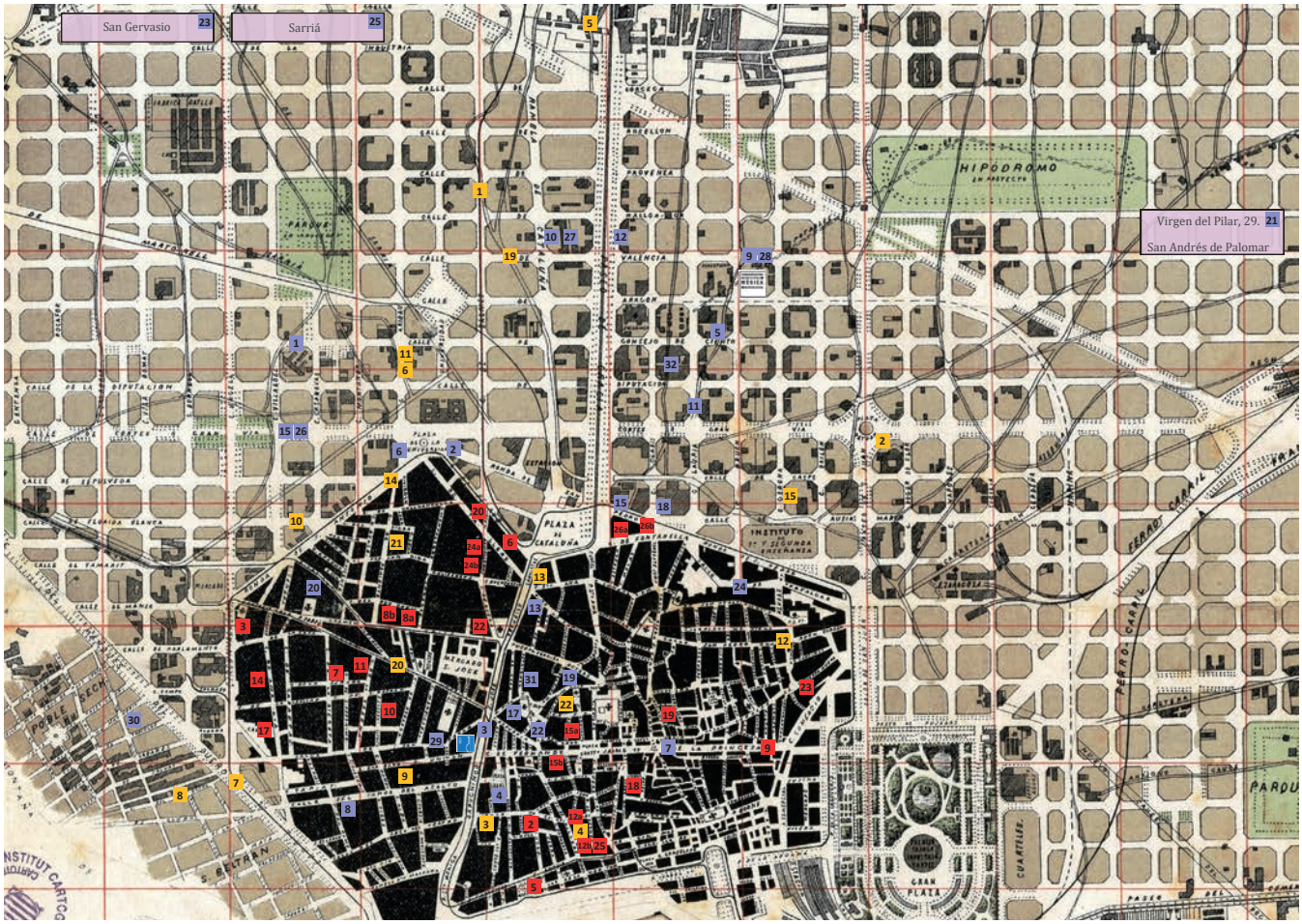

Figure 2. Piano teachers and builders in Barcelona from 1848 to 1901. **Music teachers** (in yellow): **1.** Arolas (Leonardo). Balmes, 106; **2.** Auladell (Gumersindo). Pl. Tetuán, 40; **3.** Badía (Juan). Escudillers Blanchs, 3; **4.** Bataller (Ramón). Milans, 2; **5.** Berenguer (Manuel). Riera S. Miguel, 1 bis; **6.** Bladó (Narciso). Aribau, 25; **7.** Brunet (Jaime). Marqués Duero, 161; **8**. Casals (Antonio). Rosal, 30; **9.** Chapelli (Francisco). Conde Asalto, 23; **10.** Coma (Francisco). Floridablanca, 133; **11.** Cubells (Juan). Aribau, 36; **12.** Furés (Salvador). Baja S. Pedro, 71; **13.** Homero Garrit Panisello (L.). R, Canaletas, 11; **14**. Huguet (Juan). Ronda S. Antonio, 82; **15.** March (Dionisio). Gerona, 18; **16.** Masvidal (José). Sta. Ana, 6; **17.** Morera (Enrique). Aviñó, 12; **18.** Petri (Vicente). Córsega, 181; **19.** Sánchez (Domingo). Valencia 249; **20.** Santapaula (Francisco). Hospital, 114; **21**. Selleras (José). Poniente, 39; **22.** Solá Sagalés (Narciso). Baños Nuevos, 13.

