

DAUGHTER AND DISCIPLE: ON GENDER AND MALE GAZE IN THE SPANISH MEDIA IMAGE OF THE COMPOSER ANN-ELISE HANNIKAINEN IN THE EARLY 1970S

HIJA Y DISCÍPULA: SOBRE GÉNERO Y MIRADA MASCULINA EN LA IMAGEN MEDIÁTICA ESPAÑOLA DE LA COMPOSITORA ANN-ELISE HANNIKAINEN A PRINCIPIOS DE LOS AÑOS SETENTA

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Abstract

This article explores the media representation of Finnish-born composer Ann-Elise Hannikainen in the Spanish media during the early 1970s, focusing on the gender dynamics and the influence of the male gaze on her public image. Despite the presence of numerous female composers in Spain at the time, Hannikainen's and Valencia-based Matilde Salvador's works were among the few by women featured by Spanish orchestras in the 1970s. This study aims to understand how Hannikainen's gender intersected with various aspects of her identity, such as age, appearance, social class, family background, education, and nationality, in the critiques and other texts related to her orchestral piece *Anerfálicas* premiered in Valencia in 1973. The methodology employs resistant reading by Judith Fetterley to analyse how gender and the male gaze shaped the discourse around Hannikainen's work, underscoring the necessity of a feminist perspective in musicology that acknowledges the contributions of women composers and challenges the traditional narratives of music history. Additionally, by contrasting Hannikainen's media image with that of Salvador, the article reveals that Hannikainen's gender not only shaped her public image through descriptions of her appearance and familial relations but also affected the depth of authorship and artistic integrity attributed to her work, often overshadowing her professional credentials and accomplishments. This gendered narrative extended to the way influential figures, such as Hannikainen's teacher Ernesto Halffter, represented Hannikainen.

Keywords

Ann-Elise Hannikainen, Matilde Salvador, Ernesto Halffter, Valencia, contemporary Spanish music, feminist musicology.

Resumen

Este artículo explora la representación mediática de la compositora de origen finlandés Ann-Elise Hannikainen en los medios españoles durante los primeros años de la década de 1970, centrándose en la dinámica de género y la influencia de la mirada masculina en su imagen pública. A pesar de la presencia de numerosas compositoras en España en ese momento, las obras de Hannikainen y de Matilde Salvador, con base en Valencia, fueron algunas de las pocas de mujeres presentadas por orquestas españolas en la década de 1970. Este estudio tiene como objetivo entender cómo el género de Hannikainen se cruzó con varios aspectos de su identidad, como la edad, apariencia, clase social, antecedentes familiares, educación y nacionalidad, en las críticas y otros textos relacionados con su pieza orquestal *Anerfálicas* estrenada en Valencia en 1973. La metodología emplea la lectura resistente de Judith Fetterley para analizar cómo el género y la mirada masculina dieron forma al discurso en torno al trabajo de Hannikainen, subrayando la necesidad de una perspectiva feminista en la musicología que reconozca las contribuciones de las compositoras y desafíe las narrativas tradicionales de la historia de la música. Además, al comparar la imagen mediática de Hannikainen con la de Salvador, el artículo revela que el género de Hannikainen no solo dio forma a su imagen pública a través de descripciones de su apariencia y relaciones familiares, sino que también afectó la profundidad de la autoría y la integridad artística atribuida a su trabajo, a menudo eclipsando sus credenciales y logros profesionales. Esta narrativa de género se extendió a la forma en que figuras influyentes, como el maestro de Hannikainen Ernesto Halffter, representaron a Hannikainen.

Palabras clave

Ann-Elise Hannikainen, Matilde Salvador, Ernesto Halffter, Valencia, música española contemporánea, musicología feminista.

1. INTRODUCTION

On a late Monday evening in November 1973, a special concert took place in the Teatro Principal in Valencia, Spain. In the opening concert of the autumn season, the Valencia Orchestra (Orquesta de Valencia) featured the premiere of the orchestral work *Anerfálicas* (1973) by the Finnish-born composer Ann-Elise Hannikainen (1946-2012).¹ The premiere was conducted by Hannikainen's teacher and partner-to-be Ernesto Halffter (1905-1989). This event is particularly significant to the local history of classical music in Valencia since the Valencia Orchestra performed works of only two female composers in the 1970s, namely Ann-Elise Hannikainen who resided in Madrid and Valencia-based Matilde Salvador (1918-2007).² This is an interesting fact since

there were, after all, dozens of female composers in Spain at that time.³ However, it seems that their music did not reach the repertoire of the Spanish orchestras. In the repertoire of the Madrid-based National Orchestra of Spain (Orquesta Nacional de España), for example, Ann-Elise Hannikainen was the only female composer in the 1970s.⁴

In this article, my aim is to study Ann-Elise Hannikainen's media image that emerged around the performance of her first orchestral work *Anerfálicas* in Valencia. I am particularly interested in the complex role that the composer's gender plays in the critiques and other texts referring to the concert. When I say complex, I refer to the intersectional nature of human life: Ann-Elise Hannikainen's gender is not present in my research material as an isolated phenomenon, but it is intertwined to themes such as age, physical appearance, social class, family background, education, and nationality. To shed more light on this topic, my article also includes an excursion, where I discuss the media image of the above-mentioned composer Matilde Salvador in the context of the premiere of her opera *Vinatea* (1974). Salvador serves as an interesting parallel not only because of the previously mentioned performance history but also because Hannikainen's teacher and future part-

¹ The other works performed in the concert were the 2nd symphony of Johannes Brahms and *Iberia* of Claude Debussy. Unlike Hannikainen's work, they were conducted by orchestra's principal conductor Luis Antonio García Navarro (1941-2001). For more information on Ann-Elise Hannikainen's career and life, see Markus Virtanen, «Nukkekodin varpusen moraaliton konsertto: Arvoja, ihanteita ja uuden musiikin kuvia Ann-Elise Hannikaisen pianokonsertton lehdistöreseptiossa vuonna 1976», *Musiikki* 51, n.º 3 (2021): 48-73, <https://doi.org/10.51816/musiikki.111758>; Markus Virtanen, «Hannikainen, Ann-Elise», in *Kansallisbiografia* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2021), accessed 11th April 2024, <http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:sks-kbg-010156>; Markus Virtanen, «"Tottahan toki pidän ruoanlaitosta, mutta mieluiten kuitenkin sävellän". Säveltävän naisen representaatioita Ann-Elise Hannikaisen aikakauslehtihaastatteluissa», in *Naiset, musiikki, tutkimus – ennen ja nyt*, ed. Saijaleena Rantanen, Nappu Koivisto-Kaasik and Anu Lampela (Helsinki: Taideyliopiston Sibelius-Akatemia - Tutkimusyhdistys Suoni ry), 213-243; Markus Virtanen, «From Archival Silence to Archival Violence», *Toiminta soi*, Tutkimusyhdistys Suoni ry, 22nd January 2024, <https://www.suoni.fi/fi/toiminta-soi/2024/1/22/from-archival-silence-to-archival-violence>.

² Enrique Monfort (Centro de Documentación del Palau de la Música de Valencia), email message to author, 9th February 2022.

³ Antonio Álvarez Cañibano *et al.*, *Compositoras españolas. La creación musical femenina desde la Edad Media hasta la actualidad* (Madrid: Centro de Documentación de Música y Danza, 2008). Female composers of orchestral music in 20th century Spain were, for example, Emma Chacón i Lausaca (1886-1972), María Rodrigo (1888-1967), Montserrat Campmany y Cortés (1901-1995), Rosa García Ascot (1902-2002), María de Pablos Cerezo (1904-1990), Elena Romero Barbosa (1907-1996), María Teresa Pelegrí i Marimón (1907-1996), Ethelvina-Ofelia Raga Selma (1911-2005), Conxita Prim (1920-1993), Teresa Borràs i Fornell (1923-2010), Dolores Sendra Bordes (1927-2019), Mercè Torrents Turmo (1930-2018), Ángeles López Artiga (b. 1939), María Luisa Ozaita (1939-2017), Leonora Milà Romeu (b. 1942) and Teresa Catalán (b. 1951).

