

GRANADA LA BELLA (1896): MUSICAL EXOTICISM AND NOSTALGIA AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY.

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1. Granada la bella

«That single, dry, all-encompassing connotation: the beautiful²». The words of Loretta Frattale, which tried to capture the essence of the city, from its Arab past to modern times. And yet, it can seem today to have been reduced to a mere visual label or shorthand, used in an almost flippant way, or as a tourist gimmick.

In 1896 the journalist, writer and diplomat Ángel Ganivet wrote his archetypal mythical book *Granada la bella* [Granada the Beautiful] (1896). It was initially published as a series of articles, in *El Defensor de Granada*, a local newspaper for its bourgeois inhabitants. He had not wanted it to be publicly available³, and the articles were only published as a collection in a private edition later. He was then the Consul of Spain in Helsinki (now Helsinki), and wanted to write about his idealized native city, which he had visited the year before.

Ganivet dreamed of a town which looks like a recumbent woman resting her head on the red pillow of the Alhambra. It is not difficult to understand the metaphor, looking at this photograph of the city from around 1890.

IL. 1. GARZÓN, Rafael. *Granada. General view of the Alhambra and Sierra Nevada*, ca. 1890. Granada, Archivo del Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife, Registration number: F-13743.

Actually, Ganivet had been seeking the “soul of the city”, a supposed spiritual essence, lying somewhere between aesthetics and sociology, as a sort of chronotope⁴. His aim was to refer to an idea which was independent of a specific time and independent of a specific location in space: an idea which would then free his imagination, opening it to the more timeless ideas of a Granada as a space without time. Or, at least, an unreal time: «My Granada is not the one you see today: it is [a Granada] which could be or which perhaps should be, yet one which I am uncertain will ever come to be⁵». A town-woman, with her curves and folds, enclosed on herself, threatened by the danger of the straight line⁶. The modern city, with its great avenues and broad streets is a woman without curves. As such, the exteriority of the straight-line contrasts with what Ganivet calls the richness of the «internal house», the soul of the South rooted in the narrowness of streets and in the rhythm of the line formed by walls and eaves. Ganivet did not conceive of the Alhambra as an Eden, or as a sheer fortress living in a never-ending party. On the contrary, he feels the deep sadness which issues from a desert palace, abandoned by its

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² FRATTALE 1997, p. 62.

³ RODRÍGUEZ 2013, p. 131.

⁴ GONZÁLEZ ALCANTUD 2011, p. 20.

⁵ “Mi Granada no es la de hoy: es la que pudiera y debiera ser, la que ignoro si algún día será”. GANIVET 1896, p. 5.

⁶ RODRÍGUEZ 2013, p. 122-123.

inhabitants, «imprisoned by the invisible thread, woven by the spirit of destruction, this invisible spider, whose legs are dreams⁷».

2. On the hunt of the exotic: (musical) *Tales of The Alhambra*

A narrow reading of Ganivet's work places it as a continuation of the tradition of romantic travellers, the paradigm example being the *Tales of The Alhambra*: the «true inventor of the myth of Granada for the American world⁸». In *The Alhambra: A Series of Tales of the Moors and Spaniards*⁹, Washington Irving recalls that Boabdil (the last Arab King in the Alhambra) «turned his eyes from taking their farewell gaze» and then describes the young king's anguish over his loss in a place still called the *Suspiro del Moro*, the last Sigh of the Moor. Irving reinforced this loss when recounting the reaction of Ayxa, Boabdil's mother, and her harsh sentence: «You [would] do well [...] to weep as a woman over what you could not defend as a man», a Western image which successfully magnified the emotion, and added a dramatic note to this episode. Alongside other travel and poetic books, Irving's literary fantasy made a powerful contribution to the popularity of the Alhambra, which had spread all over Europe during the 19th and a good part of the 20th centuries, but also to perpetuate this romantic vision of loss, even through to today¹⁰.

In addition to the spreading of this image abroad, this tradition led Spanish artists to the creation of their own «Orient», in the same way as Makdisi identified for the Ottoman empire, pointing out that «in the age of Western-dominated modernity, every nation creates its own Orient¹¹». This was probably the beginning of the paradoxical relationship which still persists today, between Spain and Orientalism¹². As Edward Said has noted, the relations between Spain and Islam were exceedingly complex. Spain offered a notable exception to his cultural analysis of French, British, and US Orientalism, because Islam had for so long been a part of Spanish culture and not an external, distant power¹³.

The South's framing of Spain, and of Andalusia in particular, as an «Oriental» space, was often incorporated into Spain's national identity. At the same time, Muslim Morocco offered Spain its own «Oriental periphery». Spanish artists, architects, writers, and patrons were aware of the orientalisng gaze of foreign artists, who regarded all Spaniards, whether in the past or present, as «exotic». At the same time, however, Spanish artists and architects were also capable of orientalisng parts of their own culture and other cultures. It is through this double position of Spanish artists and architects (as both subject and object of the gaze) that the paradoxes of Spanish Orientalism emerged¹⁴. All these tensions materialized in the competing representations of the Alhambra, whether Spanish or foreign: nostalgia, lost empires, and melancholy all helped to transform the Alhambra into a place almost outside time, and yet simultaneously to serve as a reminder of the past, and of loss.

