From Literary Page to Musical Stage:

Writers, Librettists, and Composers of Zarzuela and Opera in Spain and Spanish America (1875-1933)

Victoria Felice Wolff

McGill University, Montreal

May 2008

A thesis submitted to McGill University

in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree of

PhD in Hispanic Studies

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to formally thank all of those individuals who have supported me during my graduate studies at McGill University and who have helped me see this project through to completion. First and foremost, I would like to thank Professor José R. Jouve-Martín for his guidance, constant encouragement, and sage counsel. His unwavering dedication not only to this project, but also to all of his students in general, the department, and to the profession as a whole is much appreciated. Professor Jouve-Martín has been an incredible mentor, a professional to emulate, and for all of his assistance, he has my most heartfelt gratitude.

I would also like to thank the Chair of the Department of Hispanic Studies, Professor Jesús Pérez-Magallón, and both the current and past Directors of Graduate Studies in the department, Professor K.M. Sibbald and Professor Amanda Holmes, for their continued support, encouraging words, and advice. Moreover, I also give sincere thanks to Professor Fernanda Macchi, especially for drawing my attention to her work on Cuban zarzuela, and to Professor David Boruchoff. I greatly appreciate the mentorship of Lucia Chamanadjian, the language coordinator in the Department of Hispanic Studies, and the kindness of Donetta Hines as well.

Furthermore, I would like to express thanks to the following individuals and parties: My fellow classmates and colleagues, especially Rossana Fialdini-

Zambrano, Valerie Maurer, and Viviana Alonso; the languages and literatures support staff comprised of Brigitte Weiss-Dittmann, Annie Lisi, Dimitris Karantanis, David Rosemen, and most especially, Lynda Bastien; Maria de Souza, Elizabeth Dunkley, Valerie Mayman, and especially Francisco Uribe and Janice Simpkins at the Interlibrary Loan Office of the Humanities and Social Sciences Library; McGill Graduate Studies; Christopher Webber, María Luz González Peña of the *Sociedad General de Autores y Escritores* in Madrid, and Diana Fasoli of the *Teatro Colón* in Buenos Aires; and finally, my students.

Last, but definitely not least, I would like to thank my family: My Father, Theodore Albert Wolff, and my Mother, María Martínez-Wolff, have always been the greatest champions of all that I do and all that I have ever done. My husband, Geordie Shepherd, has shown me an immense love and tireless encouragement, while helping me to see the lighter side of life and making me laugh through it all.

To everyone I have mentioned above, and to anyone I may have inadvertently forgotten, my deepest thanks.

ABSTRACT

In this present work, I explore the rise of zarzuela and opera as cultural expressions in both Spain and Spanish America and their relationships to the societies in which they were produced. My research will show that zarzuela and opera became a new space from which to promote a Hispanic musical tradition and to imagine and express the essence of the Hispanic nation, conceived of transnationally, but fundamentally tied to Spain. I specifically study works of Hispanic literature that were rewritten as libretti for performance. The works chosen for this project are La Monja Alférez by Carlos Coello and Miguel Marqués, Pepita Jiménez by Francis Burdett Money-Coutts and Isaac Albéniz, Tabaré by Tomás Breton, Cecilia Valdés by Agustín Rodríguez, José Sánchez-Arcilla, and Gonzalo Roig, and, finally, Adiós a la bohemia by Pío Baroja and Pablo Sorozábal. Librettists and composers working in collaboration searched for a suitable literary medium to express national essence through musical drama. Therefore, the original literature used as the foundations for zarzuela or opera varies from works of Golden Age theater, prose narrative or the novel, epic poetry, the colonial novel, and the short story. Furthermore, in the works chosen, specific themes relevant to the nation are addressed, such as gender, national identity, history and colonialism, race, and modernity. In addition to examining how artistic works are transformed when modified from one genre (the literary) to another (the musical) within a new cultural context, I use a sociological approach

to investigate the unique collaborations between writers, librettists, and composers in the creation of these musical-dramatic works. As spectacles produced for mass audiences, I also employ performance theory to understand how meaning is constructed through performance. Integral to my study is a discussion of how these artistic creations traversed national boundaries and moved across the Atlantic. The temporal boundaries of this project were defined by the rise in national sentiment after the 1868 Revolution and the first significant shift away from French textual and Italian musical models since the rise of modern zarzuela in the mid-nineteenth century, through to the project of promoting a Spanish national opera tradition, the promotion of native lyric theater on the other side of the Atlantic in an independent Spanish America, and finally, the decline of all forms of musical theater in the twentieth century after the onset of the Spanish Civil War, competition from new media and technologies, and changing aesthetics which focused on music's abstraction and independence from other art forms.

RÉSUMÉ

Le présent travail porte sur l'essor de la zarzuela et de l'opéra en tant qu'expressions culturelles en Espagne et en Amérique hispanique, de même que leur rapport aux sociétés qui les ont vu naître. Je m'intéresse particulièrement aux œuvres de la littérature hispanique adaptées en livret d'opéra. Je tenterai de démontrer que la zarzuela et l'opéra ont créé un nouvel espace pour promouvoir la tradition musicale hispanique, qui permet d'imaginer et d'exprimer l'essence de la nation hispanique, dispersée dans de nombreux pays, mais fondamentalement liée à l'Espagne. J'ai choisi, pour ce projet, *La Monja Alférez* de Carlos Coello et Miguel Marqués, *Pepita Jiménez* de Francis Burdett Money-Coutts et Isaac Albéniz, *Tabaré* de Tomás Bretón, *Cecilia Valdés* d'Agustín Rodríguez, José Sánchez Arcilla et Gonzalo Roig, et enfin, *Adiós a la bohemia* de Pío Baroja et Pablo Sorozábal. Des librettistes et des compositeurs se sont associés afin de trouver un médium littéraire approprié pour exprimer l'essence de la nation dans les œuvres musico-dramatiques. Ainsi, les diverses œuvres littéraires à la base de la zarzuela et de l'opéra ont été puisées dans le théâtre du Siècle d'or, la prose narrative et le roman, la poésie épique, le roman colonial et la nouvelle. J'examine en outre dans les œuvres mentionnées ci-dessus les thèmes touchant de près à la nation, notamment le genre, l'identité nationale, l'histoire et le colonialisme, la race et la modernité. En plus d'analyser les transformations que subissent les œuvres artistiques lorsqu'elles sont transposées d'un genre (littéraire) à un autre

(musical) dans un nouveau contexte culturel, j'observe à l'aide d'une approche sociologique les collaborations uniques entre les écrivains, librettistes et compositeurs ayant créé ces œuvres musico-dramatiques. Je m'appuie également sur la théorie de la performance pour comprendre de quelle manière s'articule le sens lors de la représentation de ces œuvres musico-dramatiques devant le grand public. Tout au long de mon étude, j'évalue dans quelle mesure ces créations artistiques ont traversé les frontières, et même l'Atlantique. Le cadre temporel de la présente étude est défini, d'une part, par la montée du sentiment nationaliste dans la foulée de la Révolution de 1868, première transition majeure ayant favorisé l'essor de la zarzuela moderne au milieu du XIX^{e} siècle après le rejet du modèle textuel français et du modèle musical italien, suivie de la volonté de promouvoir une tradition nationale de l'opéra espagnol et, outre-Atlantique, du théâtre lyrique national dans une Amérique hispanique indépendante, et d'autre part, par le déclin de toutes les formes de théâtre musical au XX^{e} siècle, provoqué par le début de la Guerre civile espagnole, la concurrence des nouveaux médias et des nouvelles technologies, ainsi que l'évolution des critères esthétiques, qui privilégient désormais l'abstraction musicale et le cloisonnement des genres artistiques.

RESUMEN

En el presente trabajo, investigo el surgimiento de la zarzuela y la ópera como formas de expresión cultural en España y en Hispanoamérica y su relación con las sociedades en las que fueron producidas. Mi investigación demostrará que la zarzuela y la ópera se convirtieron en espacios nuevos dentro de los cuales se podía promover una tradición musical hispánica e imaginar y expresar la esencia de la hispanidad, concebida transnacionalmente, pero fundamentalmente ligada a España. A la hora de hacer esto, estudio específicamente algunas obras literarias de la tradición hispánica que fueron adaptadas como libretos para su representación operística. Las obras escogidas para este proyecto son La Monja Alférez de Carlos Coello y Miguel Marqués, Pepita Jiménez de Francis Burdett Money-Coutts e Isaac Albéniz, Tabaré de Tomás Breton, Cecilia Valdés de Agustín Rodríguez, José Sánchez-Arcilla y Gonzalo Roig, y finalmente, Adiós a la bohemia de Pío Baroja y Pablo Sorozábal. Los libretistas y los compositores que trabajaron en colaboración buscaron un medio literario apropiado para expresar la esencia nacional a través del drama musical. Por lo tanto, la literatura original que fue usada como base para la zarzuela y la ópera incluyó tanto obras del teatro del siglo de oro, narrativa o novela, poesía épica, novela colonial, y cuento. Además, en las obras escogidas se han discutido temas específicos relevantes a la nación, como el género, la identidad nacional, la historia y el colonialismo, la raza, y la modernidad. Además de haber estudiado cómo las

obras artísticas se transforman cuando pasan de un género artístico (el literario) a otro (el musical) enmarcadas en un nuevo contexto cultural, he utilizado un acercamiento sociológico para investigar las colaboraciones entre escritores, libretistas y compositores en la creación de estas obras de arte. Tanto la zarzuela como la ópera fueron espectáculos producidos para un gran público y por lo tanto, me he servido de la teoría de la recepción y la representación para entender cómo se construye el significado de la obra lírica a través de su realización teatral. Esencial a este estudio es una discusión de cómo estas creaciones artísticas cruzaron fronteras nacionales y atravesaron al otro lado del Atlántico. El marco temporal de este proyecto está definido por la agudización del sentimiento nacional después de la Revolución de 1868 y los primeros cambios importantes en el mundo de la zarzuela moderna con el abandono de los modelos textuales franceses y los modelos musicales italianos. Estos cambios se hicieron con miras a lograr promover una tradición de la ópera nacional española y la promoción de un teatro lírico nativo al otro lado del Atlántico en los países hispanoamericanos independientes. Asimismo, se tomó en cuenta la decadencia del teatro musical en España en el siglo XX después del comienzo de la guerra civil española, la competencia con nuevos medios de comunicación y tecnologías y una estética diferente que privilegió la separación e independencia de la música de otras formas de arte.

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[P]ara España no es una gran desdicha, que
haya que deplorar, el carecer de una ópera nacional,
puesto que tiene y tuvo otro género semejante
o casi igual y más conforme con su idiosincrasia
o genio nativo, en el que puede lucir no sólo el divino
arte de los sonidos sino la poesía, su hermana,
que en hermoso consorcio le ayuda y suple
en determinados momentos.
Este género es la ZARZUELA.
Emilio Cotarelo y Mori (1857-1936),
Musicologist and Critic

La música, desde que Gaztambide,
Barbieri y Monasterio echaron sobre sí
la difícil tarea de descubrir á nuestro
filarmónico pueblo tesoros para él ignorados,
ensancha su esfera de accion en España,
Marqués coloca sus inspiradas sinfonías,
sin extrañeza de nadie, con aprobación de todos,
al lado de las de Mozart y Beethoven,
y Arrieta y Caballero engrandecen poco á poco
la zarzuela para que, en dia no lejano,
la noble aspiracion de la ópera española
se convierta en hermosa y firme realidad.
Carlos Coello y Pacheco (1850-1888),
Writer and Librettist

La Zarzuela es un género imperfecto,
que dista tanto del Drama y Comedia,
como de la Ópera. […]
¡Y ese género imperfecto y desacreditado
quiere guiar y producir el más perfecto
y elevado género de la Ópera…..!
Tomás Bretón (1850-1923),
Composer

INTRODUCTION

The quotes by the early musicologist and critic Emilio Cotarelo y Mori promoting and defending the long-standing tradition of Spanish zarzuela, the writer and the librettist Carlos Coello y Pacheco viewing zarzuela, instead, as only a preliminary step in the creation and evolution of Spanish national opera, and finally, the composer and sometimes librettist Tomás Bretón advocating opera as the only way to achieve a recognized Spanish lyric theater, illustrate the cultural debates facing intellectuals as to which genre was most appropriate for the aesthetic project of creating and solidifying a Hispanic musical tradition in opposition or in dialogue with other cultural traditions. It is essential to recognize that in the nineteenth century, and continuing on into the early twentieth century, Hispanic culture was viewed and perceived as that which was part of the influence, tradition, and cultural inheritance of Spain. Therefore, the attempt to define Spanish (musical) culture was not simply a national project confined within the borders of Spain but rather an attempt to cultivate and promote a unique, transcendent space from which to imagine Hispanic culture transatlantically to include Spanish America. The expression of the essence of Hispanic culture through music, considered the highest art form of all beginning

in the nineteenth century, is particularly present in the intense debates surrounding musical-dramatic works of zarzuela and opera.

Although frequently studied separately, the histories of zarzuela and opera are closely connected.[1] Zarzuela is a musical-dramatic composition that alternates spoken and sung parts. The term comes from the Zarzuela palace outside of Madrid used by King Philip IV (1621-1665) and his court as a place of leisure and as a venue to house theatrical spectacles. Its consolidation as a musical-dramatic genre is tied to works by the seventeenth-century writer, Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681) who employed music in theatrical representations, such as El jardín de Falerina (1648/1649), El golfo de las sirenas (1657), and El laurel de Apolo (1657/1658), at key moments in the text.[2] Calderón de la Barca frequently collaborated with the musician Juan Hidalgo (1614-1685).

Opera, by contrast, is commonly characterized by continuous music with no spoken parts. Opera's origins are traced to the *Camerata Fiorentina* of the Italian Renaissance and its precedence was set in works performed between 1598

[1] This history of lyric theater in Spanish is by no means comprehensive. For a detailed history of zarzuela, see Rogier Alier's La zarzuela (la historia, los estilos, los compositores, los intérpretes y los hitos del género lírico español, and for expert information by topic see Emilio Casares Rodicio, María Luz González Peña, Olivia García Balboa, Judith Ortega, et. al., Diccionario de la zarzuela: España e Hispanoamérica (2 volumes). Furthermore, see Louise K. Stein's Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods for an analysis of music and theater in seventeenth-century Spain and Christopher Webber's The Zarzuela Companion for succinct biographies of composers, writers, and singers, summaries of their most influential works, and discography, all from the period of modern zarzuela only. Also essential are Antonio Fernández-Cid's Cien años de teatro musical en España (1875-1975) and the two volume collection of essays edited by Emilio Casares Rodicio and Álvaro Torrente, La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica.

[2] According to Emilio Casares Rodicio in his entry on "Zarzuela" in the Diccionario de la zarzuela: España e Hispanoamérica, "La música entraba sobre todo en la parte 'dulce' de la representación" (II: 1017). The combination of spoken dramatic text and music, whether accompanied by voice or simply instrumental, would come to be the defining characteristic of the genre throughout its history.

and 1608 in Florence, Mantua, and Rome, such as Jacopo Peri's Dafne (1598) and Euridice (1600), and Claudio Monteverdi's Orfeo (1607). Opera soon spread from the Italian states to the rest of Europe. The first opera performed in Spain was in 1627. According to Louise Stein, this opera was "the result of the machinations of a group of influential Florentines in residence at the Madrid court" and this project of bringing Florentine opera to Spain "was clearly not intended just as a benevolent mission of cultural enrichment, but as a means toward future political favour" (Songs of Mortals 191). The text of this opera, La selva sin amor, was written in Spanish by Félix Lope de Vega (1562-1635), and the music was composed by the court musician Filippo Piccinini (1575-1648). Only two other operas were produced in seventeenth-century Spain, both by Calderón de la Barca and Juan Hidalgo: La púrpura de la rosa (1660) and Celos aun del aire matan (1660/1661).

The year 1700 marked the shift to the Bourbon dynasty of Philip V (1683-1746), as well as the beginning of the domination of Italian music and opera on the Iberian Peninsula. The term "zarzuela a la italiana" was used more and more frequently, revealing the encroaching Italian influence over the Spanish genre (Alier, Qué es la zarzuela 28-29). The Naples-born musician and composer Domenico Scarlatti (1865-1757) moved to Seville, Spain in 1729 and later enjoyed royal patronage in Madrid. There, he met and befriended the famous Italian *castrato* singer Carlo Broschi (1705-1782), best known by his stage-name "Farinelli", who also enjoyed royal favor at court and was influential in

organizing visits by Italian opera companies to the Spanish capital. At mid-century, the next significant transformation in musical theater was to occur. According to Roger Alier, the Spanish writer Ramón de la Cruz (1731-1794) worked to "zarzuelizar" Italian opera by translating Italian works into Spanish while maintaining the music, and also by changing settings to those easily recognizable to Spanish audiences (Qué es la zarzuela 30, 37). De la Cruz also cultivated the *tonadilla*, a short, comic piece of Spanish lyric theater performed principally in between acts, and the *sainete*, a one-act drama with or without music, and introduced a key change in both by substituting mythological topics for works that showcased the popular life, characters, and language of Spain (Webber, Zarzuela Companion 2, 327, 328). Furthermore, in 1799, the writer Leandro Fernández de Moratín (1760-1828) advocated the idea of prohibiting theatrical works that were not in Spanish (Alier, La zarzuela 51). This ban would be implemented in Madrid and eventually extended to the rest of Spain. Although initially effective in the capital, it was not a popular proposition in Barcelona where Italian opera was not only extremely vibrant, but deeply embedded in the theatrical culture of the city (Alier, La zarzuela 51). With the Napoleonic invasion of 1808, the issue of musical theater in Spanish was side-tracked and Italian opera was reinstated along with French comic opera (Alier, La zarzuela 52).