⁴ Rafael Rufino Valor (Archivo de la Orquesta y Coro Nacionales de España), email message to the author, 24th February 2022. Before Hannikainen's orchestral work, the only work composed by a female composer in ONE's repertoire was María Teresa Prieto's (1896-1982) *Chichen Itza* (1943), performed in 1957: Toya Solís, «La Orquesta Nacional de España en la transición democrática (1975-82): el cambio en las políticas musicales oficiales», *Anuario Musical* 75 (2020): 150, <https://doi.org/10.3989/anuariomusical.2020.75.07>.

ner Ernesto Halffter had been the mentor of Salvador's husband, composer Vicente Asencio (1908-1979).

Unlike Salvador,⁵ Ann-Elise Hannikainen has never been a subject of research of any kind in Spanish musicology, even though it was in Spain that Hannikainen made her career.⁶ Nor has she been included in the written history of Spanish classical music.⁷ The Spanish female composers who have gained visibility in research are mostly composers of the early 20th century or before. These include, for example, María Rodrigo⁸ and Rosa García Ascot.⁹ The question of the press's attitude towards women in music has also been addressed in Spanish musicology, but again the time frame of these studies tends to focus on the early 20th century.¹⁰ The study of the (manly) Spanish

critical institution has also focused on this same period.¹¹

This article is a new opening in the sense that it extends the field of research into the recent past of Spanish female actors of classical music. It also indirectly brings to the fore an immigrant composer and her role in the history of Spanish classical music. This article also provides a new perspective on Ernesto Halffter, whose work as a composer has previously been studied mainly in terms of musical analysis or in relation to his teacher Manuel de Falla.¹² Above all, I consider this article to be part of the tradition of feminist musicology in the sense that I want to make visible the patriarchal structures embedded in the media image of Ann-Elise Hannikainen and her music.¹³ I claim that by exposing these structures, feminist musicol-

⁵ Paula Reig *et al.*, *Matilde Salvador* (Valencia: Saó, 2000); Rosa Solbes, *Matilde Salvador. Converses amb una compositora apassionada* (Valencia: Tandem, 2007); Rosa Isusi-Fagoaga, «Las óperas de Matilde Salvador: entre el nacionalismo musical, la cultura valenciana y la pedagogía», in *Música, mujeres y educación*, ed. Ana María Botella Nicolás (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2018), 49-62.

⁶ However, Hannikainen is briefly mentioned in the recent study of Solis, «La Orquesta Nacional de España en la transición democrática (1975-82)», 139-162. In recent years Hannikainen has drawn interest in Finnish musicology, see Virtanen, Markus. «Nukkekodin varpusen moraalityön konsertto»; Virtanen, «Tottahan toki pidän ruoanlaitosta».

⁷ Tomás Marco, *Spanish Music in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993 [1983]); Alberto González Lapuente, *Historia de la música en España e Hispanoamérica 7: la música en España en el siglo XX* (Madrid: Cajasol, 2013).

⁸ Noelia Lorenta Montzon, «María Rodrigo: la revolución silenciosa de la mujer compositora», *Síneris. Revista de música* 33 (2018): 1-20; Noelia Lorenta Montzon, «María Rodrigo ante los espejos de la crítica madrileña (1915-1917)», *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana* 34 (2021): 125-146, <https://doi.org/10.5209/cmib.73800>.

⁹ Ignacio Clemente Estupiñán, *Rosa García Ascot y la Generación del 27* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Ediciones Idea, 2018).

¹⁰ See Beatriz Hernández Polo, «Crítica, género y discurso en los conciertos madrileños de música de cámara de principios del siglo XX», *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana* 34 (2021): 103-123, <https://doi.org/10.5209/cmib.73671>; and Clara Perterra Sánchez, «“Tocar como un hombre”: construcciones de género en la prensa española de 1930 en torno a la actividad profesional de las instrumentistas de cuerda», *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana* 35 (2022): 227-251, <https://doi.org/10.5209/cmib.73889>.

¹¹ See Teresa Cascudo and María Palacios, eds., *Los señores de la crítica: Periodismo musical e ideología del modernismo en Madrid (1900-1950)* (Sevilla: Editorial Doble, 2012). The first Spanish female music critic was Matilde Muñoz Barberi (1895-1954). See more Susan Campos Fonseca, «Matilde Muñoz Barberi, crítica musical y una anomalía?», in *Palabra de crítico. Estudios sobre música, prensa e ideología*, ed. Teresa Cascudo and Germán Gan (Sevilla: Editorial Doble J), 31-53.

¹² For example Yolanda Acker and Javier Suárez-Pajares, *Músico en dos tiempos* (Madrid: Residencia de Estudiantes, 1997); Yolanda Acker, «Ernesto Halffter en el centenario de su nacimiento», *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana* 2 (2006): 5-15; Consuelo Carredano, «Devociones ejemplares: algunas pautas en la relación de Manuel de Falla y Ernesto Halffter», *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana* 2 (2006): 17-50; Ruth Piquer Sancllemente, «Aspectos estéticos del Neoclasicismo musical en la obra de Ernesto Halffter», *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana* 2 (2006), 51-82. See also Germán Gan Quesada, *La obra de Cristóbal Halffter: creación musical y fundamentos estéticos* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2003).

¹³ Christine Battersby, *Gender and Genius. Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (London: The Women's Press, 1989); Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000 [1993]); Eugene Gates and Karla Hartl, eds., *The Women in Music Anthology* (Toronto: The Kapralova Society, 2021); Sally Macarthur, *Towards a Twenty-First-Century Feminist Politics of Music* (London: Routledge, 2010); Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings. Music, Gender and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002 [1991]); Ruth A. Solie, *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

ogy can work as a political act toward a cultural change.¹⁴ Making Ann-Elise Hannikainen visible as a composer in the Spanish context, where she built her career, is also an act of activism.¹⁵

1.1 RESISTANT READING

Methodologically my article is inspired by resistant reading, a concept created by literary scholar Judith Fetterley.¹⁶ Resistant reading was originally used in feminist literature, theatre and performance studies to describe a way of «reading against the grain of stereotypes and resisting the manipulation of both the performance text and the cultural text that it helps to shape».¹⁷ The presumption behind this approach is the idea that literature has traditionally been created by male authors for male readers and therefore women readers have had to de-feminise

themselves to be able to read the text. Resistant reading emerged from the need to understand and expose the damage that this kind of reading had done to women, «and perhaps, most importantly, with the belief that reading could also reverse the damage».¹⁸

Even though Fetterley originally applied the concept to fiction, I argue it can be applied to non-fictional newspaper and magazine articles as well. Taking into account the time and cultural context of their origins, it can be assumed that the Spanish texts I am analysing have mostly been written from the point of view of white, middle-class, heterosexual males.¹⁹ According to Jill Dolan, another developer of resistant reading, this kind of starting point creates «an ideal spectator» —an ideal reader, in my case— that is equivalent to the dominant culture represented in the text.²⁰ In this article, resistant reading denotes particularly the deconstruction of this dominant culture and the male gaze²¹ present in my research material. Ultimately, we are talking about the significance and possibility of identification:²² whether the (female) reader can identify with what she is reading. In terms of my research, the question is whether Ann-Elise Hannikainen's persona and work as a composer can be recognised in my research material, or whether she remains imprisoned and restricted by the male gaze.