Piano teachers (in purple): **1.** Alfonso (F.). Consejo de Ciento, 285; **2.** Bofarull (Salvador). S. Pedro, 2; **3.** Calado (Mario). Rbla. Centro, 1; **4.** Cantarell (P.). Plaza Rey, 14; **5.** Casado (Francisco). Consejo Ciento, 373; **6.** Casañé (Cristóbal). Universidad, 35 and 37; **7.** Costa (Juana). Princesa, 14; **8.** Cuberó (Montserrat). Conde Asalto, 62; **9.** García (J.). Valencia, 311; **10.** García Robles (José). Rambla Cataluña, 85; **11.** Jornet (Francisco). Lauria, 46; **12.** Joussain (Mme. Jeanne), P. Gracia, 70; **13.** Lartigau (María). Canuda, 2; **14.** Lupresti (Domingo). Magdalenas, 31; **15.** Lupresti (Antonio). Rda. S. Pedro, 56 and 58; **16.** Lupresti Vilagelia (Plácido). Cortes 182; **17.** Marraco (José). Pino, 13; **18.** Martínez (Claudio). Clarís, 11; **19.** Mas (M). Paja, 6; **20.** Maymí (Laureano). Riera Alta, 10; **21.** Moncalp (M.). Virgen del Pilar, 29., San Andrés de Palomar; **22. 23.** Nin y Castellanos (Joaquín). Alsina, 5. S. Gervasio; **24**. Obradors de Jaumandreu (Julia). Trafalgar, 19; **25.** Corazón, in Sarriá; **26.** Escuelas Pias. Cortes 182; **27**. Perera (Ricardo), Pasaje Domingo, 5; **28**. Pujol (Serafina), Valencia, 303; **29.** Ribera (Cosme), S. Pablo, 54 bis; **30.** Serra Mir (Juan), Margarit, 10; **31.** Velázquez (Juan), Petritxol, 2; **32.** Vidiella Carlos (Gumersindo). Pasaje Permanyer, 1; **33.** Wehrle (Vda. De Perona). Fernando VII, 34.

Piano builders (in red): **1.** Adolph Lerch. Peracamps, 10; **2.** Agustí Altimira. Rull, corner of Obradors,12; **3.** Bartolomé Brusc. Ronda de Sant Pau, 45; **4.** Bernareggi y Cia. San Olegario, 10, corner of Carrer de Tàpies; **5.** Cateura y Cia. (Baldomero Cateura). Passatge Mercè, 5. **6.** Cayetano Vilarderbó. Tallers, 24; **7.** Charrier y Cia. Carrer de l'Aurora, 11; **8a. 8b.** Chassaigne Frère (founded by Juan Chassaigne in 1864). Fortuny, 3 and 5 de Barcelona, (it later moved to Passeig de Gràcia, 3) and València 70; **9.** Corominas i Riera. Princesa, 45; **10.** Francisco Arbona. Sadurní, 6; **11.** Francisco Cicopero. Cadena, 3; **12a. 12b**. Francisco España, Escudellers 13 and 58; **13.** Jaime Balbi. Cid, 8; **14.** Joan Baptista Pujol i Cia. Amalia, 12; **15a. 15b.** Juan Ayné. Fernando VII, 53 and Call, 22; **16.** Lope Alberdi. Passeig de Gràcia, 126. **17.** Luis Casalí. Amalia, 38 (referenced in 1902); **18.** Manuel Rosell. Lladó, 7; **19.** Mariano Guarro Guim. Mercaders, 34; **20.** Martí Plana. Tallers, 22; **21.** Maseras y Raynard. Santa Madrona, 9; **22.** Mayol, Poch y Cia. Carrer del Carmen, 20; **23.** Miquel Trepat. Puerta Nueva,10; **24a. 24b.** Ortiz y Cussó. Ramalleras, 19 and 21; **25.** Poncio Auger. Escudellers, 58; **26a. 26b.** Ròmul Maristany. Fontanella, 12 and 14.

were the instructors who trained with Pere Tintorer, whose profiles represent the different original sources of piano instruction in the city: the organist Carles Baguer (1768-1808), a key in the link between Catalan music in the late 18th and early 19th century; Ramon Carnicer (1789-1855) and Pedro Albéniz (1795-1855), music theory and piano instructors at the Real Conservatorio de Música María Cristina in Madrid; and the instructors who taught classes in Paris, such as Pierre Zimmermann (1785-1853) and Franz Liszt (1811-1886). Next came Pere Tintorer's disciples. Many of them continued his teachings at the same conservatory (including Josep Còdol, Agustí L. Salvans and Joan Lamote de Grignon) or at the Escuela Municipal de Música (Joan Baptista Pujol), while others directed their piano careers outside the conservatory (Maties Miquel). The third phase was comprised of the students of Joan Baptista Pujol, among whom we can spotlight those who combined teaching with the profession and those who garnered fame as pianists. It is worth noting that the pianists who furthered their studies abroad and geared their careers towards performance logically did not have many students, while those who chose the path of teaching were less likely to have received training abroad. This confirms the image of the Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation of Paris as the ideal conservatory, as it seems to have been a necessary stopping point – though not a guarantee – for those who were pursuing careers as performers. And there is a final group, now reaching into the 20th century, made up of the students of the musicians who devoted their careers to piano instruction, that is, the entire chain of students of Joan Baptista Pellicer, Carles G. Vidiella, Ricard Viñes and Enric Granados