But it was in the nineteenth century, "the century of music", that both zarzuela and opera would reach their height as cultural expressions (Fubini 300). Opera was institutionalized in Madrid in 1830 when the Naples-born María

Cristina de Borbón, wife of King Ferdinand VII (1784-1833), established the Royal Conservatory for the propagation of Italian opera and the instruction of Spanish students for careers in this arena. Because of a growing nationalist consciousness, three professors at the conservatory, Ramón Carnicer, Mateo Albéniz, and Baltasar Saldoni, became interested in realizing a project of national opera in Spanish. In 1832, they composed and showcased the original opera with text in Spanish, Los enredos de un curioso, at the *Teatro del Instituto* for the benefit of their students (Alier, La zarzuela 53). Saldoni, involved in the investigation of the history of Spanish music, noted that Los enredos de un curioso closely resembled early works of zarzuela. Zarzuela, an almost forgotten genre after the seventeenth century, was now linked to the call for Spanish national opera (Alier, La zarzuela 53). A zarzuela society was subsequently established at the *Teatro del Instituto*.

Mid-century marks the birth of modern or Romantic zarzuela. The zarzuela society soon outgrew the facilities of the *Teatro del Instituto* and rented the *Teatro de Variedades* where in 1850 the writer Luis de Olona and the composers Rafael Hernando, Cristóbal Oudrid, Joaquín Gaztambide, and Francisco Asenjo Barbieri premiered Escenas de Chamberí (Alier, La zarzuela 59). In 1851, many members of this initial group established yet another society at Madrid's *Teatro del Circo*. Among the writers were Ventura de la Vega and Olona, and the most well-known composers of this group were Barbieri and Gaztambide (Webber, Zarzuela Companion 3). The new zarzuela societies

established a formal, contractual system and labor was divided so that each member contributed an equal amount of work per year. In addition to composers working with writers, composers also worked together and either distributed acts amongst each other, or more commonly, divided the planned musical numbers of the piece (Casares Rodicio and González Peña, "Colaboración" I: 512). Writers would sometimes also work in collaboration and one common strategy had one individual adapt or create the overarching storyline and the other craft the actual text, whether in verse or in prose (Casares Rodicio and González Peña, "Colaboración" I: 513). Systems of collaboration varied across theatrical companies, individuals involved, and over time, but they were highly effective. In the case of the society of the *Teatro del Circo*, members agreed to offer their audience a diverse repertoire, with each member committed to creating three works per year (Alier, La zarzuela 60). Great success soon followed with the premiere of Jugar con fuego (1851) with text by De la Vega and music by Barbieri. It was extremely well-received by the public and solidified an enthusiast audience for a three-act form of zarzuela, now known as *género grande* (Alier, La zarzuela 60; Webber, Zarzuela Companion 3).

As zarzuela grew in popularity and began to (re)occupy its own unique space within the culture of Spanish musical theater, it had both its champions and its detractors. Some felt that zarzuela truly was Spain's unique contribution to the operatic tradition, while others felt that a Spanish opera tradition was still a work

in progress, with the hope that it would grow from the already established base of zarzuela. Víctor Sánchez explains the growing debate:

> La creación de una ópera nacional había sido uno de los temas recurrentes de la música española durante el siglo XIX. El desinterés de los dos grandes teatros operísticos hacia el repertorio español habían agravado aún más la situación, obligando a los compositores españoles a diferenciar entre ópera y zarzuela, lo que generó algunas polémicas […] El tema se reactivó tras la Revolución de 1868, que creó un clima favorable de libertad de prensa y sentimiento nacional que favoreció la aparición de numerosos escritos, junto con algunas iniciativas prácticas que volvieron a colocar la cuestión en el primer plano de las discusiones sobre nuestra música. (Tomás Bretón 43)

The first attempts at writing Spanish national opera with continuous music throughout took place in the 1890s. The expectation was that these works would become part of the booming European repertoire.

Integral to the study of zarzuela and opera in Spanish is a discussion of not only how these musical-dramatic works developed in Spain and traversed national boundaries within Europe, but also their movement across the Atlantic to Spanish America.[3] The rich history of transatlantic exchange of musical-dramatic works

[3] Janet Sturman in her work, Zarzuela: Spanish Operetta, American Stage has made a fundamental contribution by focusing on zarzuela's rise in Spain and travel to and influence in the Americas, including its importance in Cuba and reach into the United States. Also see Louise K. Stein, "De la contrera del mundo: las navegaciones de la ópera entre dos mundos y varias culturas," in La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica (I: 79-94).

between Spain and the Americas was initiated early on. La púrpura de la rosa by Calderón de la Barca and Juan Hidalgo traveled to Peru in the seventeenth century. The *criollo* musician Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco (1644-1728) rewrote the music for La púrpura de la rosa but maintained Calderón's text for performance in Lima at the Viceregal court in 1701. As pointed out by Janet Sturman, writers and musicians in the Americas not only performed and emulated peninsular models, but also began to adapt and eventually create their own traditions (32). Especially after gaining independence, the new Spanish-American nations of the continent became interested in the establishment of their own native lyric theater. But even after political ties were severed, cultural ties between Spain and the Americas endured. Shortly after the revival of modern zarzuela in Spain in the mid-nineteenth century, Spanish theatrical companies began to tour both their former and current colonies. In 1853, Romantic zarzuela first arrived in Cuba, a significant New World musical center and gateway to the rest of Latin America (Sturman 35, 47). Well into the twentieth century Spanish companies continued to tour Spanish America and some even established extended residencies there.

Even though, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, Spain developed a modern lyric theater rooted in the musical-dramatic traditions of the past, it is essential to recognize that early works of modern zarzuela were not based on Spanish literary or musical models, but rather French textual and Italian musical types (Webber, Zarzuela Companion 3). In a similar way, in Spanish America,

"[f]rom the time of independence until well into the nineteenth century, the musical scene was dominated by music of European origin or written in the European style" and "the full effects of nationalism were not felt until the early years of the twentieth century […] long after the fashion for musical nationalism had declined in Europe" (Den Tandt and Young 244, 246). Therefore, the opening temporal boundaries of this study were defined by the rise in national sentiment and the first systematic shifts away from French textual and Italian musical models in Spain around the time of the 1868 Revolution, the establishment of the First Spanish Republic, and the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1875, through to the height of the project of promoting a Spanish national opera tradition based on national literature and folklore, and finally to the establishment and growth of native lyric theater on the other side of the Atlantic in an independent Spanish America. This study concludes around the time of the decline of all forms of musical theater in the early twentieth century after the onset of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) on one side of the Atlantic, and, in both Spain and Spanish America, competition from the onslaught of the latest media and technologies, such as recording, radio, and film, and new ideas about the abstraction and independence of music from other art forms.

Although the focus of this study is zarzuela and opera in Spain and Spanish America, it is important to note that it is not a musicological work, but rather a cultural history deeply rooted in the study of literature. I specifically focus on literary texts from both Spain and Spanish America rewritten and

adapted as libretti and transformed through performance, as well as the social and cultural relevance of these works. I will, however, utilize musicological analysis in this study conducted by experts in the field in order to contextualize and enrich my own research.

Finally, essential to the discussion of how artistic works are transformed when modified from one genre (the literary) to another (the musical) is an examination of the collaborations between writers, librettists, and composers in these adaptations. Collaborations between writers and composers have always been a significant defining characteristic in the creation of musical-dramatic works. However, works of zarzuela and opera based on literature are particularly unique in that the librettist, usually a writer outside of the musical-theatrical world as well, acts as an intermediary between an already established literary work, sometimes with an extensive readership, and its recreation as a libretto, which according to Ulrich Weisstein, a scholar of comparative literature and comparative arts, should also be approached as literature based on "its dramatic and poetic qualities" (3). In order to understand why, beginning in the nineteenth century, musical-dramatic works reached their height as cultural products and why writers and composers were especially interested in collaborating in the creation of these works, we must review the philosophical and aesthetic context of the time period.

Ideas put forth by Enlightenment thinkers would lay the foundations for later interpretations of literature and music in the nineteenth century. Theorists such as Denis Diderot (1713-1784) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1717-1778) felt that the arts were not the products of civilization, but rather the language in which primitive societies expressed themselves (Fubini 217). It was the Spanish theorist Antonio Eximeno (1729-1808) who first postulated that, within the arts, poetry and music, both languages of sounds, had common, shared origins (Fubini 225). These ideas of the common origins of poetry and music and a desire to reunify them as they once were in their original state resonated later with Romanticism's desire to explore primitive modes of expression and national traditions of the past, and affected both literary conceptions of music and musical conceptions of literature.

Critical distinctions set forth by Steven Paul Scher allow us to better understand the complexity of these relationships. Scher divides musico-literary phenomenon into three categories: Music in literature (the "musicalization" of literature), literature in music (the "literarization" of music), and music and literature (the literary text and musical composition are inextricably bound as in zarzuela, opera, *leider*, etc) (173-201). The first category, music in literature, can be sub-divided into word music (imitation in words of the acoustic qualities of music), the use of musical structures and techniques such as the sonata and fugue in literature, and finally, verbal music which he defines as, "any literary presentation (whether in poetry or prose) of existing or fictitious musical

compositions: any poetic texture which has a piece of music as its 'theme'. In addition to approximating in words an actual or fictitious score, such poems or passages often suggest characterization of a musical performance or of subjective response to music" (180, 188).

In the realm of literature, songs, especially folk songs, were perceived by writers beginning with Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) to be the concrete form in which the primitive linkage of poetry and music could be found (Fubini 264). Therefore, in nineteenth-century literature, we see a new found interest in the use of music in literature through the examination of the musico-poetic traditions of the nation's past as well as the effort to incorporate or emulate them in contemporary works. In the realm of literature in music, literature was thought to fill musical compositions with content and the text served to stimulate the composer's imagination. For example, the composer Franz List (1811-1886) envisioned the creation of music inspired by and originating directly from works of literature (Fubini 317). He is especially credited with cultivating and promoting program music, which typically took the form of the symphonic or tone poem. This type of music, incredibly popular among nineteenth-century composers, describes or narrates objects or events. Crucial to the understanding and interpretation of these musical compositions is the text geared towards the listener/reader that accompanies the music. Furthermore, the cultural debates that surfaced and circulated about the relationship between music and poetry or literature beginning in the Enlightenment and continuing on through the

nineteenth and twentieth centuries provoked the output of a tremendous quantity of writing of "a highly literary flavour redolent of its literary origins" by composers, writers, poets, philosophers, and other intellectuals (Fubini 300).

These general conceptions can be applied directly to the literary and musical worlds of nineteenth- and twentieth- century Spain and Spanish America. For example, in Spain, the *romance* or ballad, an oral, musico-poetic form first written down in the early fifteenth century, was re-evaluated and reasserted as an expression of Spanish identity rooted in the past. The Romantic author, Ángel de Saavedra, better known as Duque de Rivas (1791-1865), reestablished the traditional Spanish ballad as a worthy form for serious poetry and he exalts Spain's past in his Romances históricos (1841). José Zorrilla (1817-1893) was also inspired by ballads and is best known for his Cantos del trovador (1840). At a later date in the nineteenth century, Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer (1836-1870) opens his Rimas with a "Symphonic introduction" ("introducción sinfónica") and in that same collection he combines images of poetry and music. Furthermore, Rosalía de Castro (1837-1885) in her Cantares Gallegos (1863) was influenced by folksongs from her native Galicia.

On the other side of the Atlantic, in Facundo (1845) Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-1888) employs music in literature through a narrative comparison of the music found in the capital city of Buenos Aires versus that of the countryside. Furthermore, through his writing, Sarmiento immortalizes the figure of the Gaucho, "El cantor", alongside other character types such as "El

rastreador", "El baquiano", and "El gaucho malo". The Gaucho later becomes an important literary character and cornerstone of Argentinean national identity in José Hernández's (1834-1886) epic poem Martín Fierro (1872). This work is written in a form that evokes rural Argentinean ballads or *payadas*, and the main character himself is a *payador* who, at the end, is challenged to a song-contest. Later, the Argentinean poet and essayist Leopoldo Lugones (1874-1938) suggested that the poem's six-line stanzas corresponded to the six strings of a guitar, the preferred instrument of the Gaucho. In Cuba, a space is carved for music in literature most prominently in the twentieth century. Nicolás Guillén (1902-1989) published his collections of poetry Motivos de son (1930), Sóngoro Cosongo (1931), and West Indies Ltd. (1934) among others, pulling from the rhythms of popular music, dance songs, and the sounds of Afro-Cuban instruments. Alejo Carpentier (1904-1980) not only wrote novels, but also contributed a large corpus of substantial essays on the musical history of Cuba, alongside those written by the ethnologist Fernando Ortiz (1881-1969).

Furthermore, both Spanish and Spanish-American composers explored the relationship between music and literature. The Spanish composer Tomás Bretón (1850-1923) brings music and literature together through vocal music in "Canciones sobre poemas de Bécquer" in 1886. Bretón was influenced by the German *leider*, or songs set to poems, introduced in Spain in the nineteenth century and performed frequently during joint poetic and musical recitals. In Cuba, both Amadeo Roldán (1900-1939) and Alejandro García Caturla (1906-

1940) set various poems from Guillén's collection Motivos de son to music. The Mexican composer Silvestre Revueltas (1899-1940) would derive inspiration from the same literature for his symphonic piece "Sensamayá". These are but a few, select examples of the confluences of literature and music in both Spain and Spanish America beginning in the nineteenth century and continuing into the twentieth century.

However, according to many theorists it was the use of music and literature in musical-dramatic works that the arts achieved their greatest harmonious union, height of expression, and intensity. These ideas would eventually culminate with Richard Wagner's notion of *Gesamtkunstwerk* or total art work. Zarzuela and opera were not only expressive musically, appealing to the emotions, but also highly communicative, accessible, and understandable to a large audience because of the extra musical elements of the words, which supposedly appealed to the intellect (Supičić 172). Furthermore, music and language used in musical-dramatic works were artistically organized sounds free from the limitations of the figurative arts to become something much more transcendent (Martin 14). Zarzuela and opera based on works of national literature would add yet another frame of reference firmly grounded in the original literary text which would appeal to the memory and psychology of those familiar with the textual life of the original work while experiencing the performance. Musical-dramatic works would not only bring the arts together, but also the artists who brought those arts into being. Scher summarizes the importance of music and

literature and the subsequent push for musico-literary collaboration stating that musical-dramatic works are "a unique and indestructible form of artistic expression fusing poetry and music into a theatrical spectacle, and it has generated memorable partnerships between poets and composers of stature; […] Perhaps even better known are those cases in which composers drew inspiration from existing literary works to create operatic masterpieces […]" (175-76). Music and literature together created a unique aesthetic and cultural space in which the symbolic material of the nation was not only articulated in the present, but also connected to its historical and literary past and projected into the future.

In terms of theoretical framework, I approach the study of works of Hispanic literature rewritten as libretti for performance as zarzuela or opera and the collaborations between writers, librettists, and composers in the creation of these works through the perspectives offered by both the Sociology of Music and Performance Theory. In terms of the former, zarzuela and opera are viewed as social phenomenon. In this way, these cultural products are social creations molded by their context and, as such, embody social meanings and reflect divisions inherent in society. To express it in another way, problems or issues central to Spanish and Spanish-American societies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are negotiated artistically through music, especially in the phenomena of music and literature. Ivo Supičić notes:

> the *transposition* or transferal of problems that occupy or agitate society (at its various levels) into musical art […] is particularly accentuated in those forms and genres of music that are linked with the expression of words […]. In the light of this transposition, music is regarded above all as a participant in social life, either by expressing it (that is, in perpetuating some of its aspects) or by opposing it. (60)

The relationship between society and art is not a one-way street but rather reciprocal. Not only does the socio-historic context provide insight into the creation of works of art, but through studying specific works of musical art, we can also more completely understand the social and historical worlds of the time period. This perspective has been largely forwarded by Theodor Adorno who felt that the study of the parts may reveal significant aspects of the social whole and was thus concerned with the formal analysis of art objects (Martin 91). Adorno in "On the Problem of Musical Analysis" notes that "[w]orks need analysis for their truth content [*Wahrheitsgehalt*] to be revealed" (167). But it is not simply enough to use a mirror metaphor to state that music reflects the society in which it was created and society is therefore reflected in music. Peter Martin's interpretation is that "music echoes the fundamental patterns and processes of the society in which it was produced: out of the relentless struggle between composers and the musical material that confronts them come works which inherently 're-present' the wider society, but in their own terms. Just as with prisms the process is one of refraction rather than reflection" (107).

Martin's discussion of composers and their interactions with musical material reminds us that the Sociology of Music is not only concerned with musical art and its relationship to society but also the social status of the professional composer. Of central concern are the possibilities and limitations placed on this individual by society, his or her interactions with other social groups, as well as a consideration of their own intentions and beliefs about cultural products. These issues are especially in the foreground of musical-dramatic works such as zarzuela and opera based on literature because these projects consciously bring together writers, librettists, and composers, as well as various texts and music, in the creation of an entirely new totality. The perspective that musical art is the result of collaborative social and artistic action must also take into consideration the public or the audience to which the art objects are directed. This concern is one way in which the Sociology of Music intersects with Performance Theory.

Zarzuela and opera were spectacles created for a large public physically present in the theater. However, meaning is not simply expressed directly and consumed passively. For example, the audience arrives with expectations already in place about what they will see and hear. This would be especially true if the musical-dramatic performance was based on a text of which the audience members may at least have some prior knowledge or have already read directly. Marvin Carlson explains that "all performance involves a consciousness of doubleness, through which the actual execution of an action is placed in mental

comparison with a potential, an ideal, or a remembered original model of that action. Normally this comparison is made by an observer of the action […]" (5). Therefore audience members are an important element of performance processes.

But more importantly, it is *through* performance that meaning is constructed. The idea of "cultural performances" was first introduced by the anthropologist Milton Singer (Carlson 16). According to Singer's work, cultural performances communicate cultural content on specific occasions and through media particular to the culture in question (Carlson 16). All cultural performances share characteristics of a marked beginning and end. They are said to be "framed experiences" with a plan of action or script, performers and observers, and a focused site where the performance takes place (Carlson 16). In his work on ritual, the anthropologist Victor Turner combined Singer's ideas on cultural performances with the work of Arnold van Gennep on rites of passage. Victor Turner divided social drama into distinct phases: Crisis and separation or breach (the preliminal), transition and redress (the liminal), and finally incorporation or reintegration with adjustment to original cultural situation (the post-liminal) (Carlson 20). Further work by both Turner and Richard Schechner has been instrumental in applying these notions of social drama to aesthetic drama. As indicated by Schechner, the aesthetic drama reflects the social drama but tends to focus most on the liminal phase or "the ritualized action of redress" (Carlson 22). In fact, Turner coined a new term, the "liminoid", to describe these symbolic

actions that take place during recreational or leisure activities of modern and postmodern societies, as in the case of the arts (Schechner 67).