Alhambrism: Musical Tales in Spanish Salons

⁷ «Aprisionado en los hilos impalpables, que teje el espíritu de la destrucción, esa araña invisible, cuyas patas son sueños». GANIVET 1896, pp. 85-86.

⁸ RODRÍGUEZ 2002, p. 135.

⁹ IRVING 1835, pp. 60-61.

¹⁰ LITVAK 2005; SAGLIA 2002.

¹¹ MAKDISI 2002, p. 768.

¹² MCSWEENEY – HOPKINS 2017.

¹³ SAID 2008, pp. 9–10.

¹⁴ MCSWEENEY – HOPKINS 2017, p. 3.

The term ‘Alhambrism’ was first applied to Spanish music by Adolfo Salazar¹⁵ in relation to the French poets who found an unmistakable Spain in Morisco romances. For those poets, Spain was even more evocative than the real Orient. This perception of Spain which was identified with Granada by Victor Hugo in *Les Orientales* (1829)¹⁶. In fact, Salazar identifies the origin of Spanish romantic Orientalism as being in Hugo's work, because the young romantic Spanish poets saw their own history through this poem. Salazar also extended this French example to Spanish musicians, who, inspired by the French models, looked for the Alhambrism in the Andalusian musical language¹⁷.

Since that time, Alhambrism in 19th century Spanish music has been extensively studied by Ramón Sobrino (symphonic music) and M. Encina Cortizo (opera), establishing both its origins and some stylistic patterns¹⁸. Although Alhambrism cannot be defined as a musical style, some musical traits which come from the orientalist tradition, along with the popular music of the South of Spain, have been identified as being at least *representative* (such as the Major/minor modes alternation, identified with the *topoi*: Loss-minor/Reconquest-major)¹⁹.

Recently, Michael Christoforidis has also connected Alhambrism with Albéniz, Falla, and Debussy in fin-de-siècle Paris²⁰, where the oriental fashion linked to Alhambrism «denoted an eclectic and often kitsch orientalism», but by 1900 these composers introduced «a further level of abstraction via their choices of literary topoi and modes of musical representation²¹».

Twenty years after Irving's tales, we find the first works which started the fashion for the «Musical tales of the Alhambra» in the Spanish salons. The first is *Echoes of Granada*, two arabic melodies for piano by Martín Sánchez Allú (1852), a young musician from Salamanca, then working in Madrid²². The first Arabic melody is called ‘Farixa’, perhaps a female name with Arab resonances. It is a short piece for piano with a simple structure —intended for amateur players— based on an ornate melodic line accompanied by a rhythmic pattern related to the bolero, responding to a long tradition of identifying the 18th century Spanish bolero with Granada. Moreover, the musical traits associated to Alhambrism appear in ‘Farixa’, particularly the ornate melodic line, major and minor modes alternation and rhythmic patterns in the accompaniment, especially the bolero. But this relation is even more clear in the second Arab melody by Allú: ‘Suspiro del moro’, relating to Boabdil's lament. It begins with an *Agitato* tempo, to convey the image of galloping horses —the Catholics arrival—, followed by an *Andante amoroso*, the Farewell in C minor, with indications given as *molto espressivo*, or *Lamentoso*. A dotted figuration in the accompaniment gave some internal movement to this lament, which ends in C Major to link with the gallop again. Afterwards, the lament turned into C Major in tempo primo with *accelerandi*, dynamic indications of *Forte*, and a more and more rhythmic and sonorous writing... turning the farewell, at least outwardly, into a victory.

IL. 2. SÁNCHEZ ALLÚ, Martín. ‘El Suspiro del Moro’, *Echoes from Granada*, 1852, Farewell mm. 58-65.

¹⁵ SALAZAR 1936, pp. 47-70; SALAZAR 1958, p. 47.

¹⁶ HUGO 1834, pp. 251-260.

¹⁷ SALAZAR 1936, p. 60.

¹⁸ SOBRINO 1992; SOBRINO 1993; SOBRINO 1999; SOBRINO 2005; CORTIZO 2006.

¹⁹ SOBRINO 2005, p. 43.

²⁰ CHRISTOFORIDIS 2009.

²¹ CHRISTOFORIDIS 2018, p. 49.

²² SÁNCHEZ ALLÚ 1852.

Martín Sánchez Allú was a well-known composer in Madrid around 1850. His work was published in 1852 by Casimiro Martín, one of the main publishers of the time, and dedicated to Queen Isabel II. On the occasion of his dance collection publication, he was praised because of the elegance and simplicity of his melodies, his easy and interesting harmonization —«satisfying the more exigent ear»— and his promising future:

Mr. Allú is one of the more promising young (talents): his industriousness, his love for art and his talent, have led him to take up an honourable position among our artists. "The last sight of the Moor", Farixa, (...) and others, reveal a poetic fantasy and a refined sensibility²³.

