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Granados through the Rolls:

The Presence of Enrique Granados in the Spanish Pianola Market

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Resumen

Este artículo examina la presencia de la música de Enrique Granados en el mercado español de pianola, incluyendo tanto rollos metronómicos como grabaciones para piano reproductor. El material analizado proviene de varios proyectos de digitalización y catalogación llevados a cabo por el Grupo de Investigación del Departamento de Musicología de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Estos proyectos incluyen el estudio de las principales colecciones españolas, como la Biblioteca Nacional de España (2016), el Museo de la Música de Barcelona (2014), la Biblioteca Nacional de Cataluña (2012) y varias colecciones privadas, que comenzaron a ser estudiadas en 2017. El análisis cuantitativo sobre el volumen de obras de Granados publicado por las principales empresas del sector, nos permite conocer la presencia del compositor catalán en un mercado musical, ahora prácticamente olvidado, que tuvo un impacto masivo a principios del siglo XX. Por otro lado, al comparar estos datos de los catálogos con los resultados de nuestra investigación sobre colecciones institucionales y privadas, podemos aventurar algunos aspectos sobre la relación entre la oferta y la demanda en este contexto particular. Lo que presentamos es, por lo tanto, un primer acercamiento al mercado ibérico de la pianola centrado en la figura de uno de sus compositores fundamentales.

Palabras claves: Granados, pianola, rollos de pianola, rollos de pianola reproductores

Abstract

This article examines the presence of Enrique Granados's music in the Spanish pianola market, both for metronomic and reproducing rolls. The analyzed material comes from several digitization and cataloging projects carried out by the Musicology Department Research Group at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. These projects include the study of the main Spanish collections, such as the National Library of Spain (2016), the Music Museum of Barcelona (2014), the National Library of Catalunya (2012) and several private collections, which started in 2017 and are still in progress at the moment. The quantitative analysis on the volume of works by Granados published by the main companies in the sector, allows us to learn about the presence of the Catalan composer in a music market, now practically forgotten, that had a massive impact during the beginning of the twentieth century. On the other hand, by comparing these data from the catalogs with the results of our research on institutional and private collections, we can venture some aspects about the relationship between supply and demand in this particular context. What we present is, therefore, a first approach to the Iberian market of the pianola focusing on the figure of one of its central composers.

Keywords: Enrique Granados, player piano, pianola rolls, reproducing piano rolls

A brief introduction on some historical, technological and economic aspects¹

Edwin Votey (1856–1931) made his first experimental Pianola in 1895, at his home in Detroit, and in 1897 a small number of trial instruments were made at the Votey Organ Company factory in that city. The original Pianola patent was not issued until a few years later, US no 765645, of 19 July 1904, applied for on 16 November 1899. Full production started in 1898, and the Pianola first went on sale in the autumn of that year. Like many companies, Aeolian worked to a year beginning in September and ending in July, with most of its workforce laid off in August. Launching new products in September meant that they could be advertised during the period towards Christmas, which was no doubt the main time of the year for buying presents for the home. Soon after that, the Pianola's success was impressive, quickly expanding from North America to the European market. In fact, the word pianola originally referred to a certain model of an instrument, a trademark by the Aeolian Company, whose quick success spread its name all over the world. In this context, it is essential to make a prior differentiation between the two main technologies involved in this article: the player piano (commonly known as the pianola) and the reproducing piano. The first system (known in Spain as *autopiano*) was originally conceived for an interaction between the instrument and the user, who should deal with expression pedals, tempo and dynamics, while the second –the reproducing piano– was fully oriented to passive listening. The existence of these two devices implies, therefore, two distinct types of roll: the metronomic roll, intended for the conventional pianola, and the reproducing roll. The master rolls for the metronomic market, which represent most of the Spanish production, were originally made by a musician who transferred the musical values from the score to the paper roll. On the other hand, reproducing roll masters were punched from a real piano performance, thus, must be considered as historical recordings². In the case of metronomic rolls, composers and pianists were sometimes invited to supervise the final product adding some interpretive indications that would finally get stamped on the paper³.

Finally, a brief statistical approach shows us clearly how the phenomenon of the pianola had enormous social relevance: in 1914, 244,000 pianos and 80,000 pianolas were manufactured in the United States. The new instrument represented a quarter of the total volume of pianos sold in a year.

¹ Although this article will not address the mechanics of the pianola, those interested in this subject will find some specialized information in: Bowers, 1972; Givens, 1963; Holliday, 1989; Ord-hume, 2004; McElhone, 2004; and Gallego, 2012.

² For more information on piano performance analysis based on reproducing rolls and its validity as primary sources, see Lawson, 1986 and 1993; Hall, 1995; Wodehouse, 1999; Riva, 2003; Clark, 2006; Leikin, 2008; Peres da Costa, 2012; Estrada, 2015; and Phillips, 2016.