According to Turner, performance as a liminoid phenomena is "neither here nor there […] betwixt and between" ("Liminality" 79). Occupying this liminoid space allows members of a cultural community to be self-reflexive. Richard Bauman explains further:

> First of all, performance is formally reflexive - signification about signification – insofar as it calls attention to and involves self-conscious manipulation of the formal features of the communicative system (physical movement in dance, language and tone in song, and so on), making one at least conscious of its devices. At its most encompassing, performance may be seen as broadly metacultural, a cultural means of objectifying and laying open to scrutiny culture itself, for culture is a system of signification. (266)

Along the same lines, Turner indicates that through performance members of a cultural community "think about how they think in propositions that are not in cultural codes but *about* them" (qtd. in Carlson 23). Performance, therefore, becomes a site of negotiation or, in the words of John MacAloon, it is an "occasion in which as a culture or society we reflect upon and define ourselves, dramatize our collective myths and history, present ourselves with alternatives, and eventually change in some ways while remaining the same in others" (1). Similar to the ideas put forth by the Sociology of Music, the social drama not only

affects the aesthetic drama, but the aesthetic drama also influences the social drama, and the two together create a unique, dynamic process. Turner explains in On the Edge of the Bush: Anthropology as Experience that,

> the *manifest* social drama feeds into the latent realm of stage drama; […] [It] influences not only the form but also the content of the stage drama of which it is the active or "magic" mirror. The stage drama […] is a metacommentary, explicit or implicit, witting or unwitting, on the major social dramas of its social context (wars, revolutions, scandals, institutional changes). Not only that, but its message and its rhetoric feed back into the *latent* processual structure of the social drama and partly account for its ready ritualization. Life itself now becomes a mirror held up to art, and the living now *perform* their lives, for the protagonists of a social drama, a "drama of living," have been equipped by aesthetic drama with some of their most salient opinions, imageries, tropes, and ideological perspectives. Neither mutual mirroring, life by art, art by life, is exact, for each is not a planar mirror but a matricial mirror; at each exchange something new is added and something old is lost or discarded. Human beings learn through experience […] and perhaps the deepest experience is through drama; not through social drama, or stage drama (or its equivalent) alone but in the circulatory or oscillatory process of their mutual and incessant modification. (300-01)

In this manner, the theaters of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Spain and Spanish America can be viewed as sites separated from daily activities where people travel to in order to share a common experience. Through this liminoid experience, issues relevant to Spanish and Spanish-American society and culture are dramatized in works of zarzuela and opera, and this shared experience, an interface of society, the ideas of writers, librettists, composers, and audience members, evokes reflection, exploration of alternatives, and perhaps even the potential for change on the level of the social drama continually performed outside of the theater.

Finally, my research is also inspired by critical studies in the area of Hispanic literatures which are fundamental to our understanding of how literature helps to define or shape a historical time period or elucidate how literature is intimately connected with the time periods in which it was created. For example, in Foundational Fictions, Doris Sommer looks at nineteenth-century Latin America romance novels, an area of study previously given little critical attention, and demonstrates how this particular type of literature was not only inseparable from history, but also had the ability to help construct it. Furthermore, she points out the debt owed to this literature by posterior generations of writers as, "[t]he great Boom novels rewrite, or un-write, foundational fiction" (Sommer, Foundational Fictions 27). In the area of peninsular Hispanic literature, much has been done, particularly in the area of gender studies, to (re)connect representations of women to culture and the achievements of Lou Charnon-

Deutsch and Joe Labanyi in Culture and Gender in Nineteenth-century Spain, with important articles by Susan Kirkpatrick and Noël Valis, and Charnon-Deutsch in Gender and Representation: Women is Spanish Realist Fiction, have been influential. In terms of the theater, the approaches of David Gies in The Theatre in Nineteenth-century Spain explore theater as both performance and a social phenomenon through the investigation of canonical and non-canonical texts.

In this study, I will examine librettists who rewrote both past and contemporary works of Hispanic literature. Librettists and composers working in collaboration searched for a valid literary medium to express national essence through musical drama. Therefore, as we shall see in this study, the original literature used as the foundations for zarzuela or opera varies from works of Golden Age theater, prose narrative or the novel, epic poetry, the colonial novel, and the short story. In some instances, the original author was still alive when the musical-dramatic work was in development. As such, we will see cases in which the author approved of the musical-dramatic project of the librettist and the composer, as well as others in which they expressed serious reservations. In addition to contending with authorial opinion, in many cases, the literary work itself was especially alive in the memories of the audience members who ultimately approved of or dismissed the new musical-dramatic version. Still yet, in other instances it was the composer himself who wrote both the music and the

text of the libretto or the original author agreed to work as librettist to reformulate their very own text for performance. Furthermore, within the overarching desire to represent the nation through musical-dramatic works, numerous specific themes are addressed, such as gender, national identity, history and colonialism, race, and modernity.

Chapter one examines the three-act zarzuela in the style of *género grande*, La Monja Alférez by the Spanish composer Miguel Marqués and the Spanish writer and librettist Carlos Coello. La Monja Alférez is unique in that it is based on not one, but two literary works: The narrative attributed to the Lieutenant Nun, Catalina de Erauso, and the *comedia* or play credited to Juan Pérez de Montalbán, written and performed during the lifetime of Catalina de Erauso. Coello and Marqués had both texts readily available to them in the nineteenth century as they were printed together and for the first time in 1829, along with other important documents related to the life of Catalina de Erauso, by Joaquín María de Ferrer as Historia de la Monja Alférez Doña Catalina de Erauso escrita por ella misma e ilustrada con notas y documentos.

Miguel Marqués and Carlos Coello developed their careers under difficult conditions. They most likely met around 1868, when a revolution finally deposed Queen Isabel II, and they continued to work through the ensuing years of political and economic turmoil which greatly affected the theater. By 1874, the year that the First Spanish Republic ended, they were both involved in projects for the *Teatro de la Zarzuela* (*Teatro Jovellanos*) in Madrid, and on November 24, 1875,

the year of the Restoration of the Monarchy under King Alfonso XII, they premiered La Monja Alférez. As we shall see, the musical-dramatic version of La Monja Alférez, through the cross-dressing figure of Catalina de Erauso, calls attention to and comments on the changing role of women in modern Spanish society and the shift in gender relations that was taking place in the 1860's and the 1870's.

Chapter two investigates the call for Spanish national opera, which gained prominence after the Revolution of 1868, and how this movement affected the musical formation of the Spanish virtuoso pianist and composer, Isaac Albéniz. By 1889, Albéniz decided to further his career abroad, and while in London, he traded the patronage of the Spanish Restoration Monarchy for more commercial opportunities in lyric theater, working first with the impresario Henry Lowenfeld, and later with the poet and librettist Francis Burdett Money-Coutts. By 1895**,** the beginning of the definitive war for Cuban independence from Spain and when questions about the nation's past, present, and future were foregrounded, Albéniz contacted the Spanish writer and diplomat Juan Valera for permission to use his 1874 novel Pepita Jiménez as the basis for a work of Spanish national opera. Albéniz was interested in national regeneration through the renewal of Spanish music and his project was in line with the preoccupations of traditionalism versus Europeanization which first concerned writers like Valera around 1868, and which were growing increasingly important to another group of writers of the so-called "generación de 1898". Despite Valera's reservations about the suitability of

Pepita Jiménez for musical drama, he eventually authorized Albéniz and Money-Coutts to undertake the project and the opera Pepita Jiménez premiered on January 5, 1896 at the *Teatro del Liceo* in Barcelona.

Chapter three researches the opera Tabaré, with both libretto and music by the Spanish composer Tomás Bretón. Tabaré is an original work by the Uruguayan writer Juan Zorilla de San Martín, and it was first written as a play in 1876, and then as an epic poem in 1888. Zorilla de San Martín traveled to Spain in 1892 to participate in the quadricentennial celebrations in honor of Christopher Columbus's first voyage to the Americas, and as part of the commemoration, he read his poem Tabaré at one of a series of lectures organized by the *Ateneo* of Madrid. In the audience that day was Tomás Bretón who also left the reading with a copy of Zorilla de San Martín's poem. Eighteen years later in 1910, Bretón traveled to Argentina with a Spanish opera company invited to perform as part of the celebration of one hundred years since the initiation of independence from Spain. While there, Bretón was given yet another copy of Zorilla de San Martín's Tabaré. Not only was Bretón familiar with the text, but now also the land that inspired it, and Bretón wrote to Zorilla de San Martín in Montevideo for permission to adapt Tabaré for an opera. Tabaré was first performed at the *Teatro Real* in Madrid on February 26, 1913, and through this opera, Bretón employs a work now considered an important contribution to Spanish-American literature to reflect on Spain's colonial past, present, and national essence, which transcends geography and politics, and is conceived transatlantically.

Chapter four takes us to Cuba of the 1920s and 1930s – a tumultuous political and economic period characterized by aggressive foreign pressure by the United States and internal armed struggle against the Gerard Machado administration – when Cuba began to solidify its national identity symbolically through *mulato* imagery. It was during this particular point in time that Cuba renewed and developed its national lyric theater, which, because of the island's long history as a center for transatlantic musical exchange, was an amalgamation of the Cuban *teatro vernáculo* tradition rearticulated through the Spanish-derived genre of zarzuela. The composer Gonzalo Roig and the librettists José Sánchez-Arcilla and Agustín Rodríguez all had substantial ties to *teatro vernáculo* through their extensive time working at the Alhambra Theater. By 1931, Roig, Sánchez-Arcilla, and Rodríguez, now working with the newly formed *Compañía de Zarzuela Cubana* housed at the *Teatro Martí*, were collaborating on Cecilia Valdés based on Cirilo Villaverde's definitive 1882 novel of the same name, a colonial novel written when Cuba as a separate political entity did not yet exist. While today we recognize that the novel Cecilia Valdés began to articulate Cuban independence and identity on the written page, it was through iconic performances of the *mulata* in the public sphere of lyric theater that protagonists from Cuba's colonial past were transformed into national figures. Cecilia Valdés premiered on March 26, 1932.

Finally, chapter five looks at the crises of modernization in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the reactions through bohemianism, and the project

of the Spanish composer Pablo Sorozábal to create lyric theater of a more social character tied to the realities of modern life. When Sorozábal had been a young violinist, he performed in the 1926 San Sebastián production of Pío Baroja's play Adiós a la bohemia, which was originally written as the short story "Caídos" in 1899 and reworked for the stage approximately one decade later. In 1931, Sorozábal contacted Baroja, and Baroja agreed not only to let Sorozábal use his play for a work of lyric theater, but to also serve as the librettist for the project. Bohemianism, brought to life through music, is not something portrayed romantically but rather draws attention to the present reality and suffering of the characters. The competing visions of past ideals and present disillusionment mark a process in which life has become a shadow of its former self. The *ópera chica* Adiós a la bohemia premiered at the *Teatro Calderón* in 1933 during a time of strikes, violence in the streets outside the theater, dwindling audience attendance, and, because of economic problems, restrictions on benefits for those involved in theater productions. Although Baroja and Sorozábal had planned further collaborations together, the onset of the Spanish Civil War forced Baroja to flee Spain and Sorozábal left Madrid to wait out the rest of the war. According to Christopher Webber, the life of Pablo Sorozábal "marks the last chapter in the creative history of Romantic zarzuela" (Zarzuela Companion 208).

CHAPTER 1

THE LIEUTENANT NUN ON THE ZARZUELA STAGE: GENDER, LITERATURE, AND MUSIC IN LA MONJA ALFÉREZ BY MIGUEL MARQUÉS AND CARLOS COELLO

CATALINA.
(Marcialmente, como
en su primera salida.)
En alas de la fama
vuela mi nombre,
y ella es la que proclama…
(con gracia y coquetería)
que no soy hombre.
Ya no esgrimo el montante,
¡zis-zás, zis-zás!;
mujer tierna y amante
soy nada más.
La Monja Alférez (1875)

The tale of the Lieutenant Nun, La Monja Alférez, Catalina de Erauso (1585/92-1650), as told in copies of an original manuscript she either wrote herself or dictated to someone else around 1625, is the life-story of a young girl born in sixteenth-century Spain who escapes from the convent, cuts off her hair, refashions her clothing, and begins her life as a man.[1] Through this text, we learn

[1] Although a veritable source of debate over the centuries, it has been established that Catalina de Erauso did in fact exist and she did indeed accomplish many of the feats discussed in the text. She was born in San Sebastián to an affluent and distinguished Basque family. In her narration, she indicates a birth-year of 1585; although records uncovered later show she was baptized in 1592. The issue of authorship and whether the historical figure of Catalina de Erauso composed the text or someone else did is further complicated by the absence of the original manuscript and the fact that one of the existent copies was thought for sometime to be falsified by Don Cándido María

that Catalina initially works as a page in the Old World, and, perhaps inspired by the male members of the her family who had forged connections with the Indies for generations, she then makes her way to Sanlúcar where she boards a galleon as a ship-boy and sets sail for the New World.[2]

The majority of the narration describes her adventures in the Americas as Alonso Díaz Ramírez de Guzmán, ranging from working for various merchants, becoming a soldier, duels, gambling, encounters with women, and military campaigns and honors. Of notable mention is that Catalina travels to Chile as a soldier and meets up with her older brother, Miguel de Erauso, who is secretary to Governor Alonso de Ribera. She serves under him for three years without her true identity being revealed.[3] Catalina distinguishes herself by fighting valiantly

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Trigueros (1736-1798), an author known for his rewritings of works of seventeenth-century Spanish literature. Rima de Vallbona, however, negates the possibility that Trigueros falsified the work in her critical introduction to Vida i sucesos de la monja alférez by Catalina de Erauso (17-19). Furthermore, critics frequently point to the hybrid nature of the text with its blend of history and fiction. Catalina de Erauso's narrative also shares characteristics with many other literary practices of the time, such as the Spanish picaresque tradition exemplified by works such as Lazarillo de Tormes (1554), narratives of conquest and colonization in the New World such as Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's La Relación (first published in 1542), swashbuckling tales known as *aventuras de capa y espada* as seen in plays by Lope de Vega and Calderón de la Barca, among others, and feminine memoirs similar to El libro de la vida by Santa Teresa de Jesus (commenced in 1562 and completed in 1567).

[2] According the Michelle Stepto and Gabriel Stepto, Catalina's father, Captain Miguel de Erauso, probably served in the Americas and her brothers all traveled there as well. Her sisters, on the other hand, were destined for a life in the city in which they were born and entered the convent. Within the walls of this closed-community of women, they were prepared either for marriage or a religious vocation as fully-professed nuns (xxviii). In the opening chapter of Catalina's narration, after explaining her origins, Catalina indicates that in the convent she was mistreated by a fellow nun just before taking her final vows: "Estando en el año de noviciado, ya cerca del fin, se ofreció una rehierta con una Monja profesa llamada Da Catarina Alizi, que viuda entró i profesó, la qual, que era robusta, i yo muchacha, me maltrató de manos, i yo lo sentí" (34). This incident may have provoked her to literally unlock the doors to an otherwise sealed fate by escaping, (re)fashioning her garb into a man's clothing, and setting out on her way.

[3] Catalina de Erauso's text states: "[…] vide que era mi hermano: porque aunque no le conocía, ni havía visto, porque partió de San Sebastián para estas partes siendo yo de dos años, tenía noticia dél, sino de su residencia. Tomó la lista de la gente: fue pasando i preguntando a cada uno su

against the Indians in the conquest of Chile, which eventually leads her to be named a lieutenant. However, she suffers a grave personal loss when first she has a falling out with her brother over the attention she pays to his love-interest, and then unknowingly kills Miguel while participating in a duel as a second on behalf of a friend.

Although jailed on numerous occasions and threatened with execution, Catalina continually escapes death, many times receiving help from her fellow *basqueros* or seeking sanctuary in churches. However, an ultimate conflict over gambling monies leads to a bloody confrontation with the ominous "El Nuevo Cid" and he falls to her sword. Pursued by his friends out for revenge, Catalina makes her way to Guamanga where the Sheriff tries to arrest her, but she finds refuge with the Bishop to whom she finally confesses that she is a woman. Her fame subsequently spreads in both the New World and the Old. Noteworthy to all is not only how well she served her country as a soldier, but also that she remained a virgin. Catalina is transferred to a convent in Peru where she stays for three years until the extent of her religious vows can be determined. Once established that she was never a fully professed nun, she travels back to Spain.

Back in Spain, Catalina successfully petitions King Philip IV for a pension in reward for her service to the crown. According to Rudolf Dekker and Lotte van

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nombre i patria; y llegando a mí i oyendo mi nombre i patria, soltó la pluma i me abrazó, i fue haciendo preguntas, i por su padre i madre, i hermanas, i por su hermanita Catalina, la Monja; i fui a todo respondiendo como podía, sin decubrirme ni caer en ello. […] Así, yéndose las Compañías, quedé yo con mi hermano por su Soldado, comiendo a su mesa casi tres años, sin haver dado en ello" (55-56, 57).

de Pol in their study The Tradition of Female Transvestism in Early Modern Europe this was not uncommon since,

> [i]n histories of female soldiers and sailors, a theme repeatedly emerges in which they are received at court and rewarded […]. When such women bore their arms in an exemplary fashion in the battlefield a royal gesture of pardon and reward was in order. Maybe this can be placed in the tradition of interest in monarchs for human curiosities like dwarves, but female soldiers certainly had a propaganda value: the monarch could show to the world that even women rallied under his banners. (95)

From Spain, Catalina travels to Rome for an audience with Pope Urban VIII and he grants her a dispensation to go about the rest of her life dressed as a man. As also indicated in the work of Dekker and van de Pol, in early modern Europe this acceptance of a woman taking on a male role and subsequently living as a man was directly linked to the maintenance of virginity (44). The Pope's only admonition to Catalina is that, in the future, she live an honest existence and refrain from breaking the commandment, "Thou Shalt Not Kill".[4] The text closes with her going on to Naples from Rome and a curious confrontation with two prostitutes while there. Although the narration ends in Naples, after her time in Europe, we know that Catalina de Erauso returned to the New World and lived as

[4] Catalina de Erauso's narration explains: "Besé el pie a la Sanctidad de Urbano 8, referíle en breve, i lo mejor que supe, mi vida i corridas, mi sexo, i virginidad: i mostró Su Santidad extrañar tal caso i con afabilidad me concedió licencia para proseguir mi vida en hábito de hombre, encargándome la prosecución honesta en adelante, i la abstinencia en ofender al próximo, temiendo la ulción de Dios sobre su mandamiento, Non occides, […]" (122-23).

the mule-driver Antonio de Erauso in Vera Cruz, México. Her death is documented to have taken place in 1650 (Stepto and Stepto xliii-xliv).