The two pieces from *Echoes of Granada* were mentioned at the top of Allú's composition list by the Madrilenian press, just two years after its publication. Furthermore, in 1874 — after Sánchez Allú had died, and more than twenty years after its original publication — *El Arte*, a weekly music magazine which included sheet music, announced the publication of the Allú's pretty Arab melodies: *Farixa* and *El suspiro del moro*, coinciding with the fashion for Arabesque songs and symphonic music, from the 1870s onwards²⁴.

But undoubtedly, the more emblematic work of the Alhambrist repertoire in the 1850s was *Adiós a la Alhambra, Cantiga morisca*, op. 12 (*Farewell to the Alhambra*, Moorish Cantiga) by Jesús de Monasterio (1836-1903)²⁵, originally for violin and piano. It was composed during the great violinist's stay in Belgium in 1855, and remained in the repertoire right through to today. Its first section seems to be the same topoi Nostalgia/Loss put to music: An ornate and dreamlike melody in A minor tonality, tempo Andantino, using the modal ambiguity of the Phrygian Andalusian cadence.

II. 3. MONASTERIO, Jesús de. *Adiós a la Alhambra*. Madrid, Antonio Romero, 1855, mm. 15-20.

Contrasting with the central section, an Allegretto in A major, refers to the Reconquest: a true exhibition of Catholic power. It is to be played with a forte and risoluto melody, and with a rhythmic dance pattern in the accompaniment, as in the case of Allú's galloping horses. Later on in the piece, there is a return to Boabdil's lament, varied, like a memory that is lost. This work was quickly acclaimed by the public, and remained in the violin repertoire throughout the 19th century. There are more than a hundred press references, just in the nineteenth century, bearing witness to the excellent reception for the work. *Adiós a la Alhambra* was introduced to the Madrid public in a concert in the Teatro del Príncipe on 1856 June 25th, with Martín Sánchez Allú as pianist. The *Echoes of Granada* composer being now the pianist of *Adiós a la Alhambra* might lead us to think that there was some kind of Alhambrist musical tradition shared in Spanish Salons in the 1850s, always meeting with a favourable reception:

As a composer, Mr Monasterio has to play a prominent role in the artistic world. His Elegy entitled *Adiós a la Alhambra* is a composition full of grace and truth, which the young artist plays with this melancholic sweetness and with a suitable sense of abandon, which is one of our

²³ «El señor Allú es indudablemente uno de los jóvenes en quien con fundados motivos puede formarse las mas halagüeñas esperanzas; su constante laboriosidad, su escetivo amor al arte, y su talento, han sabido conquistarle ya un puesto preferente entre nuestros artistas. El suspiro del moro, Farixa, (...) y otras que pudiéramos citar, revelan una fantasía poética y una esquisita sensibilidad». *COLISEO* 1854 [We keep the mid-nineteenth century Spanish writing in order to acquaint the reader with the originals].

²⁴ *ARTE* 1874

²⁵ MONASTERIO 1855. A detailed study can be found in the 'Introduction' of SOBRINO 1992.

popular music more characteristic traits²⁶.

Ten years later, the work still retained all its relevance, with a sense of deep emotion: «Monasterio made us feel deeply, and made us enjoy listening to his *Adiós a la Alhambra*, a poetic cantiga, full of love and melancholy, all played with the sweetness which Monasterio brings to his violin when he wants to make the audience cry²⁷». As late as 1879, the work was so popular that Carolina Ferni — singer, violinist, and commissioner of the opera the *Devil's Violin* — played *Adiós a la Alhambra* to great acclaim at that opera's premiere in Spain, following the nineteenth-century custom of introducing well-known music in operas²⁸.

At the end of the 19th century, the Alhambrist fashion led this piece to be played even more, and it became still more famous. There are more than fifty press references, from the 1880s and 1890s, to the work being played all over Spain, sometimes on significant public occasions. On January 28, 1890, in the German Embassy in Madrid — then in mourning for the death of Wilhem I — on the occasion of the birthday of Emperor Wilhem II: «the Ambassadors and the Embassy staff, who couldn't stay for the concert, due to being in mourning, did not leave until *Adiós a la Alhambra* was played, as a token of respect for Spain²⁹». It was the only piece of Spanish music in a concert programme which otherwise consisted of German songs, Wagner, Haydn, Lassen, and Hiller. One year later, in the Spanish School in Bologna (Italy), *Adiós a la Alhambra* was played on the occasion of the fifth birthday of his Majesty Alfonso XIII, with the son of the principal of the School on the violin. Once again, this was the only piece of Spanish music on that day, included in a programme along with Saint-Saëns and Gounod³⁰.

Considering these performances, and their official status, we could ask ourselves whether *Adiós a la Alhambra* had become a representative work of the creation of the «own Orient», carried out by Spanish musicians in the 19th century Spanish salons. In fact, the beginnings of the first «Musical Tales of the Alhambra» coincided with an official desire to restore the Nasrid Palace to its «former glory». In a letter to Rafael Contreras — the first Alhambra restorer and architect — dated October 23 1847, Queen Isabel II detailed the way in which she wanted Contreras to pursue the restorations. The architect should work in particular on the restoration of the decoration of this marvellous monument of Spain, bringing it back to the original form that it had at the time of the Conquest, when the Catholic Monarchs had waved their banner with a cross on it. The Queen wished to match her ancestor Isabel I, who had conquered the Alhambra, by becoming the Queen who restored it to its former glory³¹.