³ Where composers and pianists did more frequently help towards metronomic rolls of their music was in the provision of Metrostyle lines, indicating the phrasing of the music, though that was a patented device restricted to the Aeolian Company. Perhaps the most famous was Edvard Grieg, whose Metrostyling, with the help of the pianolist, George W.F. Reed, was documented in Percy Scholes' book, "The Appreciation of Music by Means of the Pianola and Duo-Art". By contrast, pianists (who were sometimes the composers) did sometimes help with the editing of reproducing piano rolls, mostly those for the Duo-Art, and certainly not the Welte-Mignon, with other systems being less clear. (Rex Lawson, from a personal interview with the authors)

This proportion grows dizzyingly and in just two years, pianolas already accounted for more than half of annual piano sales (Gaddis, 2009: 28). In 1920, 70% of the 364,000 pianos sold were already pianolas (Ord-Hume, 2004: 194). Although sales decreased progressively during the 1920s, in 1923, 170,500 pianolas were manufactured, plus 12,600 vertical reproducing pianos and 5,300 reproducing grand pianos (Muns, 2005: 1). These sales put the pianola industry in second place in the ranking of units sold per year, a brand surpassed solely by the automotive sector (Dolan, 2009: 14). Between 1900 and 1930, 2,500,000 pianolas were sold in the United States, and 1,000,000 in the United Kingdom (Hamer, 1984). The average volume of annual sales worldwide between 1900 and 1930 was around 200,000 pianolas and about 5,000,000 rolls. During this period, the pianola industry generated an annual average profit of 100,000,000 US dollars (Dolan, 2009: 17). It is, without a doubt, a whole socioeconomic phenomenon that was to leave an important mark on the activity of composers and pianists at the time. In this context, we will make a first approach to the Iberian pianola market to describe its commercial panorama in Spain. In this way, we will analyze the presence of the works of Granados in this peculiar and forgotten market, focusing on three main topics: the volume of works published by Spanish companies (all metronomic, as no reproducing roll factory was based in Spain), the presence of Granados rolls (both metronomic and reproducing) in the institutional collections and the presence of the Catalan composer that we find in the press at the time in relation to his rolls.

The arrival of the pianola in Spain: from Victoria to a consolidated Iberian market

In Spain, the story of the pianola is closely linked to Rollos Musicales Victoria, a company based in la Garriga, a small village near Barcelona. Founded in 1905 by Joan Baptista Blancafort, father of the composer Manuel Blancafort, Victoria was the indisputable pioneer of roll production in the Iberian Peninsula. Through the first three decades of the twentieth century, the Catalan company exported his rolls to Europe, South America and Oceania, and created a trademark that would be clearly followed by its competitors on the Iberian market. Therefore, the history of Rollos Victoria offers us a privileged viewpoint to radiography the phenomenon of the pianola from the perspective of local production, consumption and reception. Although Victoria was not the only Iberian company dedicated to the pianola business, it was one of the few that produced its own rolls and also the one that has left, with considerable difference, more material for studying of the phenomenon in Spain. From the market perspective, Victoria was able to create a high-quality product and take on innovative technology with quite limited resources if compared to those of the great multinational companies at the time. Victoria's catalog has about 4,500 titles with every single roll edited in three possible formats: 65 notes standard (that means without any accent or auto pedaling), 88 notes standard and 88 notes with accents and auto pedaling. Inside the catalogue, the genres distribution seems to keep a pretty good balance between classical and popular music, with some similarities to the first catalogs published in Europe by Aeolian (Roquer, 2017: 197–203). The larger sections of the catalog are those by “classical composers,” “opera and ballet,” and “zarzuela, opereta y revista.” When we take a look at the composers, we find a predictable balance between the romantic canon and the Spanish zarzuela: Beethoven stands out as the composer with most presence with 220 rolls, followed by Chopin and Wagner; however, the presence of composers like Guerrero, Alonso or Vives is sufficient proof of the great relevance of the zarzuela in the Spanish market⁴. Following the pioneering initiative of Victoria, in the following years after the foundation of the Catalan company,

⁴ For a broader perspective of the Victoria's catalog, see Roquer, 2017: 202–213.

another 19 Spanish companies were established: Princesa, New Phono, Poch and Best –a sub-branch of Victoria– in Barcelona; Diana, ERA, Edimes, Minerva, Clave, Melodia, Mott, Oriental and Iris-Orfeo in Madrid; España Musical in Zaragoza; Ideal in San Sebastian and Cosmos, Armonic, Umeca and Moonlight (located in Spain but without specific geographical confirmation). Three foreign branches must be added to the list of Spanish based companies: Aeolian, Hupfeld and Chiappo whose activity stands out as a very interesting terrain for future research. By now, due to a matter of space, we will briefly focus on some points of interest concerning some of these Spanish based companies. First of all, it should be taken into account that only Victoria and España Musical seemed to make their own rolls, therefore, the rest of the publishers were forced to buy their rolls from other companies. This is the case of Ideal, in San Sebastian, who bought the masters made in la Garriga by Victoria. This fact can be confirmed not only by the nature of the perforations, but also with the catalog numbers: the references in the Ideal catalogue are the same as those used by Victoria, but inverted. This way, we can see that *High life* by Clifton Worsley is 1022 in Victoria and 2201 in Ideal, Donizetti's *La favorita* is 2012 in Victoria and 2102 in Ideal, *Un aurreescu* is 2702 in Victoria and 2072 in Ideal, etc. The analysis of the roll numbering can give us some other interesting clues: España Musical and Cosmos, for instance, have exactly the same reference numbers; on the other hand, in Chiappo's catalog we find the same Victoria number references with letter "I" added and another type of rolls with an "F" added to its reference numbers, which are the same as the ones on the catalog by the Italian company F.I.R.S.T. Therefore, following this logic, future research could establish the significant number of commercial collaborations between the companies and their original roll master suppliers.