Not surprisingly, this fascinating and well-known life-story of Catalina de Erauso has generated other cultural representations. It was first adapted for the stage during Catalina's return trip to Europe in 1626 as the *comedia* or play La Monja Alférez, attributed to Juan Pérez de Montalbán (1602-1638).[5] It is important to remember that, at that particular moment in time, Catalina de Erauso was still in Europe and, as pointed out by Sherry Velasco, she would have been at the height of her celebrity (The Lieutenant Nun 60). Jack Parker further suggests the possibility that the author of the *comedia* may have actually crossed paths with and known personally the real-life Catalina de Erauso (667).

In this dramatic work, the life of Catalina de Erauso is interwoven with a fictional honor tale involving the characters of Guzmán (Catalina in disguise), Doña Ana, and Don Diego. In the play, Guzmán is involved in a relationship with Doña Ana. However, during one of their planned nocturnal visits, Don Diego enters in Guzmán's place and becomes Doña Ana's lover. Doña Ana confesses this to Guzmán and Guzmán then goes to Don Diego and insists that he marry Doña Ana. Don Diego, who knows that Doña Ana was waiting to receive Guzmán that night, refuses. It is at that moment that Guzmán reveals that he is actually a woman and Don Diego now happily agrees to the marriage. Meanwhile,

[5] Although some critics have suggested that the *comedia* might have been written prior to the narrative attributed to Catalina de Erauso and thus could be the actual source of the story, Rima de Vallbona's comparison of the narrative to the *comedia* points to the narrative as the primary text (19-22).

Miguel de Erauso recognizes Guzmán as his sister Catalina and wants to restore their family honor by either sending her back to the convent or through her death. But Catalina seriously wounds Miguel instead and then kills her enemy El Nuevo Cid. Catalina, still disguised as Guzmán, faces execution for this murder but Don Diego saves her by revealing publicly that she is a woman. Although freed from her death sentence, this declaration enrages Catalina and she retracts her statement about being the lover Doña Ana was supposed to meet that night. Don Diego and Doña Ana follow Catalina to Spain to clarify the issue and all three go before the Viscount. In the end, Catalina, falls to her knees and confesses her deception, proving her valor and skill with words are as important as her physical prowess (Taddeo 116).[6]

The use of a female character dressed as a man was common in Golden Age theater as a way to open up aesthetic, dramatic, and humoristic possibilities. One of the most often quoted statements on transvestism on the stage is by Félix Lope de Vega in Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo (1609): "suele/ el disfraz varonil agradar mucho" (282-83). However, as pointed out by Sara Taddeo, it was not typical for the title character to be alive and the deeds

[6] The *comedia* attributed to Pérez de Montalbán concludes with the Viscount and the character Sebastian de Illumbe stating: VIZCONDE. Nunca has mostrado el valor/ Como agora, de tu pecho./ SEBASTIAN. Mas has ganado vencida/ De tí misma, que venciendo/ Ejércitos de enemigos./ VIZCONDE: Pues con aquesto, y pidiendo/ Perdon, tenga fin aquí/ Este caso verdadero./ Donde llega la comedia/ Han llegado los sucesos,/ Que hoy está el Alferez Monja/ En Roma, y si casos nuevos/ Dieren materia á la pluma,/ Segunda parte os prometo (310). Note that with these closing lines, the Viscount directly addresses the audience, the boundary separating performers from spectators is diffused, and the fictional world of Guzmán enacted on stage only moments before, intersects with the true life-story of la Monja Alférez who, as indicated in the closing lines of the play, was still traveling in Europe at the time.

represented on stage based in reality (111). Furthermore, in other dramatic works of the time, the audience was privileged to witness the scene of disguise, shared in on the protagonist's gender role reversal, and was thus accomplice in her secret (Taddeo 113). The *comedia* La Monja Alférez begins *in medias res* and the audience does not see Catalina's escape from the convent, her change of clothing or hair cut, nor her transformation into Guzmán in the New World. The effect on the audience would have been two-fold: although familiar with the historical Catalina de Erauso, they may have been surprised when they discovered that the character Guzmán in the play was actually her; or the humoristic effects and innuendo would have been heightened as the actress who first played la Monja Alférez on stage, Luisa de Robles, entered as Guzmán professing love to Doña Ana.[7] It is also important to recognize that in typical Golden Age plays, after the woman-dressed-as-man accomplished her goal, usually the restoration of her honor, she is expected to return to her female role. Although the *comedia* La Monja Alférez does have a didactic ending, Catalina asks to continue leading a martial life-style dressed as a man in close correlation to the narration attributed to Catalina de Erauso herself.

It was not until 1829 that both texts, Catalina de Erauso's narrative and Juan Pérez de Montalbán's play, as well as further documentation, such as

[7] According to Marjorie Garber's Foreword in Memoir of a Basque Lieutenant Nun Transvestite in the New World, Spain, unlike England, allowed women on the stage (xi). Sherry Velasco in her article, "La primera dama, el público y Catalina de Erauso: colaboración teatral en La monja alférez de Pérez de Montalbán" discusses how, during the play's performances, it must have been impossible to separate the dramatic events on stage not only from the life of Catalina de Erauso, but also from the intriguing life of the actress playing her part, Luisa de Robles (115-32).

baptismal papers, documents from the convent where both Catalina and her sisters lived in San Sebastián, certificates of service and other declarations, and even a portrait of Catalina de Erauso painted by Francisco Pacheco (1564-1644), all pointing to the authentic existence of the Lieutenant Nun, were published together and for the first time as Historia de la Monja Alférez Doña Catalina de Erauso escrita por ella misma e ilustrada con notas y documentos in Paris by Joaquín María de Ferrer (1777-1861), an exiled Basque businessman who has spent a considerable amount of time in Peru (Cruz 119; Galassi 100). This popular edition would become the basis for yet another cultural representation of Catalina de Erauso: The zarzuela La Monja Alférez by the musician and composer Miguel Marqués (1843-1918) and the writer and librettist Carlos Coello (1850-1888).

Miguel Marqués and Carlos Coello were well-connected, emerging young artists who, as we shall see, most likely met for the first time in the late 1860s. By 1874, they were both working on separate projects at the *Teatro de la Zarzuela* and decided to collaborate on the three-act La Monja Alférez which was to eventually premiere on November 24, 1875 at the venerable institution.[8] Gary

[8] The *Teatro de la Zarzuela* was originally called the *Teatro Jovellanos* and its inaugural performance, with works by Emilio Arrieta, Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, Ramón Carnicier, Joaquín Gaztambide, and Rafael Hernando, took place on October 10, 1856, Queen Isabel II's birthday (Pagán "A Theatre for a Genre"). In terms of the date of the performance of the zarzuela La Monja Alférez by Carlos Coello and Miguel Marqués, according to Sherry Velasco it was first performed in Mexico in 1866 and then traveled to the *Teatro de la Zarzuela* in Spain in 1873 (The Lieutenant Nun 94). Velasco bases this statement on Dorothy Kress's M.A. thesis, Catalina de Erauso, su personalidad histórica y legendaria (77). However, both the date of 1866 and the original place of performance in Mexico are improbable since, as we shall see, Coello would have only been sixteen years of age in 1866, Marqués would have been just entering the conservatory in Madrid, and they had most likely not met yet. Furthermore, there are no references to either of them spending any time in Mexico at any point during their lives. Also, most sources on the history of zarzuela state that the work was first performed in 1875. Finally, according to the director of the

Schmidgall in his book Literature as Opera notes that "[c]omposers and librettists are almost always forced to reduce a large fresco into a miniature form while somehow - through the amplifying power of the music - retaining the original's expressive magnitude" (9). However, in the case of Marqués and Coello, they expand, not reduce, Catalina's life-story by creating a mosaic that is based on not one, but two Golden Age works. In the zarzuela, they incorporate aspects from both the text attributed to Catalina de Erauso and the *comedia* by Juan Pérez de Montalbán. Catalina's text and Pérez de Montalbán's play serve as pre-texts for the zarzuela, yet Richard Schechner also reminds us that, especially in the case of performance, texts are "sites of interpretation" and "[e]very text invites being remade into new texts" (227). What we shall see in the course of this chapter is that this new text, the musical-dramatic version of La Monja Alférez, calls attention to and comments on the changing role of women in modern Spanish society and the shift in gender relations that was taking place in the turbulent years between the 1860's and the 1870's, a time of important political and cultural transformations that were reflected in Spanish theater and during which Miguel Marqués and Carlos Coello met, wrote, and composed this work.

Center of Documentation and Archives of the *Sociedad General de Autores y Escritores*, María Luz González Peña, the libretto housed there also indicates that it was first performed at the *Teatro de la Zarzuela* in 1875 (personal email correspondence).

1.1. Turbulent Times: Miguel Marqués and Carlos Coello, Theater, and New Roles for Women

According to Enrico Fubini, the nineteenth century marked an important change in how society perceived music (261). In an absolute transformation of values from previous time periods, music was now considered the ultimate art form that not only encompassed all other modes of expression, but also captured the essence of the greater world around (261-63). Additionally, the figure of the composer, who brought this art-form into being, achieved a new, elevated status (261). Walter Salmen writes, "Whoever 'devoted' himself to this art, whether as supporter, creator, or transmitter, received this elevation in rank, which in the case of particularly exceptional artists could take the role of a prophesying priest, even a god-like one" (267). This phenomenon is reflected in the detailed information we have on the prodigious life and musical career of Pedro Miguel Marqués García, violinist and composer. While numerous scholars have summarized key moments in Marqués's musical career, Ramón Sobrino, a Marqués expert, has comprehensively reconstructed Marqués's life in his entry in volume two of the Diccionario de la Zarzuela: España e Hispanoamérica (244-245). Unless otherwise indicated, this work is the source for the information that follows.

Marqués was born in Palma de Mallorca in 1843 and began his formal musical training as a child. His nascent talent was focused on the violin, which he studied under Honorato Noguera and Francisco Montis. Progressing quickly, he next became of student of the Italian, Foce, who was also an orchestral director.

At only eleven years of age, Marqués was the first violinist of the Palma de Mallorca Opera Company, his first experience with musical drama for the stage. Marqués became a composer in his own right soon after by writing and performing his "Fantasía para violin" to great acclaim (Webber "Marqués"). Recognizing his exceptional talent and fearing that he had already outgrown the musical opportunities available to him on the island, his teachers and family gathered funds to send him to Paris; Marqués was only fifteen when he embarked to study abroad.

In the French capital he took violin lessons with Jules Armingaud and Jean Alard, and a year later toured for the first time in Alsace-Lorraine with other musicians of his age. In addition to performing, he continued to compose. In 1861, he entered the conservatory in Paris and refined his violin practice with Lambert Massart, and learned harmony with François Bazin. Hector Berloiz, also keenly aware of this young musician's talent, took a special interest in his progress. Even though Marqués was immersed in his studies, the theater world, where he had his first successes as a young professional, was never far away. In order to supplement his funding while in Paris, Marqués played violin for both the *Theatre Lyrique* and the *Grand Opéra*, and gained first-hand knowledge of the works of Bizet and Meyerbeer, among others.

In 1863, at the age of twenty, Marqués was obligated to return to Mallorca in order to complete his military service, but immediately after that, he went to Madrid to continue his musical training. In 1866, he entered the conservatory

there under the tutelage of Jesús Monasterio and Miguel Galiana, and began to study composition with Emilio Arrieta. Marqués distinguished himself from other pupils by winning numerous prizes in public competitions and he soon became a member of the orchestra of the *Sociedad de Conciertos* after he was personally recommended to Francisco Asenjo Barbieri. It was here where Marqués wrote his first symphony. As we have seen, music gained new importance in nineteenth-century society, but even among different types of music, instrumental music was considered the ideal and most pure form (Fubini 263). Marqués, who would eventually become the most important symphonist of nineteenth-century Spain, also divided his time between engagements at the *Teatro de la Zarzuela* and the *Teatro Real* and he would soon compose his own works for musical theater.

In comparison to the details readily available about Marqués's early musical formation, almost nothing is known about the formative years of the librettist he would come to collaborate with on La Monja Alférez, Carlos Coello. What we do know is that Coello was born in Madrid in 1850 and his interest in theater was established at an early age ("Coello" 1289). Coello officially studied law at the university, but later abandoned this career for a life dedicated to literature ("Coello" 1289).[9] More information is obtainable about his adult years, thanks primarily to autobiographical reflections Coello provides in his own writings, correspondence with colleagues, and anecdotes from other writers with whom he collaborated. For example, in the second section of the prologue to José

[9] Carlos Coello also wrote under the pseudonym "P. Ponce".

Campo Arana's collection of poetry, Impresiones, Coello relates how in 1868, when he would have been just 18 years of age, he and a group of friends, all students and writers, rented a room off the Plaza Santa Ana and across from the *Teatro Español* in Madrid which they affectionately called "el nido" (xxii-xxiv). This room was a shared space in which they would informally gather to discuss art, culture, and writing. The group took a special interest in the theater world of their time, although the managers of the various theater companies and venues apparently viewed these future critics as more of a nuisance than anything else. Coello writes: "Todos los habitantes del *nido* eran críticos entónces (apenas habian escrito nada que valiese algo todavía), y á haberles conocido las empresas, les hubieran prohibido la entrada a sus teatros las noches de estreno" (Prologue xxvi).

One year later, in 1869, Coello met the well-known writer Miguel Ramos Carrión (1845-1915), who would also become associated with "el nido" and, with his help, Coello became a direct participant in the creation of a zarzuela libretto (Prologue xxx). In collaboration with Ramos Carrión, Coello wrote the two-act, De Madrid a Biarritz (viaje económico en tren de ida y vuelta), with music by Arrieta, represented for the first time at the *Teatro de la Zarzuela* on December 24, 1869. Ramos Carrión had already worked with Arrieta for *Los bufos madrileños*, a theater company run by the actor, Francisco Arderius, in the style of Jacques Offenbach's Parisian *opéra bouffe*, but for the young Coello, this would have not only been his introduction to the composer, who had incidentally been a

favorite of Queen Isabel II, but also to the zarzuela world (Webber, Zarzuela Companion 293; Webber "Arrieta").

De Madrid a Biarritz was comedic in nature and, as such, successfully made all those in attendance that Christmas Eve laugh (García Carretero 72). However, in his prologue to the published edition of the zarzuela, dated January 1, 1870, Ramos Carrión makes it clear that he was initially hesitant to work in collaboration with the young Coello:

> A fines de agosto último me encontré en San Sebastian con el jóven D. Cárlos Coello, á quien yo entónces no trataba, y el cual, á los pocos dias de conocernos, que fueron suficientes para cimentar una amistad verdadera, me propuso que escribieramos algo en colaboración.
>
> -Amigo mio, le dije, varias obras he escrito en compañía de otros: una en que figura mi nombre, otras en que no consta, y por razones que callo, muy poderosas para mí, he decidido no escribir más en colaboración.
>
> Porque mi nuevo amigo no creyese que el negarme á escribir en compañía suya pudiera ser un alarde de amor propio, quise fiar á la suerte la decision de hacerlo ó no, y eché al aire una moneda.- si sale cara escribimos juntos, dije.- y salió cara.
>
> Hízose la obra, y hoy es doble mi satisfaccion al haber conseguido por ella un éxito de los más lisonjeros, dando á conocer al público un nuevo autor, cuyas condiciones no elogio por figurar su nombre en la primera página de de [sic] esta obra. (n. pag.)

Although Ramos Carrión does not go into details, the first half of this selection elucidates the potential difficulties that may arise when writing in collaboration. Moreover, with the further solidification of zarzuela as an important genre of musical theater, it was less and less common to have multiple composers or writers working in collaboration for one piece (Alier, La zarzuela 70). However, Ramos Carrión and Coello must have had a compatible working style, and by their own choice and not to the flip of a coin, they would later go on to collaborate on at least two more occasions: El siglo que viene (1876), another work for Arderius's *bufos* with music by Manuel Fernández Caballero and Casano, and La magia nueva (date unknown).

It is also most likely around 1869 that Coello met Marqués for the first time. As mentioned previously, upon arriving in Madrid, Marqués studied under Arrieta, who was instrumental in finding him his first positions in the important theater orchestras and Coello worked with Arrieta on De Madrid a Biarritz alongside Ramos Carrión. Therefore, we know that, by this time, both Marqués and Coello had substantial ties to the well-established Arrieta, which would have further opened up an entire network of writers, composers, performers, and musicians to these emerging, young artists.

In 1871, Marqués composed his first zarzuela, Los hijos de la costa, which premiered at the *Teatro de la Zarzuela* with libretto by Luis Mariano de Larra, son of Romantic writer Mariano José de Larra. That same year and for the same venue, Marqués worked with Larra and Cristóbal Oudrid on Justo por pecadores.