With this letter, Queen Isabel II was acknowledging the importance of the Alhambra as an instrument of propaganda, and as a symbol of Christian triumph, and she entrusted Contreras with the difficult task of translating her vision of a glorious past into the reconstruction of the Alhambra. She also showed her interest in the Alhambra and in

²⁶ «Como compositor el señor Monasterio es asimismo digno de ocupar un lugar distinguido en el mundo del arte. Su Elegía titulada *Adiós a la Alhambra* es una composición llena de gracia y verdad y que el joven artista interpreta con esa melancólica dulzura con ese abandono que es uno de los rasgos mas característicos de nuestra música popular». *GACETA* 1856.

²⁷ «Monasterio nos hizo sentir y gozar oyéndole su *Adiós a la Alhambra* poética cantiga, llena de amor y melancolía y tocada con la dulzura que Monasterio imprime a su violín cuando quiere hacer llorar al espectador». MORENO 1866.

²⁸ *CRÓNICA* 1879.

²⁹ *ÉPOCA* 1890.

³⁰ *ÉPOCA* 1891.

³¹ GONZÁLEZ PÉREZ 2017.

its design features, commissioning Rafael Contreras to create an «Alhambra room», the «Gabinete Árabe», in the royal Aranjuez Palace, which he built between 1848 and 1851. Contreras and his team made changes in the Alhambra, which was then almost a ruin, in order to match the «Oriental» image which had been created for the palace by romantic writers such as Irving. He recreated the lost plaster decorations on the walls, filling in any blank spaces. At the same time, Contreras made reduced scale models to show Queen Isabel II the improvements in the Alhambra in the new style of restoration. The Queen was really impressed with these models, and Contreras developed a business selling such models as souvenirs for tourists, from a private workshop. Most of the models are not exact copies of the original monument, but they did show the idealised archetype of the Orientalist Alhambra which was so popular among European visitors, and which represented the «glorious past» of Spain.

It was during these years of restoration of the Alhambra that Isabel II received the young composer Martín Sánchez Allú at the Royal Palace, on December 31 1849:

News in brief from the capital. – The young music professor Mr. Martin Sánchez Allú, who had dedicated to her Majesty the Queen some pretty compositions, was admitted to Her Royal presence last Monday at seven in the evening, in order (for her) to see him playing it at the piano. As Mr. Allú, besides being a composer, is a good pianist, Her Majesty the Queen and His Majesty the King, who was also present, and knew other compositions of his, were so pleased by Mr. Allú's piano performance, that they gave the young and intelligent composer high praise. Among the more pleasant works for Their Majesties, there was a composition entitled *Ecos de Granada*, Arabic melodies of a completely new genre, belonging to Mr. Allú: music that speaks, flowing through the piano keys with feeling and passion, pleasant music which moves us at the same time, because it paints and expresses so wonderfully, and touches the sweetest heart strings³².

In the following years, both Allú and Monasterio received various royal awards. The same Isabel II awarded Allú with *The Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem* cross³³. A few years earlier Jesús de Monasterio had been introduced to Isabel II as a prodigy —when he was only seven years old— receiving a stipend and a good violin. Monasterio would dedicate to the Queen a *Fantasy on National Airs* (1856), and he also played for her *Adiós en la Alhambra*. Over the following years he would come to have a leading position in the Spanish musical panorama, being repeatedly awarded with the Carlos III Cross (1858), Knight Commander Order of Isabel the Catholic Queen (1871), and the High Cross of the Order of Isabel the Catholic Queen (1879). As late as 1894 he still was received by the Regent Queen as Head of the National Music School. Monasterio even showed his loyalty to the Bourbons once they were dethroned, when he turned down the position of music manager in the court of Amadeo de Saboya, the Italian prince, who was also a descendant of the Spanish King Carlos III —from the Austrias dynasty—, who briefly reigned in Spain between 1870 and 1873³⁴.

³²«El joven profesor de música don Martin Sánchez Allú, que había dedicado unas lindas composiciones a S. M. la Reina, fué admitido a su real presencia el lunes a las siete de la noche con objeto de verselas ejecutar en el piano. Como el señor Allú ademas de compositor, es un buen pianista, S. M. la Reina y S. M. el rey que también se hallaba presente y que conocía otras composiciones, y la ejecución del señor Allú en el piano, quedaron tan sumamente complacidos, que de ellos recibió el joven é inteligente compositor las más honrosas distinciones. Entre las cosas que más agradaron á SS. MM. fue una composición titulada *Ecos de Granada* que son unas melodias árabes de un género nuevo, particular del señor Allú, música que habla, y que convierte las teclas del piano en lenguas de sentimiento y de pasión, música que agrada y que conmueve a la vez por que pinta y espresa maravillosamente, y toca las mas dulces fibras del corazón». *HERALDO* 1850.

³³ GIL 1858

³⁴ GARCÍA VELASCO 2003.