Secondly, in the list of companies and roll manufacturers listed in "Automatic Pianos. A Collector's Guide to the Pianola, Barrel Piano and Aeolian Orchestrelle" (Ord-Hume, 2004: 455–483) we can read that Diana rolls were made in Barcelona; however, our researches at the National Library of Spain clearly shows that Diana was a Madrid based company and its rolls were manufactured by Umeca, located in 14 Doctor Santero street. Ord-Hume also locates España Musical factory in Pizarro street, Zaragoza, but both the rolls and catalogs show another address: 26 Goicoechea Street, also in Zaragoza. In this case, the last address could refer to the store where the rolls were sold, while the first one could be the address of the factory, but this information cannot be confirmed. Lastly, while Aeolian and Hupfeld were consolidated companies with Spanish branches⁵, the case of Chiappo seems to be different: the only document we have is a catalog of rolls found at Antoni Gaudí's house at Park Güell in Barcelona, which was acquired by the Italian piano constructors Chiappo Arietti just after the architect's death. As we already mentioned, Chiappo's catalog seems to sell Victoria rolls under its own brand as the roll references are the same as those used by Victoria. However, in Chiappo's catalog we also find some rolls that we do not find in Victoria's and this leads us to suspect commercial relations between Chiappo and another publisher. Finally, we must address some questions to the distribution of the Spanish market. The National Library of Spain (BNE), the National Library of Catalonia (BNC) and The Museum of Music of Barcelona (MMB), provide us with a sample

⁵ Aeolian had several branches around the world and there is considerable documentation on its showroom activities (Roquer, 2017: 83–86, and 196). On the other hand, we know that during the 1920s Hupfeld opened a factory in 112 Diputació Street in Barcelona; In the preface to the 1924 Spanish version of Hupfeld's catalog, it can be inferred that the factory in Barcelona does not make master rolls and is exclusively dedicated to making copies (Roquer, 2017: 190). The presence of these two companies could have been crucial for the reproducing piano rolls entering the Spanish market.

of 7,863 rolls from these 23 publishers mentioned above. As shown in Figure 1, there are two publishers that were clearly relevant to the market: Rollos Victoria, with 3,716 rolls (47.26%) and secondly Aeolian, with 1,519 rolls (19.32%). Following them, we find Rollos Diana (802 rolls, 10.20%) and Rollos Princesa (614 rolls, 7.81%). The rest of the pie chart is divided between Best (which, otherwise, could be considered Victoria) with 316 rolls (4.02%), Hupfeld with 183 rolls (2.33%) and España Musical (176 rolls, 2.24%). The rest of the publishers, all Spanish companies, are modestly relevant: Cosmos (85 rolls, 1.08%), Rollos Era (80 rolls, 1.02%), Minerva (73 rolls, 0.93%), Oriental (64 rolls, 0.81%), Armonic (50 rolls, 0.64%), Melody (50 rolls, 0.64%), Poch (36 rolls, 0.46%), Mott (28 rolls, 0.36%), New Phono (26 rolls, 0.33%), Ideal, another Victoria sub-label (19 rolls, 0.24%), Clave (14 rolls, 0.18%), and Iris-Orfeo (12 rolls, 0.15%)⁶.

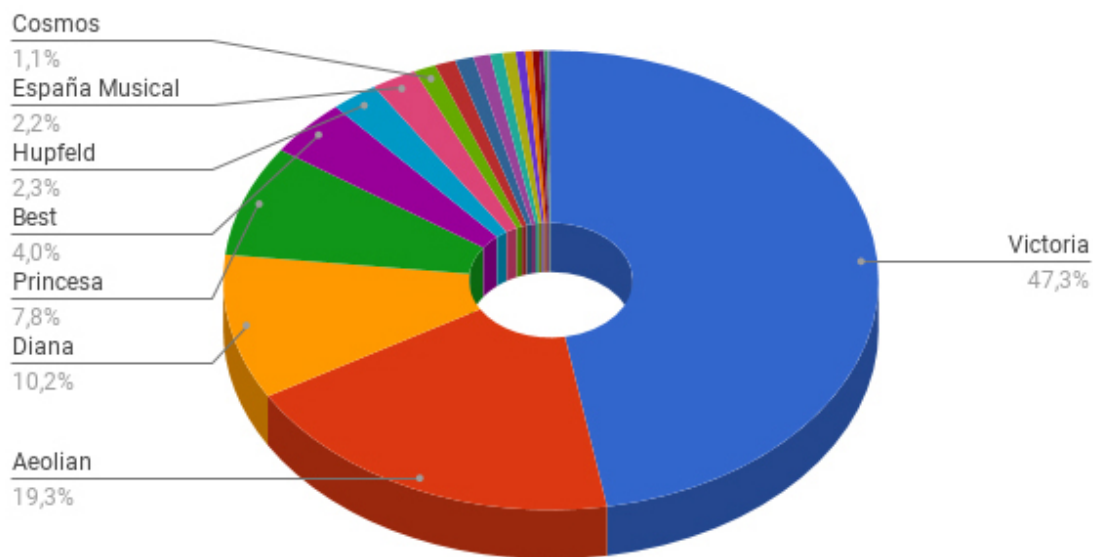


Fig. 1: Market share of the main publishers operating in Spain based on institutional collection analyses. Sample size: 7,863 rolls.⁷

This proportion is found in most of the private collections studied, in which Victoria maintains this dominant position with virtually half of the rolls in each case. In these private collections, the presence of Aeolian is also important and the distribution among the other smaller publishers is quite similar to the percentages shown in Figure 1. This is an interesting fact because it allows us to think of these great institutional collections, accumulated from private donations, as some kind of mirror

⁶ There is no presence of Edimes, Moonlight, Umeca and Chiappo rolls in institutional collections, these rolls have only been found in private collections.