Coello was also connected to Larra through friendship, but also saw in Larra a model literary figure which he hoped to emulate. In one of a series of Coello's unpublished letters to Larra housed at the *Biblioteca Nacional* in Madrid, Coello writes that he considers himself to be, not just Larra's friend, but also his disciple (n. pag.). Marqués composed a third zarzuela in 1871, Perla, with libretto by Juan José Herranz y Gonzalo. Two years later in 1873, Marqués premiered La hoja de parra at the *Teatro del Circo* with libretto by Ramos Carrión, who, as we have seen previously, first collaborated with Coello, giving him his start in the zarzuela world.

Although Coello achieved success alongside Ramos Carrion and Arrieta with De Madrid a Biarritz, and in the same year, again with Juan Carranza on the *entremés* A pluma y a pelo, he returned for a time to more traditional, full-length spoken drama as the sole author. Coello completed and published in 1872 the tragic-fantastic drama in three acts and in verse, El príncipe Hamlet, inspired by Shakespeare and adapted for the Spanish stage, and he followed soon after with the publication of the play in four acts and in verse, La mujer propia in 1873. However, it wasn't until 1874 that he looked to and utilized Spain's own literary past, writing Roque Guinart, a play in three acts and in verse, inspired by Miguel de Cervantes's Don Quijote ("Coello" 1289).

Coello and Marqués would both work at the *Teatro de la Zarzuela* in 1874. On the twenty-second of May, Coello and Carranza premiered El alma en un hilo, which is also significant since it is one of the first zarzuelas with music

composed by Tomás Bretón, a musician, composer, and librettist who will be examined in detail in chapter three. Moreover, in 1874 Marqués premiered El maestro de Ocaña with libretto by Carlos Frontaura.

The years between the late 1860s, when Coello and Marqués most likely met for the first time, to 1875, when they premiered La Monja Alférez at the *Teatro de la Zarzuela*, comprise a difficult period in Spanish history. Revolts and political upheaval beginning in 1866 weakened the Spanish economy and in 1868 the Revolution deposed Queen Isabel II. That same year, General Francisco Serrano was named regent and General Juan Prim was named President of the Council, but he was assassinated one year later. Amadeo I was then named King of Spain in 1870, but his rule merely lasted for two years, leading to the First Spanish Republic, which also only endured two years. Finally, in 1875, the son of the deposed Queen Isabel II was named King Alfonso XII and the Bourbon Restoration began.

These tumultuous times greatly affected the theater. Because of economic difficulties, ticket prices became inaccessible to the public and audiences dwindled (Alier, La zarzuela 76-77). In response, the idea of *teatro por horas* (theater by the hour) was cultivated, first by the *Teatro de Variedades* and later by other Madrid venues (Alier, La zarzuela 77). As an alternative to one, long production, such as a three-act zarzuela, theaters would offer numerous, brief works, which in lyric theater were designated as *género chico*, at a fraction of the price. The public had the option of staying for one or more short works,

depending on what they were willing to pay. Although this was a viable solution to some of the theaters' economic problems, *zarzuela grande* was undermined. Many composers, including some of the original founding members of the modern zarzuela movement, were underemployed in Madrid and formed companies to travel to Cuba and the Americas in hopes of better opportunities on the other side of the Atlantic (Sturman 35; Webber, Zarzuela Companion 110). Even the venerable institution of the *Teatro de la Zarzuela* was at risk of closing, but was saved by the resounding success of El barberillo de Lavapiés by Barbieri and Larra on December 18, 1874, less than a year before the premiere of La Monja Alférez (Alier, La zarzuela 77).

Change was taking place on all levels of Spanish society. According to David Gies, the rapid ascent and solidification of power of the middle class and a new consciousness of nation was inaugurated in 1868 (Introduction 2-3). Roberta Johnson explains further: "Democratic government, secular philosophy, industrialization, urbanization, and social reform for women and the working classes only began to have a major role in Spanish life after the September Revolution of 1868" (123). Furthermore, the issue of women's role in society was central during the period from 1868-1875 and greatly affected gender relations (Johnson 123). As more women began to occupy the public sphere – David Gies notes that there were even an increased number of women participating in the theater – female gender roles were increasingly explored in literature (Theatre 30). According to Johnson, "Spanish writers were certainly aware of women as a

potential social force that needed to be conceptualized, portrayed, and restrained" (126). While much scholarly work has been done in the area of the novel as a forum for the representation of women, a further, untapped source for understanding these cultural debates lies in lyric theater.[10] In this regard, La Monja Alférez by Marqués and Coello is particularly appropriate for understanding not only the role of gender and transvestism on the zarzuela stage but also the general anxiety surrounding the figure of Catalina de Erauso in nineteenth-century Spain.

1.2. Perceptions of la Monja Alférez in Nineteenth-Century Spain: Rewriting the Story of Catalina de Erauso for the Zarzuela Stage

Marjorie Garber in her book Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety postulates that the appearance and function of a transvestite in culture, and more specifically, in a text – broadly defined as fiction, narrative, or visual culture - is to indicate a place of "category crisis" and functions by "calling attention to cultural, social, or aesthetic dissonances" (16). The cross-dressing figure of Catalina de Erauso gained new prominence in nineteenth-century Spain and appeared specifically in moments of cultural anxiety about the changing status of women in society.

[10] See Lou Charnon-Deutsch, Gender and Representation: Women in Spanish Realist Fiction.

One area of concern was the education and formation of women. In Joaquín María de Ferrer's prologue to the 1829 Historia de la Monja Alférez, he opens with a discussion of aberrations of nature such as sphinxes and hippogriffs, obviously viewing Catalina de Erauso as a curiosity, a female object, whose examination by a clearly male subject may benefit society as a whole in the future (v). He states:

> Yo he creido que su historia debe ser publicada; su memoria trasmitida á la posteridad, como un nuevo ejemplar que aumenta la coleccion de estos fenómenos raros, que asi merecen escitar la curiosidad del fisiologo y del filósofo, como la del hombre público. (ix)

Furthermore, Catalina de Erauso becomes a case-study for the importance of early education in the shaping of an individual. As noted by Pilar Folguera Crespo, liberal principles inherited from the Enlightenment viewed education as an important tool in social reform and the formation of women was an essential part of this program as educated women were viewed as intermediaries in the care and instruction of future generations of citizens (427-28). In this way, women's reproductive value was now applicable to the social and the cultural, not just the biological (Folguera Crespo 428). Ferrer suggests that if Catalina de Erauso had only received the correct guidance, she could have been a Santa Teresa de Jesus, an Aspasia, a Porcia, or even a Madame Germaine de Staël (xvj). These notions coincide with the pedagogue Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi's ideas of the individual as a *tabula rasa* who is molded from birth by experience, teachings that were

promoted in Spain by Pablo Montesinos who returned from exile in 1833 (Folguera Crespo 430).

As we have seen previously, beginning in the time period from 1868 to 1875, women began to slowly leave behind the domestic space and occupy more public roles. They were also supported by new progressive initiatives in the area of education such as the founding of the *Asociación para la enseñanza de la mujer* (1870) and the *Institución libre de enseñanza* (1876) (Johnson 123-24). It is no surprise that these cultural shifts would result in new anxieties focused on the transvestite figure of Catalina de Erauso.

Don José Gómez de Arteche of the *Real Academia de la Historia*, who in 1875 wrote the prologue for the published version of the zarzuela libretto La Monja Alférez, takes an openly negative view of Catalina de Erauso: "¿Mujer? Decimos mal: demonio parece" and "pocas eran las cualidades que adornaban a Catalina de Erauso para hacerla recomendable a sus contemporáneos ni a la posterioridad" (vii, xvii). The example of Catalina de Erauso as depicted in both her narrative and the play about her life is perceived as an outright threat to society. As pointed out by Susan Kirkpatrick, reading in nineteenth-century Spain was a matter of morality and there was much debate centered on whether reading could lead women astray (74). This can also be applied to women *viewing* dramatic and musical-dramatic representations. When discussing the *comedia* La Monja Alférez attributed to Juan Pérez de Montalbán, Arteche is specifically concerned with this representation's effect on women: "¿Cómo los oídos de las

damas del siglo XIX han podido escuchar la confesion bochornosa de Doña Ana al que decia ella amar y consideraba enamorado todavía de su candor y gracias?" (xix). Therefore, Arteche emphasizes the need to introduce variations in the character of Catalina de Erauso, even when based on a historical figure with textual documentation, in order to make her admissible on stage, especially for the members of the audience who are female (xvii). Through the framed experience of performance in the liminoid site of the theater, yet again, Catalina de Erauso's behavior is evoked, taken apart and played with, and she is refashioned anew in the zarzuela La Monja Alférez (Schechner 35; 66).

Although the shorter *género chico* variety of zarzuela had gained popularity by this time, La Monja Alférez is organized into three acts, placing it directly in line with the traditions of Spanish *comedia* and the rise of modern zarzuela and *género grande*. From the very beginning, it is clear that the main character is Doña Catalina de Erauso *disguised as* El Alférez Guzmán. In the *comedia*, on the other hand, the main character is listed and is always referred to as Guzmán, even when Don Diego reveals that Guzmán is actually Catalina de Erauso and continuing into act three all the way to the end of the play. In addition to Catalina as Guzmán, there is a greatly expanded list of characters: Governor Don Alonso de Rivera and his daughter, Elvira; "El Nuevo Cid," who is not the brutish thug that eventually falls to Catalina's sword as depicted in both the original text and the *comedia*, but rather a fully developed character with dimension known as Lope Dávalos, the Musketeer Captain; Miguel de Erauso,

secretary to the governor and also a Musketeer Captain; Galindo, a third Musketeer Captain; Mostacho, Guzmán's friend and common soldier who replaces the *gracioso* figure of Machín from the *comedia*; and finally, Carranza, the Musketeer Sergeant and Mostacho's uncle. There are also numerous secondary characters such as a blind-man who enters to sing a *romance* in the tradition of *romances de los ciegos* or blind-men's ballads popularly performed by blind men and sometimes sold as loose publications or *pliego sueltos* (Walters 87); an Indian, the *Corregidor*, and choruses of soldiers, townspeople, priests, merchants and artisans. The action takes place in the port of Callao in Peru in 1615.

The storyline is based on the idea that Catalina was mistreated by her family which caused an almost pathological condition in which she both travels the world dressed as a man and is unable to comprehend or express her emotions. However, this problem is remedied in the zarzuela by rewriting the character of Catalina de Erauso alongside El Nuevo Cid and connecting them in a new, complex relationship. The zarzuela makes use of the dramatic possibilities of not only gender confusion, a concept developed by Mary Elizabeth Perry when discussing the *comedia*, but also what I call relationship confusion (239). Catalina, in direct relation to her male counter-part El Nuevo Cid, experiences emotions that run throughout the course of the drama from friendship to mortal condemnation, with resolution only coming in the closing scene through the cross-dressing character finally embracing her "femaleness" and thus able to

recognize and articulate openly the love she feels towards El Nuevo Cid. Ultimately, woman is defined opposed to man and vice-versa with no spectrum in between. Parallel to El Nuevo Cid, Catalina discovers love for the first time and is "cured" of her impulsive need to dress and live as a man.

In the opening act of the zarzuela, a blind bard enters to sing a *romance* which reveals to Miguel de Erauso the fate of his youngest sister he left behind in the Old World long ago. In this song, Catalina is depicted as an unnaturally strong, stubborn girl and this portrayal of her wild nature corresponds to the *comedia*. In an attempt to correct these features that were definitely not feminine, the song claims that her father put her in a convent from which she later escaped. Supposedly, Lucifer, intrigued by her stalwart character, desired her for a companion and took her off to hell:

CIEGO.

En San Sebastián nació

una hembra, desde muy moza,

tan fuerte como un castillo…

y tan terca como todas.

esperando corregirla,

su padre la metió monja;

pero ella dijo una noche:

<<¡Vuelvo!...>> y no ha vuelto hasta ahora.

Disfrazando nombre y traje,

vive algún tiempo en Vitoria,
Y despacha al otro barrio
a quien le busca camorra.
De repente se ha sabido
que Lucifer en persona
se la ha llevado al infierno
queriéndola por esposa.
Y este romance que digo,
No es romance, que es historia
De Catalina de Erauso,
Por todo el mundo famosa. (Coello, La Monja Alférez 16-17)

Miguel reacts violently to the sensationalized news of his sister, the chorus makes fun of his disgrace through laughter, and Sherry Velasco adds that "[t]he audience is invited to reprove the strong and stubborn rebel, as she is demonized on account of her gender transgression" (The Lieutenant Nun 99). Furthermore, this demonic perception of Catalina de Erauso is in line with the ideas expressed by Arteche in his prologue to the published libretto. Even though Catalina disguised as Guzmán has yet to enter the stage, her behavior is questioned and she is stripped of her agency and constructed as a commodity, passed from her father to convent, and ultimately, as we shall see, as a wife and companion.

Guzmán first enters the stage in act one, scene nine and as pointed out by Velasco, he is a comedic character, not a formidable combatant, and his

"manliness," which he constantly exaggerates, is a source of laughter for all present (The Lieutenant Nun 100):

CORO. (Burlándose.)

¡Ay, qué mozo tan valiente!

¡Ay, qué miedo que nos dá!

¡Ay, de oirle solamente,

ti… ti… ti…ritamos ya!

[…]

GUZMÁN.

Juzgo el antojo puesto en razón,

y no hago aprecio del retintín.-

En alas de la fama

vuela mi nombre,

y ellas es la que proclama

que soy muy hombre.

Por eso al más tremendo

siempre verán

descubrirse, en oyendo

decir: <<Guzmán:>>

(Tirando los sombreros con la espada a un par de hombres del coro.)

[...]

Cuando yo el suelo mojo, (Escupe.)

tiembla la tierra;

y cuando guiño un ojo,

ya huele a guerra.

Cuando esgrimo el montante

¡ziz-zás, zis-zás!

los que están más delante

se hacen atrás.

(Presentándoles la punta de la espada y obligándoles a retroceder.)

(Coello, La Monja Alférez 22-23)

Reflecting notions of women's unsuitability for public roles, Catalina disguised as Guzmán is unable to function in a masculine world despite all out efforts to do so. Furthermore, Guzmán demonstrates himself to be verbally and emotionally inarticulate when he comes face to face with his old friend and fellow soldier El Nuevo Cid:

GUZMAN.

[…] para Lope se guarda

toda mi ternura entera

Pensando me vuelvo loco

con qué cariño le amo,

porque, si amistad le llamo,

pienso que le llamo poco.

¿Amor de hermano? Tampoco.

Lope es aún más para mí,

y hace tiempo desistí

de saber qué nombre tiene

un afecto que contiene

todos los demás en sí. (Coello, La Monja Alférez 29)

Guzmán then explains how El Nuevo Cid saved his life, a tale that references the battle of Valdivia from Catalina de Erauso's original text. In the original narrative, Catalina fights valiantly: Upon seeing the Indians take the company flag, she pursues them on horseback with two other soldiers in tow. Her companions are killed and she is seriously wounded but she manages to save the flag and returns it to her regiment:

Llegamos a la vandera, cayó de un bote de lanza mi compañero. Yo recibí un mal golpe en una pierna. Maté al Cacique que la llevaba i quitésela, i apreté con mi caballo, atropellando, matando i hiriendo a infinidad, pero mal herido, i pasado de tres flechas, i de una lanza en el ombro izquierdo, que sentía mucho. (Erauso 58)

However, according to the zarzuela, Guzmán was carrying the regiment's banner when the Indians suddenly surrounded him, and it was El Nuevo Cid who came to the rescue just in time:

GUZMÁN.

Ya iba a perder el jinete

la existencia y el honor,

cuando, blandiendo la lanza,

puesto en un caballo blanco,

lejos… como una esperanza…

mira un guerrero que avanza

a sacarle del barranco.

[…]

-Ya os preguntais con afan

Quien era el bravo adalid

Que salvó al triste Guzmán…

En el Perú, no le dan

Más nombre que <<El nuevo Cid.>>

(Señalando con orgullo a Dávalos, que baja modestamente la cabeza […]

(Coello, La Monja Alférez 30)

This rewriting of the Battle of Valdivia robes Catalina de Erauso of her finest moment serving her country, which eventually leads her to be named a lieutenant, and passes the honor on to El Nuevo Cid, to whom she now owes her life. Not only is Catalina de Erauso as Guzmán perceived as laughable and faltering in both speech and sentiment, but she is also completely ineffective as a soldier on the battlefield.

In the zarzuela, it is the character Galindo who serves as the persistent voice constantly questioning Guzmán's masculinity and he eventually uncovers the fact that Guzmán is, in reality, Catalina de Erauso. Galindo first questions why

Guzmán is not interested in women, since according to him, a man who does not love (a woman) is not truly a man at all. Guzmán's response is, "las conozco bien/ y sé lo poco que valen" (Coello, La Monja Alférez 36). It is at this moment in the zarzuela that Guzmán explains to Galindo that his parents mistreated him as a child:

GUZMAN.

Señor don Luis… con la vida
se modifica el carácter,
y mi vida nunca ha sido
para formármelo suave.
En los años de la infancia
me violentaron mis padres,
[…]
Quién á su madre no amó,
¿qué mujer quereis que ame? (Coello, La Monja Alférez 36-37)

The implication is that if Guzmán had only received the necessary, nurturing love as a child, he would be "complete" and able to express heterosexual desire. Galindo, still suspicious, focuses not only on Guzmán's behavior but also his physical characteristics by questioning his lack of manly facial hair:

GALINDO.

Si bien para hacer fortuna
entre hembras, tiene una tacha:

aunque gallardo, es su facha

poco varonil y hombruna.

[…]

No se alborote

El alférez. La mujer

-que suele el valor tejer

de los pelos del bigote,-

juzga al más bizarro mozo

con arreglo a su resabio,

si no divisa en su labio

la sombra del primer bozo.

GUZMÁN.

[Segun se las considera,

son las cosas diferentes.

Suelen echar los valientes

los bigotes hacia fuera;

pero, está tan en su centro

en mi el valor que denotan…

¡que a las cara no me brotan

Porque los echo hacia dentro!] (Coello, La Monja Alférez 83-84)

This is a direct reference to the insult that El Nuevo Cid levels at Guzmán in Pérez de Montalbán's *comedia*.

EL CID.

Diga ¿En qué se fia?