The keen demand for piano instruction in Catalonia kept diversifying the variety of pedagogical treatises on how to learn to play the piano, which encompass both simple works so students could play this instrument without having to methodically learn music theory or piano technique and works that contain rigorous methodology meant for conservatory students, such as Pere Tintorer's *Curso completo de piano*. The corpus of works that piano students practised did not solely comprise these methods but also extended to other repertoires composed by the piano instructors themselves, such as the *Método teórico-práctico dividido en 2 partes op. 104*, the *20 estudios de velocidad, mecanismo y estilo op. 103*, both by by Pere Tintorer, and the *Estudios característicos para piano* by Vicent Costa i Nogueras.[85] Thus, by end of the century, technical works specialising in a specific aspect of technique and physiological description also emerged.

The diversification of piano instructors' professional facet is also an important factor to bear in mind, as they participated in concerts and recitals, as well as working in performance, acting as businessmen, organising piano contests, teaching private classes "at home" in semi-private music schools or playing in cafés. This wearing of many hats was also found in the two previous periods given that it was a good way to make a living or to boost earnings. It only waned when performers reached a certain status and earned higher income, enabling them to avoid having to seek parallel occupations. Nonetheless, complaints about the precariousness of piano instructors' salaries were constantly reported in the press during this third period. Piano instructors' most common occupations were playing in cafés, publishing and performing. Instructors not only played but also taught private classes in cafés. There are reports that prominent pianists the likes of Tintorer, Albéniz, Vidiella, Joan Baptista Pujol and Granados began their careers playing in cafés. We should bear in mind that between 1847 and 1862, cafés were at the vanguard of the urban movement and evolved apace with Catalans' fondness of music.

In terms of publishing, while in the late 19th century the author was in charge of negotiating the publication with the printer, now, with the figure of the publisher, the printer was also the publisher. This publisher advertised the performers they were interested in promoting and bought and sold methods by renowned instructors from abroad, which they later distributed and sold, primarily in Catalan pedagogical institutions but also all over Catalonia for amateurs through the network of stockists mentioned above or the booksellers who purveyed music in Barcelona, Tarragona, Tortosa, Manresa, Girona, Figueres and Montblanch. One of the figures who embodies the profile of instructor and publisher is Joan Bapista Pujol, who founded the music publishing house Pujol & Cia, from which he disseminated the most prestigious international works in Spain.

In terms of performance, many prominent figures combined this profession with teaching, either both simultaneously or one predominating over the other. The theatricality of the virtuoso technique known in Europe since the 1830s was still spreading in Spain with visits to Barcelona by international figures from the world of performance such as Liszt, Thalberg and Gottschalk. They steadily increased musicians' contact with advances in performance from the leading music hubs abroad and became a major stimulus to perfecting technique, as young students wanted to imitate this virtuosity. This requirement in the sphere of performance also spurred a major evolution in technique, while welcoming these musicians helped regenerate the musical culture of Catalan bourgeois society at the turn of the century. This change was also signalled by the creation of one of the most important piano centres in Barcelona, the Acadèmia Granados founded by Enric Granados in 1901, whose goal was to disseminate comprehensive music training to the pianists of upcoming generations because "the memory of the technique learned alongside Master Pujol and perfected in France with De Bériot unquestionably confirms his responsibility to disseminate and ensure the proper training of future generations of musicians".[86]

In this late 19th-century context, the ironic words of a writer at *La Vanguardia* in January 1888 show the profound social and musical implications of a fully rooted

piano culture: "I stand against the steady invasion of our rooms by *pianomania* from the mezzanine up to the fifth floor; I have changed residence seven times and always for the same reason, because of the piano, because of that intolerable neighbour. Youths are deserting the salons and don't go out to dance but instead play card games. Everything dies in salons where a piano reigns. Conversation, ingenuity, joy, everything! There is neither space nor time for anything but these blessed pianos […].[87]

Conclusions

The increasing popularity of the piano in Catalonia throughout the 19th century can be seen in the constant advertisements in the press to rent, buy or sell pianos and scores; offers of private piano classes or lessons in private academies; advertisements by tuners; the creation of conservatories and piano methods; publishing activity; the piano's presence in cafés as social elements; and articles and critiques of piano soirées. A cultural dynamism arose around the piano that penetrated beyond music and took root around Catalonia through the social activities of cultural associations, casinos, circles and athenaeums. Furthermore, a powerful industrial and commercial activity sprang up around the piano, which led to the development of publishing industries, primarily fed by the specific piano repertoire and arrangements of fashionable pieces like operas, zarzuelas, *havaneras* and ballroom dances, as well as piano factories, academies, music conservatories and concert halls.