⁷ Note that this graph does not show publishers such as Ampico, QRS, Pleyela, Welte-Mignon, Virtuola, Baldwin, Symplex, F.I.R.S.T. and other companies that did not operate directly in Spain. If we added them to the sample, the total amount of rolls would increase to 10,518 instead of 7,863. Among the 2,655 rolls by foreign publishers we would find 19 rolls by E. Granados.

on the roll market development, confirming the dominance of Victoria and Aeolian on the Spanish market. Therefore, these great collections are very useful since they allow us to deduce, albeit as an approximation, certain patterns of consumption. The fact that they can be seen as an average of the best-selling rolls during the first decades of the twentieth century provides us with closer knowledge of a market which, we must remember, was truly important and has been completely neglected until recently.

The presence of Granados in Spanish roll catalogs and institutional collections

The total number of different composers in this sample is 1142, and Figure 2 shows the composers with more than 100 rolls. Granados appears in the 18th position, which confirms the composer's tremendous success in the Spanish pianola market. However, we must pay attention to some other data: Albéniz, with 225 rolls, is the Spanish composer with the greatest presence in these three major state collections. On the other hand, this collections reveal the overwhelming success of the romantic canon at the time (with Beethoven, Chopin, Wagner and Liszt at the top of the list) to the detriment of older music like the Baroque period, with the only exception of Bach in 17th place, or the classical period, with the exception Mozart in 20th place. It is essential to pay attention to the important presence of composers such as Serrano, Guerrero, Vives in pre-eminent places, confirming that in the pianola market the romantic canon shares leadership with the zarzuela, an idea that has already been pointed out in some previous research (Roquer, 2013: 147-149; Roquer, 2017: 208-231).

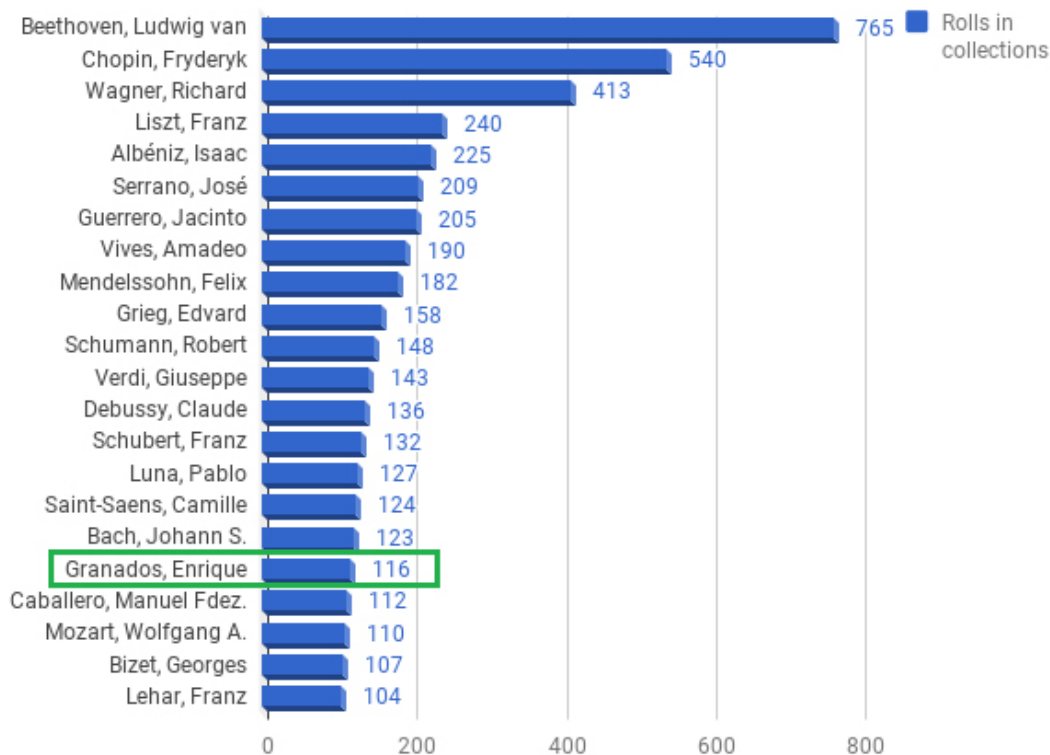


Fig. 2: List of the composers with more than 100 rolls in the three main institutional collections studied. Granados occupies the 18th position.