Ecos de Granada and *Adiós a la Alhambra* put Boabdil's lament to music and reflected the romantic vision of the «greatest inventor of the myth of Granada», but at the same time they coincided with the propaganda campaign of Isabel II to restore the Alhambra, but still more to commemorate the Catholic triumph and the glorious past of Spain. They are both «political» works and «souvenirs» from the Alhambra: «musical tales» for imperialist dreams.

Popularizing Alhambrism: Musical Tales on Wind bands

On August 1887, to commemorate the 400th anniversary of its Reconquest, the city of Málaga organized a spectacular maritime concert: fifty musicians from the Philharmonic Circle, fifty boys from the San Bartolomé asylum, and another seventy players, all on a fashionable gondola, built especially for the purpose. The program included opera excerpts by Meyerbeer, Weber, Verdi, and Cimarosa, as well as two instrumental pieces: *Recuerdos de Andalucía*, a bolero by Eduardo Ocón — a well-known composer from Málaga — and *Adiós a la Alhambra*, which seemed to acquire its true political meaning for that occasion³⁵.

From this point onwards, the work spread into more varied contexts, being played by orchestras, sextets, chamber groups, or – at street level – by wind bands. On February 23, 1900, *Adiós a la Alhambra* was played by the León Infantry Regiment Military Band during a Gymnastic soiree in the Arab Salon of the Army Centre in Madrid³⁶. It was a sort of gymnastic exhibition, with dance music (waltz, galop, polka, pasodoble) accompanying the exercises, and a musical intermission including *Adiós a la Alhambra* and dance numbers from the opera *La Gioconda* by Ponchielli: another great success for Spanish audiences at that time. The press highlighted both the musical performance and the risks being taken to complete the various pirouettes:

The band of the León regiment played admirably, in the intermission from the first to the second part, *Adiós a la Alhambra*, by Monasterio, and the danceable extracts from *La Gioconda*. In summary, a pleasant party, and without any regrettable mishaps, despite the big bumps which were received by some of the participating students³⁷.

Notwithstanding this surge of wider interest in it, Alhambrism had been introduced into wind band music some decades before. This reminder of past and loss, embodied in *The Alhambra*, had also been present in wind band music since the end of 19th century. Ruperto Chapí composed *La Corte de Granada* [The Granadian Court] in 1873. Iberní pointed out that Emilio Arrieta had suggested the main topic for this work³⁸, related to his opera *La Conquista di Granata*, which was premiered at Teatro Real de Palacio [Royal Palace Theatre] in 1850. Chapí's work brings together various topics which had already been identified with the orientalism in music –by Ramón Sobrino³⁹. It was spread, thanks to the huge proliferation of Spanish civic bands from the early 20th century right through to today, perpetuating the Romantic construction of Granada in outdoor concerts, across the years⁴⁰.

Francisco Alonso had already composed some pieces focused on Granada, such as *Noche en la Alhambra*, op. 39 (1905) –piano 4 hands– or *Serenata Granadina* op. 62

³⁵ *ÉPOCA* 1887.

³⁶ *LIBERAL* 1900.

³⁷ *GLOBO* 1900.

³⁸ IBERNÍ 1995, p. 54.

³⁹ CHAPÍ 2010; SOBRINO 2020.

⁴⁰ RODRÍGUEZ-LORENZO, 2021.

(1907) –for choir and band– but *El sueño de Boabdil* [Boabdil's dream] was the first lyric poem for wind band, baritone and choir about the story of Boabdil⁴¹. This was composed in 1908⁴², in the continuing Romantic tradition. Aureliano del Castillo y Beltrán – the author of the text – revived the legend which had been created by Irving, situating Boabdil back in Africa, dreaming of the lost Empire, and once again reinforcing that idea of Spanish Glory through the Reconquest⁴³.

Alonso used two musically opposed ideas: Christians are represented by long notes, regular rhythms, and majestic style, whereas Muslims are represented using rhythmic patterns and instruments such as flutes, clarinets, or tambourines. In other words, he used all possible resources to explore this oriental and exotic topic. For example, the first appearance of Boabdil shows his lament for his lost Empire, and we can see some recurrent musical elements, such as the triplets and the augmented second in the melody. Boabdil and his Court will sing their love to La Alhambra, represented as a woman in the poem, reusing Ganivet's image in *Granada la bella*⁴⁴.

3. The soul of the city

Beyond the orientalist and fantastic image of romantic travellers, in *Granada la bella*, Ganivet reflects on the spirit of the city, on the «art that aims to beautify cities through the beautiful, cultured and noble life of the beings that inhabit them⁴⁵». The author himself describes his work as «spiritual, regenerative and pioneering» and prefers the criteria of the people —which «is more of an artist and a philosopher than it seems»— to that of the scholars who are guided solely by the book. He also recognizes elements typical of the city, such as the water carrier «man of genius» and the same water: «everything that refers to water reaches our souls in such a way, that all our senses are enlivened by talking about it and we are subtle thinkers because of it» and recognizes in the Granadian «the secular creation of a city crossed by two rivers; it is a river made man». He is not opposed to progress (expansion, vaulting of the river), but seeks in everything to be «in harmony with our way of being»: «Let us widen, then, and let us cover with an awning. — Against a people that refuses to see the water that runs at their feet and the sky that they have over their heads, there is no other recourse than to burst into tears». Without renouncing the senses: «Seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting and even touching, that is, living, is my exclusive procedure; then those sensations fix each other by themselves, and ideas come from them». In addition to political and administrative functions, the city «also has another mission, more important because it touches the ideal, which is to initiate its men into the secret of their own spirit», thus recognizing the initial value of local art, but avoiding locking himself into the «narrowness of contemplation». The city must be shown as a «centre of ideas and of men who, in the narrowness of communal life, act as statesmen»; a great intellectual centre:

If Granada consecrated all its forces to the restoration of communal life, it would not only render a service to the country and obtain material goods, but its artistic renaissance would spring

⁴¹ ALONSO 2015, pp. 31-39.

⁴² The complete original wind band score is not preserved. A score firstly written for choir, baritone and piano in 1908 has been used as bandmaster script.

⁴³ We contrasted the wind band edition score of *El sueño de Boabdil* proposed by LUQUE 2021 with the materials preserved in the Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía (Granada) ALONSO 1908.

⁴⁴ LUQUE 2021.

⁴⁵ GANIVET 1896, pp. 6 and following.

forth from the warmth of that new life; a city that has its own life, has its own art [...] and our city could be a great intellectual centre⁴⁶.

Ganivet also differentiates between town and city, because the city has a spirit: «a spirit that bathes everything, shapes it and dignifies it». He recognizes the prominence of the Alhambra, without the need for more monuments, but in the face of the monotony of the modern city, he defends the individual character of each nucleus:

The embellishment of Granada does not require many monuments, because we already have a great reputation acquired throughout the world with our Alhambra; what it does ask for is that the monotony of the modern city be broken and that there be different nuclei, each with its own character⁴⁷.

As Juan Carlos Rodríguez points out, «this is the inevitable way that Ganivet finds to give meaning to his city: to give it a ‘character’ that from the walls is transferred to the souls, and, correspondingly, from the emotional subject to the character of the walls, of the streets, of the metaphors of water and bread⁴⁸». Thus, the spirit of the city, the character of each nucleus, moves away from the romantic vision of Boabdil's tale. This development can also be seen in music.

When prefacing Francisco Cuenca's *Galería de músicos andaluces*, the modernist poet Francisco Villaespesa talks about Andalusian music. After extolling the musical richness of Andalusia, his true popular music —threatened by rampant flamenco music— and authors such as Julián Arcas and Georges Bizet, he talks about the musicians who dedicate themselves to Andalusia:

[...] but more than all, Andalusia owes its maximum consecration to the Catalan Isaac Albéniz, because no one, musically, interpreted more accurately and exalted with more fervour the complex and lyrically original soul of our cities, and the passionate and tragic song of our most characteristic popular motifs⁴⁹.

Villaespesa delves into Albéniz's conception of Andalusia —and more specifically of Granada— citing some letters from the musician to his friend Enrique Moragas in 1886 and 1907, which were published —as were Ganivet's articles— in *El Defensor de Granada*. In 1866, on the occasion of the composition of his serenade «Granada», the first piece of the *Suite Española*, Albéniz, referencing its Arab past, defined the city as a «treasure of Andalusian music» made flesh in the remains of gardens and palaces. He rejects the picturesque vision of the *tablado* (flamenco venue), the dancers, and evening dresses with long trains flowing behind them, to focus on the Arab Granada, full of beauty and emotion.

⁴⁶ «Si Granada consagrara todas sus fuerzas á la restauración de la vida comunal, no sólo prestaría un servicio al país y obtendría bienes materiales, sino que al calor de esa nueva vida brotaría su renacimiento artístico; una ciudad que tiene vida propia, tiene arte propio [...] y nuestra ciudad podría ser un gran centro intelectual». GANIVET 1896, p. 64.

⁴⁷ «El embellecimiento de Granada no exige muchos monumentos, porque tenemos ya un gran renombre adquirido en todo el mundo con nuestra Alhambra; lo que si pide es que se rompa la monotonía de la ciudad moderna y se procure que haya diversos núcleos cada uno con su carácter». GANIVET 1896, p. 64.

⁴⁸ «Esta es la manera inevitable que Ganivet encuentra para dar sentido a su ciudad: otorgarle un ‘carácter’ que desde los muros se trasladara a las almas, y, en correspondencia, desde el sujeto anímico al carácter de los muros, de las calles, de las metáforas del agua y el pan». RODRÍGUEZ 2002, p. 151.

⁴⁹ «[...] pero más que a todos, al catalán Isaac Albéniz debe Andalucía su máxima consagración, porque nadie, musicalmente, interpretó con más justeza y exaltó con más fervor, el alma tan compleja y tan líricamente original de nuestras ciudades y el canto pasional y trágico de nuestros más característicos motivos populares». VILLAESPESA 1927, p. 17.

[...] let us move away from the vision that many have of Granada, which they see contemplating through the dancers who expand the wide starched flare of the long train of the batiste dress on the stage. Granada is not this, my friend, and the Granada that I intend to make known to my countrymen, the Catalans, should be quite the opposite at this time. I want the Arab Granada, the one that seems to me to be all beauty and emotion⁵⁰.