Mas barba, amigo, y menos valentía;

Sepa que á mí me llaman por mal nombre

El nuevo Cid, y él es apenas hombre,

Porque es razon que note

Que el valor se divisa del bigote.

GUZMÁN.

Pues porque esté el valor mas en su centro

Echo yo los bigotes acia dentro

Y basta…..

MACHIN (*aparte*).

Aquí entro yo, que ya se enoja […]. (184-85)

In both the *comedia* and the zarzuela, Guzmán claims that he grows his mustache inwards so that valor may be closer to the center. However, the differing cultural contexts and ideas regarding gender create an important shift in the meaning of the "bigotes" or mustache comment. Stephanie Merrim points out that the scientific models of early modern Spain, when both Catalina's narrative and the *comedia* were written, promoted the idea of one-sex, where the male and female body were essentially the same, but one housed the genitalia outside and the other inside (14). Therefore, in reference to Guzmán's "bigotes" remark from the *comedia* she writes, "[w]hen we make the substitution of phallus for 'bigotes' or

mustache that the speech begs, we uncover the play's appeal to the one-sex model of women's internalized male sexual organs and its easy correlation of the one-sex model with transvestism and valor - alongside a subtle valorization of the valiant manly woman" (15). In other words, the *comedia* openly and defiantly draws attention to Catalina's intrinsic, internalized valor. But, by the nineteenth century, the one-sex model was no longer valid. Strict notions of sexual difference were firmly established and women were considered different both reproductively and in every other physical and moral aspect. Therefore, through Catalina's nervous aside, the zarzuela instead focuses on her inherent, indisputable difference and "lack" of all markers of masculinity which she is unable to overcome through any amount of effort on her part.

Not surprisingly, when Guzmán meets Miguel de Erauso, he fears that his brother will discover his true identity, as he does in the *comedia*. Following Galindo's logic that a man is not a man unless he loves a woman, Guzmán directs his supposed amorous intentions towards Elvira, Governor Alonso de Rivera's daughter, a manipulative *femme fatale* figure in the zarzuela.

GUZMAN.

-¡No! ¡Nunca! – Aquí es menester

dominarse, y procurar

que no puedan sospechar que soy mujer.

Algo, sin duda, en mi vida

la atención al mundo llama…

Hay que jugar sin medida;

hay que beber… y, en seguida,

hay que buscarse una dama. (Coello, La Monja Alférez 41)

In further evidence of Guzmán's "lack" of ability to negotiate the norms of masculine culture, he continually ignores warnings from Galindo that both El Nuevo Cid and Miguel de Erauso are in love with Elvira. After Guzmán openly expresses his supposed interest in her directly to his rivals and Elvira insinuates with one word, "villano," or villain that Guzmán has violated her honor, both El Nuevo Cid and Miguel draw their swords, but Guzmán still does not understand why (Coello, La Monja Alférez 87). Finally, when Guzmán agrees to duel against El Nuevo Cid to rectify the affront to not only Elvira, but also to her father Governor Alonso de Rivera under whom they all serve as soldiers, he lowers his head, cries, and eventually falls to his knees before El Nuevo Cid, calling him father, brother, and friend. These disgraceful acts place Guzmán in a subordinate position, true to his natural sex as a woman, and through this subordination, he experiences strong emotion for his male superior:

GUZMAN.

la desgracia, me hizo amar…

y el amor me hace mujer.

Sin mis penas, pensaria

que me despierto en mi infancia… (Coello, La Monja Alférez 117).

This love for a man replaces the absence of parental affection provided by family. But when El Nuevo Cid confesses his love for Elvira, Guzmán lashes out in a fit of jealousy and seriously wounds him.

Ultimately, both El Nuevo Cid and Guzmán face execution for violating the governor's order against dueling. But in an apparent act of suicide, Guzmán plans to die for el Nuevo Cid, claiming that he attacked him by surprise. In the *comedia*, on the other hand, Guzmán was willing to die honorably *as a man*, preferring death to life as a woman: "¿Para qué quiero vivir/ Si saben que soy muger?" (Pérez de Montalbán, La Monja Alférez 265). El Nuevo Cid simply wonders why a woman like Elvira cannot be as constant and devoted to him as Guzmán. Meanwhile, Guzmán gives Galindo a sealed letter that explains his true identity as Catalina de Erauso and Galindo is supposed to give it to Miguel after the execution. Miguel, serving as judge in the case, condemns Guzmán to death, but Galindo, having opened the letter, reveals to all that Guzmán is both a woman and Miguel's sister. El Nuevo Cid, realizing the incredible act of self-sacrifice, now looks at Catalina lovingly and with new eyes. El Nuevo Cid has truly found the woman of his dreams: a loyal companion with a noble soul.

As indicated in the libretto, it is Catalina, not Guzmán in the closing scene, and she has no desire to continue dressing as a man or fighting. She fully embraces the new emotions she feels and her new status as a loyal and loving woman as she turns to El Nuevo Cid stating, "¡Ahora comienza mi vida!" (Coello, La Monja Alférez 117, 140). Catalina is constructed as both the enabler and

dependent of El Nuevo Cid by virtue of both saving his life and, according to the zarzuela, by having him to thank for saving hers on multiple occasions. Although the zarzuela ends soon after these revelations, one can only imagine that Catalina is well on her way to being the quintessential *ángel del hogar*, a domestic angel, companion, wife, and mother. With the same melody from her initial entrance, but with substantial modifications in the text of the music, Catalina, not Guzmán, sings:

> (Con gracia y coquetería.)
>
> […] no soy hombre.
>
> Ya no esgrimo el montante,
>
> ¡zis-zás, zis-zás!;
>
> mujer tierna y amante
>
> soy nada más. (Coello, La Monja Alférez 141)

And on this note, the curtain came down at the *Teatro de la Zarzuela*.

1.3. Reception of the Zarzuela La Monja Alférez

Despite the obvious complexity of this *género grande* zarzuela, and the great effort placed into the rewriting of the story of Catalina de Erauso through a libretto based on not one, but two Golden Age texts, the zarzuela was not successful with audiences. According to Emilio García Carretero in Historia del Teatro de la Zarzuela de Madrid, "el 24 [de noviembre] es Miguel Marqués quien da a conocer La monja alférez, tres actos que no puede incluirse entre las mejores

obras del compositor, y que no conoció más de cuatro funciones" (97). Ramón Sobrino in his entry on Marqués in volume two of the Diccionario de la zarzuela is slightly more optimistic and counts the number of representations at eight: "tuvo lugar en el teatro de la Zarzuela el estreno de la zarzuela histórica en tres actos La monja alférez […] La obra no tuvo éxito, ofreciéndose un total de ocho representaciones" (II: 244).

One possible reason for the negative reception of the work is simply that the audience did not like the music. According to Ivo Supičić, an important method and approach of the Sociology of Music is the comparative method which places musical facts side by side (72). Therefore, comparing the limited number of performances of La Monja Alférez alongside those of other zarzuela of a similar subject-matter - for example the three-act zarzuela Catalina (1854), the story of a Russian woman who dresses as a man and serves her country as a soldier written by Luis de Olona with music by Joaquín Gaztambide - helps to further elucidate the possibility. Emilio Arrieta writing under the pseudonym "Artagnan" writes in the newspaper La nación: "*Catalina* es una obra de carácter militar: en ella resaltan para la masa del público, las piezas del acto segundo, llenas todas de ritmos marciales y de estrépito guerrero" (qtd. in Sobrino, "Catalina" I: 433). Catalina was performed at the *Teatro del Circo* for a month and a half straight without interruption, continued to be revisited throughout the year, and became a part of the regular repertoire (Sobrino, "Catalina" I: 433). La Monja Alférez, on the other hand, because of its very few performances, did not

become a staple of the performance repertoire. Furthermore, if we compare La Monja Alférez to a more contemporary work, for example El barberillo de Lavapiés (1874) by Larra and Barbieri we see that this three-act work not only saved the *Teatro de la Zarzuela* from going under during difficult economic times, but it is still part of zarzuela programs in theaters all over the world even to this day (Alier, La zarzuela 76-77). Finally, zarzuela music popular with audiences, such as in the case of Tomás Bretón's La verbena de la paloma (1894), had the power to leave the confines of the theater and penetrate directly into everyday life as it was repeatedly sung in the streets by both those who attended the performance and even by those who did not. Since La Monja Alférez had no established place in theatrical performance or in the performance of everyday life, it was relegated to the archive and was never recorded at a later point in time.

Another intriguing possibility is that, although the rewritten Catalina de Erauso and the love story may have been more agreeable to the tastes of the day on one level by reinforcing the liberal project of the importance of educating women, while at the same time reaffirming the patriarchal order, the zarzuela did not achieve its intended success because of the audience's familiarity with the seventeenth-century figure of Catalina de Erauso as depicted in both her text and Juan Pérez de Montalbán's play and, as a result, they found this new fictionalized theatrical character entirely unbelievable. In the words of the musicologist Carl Dahlhaus, "Consciousness of music is determined, to no small extent, by literature about music. Even people who scoff at it can hardly escape the effect of what is

written. Musical experience almost always involves memory-traces from reading" (62). Not only was Joaquín María de Ferrer's publication of Catalina de Erauso's original narrative with supporting documents an international bestseller in the nineteenth century, but we know from Arteche's prologue that Montalbán's *comedia* disseminated in that same publication was not only revived in a Madrid theater close to the time of the premiere of the zarzuela, but, unlike the zarzuela, it was extremely well received:[11]

> A quien haya leido la comedia del celebrado amigo del Fénix de nuestros ingenios, le parecerá imposible, y sin embargo es la verdad, que se haya representado no hace mucho en uno de los principales teatros de España sin protesta alguna y, por el contrario, con repeticion y estrepitosamente aplaudida. (xix)

While the *comedia* is still a fictionalized version of Catalina de Erauso's original narrative, especially with the added honor tale of Don Diego and Doña Ana, it still follows the originary text much more closely than the zarzuela. The Guzmán of the *comedia* still battles his own brother, Miguel, and kills El Nuevo Cid, and even though at the end Catalina has to tame her selfish nature and kneel at the feet of the Viscount, she still asks to dress as a man and continues on her way to Rome in alignment with the life of the historical figure of Catalina de Erauso and her

[11] According to Ignacio Tellechea Idigoras, Ferrer's compilation of 1829 had an immediate, international impact. The French translation followed in 1829, the German translation came out a year later in 1830, and a second edition in Spanish was published in Barcelona in 1838. Catalina de Erauso's autobiography was novelized for the English-speaking world through Tait's Edimbourg Magazine in 1847. Furthermore, la Monja Alférez was referenced in multiple other publications such as magazines, journals, reviews, encyclopedias, and histories up until the time of Marqués's and Coello's collaboration (208-09).

depiction in the original text. What becomes important, is not so much the "performance itself" of the zarzuela La Monja Alférez but rather the established line of texts and performances that preceded it since it is through them that the "true story" of Catalina de Erauso becomes part of the collective public memory of the spectators (Schechner 249). Every performance, whether musical, theatrical, or both, is a site of social interaction (Schechner 250). The audience members arrive to the theater with established expectations and if they perceive the performance to deviate too much from them, they may ultimately reject what they see (Schechner 250, 104). According to Peter Martin, this reminds us that,

> the interpretations of composers or performers are not privileged, in the sense that they disclose the authentic or final meaning of the piece. Their voice may be influential, but once the music becomes an object, even a commodity, they become only participants in a more general debate, to which other musicians, critics, audiences, promoters, agents, journalists and so on also contribute. Thus the meaning of a piece of music must be regarded simply as the consensus which may emerge from such a debate, if indeed there ever is one. (66-67)

We also must not lose track of the importance of the larger cultural debate regarding the appropriate form for national Spanish lyric theater: zarzuela or opera. Arteche in the prologue for the published libretto points out the inherent difficulties in the creation and performance of a zarzuela libretto that make it even more apt to fail as an esteemed work of art:

> La zarzuela pues, ha concentrado en su composicion dos inmensas dificultades: la del arte dramático y la del lirico. Pero aún vencidas por los autores del libreto y de la música, tropieza con una, en el mayor número de casos, insuperable; la de su representacion. Si ya es dificil encontrar actores que siquiera pongan de manifiesto las bellezas de un drama ó una comedia, sin que se trate de hacerlas brillar con todo el esplendor que en ellas quepa, ¿cómo exigir á esos actores las facultades y el talento, tan diferentes, del arte de cantar? […] No aconsejaremos, pues, nunca á escritores de la vena y el fuste del Sr. Coello la composicion de una zarzuela. (xxiv-xxv)

Even though engrossed in the zarzuela world, Coello himself indicates in 1876 that a true Spanish Opera tradition was still a work in progress, with the hope that it would grow from the already established base of zarzuela. Coello writes:

> La música, desde que Gaztambide, Barbieri y Monasterio echaron sobre sí la difícil tarea de descubrir á nuestro filarmónico pueblo tesoros para él ignorados, ensancha su esfera de accion en España, Marqués coloca sus inspiradas sinfonías, sin extrañeza de nadie, con aprobación de todos, al lado de las de Mozart y Beethoven, y Arrieta y Caballero engrandecen poco á poco la zarzuela para que, en dia no lejano, la noble aspiración de la ópera española se convierta en hermosa y firme realidad. (Prologue xi-xii)

All of these factors – the music, the audience's interest in the zarzuela, critical evaluation, and even the importance given to the work by its own creators – affected the reception of La Monja Alférez.

The final appearance of Marqués and Coello's zarzuela in the nineteenth century was not on the stage, but rather on the page: selections from the libretto were published in the journal La Ilustración Española y Americana on June 8, 1892. This entire issue was dedicated to historical, fictional and dramatic representations of Catalina de Erauso in celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the "discovery" of the New World (Velasco, The Lieutenant Nun 93). In this issue, the *romance* sung by the blind man in the zarzuela was included as one of the texts. However, it was modified and is much longer and more elaborate than the one included in the zarzuela libretto.[12] Perhaps Coello expanded it further at some point after the premiere of the zarzuela, reminding us yet again that the relationship between text and performance, performance and text, is an ongoing process.

In this chapter we have seen how the composer Miguel Marqués and the librettist Carlos Coello dramatically reworked a key transnational figure from Spain's glorious past, Catalina de Erauso, through two seventeenth-century texts in order to comment on a key domestic issue facing the Spanish nation: the

[12] The *romance* is also reproduced in the Appendix of Rima de Vallbona's Vida i sucesos de la monja alférez (185).

education and social status of women in a rapidly changing society. Although gender relations were greatly evolving all over the western world in the nineteenth century and the figure of Catalina de Erauso tapped into the imagination of readers both within and outside of the Hispanic tradition, this three-act work of zarzuela was geared towards Spanish audiences as it employed an inherently native lyric tradition and was performed only in Spanish at the *Teatro de la Zarzuela* in Madrid. If the work had been more successful with audience members and continued to grow in popularity, it would have most definitely made its way across the Atlantic for performance in the Americas. Although both Marqués and Coello were both very active members of the zarzuela scene, they viewed zarzuela as only an intermediary step, albeit an important one, in the development of a more widely recognized Hispanic musical tradition. Marqués, for his part, would eventually move away from all forms of musical drama later in his career and instead (re)dedicate himself to the pursuit of pure music as a composer of symphonies. We know from the writings of Carlos Coello that he viewed zarzuela as part of a process that would eventually lead to Spanish opera, even though he himself would never participate in this project as his life was cut short at the young age of thirty eight in the year 1888.

Chapter two will discuss this heightened call for Spanish opera. Although writers, composers, and critics increasingly pushed for musical drama with continuous music based on national literature and folklore, these artistic works would not be limited to the Hispanic world but rather generate international

attention and recognition. An important figure in this movement would be the pianist and composer Isaac Albéniz who was interested in national regeneration through the renewal of Spanish music. While working abroad in London with the librettist Francis Burdett Money-Coutts, Albéniz would be inspired to work with the well-known contemporary novel Pepita Jiménez by Juan Valera.

CHAPTER 2

THE REGENERATION OF SPANISH NARRATIVE AND MUSIC IN PEPITA JIMÉNEZ BY JUAN VALERA, ISAAC ALBÉNIZ, AND FRANCIS BURDETT MONEY-COUTTS

PEPITA.
Go! bear my latest breath,
My broken heart to God!
The trophy of your fight,
To count against the side
Where he has summ'd your pride!
[…]
Farewell for ever! Farewell!
And when I lie beneath the sod,
God grant that no distress affray
Your conscience for the soul you slay!
[…]
Farewell! Farewell forever!
Pepita Jiménez (1896)

Juan Valera y Alcalá-Galiano (1824-1905), poet, essayist, novelist, literary critic, diplomat, and politician, was born in Cabra, Córdoba into a "distinguished if not affluent" family (DeCoster 200). He studied law and philosophy in both Málaga and Granada and traveled to Madrid, first in 1843 and more definitively in 1845, where he immediately became immersed in the literary culture of the Spanish capital. By 1862 he was inaugurated into *Real Academia Española*.

Valera is best known today as an important novelist of the so-called "generación de 1868" alongside Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, Benito Pérez Galdós,

Leopold Alas ("Clarín"), and Emilia Pardo Bazán, among others. This group of writers, marked by the Revolution of 1868, continued political upheaval, the establishment of the First Spanish Republic in 1873, and eventually, the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1875, was concerned with an examination of Spain's past, an exploration of Spain's essence as a nation, and a more comprehensive understanding of the Spanish nation's place in wider European culture and society, as well as what European influences would be most beneficial to "regenerating" the Spanish nation.

An important way for the writers living and working around the watershed year of 1868 to crystallize the regeneration of Spain was through a rejuvenation of Spanish narrative itself. Since the Revolution of 1868, Valera had been directly in involved in politics in Madrid but his political career came to a halt in 1873 with the abdication of King Amadeo I (Jiménez Fraud 163). That same year Valera returned to Andalucía and wrote his first complete and most well-known novel, Pepita Jiménez. This novel first appeared in four parts in the Revista Española between March 28 and May 13, 1874, and it was later published in its entirety that same year and was soon translated into French, Italian, Portuguese, and English (Amorós 175).