This brings us to another reason, why this kind of reading against the grain is crucial. Since I am a Finnish musicologist approaching material that was mostly created in another European culture that differs in many ways of my own, I can not rely on my internal cultural knowledge in reading, but I must stay open to different kinds of interpretations even to the extent of mistrust towards

¹⁴ For more, see Philip Vilas Bohlman, «Musicology as a Political Act», *The Journal of Musicology* 11, n.º 4 (1993): 411-436, <https://doi.org/10.2307/764020>.

¹⁵ For more on activism in musicology and academia generally, see Laurence Cox, «Scholarship and Activism: A Social Movements Perspective», *Studies in Social Justice* 9, n.º 1 (2015): 34-53, <https://doi.org/10.26522/ssj.v9i1.1153>; Michael Flood, Brian Martin and Tanja Dreher, «Combining Academia and Activism», *Australian Universities Review* 55, n.º 1 (2013): 17-26; Susanna Välimäki, «Transgender Hearing and Healing: The Musical Processing of Trauma in *Boys Don't Cry* and *The Brandon Teena Story*», *Radical Musicology* 7 (2019): 1-51; Susanna Välimäki, «“Everyone is a little bit gay”: LGBTIQ Activism in Finnish Pop Music of the 21st Century», in *Popular Musicology and Identity: Essays in Honour of Stan Hawkins*, ed. Eirik Askerøi, Freya Jarman and Kai Arne Hansen (London: Routledge, 2020), 97-116.

¹⁶ Judith Fetterley, *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978). See also Jill Dolan, *The Feminist Spectator as Critic* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012 [1988]); Charlene Avallone, «The Reception of *The Resisting Reader*, Early and Late», *Reception: Texts, Readers, Audiences, History* 13 (2021): 24-32; Yung-Hsing Wu, «Guest Editor's Introduction revising, rereading: the resisting reader and its afterlives», *Reception: Texts, Readers, Audiences, History* 13 (2021): 4-9.

¹⁷ Dolan, *The Feminist Spectator as Critic*, 2. For more about the historical context where resistant reading emerged, see Wendy Martin, «The Historical Context of Judith Fetterley's *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction 1968-1978*», *Reception: Texts, Readers, Audiences, History* 13 (2021): 10-14.

¹⁸ Wu, «Guest Editor's Introduction», 6.

¹⁹ According to Alicia Pajón Fernández, who has studied the role of women in music journalism during the Spanish Transition, between 1976 and 1982 only 0.74 % of the music-related content published in the *ABC* newspaper, for example, were written by women: Alicia Pajón Fernández, «“Basta para que las chicas luzcan sus tacones y lo que les sigue”: Música y mujer en el ABC durante la Transición española», *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana* 34 (2021): 158-159.

²⁰ Dolan, *The Feminist Spectator as Critic*, 1.

²¹ Concept originally presented by Laura Mulvey, «Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema», *Screen* 16, n.º 3 (1975): 6-18, <https://doi.org/10.1093/screen/16.3.6>.

²² Wu, «Guest Editor's Introduction», 4-5.

my material. At its best this can lead to fruitful views that might not be possible for a Spanish scholar. Indeed, to paraphrase Judith Fetterley, in order to truly understand a closed system such as a foreign culture, one needs to look at it from the outside. This approach must critically examine the system's underlying values and assumptions, aiming to reveal what is intentionally obscured within the text.²³

1.2 RESEARCH MATERIAL

My research material consists of 16 Spanish articles of different length and character of which all but one, according to my presumption, are written by men (see Table 1).

All the above-mentioned material is included in the personal papers Ann-Elise Hannikainen left behind after her death.²⁴ I have used this archive collection for a decade and found it to be rather reliable in the sense that it also includes material that is not favourable for Ann-Elise Hannikainen. Therefore, I am inclined to believe that the majority, if not all, of the existing articles are included in this research. I have not found any new material concerning Hannikainen in the Digital Periodical and Newspaper Archive of the National Library of Spain, for example.

Even though my material concerning Hannikainen may be considered comprehensive, it should be noted that this does not necessarily indicate political or ideological diversity. Of the Valencian newspapers listed in Table 1, for example, *Las Provincias*, *Jornada* and *Levante* were all conservative media, with the latter two directly under the regime of Franco.²⁵ This is an interesting aspect given Ernesto Halffter's relationship with the Franco regime and the fact that Halffter has a very strong presence in

the material as I will show later in this article.²⁶ A more detailed political and cultural-historical contextualisation of the research material is, however, beyond the scope of this article. I am not so much interested in why an individual journalist or newspaper writes about Hannikainen in a certain way, but in the reality that language produces in the texts I am examining and how this reality can be read differently from a resistant and feminist point of view.

2. THE MAKING OF *ANERFÁLICAS*

Ann-Elise Hannikainen had moved to Madrid with her parents in June 1972 at the age of 26 after her father Heikki Hannikainen (1905-1989) was appointed as Finland's ambassador to Spain. Ann-Elise Hannikainen had finished her piano studies in spring at the Sibelius Academy²⁷ in Helsinki and she was looking for a new course to her life since she got ill with rheumatoid arthritis that eventually ended her dream to be a full-time professional pianist. Besides playing the piano, Hannikainen had already taken composition lessons earlier in Peru²⁸ under Rodolfo Holzmann (1910-1992) and in Sibelius Academy under Einar Englund (1916-1999). Thus, while waiting to recover it was natural for her to keep her focus in music through composing.

It seems that the fact that Ernesto Halffter was asked to be Hannikainen's teacher was quite arbitrary and dependent on Heikki Hannikainen's networks. Shortly after arriving in Spain, Heikki Hannikainen had met the Turkish Ambassador to Spain, Zeki Kuneralp (1914-1998), who had told him that he knew Ernesto Halffter. Kuneralp had promised to introduce Ann-Elise Hannikainen and her situation to Halffter.²⁹

²³ Fetterley, *The Resisting Reader*.

²⁴ I want to express my gratitude to Hannikainen's siblings Eva Hannikainen and Heikki Hannikainen for the possibility to use this material.

²⁵ I thank the anonymous peer reviewer for making this important observation. For more information on Valencian press during the Franco regime, see for example Enrique Bordería Ortiz, *Entre la propaganda y el negocio: la prensa diaria en Valencia durante el franquismo, 1939-1945* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 1998); and Amador Iranzo, «Prensa y poder. Las Provincias, actor político central de la Transición valenciana», *Historia y Comunicación Social* 19, n.º extra 2 (2014): 535-544.

²⁶ Ernesto Halffter devoted years of his career to completing Manuel de Falla's oratorio *Atlántida*. Halffter benefited financially from the Franco regime, as the Spanish state largely paid for the completion of Falla's work: Igor Contreras Zubillaga, *Tant que les révolutions ressemblent à cela. L'avant-garde musicale sous Franco* (Paris: Éditions Horizons d'attente, 2021), 176.

²⁷ Nowadays a part of the University of the Arts Helsinki.

²⁸ Ann-Elise Hannikainen spent part of her childhood in Peru, where Heikki Hannikainen was appointed as ambassador of Finland from 1963 to 1967.

²⁹ Irmeli Nordenstreng, «Rakkaus ja tragedia ovat innoittajani», *Jaana*, 27th November 1973.