All these elements developed in three phases. The first one started with the earliest reference to the piano trade in Catalonia in 1788 and ended with the Peninsular War in 1814. In this period, there began to be a notable demand for pianos from the bourgeoisie, which led to a gradual intensification in the instrument's production and trade. In the realm of teaching, piano could be learned from either clergymen in religious settings or private instructors in secular settings.

The second phase spans from 1815 to the mid-19th century and is characterised by pianos' spread to public spaces and their unprecedented social, aesthetic and economic importance. Maps reveal the increasing presence of piano builders and music instructors, primarily in Barcelona, although in other major towns like Mataró and Reus as well.

The third phase starts with the radical change in the way pianos were manufactured and sold in the second Industrial Revolution, the approval of the Vatican's Concordat and the institutionalisation of the piano with the Conservatorio Superior de Música del Liceo de S.M Isabel II. This period witnessed the coalescence of a true network of teachers and students, spearheaded by Pere Tintorer and Joan Baptista Pujol, who were trained abroad and took piano technique all over Catalonia, yielding such prominent names as Vidiella, Joan Baptista Pellicer, Malats, Viñes and Granados. The period ends at the turn of the 20th century, with widespread enthusiasm for piano technique which led to the specialisation of the figure of the pianist and piano instructor, dovetailing with the birth of the Acadèmia Granados.

This display of social fervour was for a musical instrument which is also a piece of furniture – it had to serve as an ornament along with the other furnishings in private spaces – and a machine – in constant evolution thanks to the investigations of piano builders. Thus, the purchase of new piano could be the perfect excuse to host a major musical soirée that might be written up in the newspaper. Suffice it to read the *Diario de Tarragona* dated 3 March 1880 which reports on the following scene, in which the piano was the guest of honour: "Last Sunday evening, on the main floor of the house of Mr Jaime Bru's widow, a piano from the reputable Raynard y Maseras factory was unveiled. [...] The pianist was the young organist from San Francisco parish. Likewise, the young Mr Gabriel very skilfully played several pieces, leaving the entire audience in that home highly pleased." Indeed, it was important to spread the word that one possessed one of the most sophisticated, prized and desired social objects in the 19th-century social parade.

Thus, the piano took ever greater root in 19th-century Catalan society, and throughout the middle years of the first half of that century it gained status as an object of desire among part of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, until it became an essential social item for the majority of music enthusiasts throughout the second half of the 19th century.

Notes and references

[1] A term used in an article in the newspaper *La Vanguardia* dated 19 January 1888 to explain the fever and obsession for this instrument in the late 19th century.

[2] Montserrat Bergadà. *Les pianistes Catalans à Paris entre 1875 et 1925. Contribution a l'étude des relations musicales entre la France et l'Espagne*. Doctoral thesis, Université François Rabelais de Tours, Tours 1997; Estel Marín. *L'ensenyament del piano a Barcelona: 1850-1901*. Doctoral thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Barcelona 2017.

[3] Mutsumi Fukushima. *El piano en Barcelona entre 1880 y 1936*. Doctoral thesis, Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona 2008.

[4] Oriol Brugarolas. *El piano en Barcelona (1790-1849): construcción, difusión y comercio*. Doctoral thesis, Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona 2015.

[5] Mònica Pagès. *Acadèmia Granados-Marshall: 100 anys d'escola pianística a Barcelona*. Editorial Mateu, Barcelona 2000; Miriam Perandones. "Enrique Granados en París: la construcción de un icono español en el ámbito musical internacional". *Revista de Musicología*, 34 (2011), pp. 203-232.

[6] Carles Sánchez. *Una mirada a l'escola pianística catalana*. Escola Superior de Música de Catalunya, Barcelona 2015.

[7] Recent studies show that there was a very intense trade in instruments and scores in Spain and Catalonia since the late 18th century: Yolanda Acker. *Música y danza en el "Diario de Madrid" (1758-1808): noticias, avisos y artículos*. Centro de Documentación de Música y Danza of the Instituto de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música, Ministry of Culture, Madrid 2007; Cristina Bordas. *La producción y el comercio de instrumentos musicales en Madrid ca. 1770 - ca. 1870*, Universidad de Valladolid, Valladolid 2004; Oriol Brugarolas. "El comercio de partituras en Barcelona entre 1792 y 1834: de Antonio Chueca a Francisco Bernareggi". *Anuario Musical,* 71 (2016), pp. 163-178; Miguel Ángel Marín. "Music-Selling in Boccherini's Madrid". *Early Music*, 33 (2005), pp. 165-177.

[8] "[...] On the evening of 11 February we brought home the pianoforte purchased [...]". AHCB, Ms A 202, [Rafel d'Amat i de Cortada, *Calaix de sastre*, II], p. 314. Years later, Maldà wrote in his diary that the builder and tuner of that square piano and other pianos in Barcelona was Joseph Alsina, who was working in Barcelona from 1770 until 1819.