Among «the Catalans», as Christoforidis has pointed out, the writer and painter Santiago Rusiñol and his circle played a key role in changing Albéniz's conception of the town to modernism and symbolism, as was already demonstrated in *La Vega* in 1897⁵¹. Ten years later, Albéniz wrote to Enrique Moragas again about 'El Albaicín', a work that begins the third album of the *Suite Iberia*, composed in Nice in November-December 1906. Like Ganivet, the musician delves into the character of the Granadian neighbourhood:

Although unfortunately somewhat ill, I still have a healthy and wide heart where I can keep «my Granada». I have finished for «Iberia», a sentimental and boisterous, epic and noisy work, Guitar, sun, and louse. But I have learned [...] to have an aura of «El Albaicín», as the composition is called, very tender and elegant [...] when reading «El Albaicín» for the first time, I surprised upon something like the gallant awakening of the artistic feeling that sleeps in that neighbourhood of Granada [...] «El Albaicín» is ready. I set out to look Granada straight in the face, and I have taken its spirit⁵².

Another «nuclei» —in Ganivetian term — with its own character, and into which we can also enter musically, is the Alhambra and its gardens. In 1916 Manuel de Falla premiered in Madrid his work for piano and orchestra *Noches en los jardines de España*, a score he had been working on in Paris since 1909. This was the result of a combination of literary, pictorial and musical stimuli, which on occasions have been related to symbolism and impressionism. In its final form, the composition is structured in three movements, all with evocative titles: «En el Generalife» (I), «Danza lejana» (II) and «En los jardines de la Sierra de Córdoba» (III), which refer both to real and to imagined gardens. Before moving to Granada in 1921, Falla's longing for the Generalife and the gardens of the Alhambra stemmed mainly from two works, one literary and the other pictorial. Literary inspiration is found in *Granada: guía emocional* [*Granada: An Emotional Guide*], an evocative book of the sights, sounds and scents of the city, in which the garden acquired a spiritual dimension:

Who has never compared life to a garden? Who has never said that the soul is a vegetable garden? Who has never cut roses from the rosebush of his own spirits? Who has never listened, in the murmur of a fountain, to the restless and lively voice of his own desires? [...] All of this, garden,

⁵⁰ «[...] alejémonos de la visión que de Granada tienen muchos, a la que ven contemplándola a través de las bailadoras que expanden por el tablado el amplio vuelo almidonado de la gran cola del vestido de batista. Granada no es esto, amigo mío, y la Granada que yo pretendo dar a conocer a mis paisanos, los catalanes, debe ser en este momento todo lo contrario. Quiero la Granada árabe, la que toda me parece belleza y emoción». VILLAESPEA 1927, p. 18.

⁵¹ CHRISTOFORIDIS 2018, p. 51.

⁵² «Aunque algo enfermo por desgracia, sigo teniendo sano y amplio el corazón para guardar «mi Granada». He concluido para «Iberia», una obra sentimental y bullanguera, épica y ruidosa, Guitarra, sol y piojo. Pero he sabido [...] aureolar «El Albaicín», que así se llama la composición, de mucha ternura y de mucha ternura elegante [...] al leer «El Albaicín» por vez primera, sorprendí en él algo así como el despertar gallardo del sentimiento artístico que duerme en el barrio granadino [...] Ya está listo «El Albaicín». Me propuse mirar cara a cara a Granada y me he llevado su espíritu». VILLAESPEA 1927, p. 19.

roses, the murmuring of fountains, lively water flowing, is found in this Wonder of the World which the classifiers of beauty forgot to include in their list: «The Generalife from Granada»⁵³.

In fact, María Lejárraga, Gregorio's wife (and at the very least a «co-author» of this guide) points out that Falla bought the *Emotional Guide* in Paris at a time of compositional sterility, and that reading this work rekindled his imagination⁵⁴. Undoubtedly, this *Guide* has certain echoes in the work of Manuel de Falla. A copy with annotations is preserved in the Manuel de Falla Archive, and it also contains a chapter dedicated to the Generalife, which coincides with the first movement of Falla's work: «En el Generalife». In it, the gardens of the Alhambra are described on a spiritual plane that coincides with the religious aspirations of Falla himself:

It is a house with a garden, or rather, it is a staircase of gardens that leads to a viewpoint, — increasingly perfect degrees of contemplation—, which lead to the ultimate vision of spiritual serenity. I think that if Teresa de Jesús had known this orchard, she would not have called the soul and steps of her path to perfection «castle» or «mansions», but tower and gardens⁵⁵.