Valera's novel Pepita Jiménez is intricately crafted with various layers of narrative inserted within the novelistic frame. It opens with an unknown narrator stating directly to the perceived reader that the Dean of the cathedral, who passed away a few years earlier, left some papers, now in the narrator's hands. These

papers are labeled with a Latin phrase, *Nescit labi virtus*, or "La virtud desconoce el caer" (Estébanez Calderón 41). According to the narrator, the bundle of papers is divided into three parts: *Cartas de mi sobrino*, *Paralípomenos*, and *Epílogo: Cartas de mi hermano*. All the writing is done in the Dean's hand leading the narrator to initially believe that the Dean wrote a fictional novel. However, after reading the papers, the narrator confesses that he now believes the Dean's papers are copies of original letters, now lost, and only the second part was composed by the Dean. The narrator acknowledges that he greatly enjoyed reading the manuscript and now presents it to the reader having only changed the names of the people involved. The intrigue encourages the reader to continue on to the first section.

The first section is a collection of dated letters written by Luis, a young seminarist on the verge of taking his vows as a priest, to his uncle, the Dean of the cathedral. Before definitively entering the priesthood, Luis, an illegitimate child, returns to the small town in Andalucía where he was born to visit his father, Don Pedro de Vargas. Through his letters, Luis divulges to his uncle his growing interest in a young widow of the village, Pepita Jiménez. Some years prior, Pepita, also an illegitimate child, married her uncle, Gumersindo, an eighty-year-old moneylender, in obedience to her mother and to alleviate their poverty. Pepita now uses her inheritance for pious works in her community and shares a deep friendship with her confident and spiritual leader, the Vicar. Beautiful, virtuous, and wealthy, Pepita has numerous suitors, including Luis's father, Don Pedro.

Throughout the course of the first section, Luis reveals his conflicting perceptions of Pepita, viewing her first as an angel, and as he becomes more enraptured, a dangerous siren of temptation.

Of note in this first section is an excursion to Pozo de la Solana, Don Pedro's country house. Luis must make the journey on a mule, along with the aged Vicar, because he never learned how to ride a horse. Finding himself alone with Pepita in the countryside, she encourages Luis to learn how to ride, claiming that it might be beneficial to his proposed missionary work in China and Persia. He promises her that he will learn and the two young protagonists now share a secret together. Don Pedro teaches his son the art of equitation and Luis mounts a particularly fierce horse, Lucero, and ultimately passes beneath Pepita's balcony in triumph. Learning how to dominate and ride a horse mark Luis's entrance into the masculine world and, according to Lou Charnon-Deutsch, symbolizes Luis's relationship with Pepita: "In other words, he accepts the role of dominator just as Pepita will, in another critical moment of the story, adopt a more subordinate, traditionally feminine role" (27). Another key moment in this first section is when Luis pays a visit to Pepita after having rejecting her presence for some time under the pretext of an illness. Alone together, the young couple exchanges no words, but Pepita begins to cry. Pepita and Luis then share their first kiss, "¡El primero y el ultimo!" according to Luis, when Luis, moving to kiss the tears off Pepita's face, kisses her lips instead (Valera 122).

The letters from Luis to his uncle end, but the story continues through the second section of the novel, *Paralipómenos*, narrated by an unknown person and characterized by dialogue: "No hay más cartas de don Luis de Vargas que las que hemos transcrito. Nos quedaríamos, pues sin averiguar el término que tuvieron estos amores, y esta sencilla y apasionada historia no acabaría, si un sujeto, perfectamente enterado de todo, no hubiese compuesto la relación que sigue" (Valera 127). In this section, it is clear that Pepita and Luis are in love. However, Luis still debates between his religious aspirations as a priest and the possibility of an earthly union with Pepita. Pepita confesses her feelings for Luis to the Vicar who tells her that a relationship beyond the spiritual is impossible. Finally, Luis decides to flee the village and goes to say goodbye to Pepita. Antoñona, Pepita's old nurse and servant, is concerned about Pepita's increasingly delicate emotional state, and organizes a last meeting in which Luis and Pepita finally become lovers. After their amorous encounter, Luis asks Antoñona for further information about the Count of Genazahar, one of Pepita's suitors, who insults her behind her back because of her marriage to Gumersindo. The count is also motivated to marry Pepita so he can cancel the large debt he owes her. Now that Pepita is Luis's lover, he must defend her honor and he goes to the casino in search of the count. Despite Luis's lack of schooling in arms, they duel and Luis is victorious. Luis then confesses his love for Pepita to his father, Don Pedro, who has actually known about the situation for some time, as the Dean sent him a letter directly warning him of Luis' growing infatuation with Pepita. Don Pedro, who chose to

do nothing to separate Luis and Pepita, is silently complicit and an indirect participant in their union. Pepita and Luis are married by the Vicar.

The epilogue is another selection of letters. This time Don Pedro de Vargas writes to his brother, the Dean, and through these letters we learn that Luis's and Pepita's marriage produces a son and heir to the family fortunes. Furthermore, the family travels around the world, but still undertakes pious works within their own rural community. Even the secondary characters achieve resolution to their difficulties: Currito, Luis's cousin, inspired by his example, marries; Antoñona reconciles with her husband and returns to live with him; the Count of Genazahar begins to repay Pepita the debt he owes her; Pepita's brother gives up his wandering life-style and finds a stable job in Customs; and finally, the Vicar dies with an aura of saintliness. Donald Shaw notes that, "the narrative ends in perfect equilibrium" (125).

Valera's contribution to the regeneration of Spanish narrative was through the psychological development of his characters which he accomplishes in Pepita Jiménez largely through the epistolary form and dialogue between Pepita and Luis (Owen 2). Although Shaw points out that Valera was principally concerned with the novel as an aesthetic art unto itself meant to please the reader, through his expansion and emphasis on psychology in this particular literary form, he also explores the emotions and subtleties of human experience (123). The experience of the individual can be applicable to the social, and in the case of Pepita Jiménez, Valera was most likely concerned with highlighting the potential dangers of

religious fanaticism, misguided mysticism, or perhaps commenting on the debates surrounding Krausism in Spain (Jiménez Fraud 126; Aparici, Correspondencia Valera-Albéniz 157; Shaw 124). Valera is also the author of the novels Las ilusiones del Doctor Faustino (1875), El Comendador Mendoza (1877), Pasarse de listo (1878), Doña Luz (1879), and much later, Juanita La Larga (1896), Genio y figura (1897), and Morsamor (1899).

Parallel to Valera's writing and political career, he worked as a member of the Spanish diplomat corps which allowed him to travel to and live in many major cities, such as Naples, Brussels, Dresden, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Paris, Vienna, Lisbon, Río de Janeiro, and Washington, D.C.. In these important cities, Valera frequented important artistic circles and events, in part because of his diplomatic and social duties and functions. But more importantly, because of Valera's concern with the renovation of Spanish culture through embracing international cultural currents, he became a keen observer of foreign cultural traditions which he documented in detail principally through his letters to friends, family, and colleagues (Jiménez Fraud 127). Valera's extended correspondence allows us to reconstruct some of his ties specifically to both music and musicians. For example, while in Dresden, Valera became familiar with compositions by Haendel, Beethoven, and Mozart, a musician he references frequently in his letters (Amorós 116). Valera also attended the opera regularly. Through a letter dated November 26, 1856 to Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto, we know that, while in Berlin, Valera saw Richard Wagner's Tannhauser: "Anteanoche oímos en el Gran

Teatro Real una ópera de Wagner, fundada sobre una antigua leyenda […] La música es profundísima y no por eso fastidiosa para los profanos. Las decoraciones maravillosas, y los trajes de una riqueza y una exactitud singulares. Ni en París ni en Londres se representa nada mejor. Yo estaba con la boca abierta" (Correspondencia I: 328).

It is important to recognize, however, that Valera was interested in documenting international cultural currents not only to gain an understanding of how they could influence and potentially regenerate Spain, but also to highlight how Spanish culture had also affected and enriched other European cultures (Jiménez Fraud 134-35). For example, while in Russia in 1857, Valera attended a performance of Mikhail Glinka's opera A Life for the Czar and he explains the Russian composer's connections to Spain and Spanish music in a letter to Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto: "Anoche fui, sin querer, al teatro ruso; pero ya me alegro de haber estado. Se dio una ópera, obra maestra de la música rusa de teatro, *La vida por el zar*, de Glinka, grande aficionado de nuestra música española, y que, para estudiarla, peregrinó largo tiempo por España" (Correspondencia I: 513). Valera was also very much aware of the European impact of native-born Spanish musical drama. While posted in Vienna in the early 1890s, Valera attended various performances of zarzuela. In the almost fifty years since its resurgence as a cultural expression in Spain, zarzuela was now traveling to other European nations, was translated into other languages, and in this particular case, it was performed by an Italian company. Valera writes, "Aquí hay una compañía

italiana que da zarzuelas españolas, traducidas. He estado dos veces. La compañía vale poco. Si viniese aquí una buena compañía de zarzueleros españoles, haría furor" (qted. in Amorós 117). In another letter to Manuel Tamayo y Baus, Valera also feels strongly that a European tour of a Spanish zarzuela company could be a successful venture:

> yo tengo la convicción de que si alguien ahí, por ejemplo nuestro Barbieri, aventurase seis u ocho mil duros, y enviase aquí una selecta compañía de zarzuelas […] había de ganar aquí honra y provecho. Viena se alborotaría y la conquistaríamos con más prontitud y facilidad […] Si los zarzueleros iban luego a Berlín también ganarían; y donde recogerían más aplausos y laureles si no más dinero, sería en Munich […] Es lástima que nuestro teatro moderno sea aquí, hasta hoy, poco conocido. Está por cima de cuanto aquí se escribe, y mucho ganaría traducido. (Correspondencia V: 597)

Valera himself attempted to become a part of the zarzuela scene in Spain when around 1876 he wrote the "zarzuela fantástica" in three acts and in verse Lo mejor del tesoro, based on one of the stories from A Thousand and One Nights. With regard to Valera's interest in the Orient, Sherman Eoff writes:

> There was in Valera also, in addition to his curiosity, a patriotic desire to keep his country abreast of the times. He was aware of the Oriental renaissance which had taken place in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and wanted his people to know the kind of literature

> that such writers as Voltaire and Gautier had given to France. He himself would serve as leader in encouraging the Oriental story in Spain. (193)

In a letter to the composer Franciso Asenjo Barbieri, Valera discusses other inspirations for Lo mejor del tesoro:

> Mi intención fue la de imitar (no en una obra determinada, sino en el género) al veneciano Carlos Gozzi, componiendo algo parecido a lo que él llamó *fiabe*, o sea, cuentos de hadas o de viejas en acción. Su *Princesa Turandot* me excitaba a ello, considerando yo que no debió de parecer mal en su época cuando mereció que Schiller la tradujese en lengua alemana. (Correspondencia III: 62)

The Spanish composer Emilio Arrieta was supposed to put the text of Lo mejor del tesoro to music, but he never completed the project which caused great anguish for Valera since he also viewed this zarzuela as a way to make desperately needed money. Valera confides his frustrations frequently in letters to his sister Sofía: "El maestro Arrieta no compone ni siquiera creo que ha empezado a componer la música de mi zarzuela, de suerte que aquella esperanza, que por ese lado tenía yo de ganar algún dinero, o se desvanece o se hunde en los abismos del porvenir" and, at a later date, he continues, "[o]jalá la componga pronto, se dé en el teatro y guste, pues esto valdrá algún dinero, de que estoy en extremo necesitado" (Correspondencia III: 44, 50). When all attempts to work with Arrieta failed, Valera contacted Barbieri, arguably the most influential composer of nineteenth-century Spain. Valera explains the failed collaboration

with Arrieta to Barbieri and asks if he would be interested in undertaking the project:

> Ya sabe Vd. por nuestro general San Román, que yo me alegraría de que una zarzuela que tengo escrita llevase música de Vd. Se la di a Arrieta porque él me la había pedido con empeño cuando sólo estaba escrito el acto primero; Arrieta la ha tenido en su poder cerca de un año, aparentando o sintiendo un entusiasmo que no pedía ni creía merecer; pero, con todo su entusiasmo y con el propósito que me espantaba de ponerle todo o casi todo en solfa y de hacer mucho de sentimental y hasta de sublime, el Sr. Arrieta no ha hecho nada. […] ¿Quiere Vd. oírlo? […] Si a Vd. le gusta, le puede poner música ligerita y alegre y todo lo picaresca que la música puede ser; y si no le gusta, me lo dice con franqueza y quedamos tan amigos. (Correspondencia III: 61-62)

Barbieri ultimately never undertook the project, but the text of Lo mejor del tesoro was printed in 1885 as part of Valera's collection Canciones, romances y poemas. In addition to Arrieta and Barbieri, Valera also knew personally many Spanish librettists and composers, such as Miguel Echegaray, Luis de Olona, and Tomás Breton.

We know from a letter dated March 13, 1889, addressed to Valera's sister Sofía, that Valera attended a concert of Spanish music held at the French embassy in Madrid in which he met the virtuoso pianist Isaac Albéniz (1860-1909). Valera writes: "El lunes comimos en la Embajada alemana, y anoche estuvimos en un

concierto que hubo en la de Francia, donde Arbós, Rubio y Albéniz hicieron prodigios en el violín, violoncello y piano. Son tres excelentes artistas. También estuvo allí el maestro Bretón, autor de la ópera *Los amantes de Teruel*, que ha sido aquí tan aplaudida" (Correspondencia V: 135). Albéniz, originally from Cataluña, began his musical studies at the age of four under the guidance of his sister, Clementina and began formal studies at the Madrid Conservatory in 1868. One year later he passed his first exam in solfege with the composer Emilio Arrieta presiding over the examination committee (Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 25). In 1869, at only nine years of age, he composed his first piece for piano, "Marcha militar" (Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 26). As both a child and a young man, Albéniz toured Spain, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. After returning to Europe, he studied briefly in Leipzig in 1876.

Albéniz returned to Madrid in need of financial support to continue his studies aboard. He gave a recital in the Spanish capital attended by Count Guillermo Morphy Ferris (1836-1899), once a musician, composer, and musical historian in the service of Queen Isabel II, educator abroad to her son Alfonso, and now secretary to the newly restored monarch King Alfonso XII (Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 36). Much impressed by Albéniz, Count Morphy introduced Albéniz at court to the Royal Family. Under the patronage of the King, Albéniz entered the *Conservatiore Royal* in Brussels where he studied piano with Franz Rummel and Louis Brassin, solfege with Jan Lamperen, and harmony with

Joseph Dupont (Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 37). Albéniz graduated in 1879, and by 1880 he was the principal pianist in Spain and commenced more touring.

It was also around this time that Albéniz first began to write music for the theater.[1] Albéniz began the year 1882 playing his piano compositions between the acts of Joaquín Gaztambide's zarzuela El juramento (first performed at the *Teatro de la Zarzuela* in 1858) and finished by writing three of his own zarzuela, unfortunately all lost today: in Bilbao the one-act Cuanto más viejo with libretto by Mariano Zapino y Garibay; in Madrid the one-act Catalanes de gracia with libretto by Rafael Leopoldo Palomino de Guzmán; and El canto de salvación of which we have no information. As evidenced by these works, Albéniz first opted for composing one-act works in the vein of *género chico*, at its height of popularity at this time, instead of the longer three-act *género grande*.

In 1885, Albéniz moved with his family from Barcelona to Madrid where, in addition to his routine of concerts, travel, and teaching, he maintained close contact with the Royal Family and entertained them on various occasions (Clark, Portrait of a Romatic 57, 62). It was in this year that King Alfonso XII died and the regency of María Cristina of Austria (1885-1902) began on behalf of her son Alfonso XIII. In 1886, the Queen Regent appointed Albéniz an assistant professor of piano at the conservatory in Madrid (Clark, Portrait of a Romatic 71).

[1] For a complete listing and description of Albéniz's theatrical works see the article "La producción escénica de Isaac Albéniz" by Jacinto Torres Mulas in Revista de Musicología (167-211).

By 1889, the same year in which Albéniz and Valera met at the concert held in the French embassy in Madrid, Albéniz was about to take a crucial step to further his music career abroad and to become a cultural ambassador of Spanish music. After some engagements in Paris, Albéniz traveled to London where he made his initial contacts through a letter of introduction to the British Royal Family from the Infanta Isabel de Borbón, sister of the Spanish King Alfonso XII (Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 75). Interestingly, it would be during his time in London that Albéniz's project of regenerating Spanish music would come to fruition.

In 1895**,** the start of the Cuban war for independence from Spain and when questions about Spain's past, present, and future were coming to a head, Albéniz contacted Juan Valera for permission to use his novel Pepita Jiménez as the basis for a work of Spanish national opera. As we shall see, Albéniz's project was in line with the preoccupations of national regeneration and traditionalism versus Europeanization which first concerned writers such as Valera around 1868, and which were now central to another group of writers such as Miguel de Unamuno, Pío Baroja, José Martínez Ruiz, and Antonio Machado, among others, of the purported "generación de 1898" (Shaw 159-60). At this point in his career Albéniz had worked to "Españolizar Europa" through the exportation of Spanish music, the promotion of Spanish musicians abroad, and pushing Spanish music to be recognized as an important part of the European musical tradition. Furthermore, through Pepita Jiménez, Albéniz, with the help of the British

librettist Francis Burdett Money-Coutts (1854-1923), would be able to use a work of Spanish literature as the basis of an opera for an international audience and network of theaters. Pepita Jiménez would further serve to "Europeizar España" as the opera was written in English, ultimately premiered in Italian, and incorporated many foreign musical and operatic techniques. For Albéniz, these issues of reconciling the Spanish musical tradition with other European trends first gained prominence during the movement for the development and promotion of Spanish national opera with continuous music based on works of national literature or folklore (Clark, "Pepita Jiménez" 25).