[9] *Diario de Barcelona* (henceforth *DdB*), 30 November 1797, p. 1420.

[10] Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona (henceforth AHCB), Junta de Comerç collection, box 40.

[11] *Diario de Tarragona* (henceforth *DdT*), 17 January 1810, p. 87.

[12] The first available reference on the importance of a piano in Barcelona dates from 1803. AHCB, Municipal collection, Sanitat collection, XII-4/C-10, 1803.

[13] For example, in around 1800 in Barcelona, which had a population of 100,000 inhabitants, there were 7 working piano builders; in Madrid, which had a population of 160,000 inhabitants, there were 10 (6.25 builders per 100,000 inhabitants); Milan, which had a population of 140,000 inhabitants, had 11 piano builders (7.8 per 100,000 inhabitants); Paris, which had a population of 625,000 inhabitants, had as many as 27 working piano builders (4 builders per 100,000 inhabitants).

[14] *DdB,* 26 May 1800, p. 591, and 2 April 1803, p. 423.

[15] *DdB,* 7 September 1804, p. 1155.

[16] *DdB*, 12 November1794, p. 1280.

[17] See some of the advertisements in the *DdB* which mention the sale of piano scores: 10 January 1799, p. 39; 4 April 1800, p. 380; 28 November 1804, p. 1554; 18 March 1808, p. 332; among others.

[18] Oriol Brugarolas. "El comercio de partituras...", *op. cit.*, pp. 166-167.

[19] This situation did not change until the approval of the Vatican Concordat in 1851. As we shall see, after this Concordat, musicians in Church chapels had to be clergymen, and this had several implications. On the one hand, musical instruction, which was closely tied to music chapels in this first stage, would gradually move away from the Church as a consequence of both its loss of hegemony and the emergence of the new bourgeois class which would attempt to organise its own academic institutions. Because the Concordat required the musicians at Church chapels to be clergymen, this forced many musicians who had previously worked within the religious world to suddenly leave their jobs and continue their musical activity in the secular realm as private teachers and instructors at academies, or as orchestra musicians, among other occupations.

[20] AHCB, Rafael d'Amat i de Cortada (Baron of Maldà), Calaix de sastre, Ms. A-212, vol. XII.

[21] In relation to the books of musical miscellany: Laura Pallàs. *Estudi codicològic i catalogació del manuscrit E-VI 293. Una testimoni de la música de tecla a Catalunya a principis del segle xix*. Doctoral thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Barcelona 2017; Celestino Yánez. "Música para pianoforte, órgano y clave en dos cuadernos zaragozanos de la primera mitad del siglo xix". *Anuario Musical*, 62 (2007), pp. 291-334.

[22] The piano teachers offered "to teach not only how to play any Italian piece, but also how to play the flute and the pianoforte" and "to give harpsichord or pianoforte lessons to any amateur who wants to pursue this exercise, offering to play it at a fair price". Oriol Brugarolas. *El piano en Barcelona…op. cit.*, p. 342.

[23] The Baron of Maldà explains Pintauro's participation in some of these private concerts as an accompanist: "In terms of the chanteuses, there were the young lady of the house, who also accompanied on the harpsichord an aria with recitative sung by Mr Francisco Mas [...] and the duet sung by a very flamboyant young woman with Pintauro, a tenor who was at the Theatre". AHCB, Rafael d'Amat i de Cortada (Baron of Maldà), *Calaix de sastre*, Ms. A-218, vol. XVII, p. 297, 29 March 1800.

[24] "In the Girona house on Carrer dels Archs [...] the Academy was quite good [...] [with] the arias and duets of the chanteuses, who were the young lady of the Home, the daughter of Mr Francisco Girona and Mrs Mariana, Mrs Estaño, Mis Justa Ansa, Salucci, a comedian at the Theatre [...]. I had forgotten to report that the Chapel Master who played the harpsichord or the pianoforte was Mr Pintaura [Joseph Pintauro], who paints himself by singing, playing and teaching Mademoiselles". AHCB, Rafael d'Amat i de Cortada (Baron of Maldà), *Calaix de sastre*, vol. XXII, p.169, 22 February 1801.

[25] The score can be found at the Biblioteca de Catalunya (BC), Carreras Dagas collection, M 732/30.

[26] *DdB,* 12 September 1798, p. 1027.

[27] With regard to Henriquette Borghese see: *Ddb*, 10 October 1800, p. 1237; and with regard to Sophie Gail see *DdB,* 21 October 1802, p. 1294.

[28] Arxiu Històric de Protocols Notarials de Barcelona (henceforth AHPNB), Francisco Portell (notary no. 1142), vol. 42, Inventaris, vol. 34, pp. 226-227.

[29] Alex Sánchez. "Crisis econòmica y respuesta empresarial. Los inicios del sistema fabril en la industria algodon-

era catalana, 1797-1839". *Revista de Historia económica*, 8 (2000), pp. 485-523.