Media	Publication date	Writer	Title
<i>Jornada</i>	n.d.	Anon.	«Anerfalicas» by Ann-Elise Hannikainen, world premiere, in Valencia ¹
Unknown	n.d.	Ricardo Bellveser	World premiere by Finnish composer Ann[-]Elise Hannikainen ²
Unknown	n.d.	Anon.	Finland's ambassador in Valencia ³
<i>Ritmo</i>	11/1973	Luis M. Richart	Valencia
<i>Levante</i>	3.11.1973	Carlos Sentí Esteve	Ahead of a world premiere ⁴
<i>Levante</i>	7.11.1973	Enrique Gomá	The City Orchestra inaugurated its concert season ⁵
<i>Las Provincias</i>	7.11.1973	Eduard López-Chavarri i Andújar	Premiere by Ann-Elise Hannikainen, conducted by Ernesto Halffter, in the City Orchestra ⁶
<i>Jornada</i>	9.11.1973	Anon.	First concert of the City Orchestra of the current concert season ⁷
<i>Levante</i>	14.11.1973	Enrique Gomá	News of Ernesto Halffter ⁸
Área	25.11.1973	Jose María Iglesias Romero	Madrid, the weekend ⁹
<i>Jornada</i>	n.d.	Anon.	«Anerfalicas» by Ann-Elise Hannikainen, world premiere, in Valencia ¹⁰
Unknown	n.d.	Ricardo Bellveser	World premiere by Finnish composer Ann[-]Elise Hannikainen ¹¹
Unknown	n.d.	Anon.	Finland's ambassador in Valencia ¹²

¹ Original in Spanish: «“Anerfalicas”, de Ann-Elise Hannikainen, estreno mundial, en Valencia». Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are henceforth the author's own.

² Original in Spanish: «Estreno mundial de la compositora finlandesa Ann[-]Elise Hannikainen».

³ Original in Spanish: «Los embajadores de Finlandia, en Valencia».

⁴ Original in Spanish: «Ante un estreno mundial».

⁵ Original in Spanish: «La Orquesta Municipal inauguró su curso».

⁶ Original in Spanish: «Estreno de Ann-Elise Hannikainen, dirigido por Ernesto Halffter, en la Orquesta Municipal».

⁷ Original in Spanish: «Primer concierto de la orquesta municipal en la presente temporada».

⁸ Original in Spanish: «Noticia de Ernesto Halffter».

⁹ Original in Spanish: «Madrid, fin de semana».

¹⁰ Original in Spanish: «“Anerfalicas”, de Ann-Elise Hannikainen, estreno mundial, en Valencia». Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are henceforth the author's own.

¹¹ Original in Spanish: «Estreno mundial de la compositora finlandesa Ann[-]Elise Hannikainen».

¹² Original in Spanish: «Los embajadores de Finlandia, en Valencia».

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<i>Levante</i>	7.11.1973	Enrique Gomá	The City Orchestra inaugurated its concert season ¹⁴
<i>Las Provincias</i>	7.11.1973	Eduard López-Chavarri i Andújar	Premiere by Ann-Elise Hannikainen, conducted by Ernesto Halffter, in the City Orchestra ¹⁵
<i>Jornada</i>	9.11.1973	Anon.	First concert of the City Orchestra of the current concert season ¹⁶
<i>Levante</i>	14.11.1973	Enrique Gomá	News of Ernesto Halffter ¹⁷
Área	25.11.1973	Jose María Iglesias Romero	Madrid, the weekend ¹⁸
<i>Diario de Burgos</i>	2.12.1973	Jose María Iglesias Romero ¹⁹	Ann[-]Elise, daughter of Finland's ambassador to Spain, premieres symphonic work in Valencia ²⁰
<i>Diario de Cadiz</i>	15.12.1973	Jose María Iglesias Romero	Ann[-]Elise, daughter of Finland's ambassador to Spain, premieres symphonic work in Valencia ²¹
<i>El Progreso</i>	23.12.1973	Jose María Iglesias Romero	Ann[-]Elise, daughter of Finland's ambassador to Spain, premieres symphonic work in Valencia ²²
Unknown	19.4.1974	Anon.	Ann[-]Elise, daughter of Finland's ambassador to Spain ²³
<i>Hilo Musical</i>	2/1974	Violeta Hebe	ann[-]elise
¡Hola!	n.d.	Tico Medina	Seven days, seven names of women ²⁴

Table 1. 16 articles about Ann-Elise Hannikainen.

¹³ Original in Spanish: «Ante un estreno mundial».

¹⁴ Original in Spanish: «La Orquesta Municipal inauguró su curso».

¹⁵ Original in Spanish: «Estreno de Ann-Elise Hannikainen, dirigido por Ernesto Halffter, en la Orquesta Municipal».

¹⁶ Original in Spanish: «Primer concierto de la orquesta municipal en la presente temporada».

¹⁷ Original in Spanish: «Noticia de Ernesto Halffter».

¹⁸ Original in Spanish: «Madrid, fin de semana».

¹⁹ All the articles by José María Iglesias Romero published in December 1973 are based on the article Iglesias Romero wrote for the news agency EFE. The title of the article is the same in all publications but the article's length and the amount of pictures used varies.

²⁰ Original in Spanish: «Ann[-]Elise, hija de los embajadores de Finlandia en España, estrena una obra sinfónica en Valencia».

²¹ Original in Spanish: «Ann[-]Elise, hija de los embajadores de Finlandia en España, estrena una obra sinfónica en Valencia».

²² Original in Spanish: «Ann[-]Elise, hija de los embajadores de Finlandia en España, estrena una obra sinfónica en Valencia».

²³ Original in Spanish: «Ann[-] Elise, hija de los embajadores de Finlandia».

²⁴ Original in Spanish: «Siete días, siete nombres de mujer».

There is probably no single reason why the then 67-year-old Ernesto Halffter, who did not really teach composition at all, was willing to teach Hannikainen.³⁰ Halffter clearly recognised Hannikainen's talent, but one cannot exclude the possibility that he was also attracted to the idea of a young, beautiful female composer. In time, Hannikainen's parents also became very close to Halffter.³¹

In any case, Ann-Elise Hannikainen began her private composition studies under Ernesto Halffter in Madrid in September 1972. Hannikainen must have been well motivated and inspired since in April 1973 she already had both a piano concerto and a large-scale orchestral work under preparation. Hannikainen's pace and efficiency must have been considerable and Halffter's faith in her gifts strong, as the premiere of this first orchestral work of hers was already planned for the summer. Halffter had negotiated on the subject with the renowned Romanian conductor Sergiu Celibidache (1912-1996), who, according to Halffter, was already looking forward to the work: «He is impatiently waiting for the Variations. I would so much like him to conduct the premiere. He would give you a very careful performance and I'm sure you would have a great triumph!!».³²

The score of Hannikainen's work was scheduled to be sent to Celibidache before June, but the score was probably not completed on time. Instead, the premiere was five months later in Valencia, which had been a meaningful place for Ernesto Halffter since his childhood. Hannikainen was introduced to the readers of

Valencian newspapers already in June, when Halffter visited the city with her as a member of the jury of a competition between brass orchestras.³³

The composition, which in the correspondence between Hannikainen and Halffter is simply referred to as «Variations»,³⁴ was eventually named *Anerfálicas*. It is an acronym composed of the names of Ann-Elise Hannikainen (An), Ernesto Halffter (er) and Manuel de Falla (fá).³⁵ However, at the time of the premiere, Hannikainen emphasized that the word was purely a symbolic title that did not carry any specific meaning.³⁶ According to her, its function was simply to distinguish the work from the countless other works composed in variation form in the history of classical music.³⁷ The ending of the name (licas) was a secret between her and Halffter.³⁸

In the musical sense, *Anerfálicas* can be described as a re-composed version of Hannikainen's early piano work *Tema con XI Variazioni*, completed in 1968. The work follows the structure of the original piano composition, and the main theme of both works is the same. However, while the variations in the piano work are quite compact and linear in nature, Hannikainen has expanded almost all the variations in *Anerfálicas* by developing motifs and giving more time for different timbres. All this and the rich usage of orchestral colors make *Anerfálicas* its own independent piece of music instead of mere orchestration of the earlier work for solo piano. Indeed, Hannikainen wrote to her father that *Anerfálicas* «is based = built upon this piano ver-

³⁰ Halffter had earlier taught composition to Vicente Asencio (1908-1979) and Federico Elizalde (1907-1979).