The pictorial stimulus is found in the wonderful images of *Jardins d'Espanya*, a sumptuous album of forty paintings by Santiago Rusiñol⁵⁶, seventeen of them dedicated to gardens in Granada —including four of the Alhambra and the Generalife. In these paintings, the prose of María Lejárraga, which ignites the imagination with emotions, sits alongside the hedges, fences and fountains that Rusiñol paints. Starting in 1887, the Catalan painter stayed in Granada on several occasions, in particular in the Alhambra, where he lived for a month and a half. There «he will find what he was looking for with so much effort at that time: the art that, based on nature, represents it in its mysterious hours, without falling into a clear realism, and gives it a veil of feeling, the chosen character and the most intimate expression»⁵⁷. This representation of nature «in its mysterious hours» is framed within an aesthetic of the turn-of-the-century garden, which tends towards decadence and symbolism, and which, in the case of Rusiñol, some authors describe as a melancholic garden⁵⁸. It has also been the subject of a 'regenerationist' reading, in which the abandoned garden constitutes a clear metonymy for the historical, political, and cultural situation of turn-of-the-century Spain, which had lost its grandeur just as the most visible signs of its full existence were erased in gardens. These symbols found wide resonance among those intellectual sectors which aspired to the regeneration of Spain through the modernization of the political and economic structures⁵⁹.

The mystery, the distance from realism and the search for expression are common points between *Noches* and paintings such as *Granada al Vespere* (Granada at sunset). In them, the evocation of music and painting awakens our senses and excites our imagination. We find a spiritual affinity with Falla's musical impression in the paintings

⁵³ ¿Quién no ha comparado la vida a un jardín? ¿Quién no ha dicho alguna vez que el alma es un huerto? ¿Quién no ha cortado rosas en los rosales de su propio espíritu? ¿Quién no ha oído, en su rumor de fuente, la voz inquieta y viva de sus propios deseos? [...] Pues todo esto, huerto, jardín, rosas, rumor de fuentes, inquietud de agua que va corriendo, se encuentra en esta maravilla del mundo que los clasificadores de belleza olvidan incluir en la lista: «El Generalife de Granada». MARTÍNEZ SIERRA 1910, p. 135.

⁵⁴ MARTÍNEZ SIERRA 1953, pp. 123-124.

⁵⁵ «Es una casa con un jardín, o mejor dicho, es una escalinata de jardines que lleva a un mirador, —grados de contemplación cada vez más perfecta—, que llevan a la visión última de la serenidad espiritual. Pienso yo que si Teresa de Jesús hubiera conocido este huerto, no hubiese llamado 'castillo', ni 'moradas', al alma y a sus pasos camino de la perfección, sino torre y jardines». MARTÍNEZ SIERRA 1910, p. 136.

⁵⁶ RUSIÑOL 1903.

⁵⁷ COLL 1992, p. 102.

⁵⁸ PONCE 2013.

⁵⁹ CASACUBERTA 1997.

in which Rusiñol represents Arab gardens at nightfall. *Arquitectura verde* [Green Architecture] portrayed the whimsical figures of the darkened cypresses, and the fountains in the hearts of the trees. *Brolladors del Generalife* [The Fountains of the Generalife] captures water in motion, its fall and its reflection...in games of light and shadow, a forefront with the spout and the four polyphonic falling jets.

In his approach to the popular, in his comments for the premiere, Falla related the stylization of the sound effects of the people's instruments. Thus, the composer himself admitted his aim, at the beginning of 'En el Generalife' to imitate the rondallas bandurrias and sounds of the guitar through the strumming of the harp and the tremolos of the violas⁶⁰. Simultaneously, with the undulating melody in the lower pitched stringed instruments (cello, double bass), Falla seems to capture the mysterious hours from Rusiñol's pictures in *Allegretto tranquillo e misterioso* tempo. Moreover, the initial appearance of the piano, emerging from the mystery of the night —long *pianissimo perdendosi* in winds— with high pitched, waving arpeggios, translates into sounds the babbling of the water fountains of the Generalife.

IL. 4. FALLA, Manuel de. *Nuits dans les jardins d'Espagne*, 'I. En el Generalife', Paris, Max Eschig, 1923, mm. 21-22.

Perhaps is now time «to recover Ganivet by reading him in another way, assuming all its contradictions⁶¹». Ganivet's polyhedral and modern vision seems to have been ignored, if he is merely to be pigeonholed as a perpetuator of the romantic tradition of The Tale of Boabdil, and then *Adiós a la Alhambra* would be the music of this *Granada la bella*. Nostalgia, loss (minor), versus Reconquest (major). This was a significance which Isabel II tried to connect to her predecessor, the Catholic queen, to enter the restored Alhambra. A sort of souvenir, and a sort of political device of an imperial past, which was perpetuated by Chapí and Alonso, among many other composers.

«The soul of the city», a somewhat more spiritual and ascetic vision —without renouncing the Arab past— is found in Albéniz's 'El Albaicín', where he tried to capture the spirit of the Granadian neighbourhood, or 'En el Generalife' by Manuel de Falla, filled with the sounds and colours of the «clear and fresh» water from the Alhambra, as painted by Rusiñol, of which —in the words of Ganivet— «the majority is in favour».

Converted into a recurring title or advertising slogan, the 'regenerationist' and modernist traits of *Granada la bella* seem to have been ignored, in an effort to emphasize the Spanishness of the city over and above its Arab past. In fact, it would not be difficult to trace this impoverished vision of Ganivet's work, even musically, right up to today.

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⁶⁰ FALLA 1916, p. 34.

⁶¹ RODRÍGUEZ 2002, p. 153.

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