Figure No. 3 shows the total amount of Granados works (26 own works and 2 transcriptions) published by the main Spanish based companies. It should be noted that this list does not contemplate the rolls edited by foreign companies such as Welte or Pleyela that arrived in Spain from export channels that have not yet been studied. The presence of these works, however, can be analyzed from the point of view of the institutional collections, which give us an idea about their importance in the market. It is also necessary to take into account that, due to space, the works listed are treated as units. This way, *Danzas Españolas* (with 66 references found) includes its 12 subparts edited in different rolls, and *Goyescas* (59 references) includes the 6 parts of this work. This article will only deal briefly with the particular pieces included in these two works, thus, the rest of the works listed are referenced by their main title, regardless of whether these unitary titles contain differentiated subparts. Following these two works, also remarkable is the presence of the Scarlatti sonatas (with 24 references) transcribed by the composer following the advice of his mentor and teacher, Felip Pedrell. Other sets of works with a smaller presence are *Piezas sobre cantos populares españoles* (14) and *Valses poéticos* (11). In a more discrete way, editorials also published *Allegro de concierto* (6), *Capricho español* (6), *Escenas románticas* (5), *Moresque* (5), *A la cubana* (4) i *Rapsodia aragonesa* (4). Finally, these are the rest of compositions with a more discrete presence: *Bocetos* (3), *Cuentos de la juventud* (3), *Escenas poéticas* (3), *Jácara* (3), *Jota Aragonesa (A. Nogués)* (3), *Libro de horas* (3), *Oriental* (3), *Dos Impromptus* (2), *Carezza* (2), *Elisenda* (2), *Paisaje* (2), *Suite vasca (M. Otaño)* (2), *Canción árabe* (1), *La Calesa* (1), *Azulejos* (1), and finally *Improvisation on themes of Valenciana Jota* (1) and *Reverie* (1).

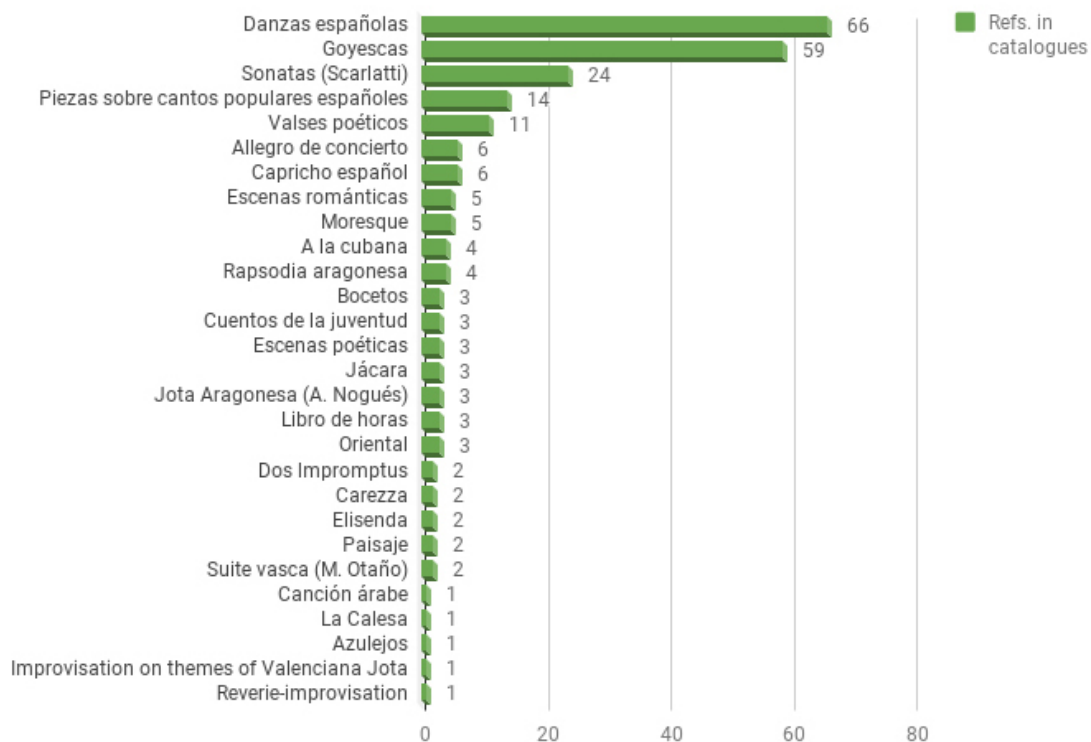


Fig. 3: Presence of the works of Granados in the roll publishers that operated in the Spanish market.

Going further into these two works with the greatest presence in the Spanish based companies' catalogs (*Danzas Españolas* and *Goyescas*), Figure No. 4 shows the relationship between the published works and the rolls found in the institutional collections. In the case of *Danzas Españolas*, 13 of the 23 publishers operating in Spain offer Num. 5 (*Andaluza*), which is also the one that left most copies in the institutional collections (18 rolls). Num. 10 (*Danza Triste*) is offered by 12 of the 23 publishers, but in this case only seven copies has been deposited in institutional collections. Nums. 1 and 2 (*Galante* and *Oriental*) appear in 11 catalogs, while Num. 7 (*Valenciana*) is published by 8 companies. Finally, *Rondalla Aragonesa* and *Zarabanda* appear in 9 catalogs and the rest of the numbers in 8 catalogs.