³¹ In an undated letter to the parents of Ann-Elise Hannikainen, Ernesto Halffter describes his relationship with them: «You know well that we form a united family that no one can separate. So I think and so I say to you» (underlining by Halffter). Original in Spanish: «Bien sabéis que formamos una familia unida a la que nadie podrá separar. Así lo pienso y así os lo digo» (Ernesto Halffter to Heikki and Marianne Hannikainen n.d., Anne-Elise Hannikainen's private archive).

³² Ernesto Halffter to Ann-Elise Hannikainen 16.4.1973, Anne-Elise Hannikainen's private archive. Original in Spanish: «Espera impaciente las Variaciones. Quisiera tanto que fuese él a hacer el estreno. Te daría una versión muy cuidada y estoy seguro que tendrías un gran triunfo!!». Underlining by Ernesto Halffter.

³³ Carlos Senti Esteve, «El maestro Halffter, un gran enamorado del Mediterráneo ha venido para ser jurado del Certamen Musical», *Levante*, 17th July 1973; Carlos Senti Esteve, «“Algo único en el mundo”, dijo la hija del embajador de Finlandia. Opiniones sobre el Certamen de Bandas», *Levante*, 20th July 1973.

³⁴ Ernesto Halffter to Ann-Elise Hannikainen 23.5.1973, Anne-Elise Hannikainen's private archive.

³⁵ Finnish National Audiovisual Institute, Radio and Television Archive.

³⁶ José María Iglesias Romero, «Ann[-]Elise, hija de los embajadores de Finlandia en España, estrena una obra sinfónica en Valencia», *El Diario Vasco*, 2nd December 1973.

³⁷ Violeta Hebe, «ann[-]elise», *Hilo Musical*, 1974.

³⁸ Hebe, «ann[-]elise»; Rauno Pankola, «Suru inspiroi Ann-Elise Hannikaista. Espanjalaiset ihastuivat suomalaissäveltäjään», *Uusi Maailma*, 1974.

sion. This does not mean that it is exactly equal to the orchestra [sic] version —as this later version is greatly amplified and changed for the better».³⁹

Compared to the piano work, what is also new in *Anerfálicas* is the subheadings of some variations that provide references to the composer's sources of inspiration. For example, the fifth variation is dedicated to Hannikainen's poodle called Toy, and the last variation is described as an anthem for the Inca Empire. A special element not present in the original piano work is the tape material used in the fourth variation. The variation is very much like the original one of the piano work, but at the end of the orchestra's intense tutti section, there is a separate montage of pendulum clocks ticking in different rhythms.⁴⁰ The history of this tape is unknown and there is no information on how, if at all, Hannikainen participated in the preparation of the tape. However, in her private archive, there is an invitation addressed to young composers to visit the experimental studio of the Finnish Broadcasting Company (YLE). It is not known whether she participated in the visit, nor did she prepare her tape there, since the invitation is dated in 1970 and Hannikainen started to compose *Anerfálicas* in 1972 at the initiative of Ernesto Halffter. However, the invitation does prove that Hannikainen was aware, at least on a general level, of the technical and artistic possibilities of music technology of that time. It is also possible that the tape was done as an exercise and later added to the orchestral work.

In terms of musical material, *Anerfálicas* is faithful to the 12-tone theme of the original piano work as well as to the harmony based on seconds and fourths. Besides the typical wind, brass and string sections, the orchestration includes an extensive percussion section, a piano and two harps, which all affect the distinct sound of the work. Although the orchestration is perhaps its most striking parameter, attention is also drawn to its melodious character, which is one of the key elements in Hannikainen's later works as well. Hannikainen herself described the work by emphasising its ties to tonality: «In *Anerfálicas* I follow the great evolu-

tion that harmony and instrumentation have undergone, but without losing what I consider the eternal law of music: *the tonal principle*» [italics by Hannikainen].⁴¹ This thought is clearly inherited down to the choice of expression from Ernesto Halffter, who for his part had adopted it from Manuel de Falla.⁴²

3. A COMPOSER SEEN THROUGH THE MALE GAZE

Gender and physical description and commentary were part of Ann-Elise Hannikainen's media image already in the 1960s, when she lived first in Peru and then in Finland.⁴³ Moving to Spain did not diminish this, quite the contrary. As her career as a composer took off, Hannikainen's gender became even more prominent in the media image. At the same time, the male gaze through which Ann-Elise Hannikainen was presented in the media became more visible. Indeed, what is most eye-catching in my research material is the way not a single male reporter was able to ignore Hannikainen's gender and looks.⁴⁴ They were commented on both in *Anerfálicas*' concert reviews, which one might have expected to focus on the music itself, and in the interviews, which one might have expected to focus on the interviewee's thinking. *Levante*'s journalist Carlos Sentí Esteve was the one who was most fascinated by Hannikainen's appearance: «We talked to the author, a young woman whose beauty and distinguished appearance are something truly unique. Talent is visible in her

³⁹ Ann-Elise Hannikainen to Heikki Hannikainen n.d. (in English), Anne-Elise Hannikainen's private archive. Underlinings by Ann-Elise Hannikainen.

⁴⁰ Variation IV, bar no 35: «Varios relojes cajas de música ad libitum.» Underlining by Ann-Elise Hannikainen.

⁴¹ Ann-Elise Hannikainen, «Notas al programa», Orquesta Municipal Valencia (1973). Original in Spanish: «En *Anerfálicas* sigo la gran evolución que ha sufrido la armonía y la instrumentación, pero sin perder lo que considero la ley eterna de la música: *el principio tonal*».

⁴² Ernesto Halffter, *Falla en su centenario: homenaje en el centenario de su nacimiento* (Madrid: Comisión Nacional Española de Cooperación con la Unesco Servicio de Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1977), 15-16.

⁴³ Virtanen, «Tottahan toki pidän ruoanlaitosta», 226.

⁴⁴ The female journalist Violeta Hebe describes Hannikainen in the music magazine *Hilo Musical* simply by calling her a «very young [female] composer, daughter of the ambassador of Finland» (Hebe, «ann[-]elise»). Original in Spanish: «compositora muy joven, hija del embajador de Finlandia».

eyes and in her words, making her sculptural image even more precious».⁴⁵

In most cases, Hannikainen's appearance was referred to only in passing, as if in a sort of casual way, in the same way as her nationality. For example, according to Área's Iglesias Romero, it was «a nice gesture of this good-looking Finn to premiere her first composition in our country».⁴⁶ Tico Medina from ¡Hola!, for his part, simply stated that Hannikainen is «very attractive, very Finnish».⁴⁷ But why should a journalist have had anything to say about Hannikainen's looks? What value did it provide to the reader, especially since most of the newspaper articles in my material included a photograph of Hannikainen? This brings me to the temporal and cultural distance between myself and the journalists: was it a matter of course for a Spanish male journalist in the early 1970s to comment on the appearance of a young woman? From the point of view of resistant reading one can ask, was it an attempt to reinforce one's own masculinity by commenting on the appearance of a female interviewee or the subject of a newspaper story? Would it have been rude, or even questioning the journalist's own (hetero)sexual identity, not to comment on Hannikainen's physical appearance?

It is certainly clear that masculinity played an important role in Spanish society at the time. Ever since World War I and the Spanish Civil War, the muscular male body was mobilised in Spain, both concretely and symbolically, as part of the military establishment. This model of a strong and virile heterosexual male became the norm of Spanish masculinity. In this norm, the interpretation of Catholic Christianity was seen as justifying male supremacy

and female subordination.⁴⁸ Many texts on Hannikainen indirectly reproduce this very notion of gender roles.