[30] Erasme de Janer was a key figure in the Societat del Teatre de la Santa Creu from 1826 until the mid-1840s; Luis Sagnier was one of the first presidents of the Conservatori del Liceu of Barcelona, founded in 1838; Ignazio Vilavecchia was a merchant and industrialist, like his uncle, Ignazio Vilavecchia, and was one of the driving forces behind the construction of the Teatre del Liceu, which opened in 1847.

[31] A scientific-literary society called the Societat Filosòfica was founded in 1815. It proposed an intellectual exchange among peers from different social backgrounds, giving a voice to young intellectuals such as the future Romantic novelist Ramon López Soler and the writer and economist B.C. Aribau. In addition to general publishing, before 1830 there was a major surge in the translation into Spanish of the works by Young, Chateaubriand, Byron, Goethe and Schiller and the novels of Sophia Lee, Agnes Marie Bennet and Regina Maria Roche.

[32] These music newspapers published musical works, usually adaptations for piano and voice of the operas of Rossini, Carnicer, Orlandi and Generali, among others, which were the ones performed the most at the Teatre de la Santa Creu.

[33] Joseph Martí, Goessel, Jaume Ribatallada, Antonio Vergés, José Vila, Pedro Figueras, Lorenzo Múnné, Juan Munné, Manuel Vila, Antonio Vila, Andrés Puig, Josef Cabañeras, José de Urivarrena, Auguste Rideau, Antonio Orfila, Bartolomé Camps, Francisco Puig, Antonio Lladó, Rafael Gabriel Pons, Manuel Bordas, Jerónimo Bordas. See: Oriol Brugarolas. "Del piano de Joseph Alsina a los pianos de los hermanos Munné: construcción y comercio de pianos en Barcelona de 1788 a la dècada de 1830". *Revista de Musicología*, vol. XLI, no. 2 (2018), pp. 79-110.

[34] Antonio Orfila, Bartolomé Camps, Francisco Puig, Antonio Lladó, Rafael Gabriel Pons, Manuel Bordas, Jerónimo Bordas, Lorenzo Múnné, Juan Munné, José Vila, F. Bernareggi-L.Boisselot, Jaume Anglada, Adolfo Lerch, Martín Plana, Miguel Trepat, Cayetano Vilarderbó, Francisco Antiga, Luis Davila, Llusà, Manuel Rosell, Francisco España, Cayetano Piazza, Evaristo Bergnes i Faugier. See: Oriol Brugarolas. "Del piano de Joseph Alsina...", *op. cit.*, p. 87.

[35] *DdB,* 24 February 1849, p. 913.

[36] *DdB,* 18 July 1849, p. 3394.

[37] *DdB*, 26 January 1836, p. 208.

[38] See the cover of the book by Juan Baptista Roca i Bisbal, *Gramàtica música, dividida en catorce lecciones. Obra utilísima para los que quieran aprender la música. Resumen para los que saben e introducción para todos los métodos* (Barcelona 1837). Impremta del llibreter Joaquim Verdaguer. This publication stands out for its cathedral-style cover. Biblitoeca de Catalunya, M 3902.

[39] *DdB*, 23 March1830, p. 756: "There is on sale in Gerona a piano manufactured in Paris by Ceutlet [sic], with six lyre-shaped pedals, six octaves with six strings, new and flawless".

[40] Octavio Lafourcade, *Ramón Carnicer en Madrid, su actividad como músico, gestor y pedagogo en el Madrid de la primera mitad del siglo xix*. Doctoral thesis, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2009, p. 228.

[41] AHPNB, Josep Maria Torrent y Sayrols (notary no. 1199), vol. 16, *Manuale Totiusque Instrumentorum* 1822-1823.

[42] Oriol Brugarolas. "El comercio de partitures...", *op. cit.,* pp. 163-178.

[43] At least until 1850, the date when the commercialisation of copper engravings became widespread.

[44] The bookshop in Tarragona was at Carrer Major no. 21, and the one in Barcelona was on Baixada de Sant Miquel. *Faro del Francolí*, 31 May 1845, p.1.

[45] *DdB*, 22 February 1828, no. 53, p. 435.

[46] Francesc Cortès. "La música religiosa", in Xosé Aviñoa (ed.). *Història de la Música Catalana, Valenciana i Balear*, vol. III, Edicions 62, Barcelona 2000, pp. 187-253.

[47] *DdB*, 8 May 1834, p. 1044.

[48] Xosé Aviñoa (dir.), *Història de la música...*, *op. cit.,* pp. 12-17.

[49] Montserrat Gurrera i Lluch. "Jaume Isern i la seva incidència en l'ensenyament de cecs i de la música al Mataró vuitcentista". *Educació i història*: *Revista d'Història de l'Educació*, no. 9-10 (2006-2007), pp. 168-192.

[50] *DdB*,16 April 1836, p. 861.

[51] *DdB*, 19 February 1831, p. 399.

[52] In 1840, the Girona Town Hall hired Francisco Berini to teach music classes for children. In: "La vida musical vuitcentista", in Xosé Aviñoa (ed.). *Història de la música...*, *op. cit.,* pp. 13-26.