Danzas Españolas

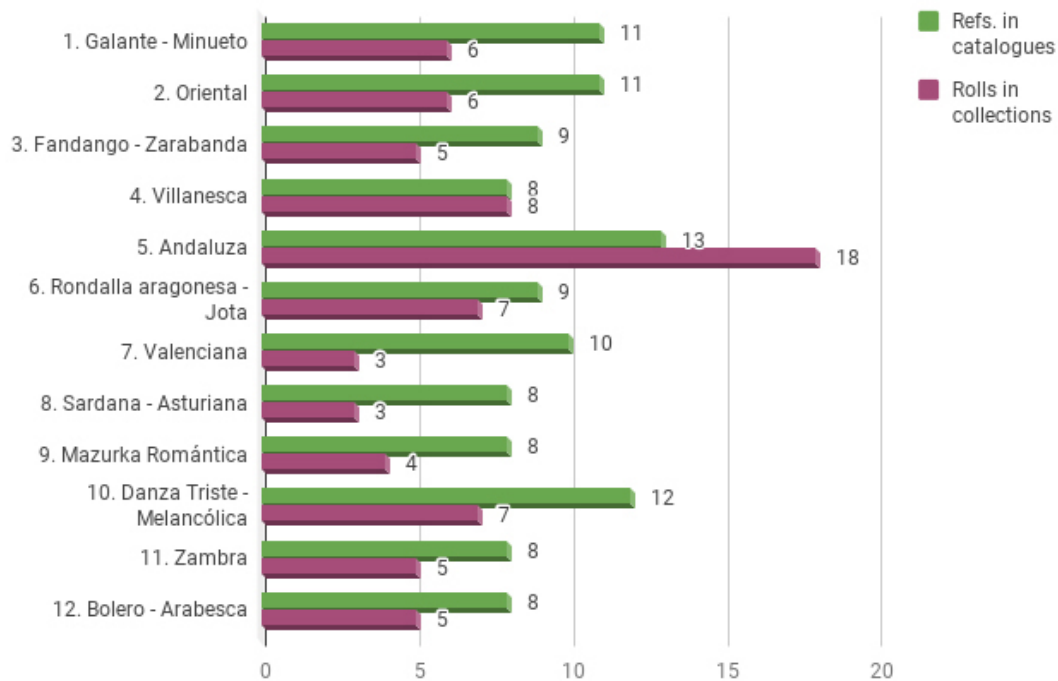


Fig. 4: *Danzas Españolas*: published parts vs number of rolls found in the institutional collections.

In the case of *Goyescas*, *El Fandango de Candil* and *La Maja y el Ruiseñor* are the most offered parts (10 different references for each part). Despite the size of the sample it does not allow us to suggest a real relationship between supply and demand, it is worth mentioning that in the first case, the number of rolls preserved in institutional collections is much lower than in the second (3 for *Fandango* versus 7 for *La Maja y el Ruiseñor*).

Goyescas

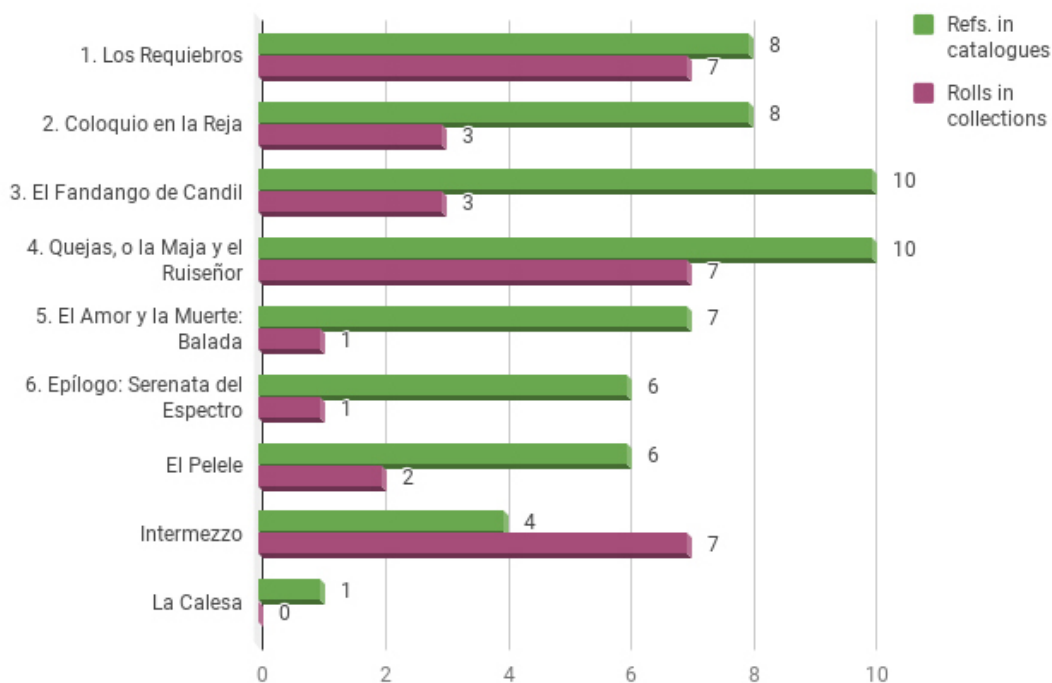


Fig. 5: *Goyescas*, published parts vs number of rolls found in institutional collections.

To conclude with this section, a more general view shows the relationship between the works by Granados and all the companies operating in Spain. Figure No. 5 allows us to confirm that Aeolian, with 48 Granados references, and Victoria with 36, were the companies that edited the most Granados titles, and seem to be the ones that sold most of the composer's works. In these two cases, the demand for these publishers corresponds to their relevance in the Spanish market, as previously shown in Figure No. 1. On the other hand, we can see how the presence of Granados music in smaller companies with a discreet presence in the institutional collections, is also quite important: España Musical (27 references), Cosmos (26), Best (20), Princesa (20), Chiappo (17), Ideal (15). These are much smaller companies, with catalogs about half the size as the previous ones, and, therefore, their presence in institutional collections is much smaller. Despite this small presence, the volume of works by Granados that they offer is remarkable, practically equating the bigger publishers in terms of supply. This fact allows us to suggest a certain canonization of the Granados repertoire, which in some way remains unchanged in smaller and larger companies.