Another element that is evident in my research material is that Ann-Elise Hannikainen is never portrayed independently as the composer of her music, quite the opposite. In the newspaper articles she is always framed by two older men, her father Heikki Hannikainen and her teacher and partner-to-be Ernesto Halffter. The composer's father is mentioned through the fact that Hannikainen is exclusively attributed as the daughter of the Finnish ambassador. In fact, none of the articles studied leave this matter unmentioned. Despite this patronising attribute, Heikki Hannikainen's role truly was substantial, as he supported his daughter both financially and with his social networks. He also arranged, at his own expense, the recording of the premiere of *Anerfálicas*. However, all this concreteness remains obscured in my research material. Heikki Hannikainen's role is simply to act as a context and status-raiser for Ann-Elise Hannikainen.

Ernesto Halffter, on the contrary, plays a very central and visible role in my material, in most cases even more central than Hannikainen herself. For example, Ricardo Bellveser interviews exclusively Halffter about Hannikainen's music even though it is Hannikainen who is brought into the headline.⁴⁹ Also, seven days after the premiere of *Anerfálicas*, the newspaper *Levante* wanted to return to the atmosphere of the concert, however, not by interviewing Hannikainen but Halffter. It was, of course, a natural choice, given that Halffter was a Spanish composer and conductor with whom the Valencian reader was familiar. What is curious, however, is that the inter-

⁴⁵ Carlos Sentí Esteve, «Ante un estreno mundial», *Levante*, 3rd November 1973. Original in Spanish: «Hemos conversado con la autora, una joven cuya belleza y distinción son algo realmente singular. El talento se asoma a los ojos y a las palabras de ella, valorando todavía más su imagen plástica».

⁴⁶ José María Iglesias Romero, «Madrid, fin de semana», Área, 25th November 1973. Original in Spanish: «Bonito gesto el de esta guapa finlandesa al estrenar su primera composición en nuestro país».

⁴⁷ Tico Medina, «Siete días, siete nombres de mujer», ¡Hola!, 9th February 1974. Original in Spanish: «Muy guapa, muy finesa».

⁴⁸ For more on the history and formation of masculinity in Spain, see Mary Vincent, «La reafirmación de la masculinidad en la cruzada franquista», *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea* 28 (2006): 135-151; Mary Vincent, «La masculinidad en la construcción del nacionalcatolicismo después de la Guerra Civil», in *Feminidades y Masculinidades en la Historiografía de Género*, ed. Henar Gallego Franco (Granada: Comares, 2018), 127-160; Juan Antonio Rodríguez del Pino, «A Farewell to the Iberian Spanish Macho? An Analysis of Masculinity in Spain. Conversations with Experts», *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais* 118 (2019): 5-24, <https://doi.org/10.4000/rccs.8398>.

⁴⁹ Ricardo Bellveser, «Estreno mundial de la compositora finlandesa Ann[-]Elise Hannikainen», unknown newspaper, 1973.

view concerns mainly Hannikainen. For example, Halffter is asked to explain the title of Hannikainen's work, the meaning of which was not clear to the journalist: «He [Ernesto Halffter] then stated that the original and rare title of the work is a pure whim, a “reverie” without any more precision or reference than the pure creation and symphonic form of a theme and variations».⁵⁰

In reality, Halffter was most likely aware of the true meaning of the title. It is therefore interesting to consider why he chose to remain silent about it and instead emphasise the symphonic, absolute nature of the work. Did Halffter want to elevate Hannikainen's status by linking her to the so-called absolute music tradition,⁵¹ or did he want to remain silent about his own importance to Hannikainen as a teacher and a man? Halffter was formally married to the Portuguese pianist Alicia Camara Santos until his death, although he lived *de facto* with Hannikainen since 1974. In public, Halffter always referred to Hannikainen as his disciple, even after they had lived together under the same roof for more than ten years.⁵² In Spain, Hannikainen respected Halffter's words, and signed Halffter's death notice as his disciple, for example.⁵³ This may reflect Hannikainen's subordinate and non-legitimate status as Halffter's partner. It was only in the *International Who's Who in Classical Music*, published in 2007, that Hannikainen attributed Halffter as her part-

ner.⁵⁴ In the Finnish media, however, she had spoken openly about the romantic nature of their relationship ever since 1976.⁵⁵

The true role of Halffter remained somewhat unclear also in a musical sense, since at least the critics of *Jornada* and *Levante* newspapers thought that *Anerfálicas* was actually Halffter's own orchestration of Hannikainen's original piano work.⁵⁶ *Levante*'s Enrique Gomá, for example, praised the way Halffter showed in «his» orchestration:

his great talent and his magnificent creative invention, illuminating with all the powers and seductions of a palette of the richest and most beautiful colourings, the pianistic original, whose spirit and solicitude will have been served with all fidelity and exaltation of its idea or its argument. The orchestral version is masterly in every respect.⁵⁷

Would the orchestration still have been «masterly in every respect» if Gomá had understood Hannikainen's role correctly? If Gomá was sincere, it could be considered a remarkable achievement for Hannikainen, who had begun her orchestration studies only a year earlier. Apparently Gomá subsequently became aware of his misunderstanding, because a week later, in an interview with Ernesto Halffter, Gomá highlighted Halffter's role as the reviewer of the orchestration.⁵⁸

⁵⁰ Enrique Gomá, «La Orquesta Municipal inauguró su curso», *Levante*, 7th November 1973. Original in Spanish: «Luego nos manifestó que el original y raro título de la obra es un puro capricho, una como “reverie” sin más precisión ni referencia que la pura creación y forma sinfónica adoptada de tema y variaciones».

⁵¹ It is noteworthy that Hannikainen herself did not have any need to hide her work's extra musical qualities. For example, she describes the seventh variation of the work by calling it «a musical representation, a personal and intimate impression, of the cosmos, of the infinity of stars, of the future, of the beyond». Original in Spanish: «una representación musical, una impresión personal e íntima, del cosmos, de la infinidad de estrellas, del futuro, del más allá» (Iglesias Romero, «Ann[-]Elise, hija de los embajadores»).

⁵² For example José Arenas, «Ernesto Halffter: “Si la Junta de Andalucía no me paga, tendré que dejar la Cátedra Manuel de Falla”», *ABC*, 28th January 1985.

⁵³ *ABC*, 13th July 1989.

⁵⁴ Robert J. Elster, *International Who's Who in Classical Music* (London: Routledge, 2007), 320.

⁵⁵ Mary Mandelin-Dixon, «Ann-Elise Hannikainen: Suomalainen mies väheksyy naista», *P.S.* 6 (1976).

⁵⁶ «Estreno de Ann-Elise Hannikainen, dirigido por Ernesto Halffter, en la Orquesta Municipal», *Jornada*, 9th November 1973; Gomá, «La Orquesta Municipal inauguró su curso». All this in spite of the fact that Hannikainen's role was correctly and explicitly stated in the concert programme.

⁵⁷ Gomá, «La Orquesta Municipal inauguró su curso». Original in Spanish: «su gran talento y su magnífica invención creativa, iluminando con todos los poderes y las seducciones de una paleta de las más ricas y bellas coloraciones, el original pianístico, cuyo espíritu y solicitud habrá sido servido con toda fidelidad y exaltación de su idea o su argumento. La versión orquestal es de todo punto magistral».

⁵⁸ Enrique Gomá, «Noticia de Ernesto Halffter», *Levante*, 14th November 1973.