[53] Josep Maria Garcia Balda. "Carreras i Dagas i l'educació dels discapacitats". *Revista de Girona*, 253 (2009), pp. 66-70.

[54] In Spain, the benchmark music school was the Real Conservatorio of Madrid, which opened on 2 April 1831.

[55] *DdB*, 8 February 1819, p. 310.

[56] *DdB*, 2 September 1841, p. 3500.

[57] By "studies" we mean pieces written specifically to practice different instrumental techniques and difficulties.

[58] *DdB*, 1 January1823, p. 8.

[59] BC, M196.

[60] Oriol Brugarolas. "El comercio de partituras...", *op. cit.,* pp. 170-174.

[61] Which in the 1840s gave rise to institutions like the Conservatory and the Teatre del Liceu, the Societat Filharmònica, the Teatre Nou and the Casino Barcelonés; after the 1950s, they began to emerge in the rest of Catalonia.

[62] *DdB*, 23 June 1838, p. 1399.

[63] Lope Alberdi, Agustí Altimira, Francisco Arbona, Poncio Auger, Juan Ayné, Jaime Balbi, Boisselot-Bernareggi/ Gassó y Cia, Bartolomé Brusco, Luis Casalí, Cateura y Cia, Charrier y Cia, Chassaigne Frère, Francisco Cicopero, Corominas y Riera, Francisco España, Mariano Guarro Guim, Joan Baptista Pujol y Cia, Adolph Lerch,

Ròmul Maristany, Maseras y Raynard, Mayol, Poch y Cia, Ortiz y Cussó, Martí Plana, Manuel Rosell, Miquel Trepat, Cayetano Vilarderbó. See AHCB, Junta de Comerç, box 12. See too Mutsumi Fukushima. *El piano en Barcelona...*, pp. 74-101.

[64] *DdT*, 4 February 1874, p. 4.

[65] Francisco José Orellana. *Reseña completa descriptiva y crítica de la exposición industrial y artística de productos del principado de Cataluña, improvisada en Barcelona, para obsequiar á S.M. la Reina Doña Isabel II y á su Real familia, con motivo de su venida á esta ciudad*. Establecimiento tipográfico de Jaime Jepús, Barcelona 1860, pp. 51 and 239.

[66] Juan José Carreras (ed.) *Historia de la Música en España e Hispanoamérica. La música en España en el siglo XIX.* Fondo de Cultura Económica, Madrid 2018, pp. 608-614.

[67] Juan José Carreras (ed.) *Historia de la Música en España...*, pp. 610-615.

[68] *Diario de Gerona*, 21 October 1894, p. 14; *La España Musical*, 7 October 1869, p. 4.

[69] *El Ripolles*, 1 July 1881, p. 8.

[70] *DdT,* 19 March 1895; *La Vanguardia* 25 November 1881.

[71] Santiago Izquierdo. "Els ateneus a Catalunya. Cultura i sociabilitat als segles xix i xx". *Catalan Historical Review*, 11, 2018, pp. 151-162.

[72] *La voz del Pirineo. Semanario de intereses locales, noticias y avisos*, 12 November 1882, p. 3.

[73] Examples include: *La voz del litoral* dated 3 May 1885, reports that the Societat Cooperativa Mataronesa organised a literary-musical soiree which "began with the Moreu sisters, distinguished society teachers, playing a beautiful fantasia as a piano duet […]", and in the salons of the Casino Figuerense a concert for voice and piano was held featuring the Italian tenor Parodi, as reported in *El eco Ampurdanés* on 16 April 1876.

[74] Between 1847 and 1886, music conservatories and schools sprang up in the main cities in Spain: in Alicante, there had been a music academy run by Enrique Guillén since 1860; Valencia had the Liceo Valenciano since 1841 (the conservatory came in 1879); the Conservatorio de Málaga opened in 1870; and in Oviedo, the Escuela Provincial y Elemental de Música was created in 1883.

[75] *La opinión*, 27 February 1885, p. 3.

[76] *El Progreso Vallense*, 22 November 1896, p. 3.

[77] Esther Burgos. *Historia de la enseñanza musical para ciegos en España (1830-1938)*. ONCE, Madrid 2004.

[78] Alexandre Galí. *Història de les institucions i del moviment cultural a Catalunya. 1900-1936*. Vol. 12. Fundació Alexandre Galí, Barcelona 1984, p. 36.

[79] *La Vanguardia*, 8 November 1898, p. 1.

[80] Joan Miquel Hernández. *L'escola pianística de Carles G. Vidiella.* Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2009.

[81] Oriol Brugarolas. *El piano en Barcelona..., op. cit.*, p. 369.

[82] Parallel to Zimmermann's advanced piano classes were those taught by Adolphe-François Laurént (1852-1859). While the former became resoundingly successful, Laurént's classes were less popular. In 1828, Cherubini chose Laurént as a teacher because the fact that he had been a disciple of Zimmermann guaranteed the continuity of the teaching at the conservatory. Laurént taught classes there from 1828 to 1862. Laurént's evaluations were always positive. For example, the ones from 1853 say: "Bon élève exécution remarquable"; "Va très bien. Je demande le Concours". See the Archive of the Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation de Paris, 1853, Series AJ/37, ANF.