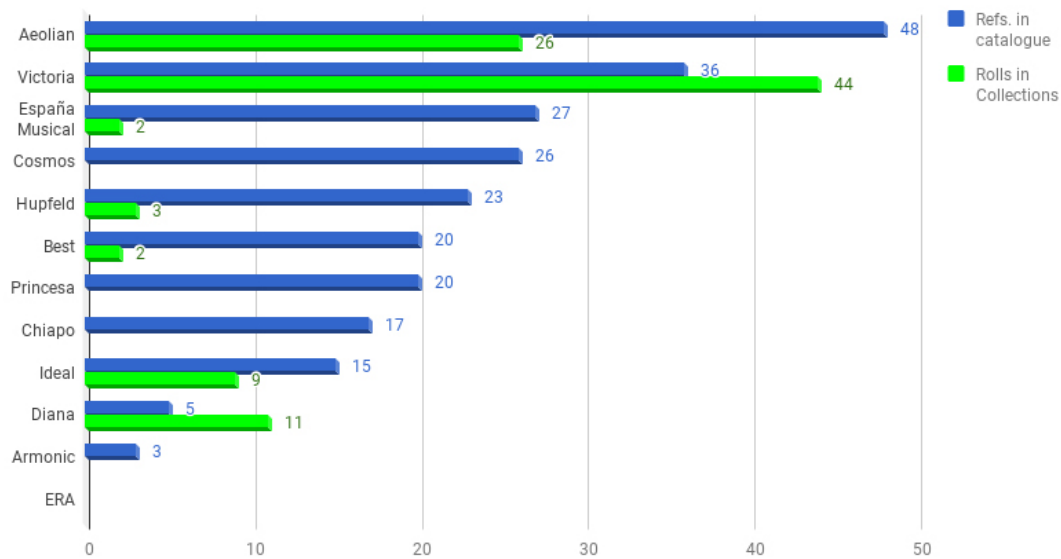


Fig. 6: Relationship between the numbers of works by Granados offered in the catalogs by companies operating in Spain (in blue) and the total number of Granados rolls located in the three biggest Spanish institutional collections (in green).

Finally, regarding the Granados rolls published for reproducing piano⁸, it must be said that, despite its historical and musicological importance, the Iberian market does not provide too much information. The fact that none of the Spanish companies offered recordings makes us think that the business in Spain focused heavily on metronomic rolls⁹. However, we should remember that both Aeolian and Hupfeld, two of the companies that sold reproducing rolls, had Spanish branches and that could easily facilitate their commercialization, even when most of the instruments sold in Spain were not strictly envisaged for this type of roll. In this respect, a pianola concert chronicle published in *La Vanguardia* in April 13, 1917, reveals that the Aeolian Duo-Art reproducing piano technology arrived in Barcelona shortly after its presentation in international markets.

Granados rolls in the Spanish media: advertisements, press and pianola concert reviews

The concert chronicle regarding the pianola is surprising due to the number of advertisements, with a weekly presence in some newspapers, although it must be considered that in most cases, this was orchestrated by the main companies in the sector. However, these concert chronicles give us a very interesting insight into the relationships between industry, interpretation

⁸ *The Classical Reproduction Piano Roll: A Catalog-Index* (Sitsky, 1990), provides an exhaustive list of pianists who recorded rolls for piano player. It is edited in two volumes, one indexed by composers and the other by pianists.

⁹ Recent investigations confirm that Victoria was the exception since it did have a system to record directly from the piano (Roquer, 2017: 174–188). Despite this circumstance, however, Victoria never sold its recorded rolls, probably for commercial reasons rather than a technical issue (Roquer, 2017: 359).

and music reception. An example of this is found in the descriptions of pianola concerts programmed weekly in the Aeolian Hall in Barcelona. These are small articles that sometimes offer very accurate information about, for example, the aesthetic valuation of strictly technical elements:

On the Steinway pianola, Mr. Talavera played works by Chopin, Granados, Wagner, Quintas and Albéniz with his usual brilliant and fair style, attracting the attention of the audience with the new transcription that the eminent Agustín Quintas has prepared expressly for the *Murmullos de la Selva* roll, where the cantabiles stand out admirably and the tremolos are perhaps truly pianistic for the very first time.¹⁰

Despite its brevity, and never forgetting its propagandistic nature, there are some elements of interest that emerge from the text. First of all, it is important to realize how the concert pianist was a real figure, with a specific technique for a specific instrument. This technique is strongly linked to a second key element: transcription. The result of an interpretation in the pianola, therefore, depends on a good technical performance on the instrument as well as the quality of the perforation. It is, therefore, a mixture of factors that reveal how little we know today about what those old machines were actually like. As we can see from these concert notes, the pianola had a market, an audience and its own language. The commentary on the credibility of tremolos, for instance, seems to tell us that both the sonic and the interpretative result of a pianola performance arouses a real interest among a specialized audience. Another case allows us to observe the use of popular sensibility as an ally to marketing strategies:

[Picture of a concert program with Granados's pieces, where we can read...] ... played on the new DUO-ART-PIANOLA-PIANO-STEINWAY electric-player with some interpretations by great pianists, played by the ill-fated ENRIQUE GRANADOS in New York a few days before his fatal embarkation to Spain, where we can appreciate the most delicate nuances, the expression and the feeling of our greatly missed compatriot. The sublime apparatus that made him exclaim: "if my disciples in Barcelona could hear it, they would believe that I was the one who played!"¹¹

The newspaper brings us back to the question of the authenticity of perforations for the piano player and makes it worthy of the testimony of the recent death of the composer. The sentimental burden of the message is a good ally to the commercial discourse, and kills two sparrows with one stone: on the one hand, it gives legitimacy to the recording system in the words of Granados himself and, on the other, it unfolds the always infallible claim of the posthumous work. We continue, therefore, with arguments that must be valued on the basis of market logic and that, in spite of apparently being by the same composers, often need to be considered with some suspicion. In fact, it is more than likely that the testimony of Granados published in *La Vanguardia* comes from the interview that the Catalan composer granted to Aeolian and was published by *The Sun* newspaper twelve days before his death¹². In this interview, Granados unleashes praise for the Duo-Art recording techniques, revealing an attitude that coincides completely with the marketing logic used by

¹⁰ *La Vanguardia*, June 22, 1919. Translation by the authors.