Ernesto Halffter's role in the articles is clearly to raise Hannikainen's status, but also to raise his own status as a discoverer of a talent. According to Halffter

Ann-Elise is one of the great talents of the world's musical youth. Not since Federico Lizalde, who was also a pupil of mine, have I encountered a natural musician like her. The impression I got when I listened to the [original piano] work we are [now] going to premiere was very strong.⁵⁹

It should come as no surprise then that «Halffter is pleased with the very young composer»⁶⁰ and that he considered the orchestration he himself had reviewed to be «something of extraordinary value. It is a work that will very soon, once it is published, be in the repertoire of the most important orchestras in the world».⁶¹ However, Halffter's wish did not materialise in the way he envisioned. *Anerfálicas* was performed in Madrid at the Teatro Real in 1977 and was also recorded by the Spanish National Orchestra for the Radio Nacional España under the direction of Enrique García Asensio. Since then, however, the work has not been performed in Spain or anywhere else, except for a regional performance by the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra in Jyväskylä, Finland, in 2004, on the occasion of the festivities of the Hannikainen Family Association. That performance was conducted by the composer's second cousin Tuomas Hannikainen.

⁵⁹ Sentí Esteve, «Ante un estreno mundial». Original in Spanish: «Ann-Elise es uno de los grandes valores de la juventud musical del mundo. Desde el caso de Federico Lizalde, que también fue discípulo mío, no he encontrado una naturaleza musical como ésta. La impresión que recibí al escuchar al piano la obra que vamos a estrenar, fue muy fuerte».

⁶⁰ José María Iglesias Romero, «Ann[-]Elise, hija de los embajadores de Finlandia en España, estrena una obra sinfónica en Valencia», *El Progreso*, 23th December 1973. Original in Spanish: «Halffter está satisfecho con la jovencísima compositora».

⁶¹ Sentí Esteve, «Ante un estreno mundial». Original in Spanish: «cosa de extraordinario valor. Es una obra que muy pronto, una vez que esté editada, figurará en el repertorio de las orquestas más importantes del mundo».

4. WHAT DOES IT FEEL LIKE FOR A WOMAN TO SEE HER OWN OPERA BEING PREMIERED?⁶²

To shed more light on Ann-Elise Hannikainen's gendered media image, I will now discuss the media image of the composer Matilde Salvador, mentioned earlier in this paper. Salvador and Hannikainen are interesting to contrast for a number of reasons: although they represent completely different generations,⁶³ they were both composers, pianists and talented visual artists, and both had a composing man at the centre of their lives: for Hannikainen, her teacher and future partner Ernesto Halffter, and for Salvador, her teacher and husband Vicente Asencio.⁶⁴ The lives of Salvador and Hannikainen are also linked by the fact that Ernesto Halffter was Asencio's teacher. All four are also bound together by Manuel de Falla. As a former student of Falla, Halffter made a conscious effort to pass on his teacher's teachings to Hannikainen, while Salvador and Asencio have been otherwise described as following in Falla's footsteps.⁶⁵

It is uncertain whether Hannikainen and Salvador were acquainted, but they were most likely at least aware of each other. Ernesto Halffter, for example, referred to Salvador in Ann-Elise Hannikainen's Finnish interview by saying that she is «among the very few women compos-

⁶² María Mérida, *ABC*, 30th January 1974.

⁶³ By the time Ann-Elise Hannikainen was born, Matilde Salvador had already finished her first ballet *Romance de la luna* (1937), first opera *La filla del Rei Barbut* (1941) and a vast amount of songs.

⁶⁴ Asensio was a great admirer of her spouse's music, and he also made a substantial contribution to Salvador's compositional work by composing orchestrations for many of her works.

⁶⁵ Rosa Isusi-Fagoaga, «Las óperas de Matilde Salvador: entre el nacionalismo musical, la cultura valenciana y la pedagogía», in *Música, mujeres y educación*, ed. Ana María Botella Nicolás (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2018), 59. They have both been described as being influenced by Halffter, too: «They both originate directly from the line of the Falla, of "El Retablo", also unquestionably showing the influence of Ernesto Halffter and [Joaquín] Rodrigo» (Jaime Nogales Bello, «Levante – tierra de músicos», *Soria, hogar y pueblo*, 17th May 1972), original in Spanish; «Proceden los dos directamente, de la línea del Falla de "El Retablo" acusando también de manera indudable, la influencia de Ernesto Halffter y de Rodrigo».

ers who have written large-scale works».⁶⁶ I am not aware of any written statements by Salvador about Hannikainen, but Salvador's sister, the violinist Josefina Salvador (1920-2006), for her part, recalled Hannikainen's «beauty and musical talent»⁶⁷ in a letter to Ernesto Halffter as late as 1987. In the same letter she also wrote about the premiere of *Anerfálicas* by saying «I remember when we all went to listen to it, and how Valencia enjoyed it».

Surprisingly Matilde Salvador was a relevant person in the Spanish media at the very same time as Hannikainen, because only a few months after the premiere of *Anerfálicas*, Salvador's second opera, *Vinatea*, was premiered in Barcelona at the Gran Teatre del Liceu. It was the first time that an opera composed by a woman had been performed on the Liceu stage. Despite this temporal connection between Hannikainen and Salvador, newspaper material of the time quickly reveals many differences between them.⁶⁸ First, their attitudes towards nationality and local identity are presented in different ways. For Salvador, being a Valencian was essential and many of her works were directly linked to Valencian folklore or to the works of other artists who had influenced the region. According to her, «The basis of my songs is popular, folkloric, I would say: but I build on these essences with my own materials and with

my whole soul».⁶⁹ Xavier Montsalvatge describes her as «Valencian in every sense: by birth, language, culture and heart».⁷⁰ Ann-Elise Hannikainen, on the other hand, was very much a cosmopolitan, for whom it was natural to draw on elements of different cultures in her music and to also express that publicly for press and concert audiences.

Another difference is that the public attention received by *Vinatea* does not focus on the physical appearance of Salvador as in the case of Hannikainen. In the material I have studied, the focus is clearly on the music and the creative work. This may be explained by the fact that Matilde Salvador was already a familiar name to readers at the time of *Vinatea*'s premiere. She was also clearly older than Hannikainen and a Spaniard, which is perhaps why she was not met with the same curiosity as Hannikainen. The only explicit reference to the body and appearance of the then 55-years old composer is in the celebrity news magazine ¡HOLA!, where Tico Medina comments that Salvador is «a petite, happy, smiling woman, who loves music and life itself».⁷¹ This does not suggest, however, that Salvador's gender is not a relevant factor in the research material. The Madrid newspaper *ABC* headlined its news story as follows: «A true musical achievement has taken place at the Gran Teatre del Liceu in Barcelona: the premiere of the first opera written in Valencian and composed by a woman».⁷² As the title of this chapter already indicated, Salvador was also asked how it feels to be a woman who sees her own opera performed. In her answer, Salvador equated composing with motherhood: [it is] the same feeling you get when you meet the child you have just given birth to.⁷³ The newspaper *Proa* also specifically highlighted the gender of the composer: «We

⁶⁶ Nordenstreng, «Rakkaus ja tragedia ovat innoittajani». Original in Finnish: «niitä todella harvoja naissäveltäjiä, jotka ovat kirjoittaneet laajoja teoksia».

⁶⁷ Josefina Salvador to Ernesto Halffter 1.11.1987, Archivo Ernesto Halffter, Fundación Juan March. Original in Spanish: «Aquí se hizo el estreno de la obra de Anneliese [sic] y recuerdo cuando fuimos todos a escucharla, que gustó Valencia».