[83] With regard to the Tintorer-Pujol Contest held by these two teachers, we can find information in Montserrat Bergadà. "Les pianistes espagnols au Conservatoires de Paris au XIXe siècle", in François Lesure, (ed.), *Échanges musicaux franco-espagnols XVIIe-XIXe siècles*. Saints-Geosmes, Klincksieck, 2000 (Actes des Rencontres de Villecroze, IV), pp. 195-233.

[84] Other students: Agustí Quintas, Blai Net, Gibert Camins, Màrius Calado Lluís Mas, J. Sancho Condis, Matíes Miquel, Ricard Viñes, Joaquim Malats, Rachelle, Costa, Picó, F. Viada, L. Bau, Frederic Lliurat, Antoni Camps, and the Misses Guitian Grimaldi Castelaro. See Estel Marín. *L'ensenyament del piano...op. cit.*, pp. 217-232.

[85] Among other methods, worth noting are the following piano studies and exercises: *Nuevo mecanismo del piano basado en principios naturales, seguido de dos apéndices* by Joan Baptista Pujol; *25 Estudios de mecanismo y estilo* op. 100, and *30 estudios fáciles y progresivos de mecanismo y estilo* op. 102, both by Pere Tintorer; *18 pequeños estudios*, by Antoni Buyé, among others. See Estel Marín. *L'ensenyament del piano...op. cit.*, p. 264.

[86] Mònica Pagès. *Acadèmia Granados-Marshall…op. cit.*, p. 36.

[87] *La Vanguardia*, 19 January 1888, p. 1.

[88] The symbol * indicates the address that appears in the advertisement in the *Diario de Barcelona* and is the address where information on the piano teacher advertising is provided, although we cannot be sure that it is where the classes were held. For example, the advertisement for number 17: "A young piano, voice and composition teacher wants to find employment teaching lessons to young ladies whose parents are kind enough to honour him with their trust; which I shall do for a moderate price; more information on Calle Tresllits". The symbol ** indicates that the advertisement by the piano teacher or builder does not indicate the address, so it cannot be located on the map.

Biographical notes

Oriol Brugarolas has a PhD in History from the Universitat de Barcelona and is an expert in the History of Music, and a Bachelor's in Piano and Music Theory from the Conservatori Superior de Música del Liceu. He has been a professor affiliated with the Universitat de Barcelona since 2013. He is a member of the research group on *Música, tecnologia i pensament en els segles XIX i XX* and contributes research and documentation to the Museu de la Música of Barcelona and the Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona (AHCB). As a researcher, he has specialised in the commerce, production, consumption and dissemination of music in Barcelona and Spain between 1780 and 1830. His most noteworthy publications include "La construcción de pianos en Barcelona 1780-1808: los primeros constructores", *Cuadernos de música iberoamericana,* 2011, vol. 21, pp. 83-102; "El piano en el Romanticismo: una herramienta necesaria". Aviñoa, Xosé (ed.), *Tecnología y creación musical.* Lleida: Editorial Milenio, 2014, pp. 11-49; "El comercio de partituras en Barcelona entre 1792 y 1834: de Antonio Chueca a Francisco Bernareggi", *Anuario musical* (published by CSIC), no. 71, 2016, pp. 157-172; *L'ensenyament musical civil privat a Catalunya entre 1792 i 1838. Noves aportacions al seu estudi*, "Revista d'Història de l'Educació", XXXII/2, 2018; and "Del piano de Joseph Alsina a los pianos de los hermanos Munné: construcción y comercio de pianos en Barcelona de 1788 a la década de 1830", *Revista de Musicología*, XLI/2, 2018.

Estel Marín has a PhD in History and Music Sciences from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona with a thesis entitled *L'ensenyament del piano a Barcelona: 1850-1901*. She also holds a Bachelor's in Piano from the Conservatori Superior de Música del Liceu and in Chamber Music from the Conservatori de Badalona, along with a diploma in Education, Music specialisation, from the Universitat de Barcelona. She is a member of the consolidated research group Poció at the Universitat de Barcelona and of the Xarxa d'Innovació Educativa Geografies Literàries 3.0 at the Universitat de València. She has taught piano and music at public schools and developed the design of educational programmes in conjunction with research groups like the *Music Technology Group* at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra. She has also coordinated the curricular implementation of the basic competences in the area of the arts at the Servei d'Innovació i Formació del Departament d'Educació. She is currently working at the Secretariat of the Consell Escolar de Catalunya. Her most noteworthy publications related to music instruction include "Imágenes musicales del siglo XX", in *Aula de Innovación Educativa*, Ed. Graó, 2012; "Desenvolupar competències ètiques a l'educació musical i corporal. Un estudi empíric als estudis de mestre en educació infantil de la Universitat de Barcelona", in *Artseduca*, 2012; and "La proyección del bienestar desde la mirada de la gestión cultural", *in Arte y benestar* (48-59). Publicacions UB, 2014.