¹¹ *La Vanguardia*, April 13, 1917. Translation by the authors.

¹² *The Sun*, March 12, 1916. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030272/1916-03-12/ed-1/>

companies in the sector at that time: large-scale promotion in exchange for some statements that are often proposed by the actual company. It is the birth of a tremendously successful endorsement model in later stages of the musical industry, and other sectors. The text of *The Sun* works midway between the interview and the idealized description, as always with an openly propagandistic discourse:

Señor Granados, the distinguished Spanish composer, sat—a dark, slight, intense man—listening to one of his own piano performances reproduced on the Duo Art Pianola, exactly as he had played it a week before. The notes were rippling across the keyboard, as if touched by unseen hands now falling lightly as leaves, now charged with indescribable spirit and power [...] As phrase by phrase of his radiant music swept along, Granados' face was rapt with wonder and delight... now—as if it were impossible to contain himself—his fingers would move as if they danced along the keyboard. “Mon Dieu, it is my portrait!” he exclaimed.¹³

The document contains many of Granados's impressions, which were astutely orchestrated by the interviewer hired by the company:

Not even a small mechanical feeling in reproduction? I asked. Please be very frank. “Nothing at all” [Granados answers]. There is no doubt about his sincerity. “Everything is so true, so real, a replica of my way of playing so exact, that neither my own students in Barcelona they would detect any difference.”¹⁴

It would not be surprising that Aeolian used this phrase—with its strong emotional component—as an advertising tool and that, as we have seen in the publication of *La Vanguardia*, it even managed to make the press in several countries. After an exhaustive review of the virtues of the instrument and the company, the text closes with the signature of Granados under the phrase “I read this interview in print, and I can only say that it faithfully reflects my point of view.” It is difficult to venture any hypothesis about the degree of sincerity in the words of both Granados and many other composers and pianists who starred in innumerable collaborations of this type. The fact is that Granados, who had previously recorded for other companies such as Welte, Pleyela and Hupfeld (Estrada, 2015: 24), had enough information to compare the results of at least three of the large companies dedicated to the roll recorded. In fact, in the image that accompanies the page of *The Sun* newspaper, Granados appears recording with the Duo-Art system next to the assistant technician, who had quite a responsibility on the interpretative result with respect to the dynamic content¹⁵. We can conclude that the knowledge of Granados on the various recording systems was, at least, extensive enough to speak with absolute knowledge. In view of this fact, it is difficult to believe that his statements were not, mostly, sincere.

¹³ *The Sun*, March 12, 1916. Source: Library of the Congress.
<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030272/1916-03-12/ed-1/>

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ For a wider knowledge of the Duo-Art dynamic encoding system see Hall, 1995; Lawson, 2009, 2010, 2012, and 2013; and Springer, 2013.

Discussion

The pianola had a massive impact on the music world in the early twentieth century, a crucial moment involving some of the basic changes in our current reception and consumption models. While it is usual to think of the record industry as the natural context for these changes, the statistics reveal that in this scenario, the pianola roll is not a secondary actor, but quite the opposite. For the study of musical reception between 1900 and 1930, it is essential to work with the sound supports that dominated the market during those three decades; this premise is so obvious that it is surprising that pianola rolls have been practically ignored in this case. In Spain, the pianola phenomenon arrives with the Catalan company Victoria, whose model was to be followed by most of the later companies. A total of 23 publishers operated in Spain from 1905 to 1936, 20 of them Spanish and 3 (Aeolian, Hupfeld and Chiapo) from other countries.

The three main institutional collections (BNE, BNC, MMB) provide us with a sample of 7,863 rolls from these 23 publishers. Of this amount, there are 118 rolls of Granados. Aeolian, leader of the international market, and Victoria, the undisputed leader of the Spanish market, were the companies that most titles Granados published, as well as the ones that seem to have sold more of the composer's rolls. The most offered and demanded work by Granados in the Spanish roll market is *Danzas Españolas*, followed by *Goyescas*. Inside *Danzas Españolas*, *Andalucía* is the most published and seems to be also his best-selling roll.

Despite the fact that no Spanish roll company was dedicated to the reproducing roll market, the activity around this technology seems to have had some presence in Spain. Both Aeolian and Hupfeld had a Spanish branch and some of the press concert chronicles confirm that the Duo-Art system was present in Barcelona only a few years after its international presentation. In both the catalogs and the pianola newspaper chronicles, Granados is a prominent figure, confirming his condition as one of the main composers at the time. His premature death not only speeds up the logical canonization of his repertoire in the Spanish pianola market, but also allows the industry to make the most of the strategy regarding the posthumous work, through commercial activity that we will see repeated countless times during later decades.

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