⁶⁸ In this chapter, I have drawn on the following press articles concerning Matilde Salvador and *Vinatea*'s premiere: «La pintora María Luisa Mallada viaja a Vigo con 35 óleos», *La Nueva España*, 9th May 1971; Nogales Bello, «Levante – tierra de músicos»; Augusto Valera, «Estreno mundial de “Vinatea”», *El Noticiero Universal*, 21th January 1974; Xavier Montsalvatge, «La opera “Vinatea” de Matilde Salvador», *La Vanguardia Española*, 22th January 1974; Antonio Fernández-Cid, «Estreno mundial de “Vinatea”», opera valenciana de Matilde Salvador, en el Liceo», *ABC*, 27th January 1974; Mérida, *ABC*; «Estreno en la Liceo de la opera valenciana “Vinatea”», *Blanco y negro*, 2nd February 1974; Medina, «Siete días, siete nombres de mujer»; Gaytan, «Reloj de los días: “Vinatea”», *Proa*, 16th February 1974; Roger Aliet, «Vinatea de Valencia Al Liceu», *Serra d'Or*, February 1974.

⁶⁹ «La pintora María Luisa Mallada». Original in Spanish: «La base de mis canciones es popular, folklórica, diría: pero sobre esas esencias construyó con materiales propios y mi alma entera».

⁷⁰ Montsalvatge, «La opera “Vinatea” de Matilde Salvador». Original in Spanish: «Ella es valenciana en todos sentidos: de nacimiento, y de lengua, de cultura y de corazón».

⁷¹ Medina, «Siete días, siete nombres de mujer». Original in Spanish: «una mujer menuda, feliz, sonriente».

⁷² Mérida, *ABC*. Original in Spanish: «Un verdadero acontecimiento musical ha tenido lugar en el Gran Teatro del Liceo de Barcelona: el estreno de la primera ópera escrita en valenciano y cuya música ha sido compuesta por una mujer».

⁷³ Mérida, *ABC*. Original in Spanish: «Lo mismo que se siente cuando se conoce al hijo que se acaba de dar a luz».

could talk about many things, such as the unusual fact that the music—which seems to be magnificent—is the original work of a woman».⁷⁴

As has been shown earlier in this article, Ernesto Halffter was of great importance at the beginning of Hannikainen's career—even to the extent that the press seemed to focus on interviewing Halffter even when the subject was Hannikainen. In the case of Salvador, the situation was not so unbalanced, although her husband Vicente Asencio played a very important role in Salvador's compositional work. The main difference with Halffter and Hannikainen is that Salvador and Asencio were married, so they could be described in the newspaper as «a very nice married couple».⁷⁵ On the other hand, at times, saying that they were a couple obscures Salvador's own voice as a composer: «they create and work with extraordinary enthusiasm».⁷⁶ This kind of collaboration was, I think, very unusual in the history of classical music in the 20th century. It was also odd that the press was so uninterested in the matter, as if the participation of a spouse in the composition process was perfectly natural. For a long time, however, classical music has cherished the image of a composer who—besides being lonesome—works alone. Perhaps the fact that Salvador composed mainly vocal music, which has historically been considered a genre suitable for women composers, plays a role in her favourable reception. Despite being rare, the fact that Salvador's own husband orchestrated her works, also fits well with the idea of the historical role of women as the weaker vessel in need of (male) help. In the case of *Vinatea*, however, this help did not overshadow Salvador's own compositional contribution, quite the contrary. Augusto Valera writes in *El Noticiero Universal* that «orchestration of Vicente Asencio is frankly poor».⁷⁷

Much more than gender and the role of her husband, Matilde Salvador is, however, defined by her Valencian identity. Not a single text fails to mention her

regional background, the Valencian libretto of *Vinatea*, the links between the opera's story and Valencian history, and the importance of Salvador as part of Valencian musical culture in general. Whereas Hannikainen was seen exclusively in relation to Ernesto Halffter, Salvador's artistic activity was always framed in the research material by her role in the construction of Valencian culture and identity. This locality was undoubtedly a significant component for Salvador. Nevertheless, one can ask how the press would have treated her if she had been a composer of instrumental music, for example. Was being a Valencian the context given to Salvador in which a woman composer had to remain? During Franco's dictatorship, the role of women in society was narrow and tied to supporting the home, the family and tradition. Indeed, according to researcher Susan Campos Fonseca, Salvador's ability to function as a composer was to some extent tied to the fact that her art was so strongly linked to local identity and tradition.⁷⁸ Matilde Salvador herself, however, would have preferred to emphasise the musical qualities of her work: «I sincerely believe that the greatest merit of this opera is the music».⁷⁹

5. DISCUSSION

The purpose of this article was to examine what kind of role Ann-Elise Hannikainen's gender played in the critiques and other texts referring to the premiere of her orchestral work *Anerfálicas*. The research showed that Hannikainen's gender defined her publicity in many different ways: both through how she was written about and who was given the right to talk about her music in general. The press wanted to emphasise Hannikainen's status as a daughter of an ambassador and as a student of Ernesto Halffter. That is partly understandable, since 26-year-old Hannikainen was only at the beginning of her composing career. At the same time, however, one might wonder whether a male composer of the same age would have been left in the shadow of

⁷⁴ Gaytan, «Reloj de los días: “Vinatea”».

⁷⁵ Bello, «Levante – tierra de músicos», *Soria, hogar y pueblo*, 17th May 1972. Original in Spanish: «Un muy simpático matrimonio».

⁷⁶ Bello, «Levante – tierra de músicos». Original in Spanish: «crean, trabajan con extraordinario entusiasmo».

⁷⁷ Valera, «Estreno mundial de “Vinatea”». Original in Spanish: «la orquestación de su esposo Vicente Asencio es francamente pobre».

⁷⁸ Susan Campos Fonseca, «Between Left-led Republic and Falangism? Spanish Women Composers, a Critical Equation», *Diagonal: An Ibero-American Music Review* 7 (2011): 6.

⁷⁹ Mérida, *ABC*. Original in Spanish: «creo sinceramente que el mérito mayor de esta ópera es la música, que ha seguido, además, con una fidelidad ejemplar el texto del libretto, cosa que no suele ser frecuente en los compositores».

his teacher with the same intensity and attributed primarily as someone's son instead of being a grown-up artist. After all, Ann-Elise Hannikainen was at that time already a professional musician who had a degree from the Sibelius Academy in Helsinki, Finland.

In the research material, Ann-Elise Hannikainen's persona and work as a composer were mostly obscured by the astonishment of her gender and the description of her body and external appearance. However, the male gaze of the journalists did not just remain on the surface of the skin, but also extended deep into the core of authorship and the conceptions of what artistic work fundamentally is. This is reflected in the way Ernesto Halffter spoke in interviews on Hannikainen's behalf. Many of the word choices and perspectives in my research material clearly represent the male gaze which might have been *normal* in the era and in the Spanish context. However, this does not mean that they were acceptable or ethically sustainable even in their own time. This article also demonstrates how the male gaze is not necessarily dependent on the gender of a particular journalist at all. A good example of this is an extensive interview in the newspaper *ABC*, in which the journalist María Mérida brings the male gaze into Matilde Salvador's interview by asking Vicente Asencio to tell the reader what he thinks is most significant about Salvador as a woman. These sorts of things become particularly noticeable, as Fetterley suggests, when they are viewed entirely from the outside, in this case from a temporal and cultural distance.

Overall, my article shows the inability and unwillingness of the press to see women composers as composers as such. It seems that Ann-Elise Hannikainen and Matilde Salvador both benefited significantly from, if not depended on, being clearly labelled as composers. In Salvador's case, the composer herself had certainly already internalised and embraced Valencianism as a key attribute. In Hannikainen's case, however, gender was not yet at this stage her own choice as a defining factor in her identity as a composer. It was only some years later, after the *Anerfálicas* was composed, that Hannikainen adopted her gender as a central component in defining her own musical identity. This can be seen in the way Hannikainen justified her later music's ties to tonality and melodic expression precisely on the basis of her gender and the cultural space it provided.

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