2.1. Isaac Albéniz and Felipe Pedrell, the Search for Spanish National Opera, and a New Music Career in London

The call for Spanish national opera came to the foreground after the Revolution of 1868 when national sentiment was high and freedom of press allowed ideas about national music to be openly expressed (Sánchez, Tomás Bretón 43). Some critics, writers, and composers viewed zarzuela as Spain's unique contribution to European musical-dramatic culture while others viewed zarzuela as a necessary, but preliminary step in the evolution of a future Spanish national opera tradition. Yet still another tendency began to emerge and gain strength which called for the development of Spanish opera with continuous music which could form part of the international repertoire and network of theaters. It was in the 1880s that many composers and writers began to solidify

their ideas on Spanish opera and by the 1890s the first attempts at writing Spanish opera were undertaken. Notably, it was also during these years that Spain was attempting to gain further cultural prominence internationally as exemplified by the Universal Exposition of 1888 held in Barcelona.

In was in the early 1880s in Barcelona that Albéniz met and was briefly mentored by the composer and historian of Spanish music, Felipe Pedrell (1841-1922) a key figure in the Spanish opera movement. Pedrell had composed both works of zarzuela and opera and strongly believed at this point in his career that Spanish composers had the obligation to write music that not only reflected Spanish culture, but also incorporated techniques from native folk songs and dances (Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 56).[2] Pedrell was influenced by the ideas of the German composer and essayist, Richard Wagner (1813-1883) and he was an active participant in the first Wagnerian circles established in Barcelona around 1871.[3] Wagner is best known for his conception of music-drama as *Gesamtkunstwerk* or total artwork, an idea first detailed in his essay The Artwork of the Future (1849), in which all the arts - music, poetry, and the visual elements - are unified to achieve the fullest possible expression (Fubini 321). Furthermore, Wagner believed in the ideas about the common origins of poetry and music circulating since the Enlightenment and promoted a return to the state were poetry

[2] According to Francesc Bonastre I Bertran, between the years of 1867 and 1904, Pedrell composed eight works of zarzuela and ten operas (II: 188-89).
[3] Antonio Fernández-Cid claims that Wagner's popularity in Barcelona was second only to his popularity in Bayreuth, the city where the composer was born: "Ricardo Wagner que, sobre todo en Barcelona, se impondrá más y más cada vez, hasta el punto de que podrá decirse un día que no hay ciudad más wagneriana, después de Bayreuth" (32).

and music and poet and musician were one (Fubini 323-24). Unlike most composers, in addition to composing the music for his music-dramas, Wagner frequently also wrote the librettos and scenarios. Wagner primarily drew inspiration from Northern European mythology and legend and he is perhaps best known for his Ring Cycle, Der Ring des Nibelungen, consisting of four operas: Das Rheingold (1854), Die Walküre (1856), Siegfried (1871), and Götterdämmerung (1874).

Pedrell first expressed his enthusiasm for Wagner in his article "La música del porvenir" published in the Almanaque de la España musical in 1868 (Clark "Pedrell"). He later began his own Wagnerian trilogy Els pirineus (Los pirineos) based on a poem by Víctor Balaguer. The opera, divided into a prologue ("Anima Mare"), and three acts ("Lo comte de Foix", "Raig de Lluna", and "La jornada de panissars"), was about the liberation of Catalonia between 1218 and 1285. As pointed out by Clark, in this work Pedrell blends troubadour melodies, Spanish renaissance music, and Wagnerian techniques ("Pedrell"). Although completed in 1891, El pirineus was not performed until 1902 at Barcelona's *Teatro del Liceo*. Albéniz reviewed the opera and commented that it was, "la piedra angular del edificio de *nuestra futura nacionalidad lírica*" (qtd. in Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 55). Albéniz then continues:

> [V]áis á oír el canto de vuestra tierra, la tierna voz de vuestras madres, las atávicas y dulces melodías que adormecieron vuestra alma dolorida en el terrible combate que durante nuestra existencia sustentamos, váis á

> recordar y á renovar penas y añoranzas que pasaron dejando su profunda huella en vuestro corazón, y después de tan dulces sufrimientos, una gigantesca ola de entusiástica esperanza invadirá vuestro ser […]. (qted. in Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 55)

While completing El pirineus, Pedrell wrote and published Por nuestra música, which elucidates the methodology used to create the opera and more generally the theoretical foundations for his philosophy regarding Spanish musical nationalism. It is interesting to note that Pedrell's next project was the opera La Celestina (1902) based on the text by Fernando de Rojas. Besides Albéniz, other composers influenced by Pedrell were Tomás Bretón, Enrique Granados, and Manuel de Falla (Clark, "Pepita Jiménez" 25, 30).[4] Although Albéniz apprenticed under Pedrell for a very short period of time, Pedrell felt that the Spanish pianist and composer was destined to be a great personality in the European musical world (Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 72).

After his arrival in London in 1889 and while concertizing, Albéniz consciously promoted Spanish music, not only his own compositions, but those of Enrique Fernández Arbós, Ruperto Chapí, and Tomás Bretón. Clark writes: "[w]ith characteristic generosity, Albéniz had already determined to serve as a pathfinder for Spanish composers and performers in concerts he gave and organized during his tenure in London" (Portrait of a Romantic 76). Complicating

[4] Of note is that the composer and contemporary of Isaac Albéniz, Manuel de Falla, composed music based on Pedro Antonio de Alarcón's novel El sombrero de tres picos, another work considered part of the "generación de 1868".

his performance program, however, was the fact that Albéniz was forced to work against longstanding perceptions abroad about the quality and characteristics of Spanish music and musicians. Clark explains that "Albéniz found himself navigating his way, Odysseus-like, between this Scylla and Charybdis of ethnic stereotyping" (Portrait of a Romantic 80). Nonetheless, Albéniz's efforts began to pay off. A newspaper critic from the Daily Chronicle wrote on November 22, 1890: "For several generations Spain is supposed to have been in the background in the matter of high-class music, but after what we have heard of late at St. James's Hall . . . we begin to be doubtful . . . of the imputation. It is quite possible that other nations have been willfully blind as well as deaf to the labours of Spanish musicians" (qtd. in Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 81). After London, Albéniz toured other venues in the United Kingdom.

In 1890, Albéniz met the impresario Henry Lowenfeld, a businessman who had become interested in musical management and Albéniz exchanged royal patronage for money and career advancement of a new kind (Clark, "Faustian Pact" 468). Through a contractual agreement, Albéniz placed his entire body of work under Lowenfeld's control in exchange for a guaranteed economic status and advancement of career. In the words of Ivo Supičić, "[t]he abandonment of the shelter of traditional aristocratic patronage was accompanied by the evolution of a hitherto nonexistent freedom of choice in a whole series of professional musical activities" (158-59). Lyric theater in Victorian England, with its strong middle-class, was greatly supported and well-attended. With the backing of

Lowenfeld, in the early 1890s Albéniz began to compose for the opera in London. In 1893, he premiered the opera The Magic Opal with text by Arthur Law at the Lyric Theatre of London, which he later reworked as The Magic Ring for the Prince of Wales Theatre, and he then composed music for the opera Poor Jonathan based on the German work Der Arme Jonathan by Karl Millöcker for the same venue.

Although in business in England, Albéniz did not forget his connections to the Spanish musical scene. In 1894, the text of The Magic Opal was reworked by the Spanish dramatist Eusebio Sierra and this version premiered at the *Teatro de la Zarzuela* in Madrid renamed as La sortija. Also, in that same year, Albéniz composed the music for the one-act zarzuela San Antonio de la Florida with libretto also by Sierra for performance at the *Teatro Apolo*, a Madrid theater dedicated primarily to works of *género chico*.

It was through Albéniz's work in London lyric theaters that he met Francis Burdett Money-Coutts. Money-Coutts, born to the well-known banking family of Coutts & Co., was the heir of a substantial fortune. Educated at both Eton and Cambridge, Money-Coutts became a Barrister-at-Law in 1879 (Clark, "Faustian Pact" 469). Although he did work as a lawyer, Money-Coutts had more artistic inclinations and he considered himself first and foremost a poet, although he did not publish any collections until the release of Poems in 1896.[5] Like his friend

[5] Walter Aaron Clark lists Money-Coutts publications in "Isaac Albéniz's Faustian Pact: A Study in Patronage" as follows: Poems (1896), The Revelation of St. Love the Divine (1898), The Alhambra (1898), The Mystery of Godliness (1900), The Nutbrown Maid (1901), The Poet's Charter (1902), Musa Verticordia (1904), The Song of Songs (1906), Book of Job (1907),

Lowenfeld, Money-Coutts was also interested in theatrical management. At the time Albéniz met Money-Coutts, he financed both the Lyric and the Prince of Wales Theaters (Clark, "Faustian Pact" 468-69). Money-Coutts greatly admired Albéniz and in 1893 he bought into the original contract between Albéniz y Lowenfeld becoming a co-manager of Albéniz's projects (Clark, "Faustian Pact" 469). However, soon after, Lowenfeld sold all his interests to Money-Coutts and in a new, modified agreement, it was established that Money-Coutts would give Albéniz money for composing music for his writings (Clark, "Faustian Pact" 470-72; Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 180). Their first collaboration for lyric theater was Henry Clifford, an opera set in fifteenth-century England which premiered in 1895 in Barcelona. According to Clark, although contractually obligated to work with Money-Coutts, Albéniz seems to have had a great deal of freedom and influence when it came to deciding their joint projects and his next goal was to develop a Spanish national opera with international interest ("Faustian Pact" 475; "Pepita Jiménez" 28).

2.2. The Spanish Composer Isaac Albéniz, the Novelist Juan Valera, and the English librettist Francis Burdett Money-Coutts

For his project of Spanish national opera, Albéniz was interested in collaborating with more or less contemporary Spanish authors with international

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Romance of King Arthur (1907), Psyche (1911), Egypt and Other Poems (1912), Ventures of Thought (1914), The Royal Marines (1915), The Spacious Times and Others (1920), Well (1922), and Selected Poems (1923) (470). It is important to note that Money-Coutts also sometimes wrote under the pseudonym "Mountjoy".

appeal who had worked in some way to regenerate Spanish letters and to bring them to the foreground of European intellectual achievement. Albéniz initially receive authorization from Joaquín Dicenta (1863-1917) to use his social drama Juan José as basis for an opera, but for some reason this project was never undertaken (Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 134). Albéniz then suggested that Money-Coutts write a libretto based on Pepita Jiménez by Juan Valera (Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 135). Coutts approved of the project and immediately began work on the libretto using one of the English translations of Valera's novel (Eusebio 36).

Albéniz took it upon himself to secure authorization from Valera. He wrote to the novelist through the intermediary Count Morphy who, as we have seen, first connected Albéniz to the Spanish Royal Family in Madrid. However, it would take a long process of negotiation to convince Valera that his novel Pepita Jiménez could be successfully adapted into an opera. As pointed out by Gary Schmidgall, not all literature is suitable for adaptation into opera which is especially true for literary works that are dependent upon "the powers of language as itself a descriptive instrument; the core of their artistry is descriptive and analytical" or literary works that are "structured upon philosophical, aesthetic, or conceptual material" (Schmidgall 14, 17). Valera's initial response through Count Morphy was as follows:

> Hablando ahora de otra cosa, diré a Vd. que me lisonjea en extremo, agradeciéndolo y celebrándolo mucho, el propósito ó deseo de Albéniz de

> escribir una ópera sobre el asunto de *Pepita Jiménez*: pero, si he de hablar con franqueza, yo entiendo que en el libretto sería menester desnaturalizarlo todo para que tuviese algo de dramático, y entonces lo mismo dá llamarla *Ramona González* que *Pepita Jiménez*. Tal como es mi libro, psicológico, ascético y místico aunque sea para burlarse algo del falso ascetismo y del misticismo mal fundado, mi libro apenas es novela, y mucho menos vale para comedia, para drama, para zarzuela ni para ópera. Tal es mi franca opinion y mi firme convencimiento. Si Mozart pusiese en música *Pepita Jiménez*, Mozart haría *fiasco*. […] Para mí, proponerme una ópera de *Pepita Jiménez* es como si me propusiera guisarme una perdiz con natillas ó con tocino del cielo. Albéniz, en mi sentir, estragaria sus *natillas* y yo mi perdiz. (qtd. in Aparici 157-58).

Valera feared that a new version of Pepita Jiménez could even possibly ruin the effect of the original work of art. Valera uses the example of the novel Carmen (1845) by Prosper Mérimée and the 1875 opera by Bizet based on that work of literature:

> *Carmen*, ¿cómo negarlo? es una linda novela de Mérimée; y en ópera yo no la puedo aguantar, influyendo asimismo tan perversamente en mi espíritu que ya me repugna la novela y no he de volver jamás a leerla. Y eso que en Carmen hay diez veces más acción dramática que en *Pepita Jiménez*. (qtd. in Aparici 157)

Valera closes the letter to Count Morphy, not by discussing the opera, but by lamenting the situation in Cuba as the definitive war for independence from Spain was launched.[6]

In his letters, Valera demonstrates that he was very conscious of the popularity and transcendence of lyric theater, a mode of expression in which thousands of people could experience a work of art in only one performance. But on the flip side, Valera was also aware that a musical-dramatic success could help generate further interest in his writing, as well as direct financial rewards. As we have seen, Valera already attempted to find a composer to put music to his zarzuela Lo mejor del tesoro, first by working unsuccessfully with Arrieta and then by proposing a collaboration with Barbieri. Valera was not opposed to working with Albéniz – he even writes, "la mayor satisfaccion de mi vida seria para mi escribir un libretto para que él pusiese la música" - but he was simply not interested in exploring the prospects of Pepita Jiménez as an opera (qtd. in Aparici 158).

Valera proposed that Albéniz take up Lo mejor del tesoro, but the oriental subject matter would not have fit well into Albéniz's project of creating a Spanish musical-dramatic work that would both revolutionize Spanish music and impact

[6] Valera writes from Vienna: "Veo con grandísimo dolor, que van mal las cosas de Cuba. En España somos muy desgraciados. Envidio á esta Monarquía, donde todo prospera, y donde todo está en paz, a pesar de tan diversas razas, lenguas y naciones, como son las que la forman, celosas unas de otras y aborreciéndose de todo corazon: pero aquí hay una calma, una subordinación social y una mansedumbre que impiden las discordias ó las retardan y las hacen menos frecuentes y menos largas que entre nosotros. Supongo y lamento que nuestra simpática Reina Regente, que es tan buena como entendida y afectuosa, estará contristada con tantos males como llueven sobre nosotros: naufragios, asesinatos, sublevaciones, guerras civiles y pública sindineritis" (qtd. in Aparici 158-59).

the European opera world. Albéniz counter-proposed an opera based on Valera's short narrative work El maestro Raimundico (1893), also set in Andalucía, but Valera pushed for Lo mejor del tesoro yet again, and if not, Asclepigenia (1878), a dramatic work about the philosopher Plutarchus' daughter set in classical antiquity (Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 141-42). Even though determined to work together, Albeniz and Valera obviously had distinct visions for the subject matter of their collaboration, much like Valera and Barbieri (Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 142). While Albéniz was just beginning to explore the possibilities of opera based on Spanish national literature, Valera felt that lyric theater had already exhausted the possibilities of Spanish subject-matter largely because of what he felt were stereotypical depictions. Valera writes:

> los asuntos andaluces de majos, majas, toreros, gitanos, etc., estan ya tan manoseados y tan traidos y llevados por todo el mundo, que carecen de novedad y son muy ocasionados á fastidiar a la gente. Otros asuntos hay, que serian mas divertidos y nuevos, y que se prestarian á una música mas peregrina y con menos reminiscencias de jotas, fandangos y boleros, de que en España estamos ya ahitos. (qtd. in Aparici 164)

In the end, however, Albéniz's vision won out and Valera finally authorized Albéniz and Money-Coutts to transform his novel Pepita Jiménez into opera (Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 142).

Since Money-Coutts had continued work on the libretto during the negotiations, he completed the first version in one act in 1895. Although

originally written in English, the opera was translated by Angelo Bignotti into Italian and premiered in this language on January 5, 1896 at the *Teatro del Liceo* in Barcelona (Soler xviii). Barcelona, more than any other city in Spain, had strong ties to Italian opera cultivated throughout its history.

According to Roger Alier in El gran Teatro del Liceo, Italian opera first arrived in Barcelona in 1708 when Archduke Carlos of Austria brought an Italian company to Cataluña to celebrate his marriage (2). The company stayed and organized more shows, although the audience was restricted to the nobility (2). The next important figure in the promotion of Italian opera was the Captain General don Santiago Miguel de Guzmán y Dávalos, a fan of opera since his time in Italy as a soldier first in 1730 and then in 1746 to 1748 (3). With his support, in May of 1750 the first Italian opera company was established permanently in Barcelona and housed at the *Teatro de la Santa Cruz* (4). Opera was now popular with both the lesser nobility and soldiers, many of whom were mercenaries from other countries and may have already been quite familiar with Italian-style opera (3). Italian opera did take a hit in the second half of the eighteenth century when the theater burned in 1787 and then war with France (1793-95) stifled cultural activities (4-5). Then, as mentioned in the introduction, in 1799 the writer Leandro Fernández de Moratín promoted the idea of prohibiting theatrical works in any language other than Spanish. When this edict was applied to Barcelona, however, it was met with staunch opposition and all authorities, including the Bishop, petitioned the government to exclude Barcelona from the prohibition

based on the cities long-standing ties to Italian opera (Alier, La zarzuela 51). In the early nineteenth century, war against Napoleon (1808-1814) was another barrier to the production of opera in Barcelona but despite these obstacles, the first conservatory of the city was the *Liceo Filarmónico Dramático Barcelonés* (1838) and the *Teatro Liceo* was constructed in 1847 (Alier, Liceo 5, 10, 13). After a fire destroyed the theater in 1861, it was reconstructed only one year later so opera performances could continue as soon as possible (Alier, Liceo 22, 24). Even though in nineteenth-century Spain there was a call to develop Spanish national opera, notably among composers in Barcelona, the preference for works performed in Italian still dominated, especially since works could be more easily interpreted by internationally acclaimed performers and then easily travel to other European theaters from there.

After its premiere, Pepita Jiménez was not limited to performance in Barcelona. As the nineteenth-century professional musician and composer gained further status and mobility, musical art too spread across a wider range of social and geographic spheres, and "its effects and influences grew to a previously unknown extent" (Supičić 159). Not only that, but what we find at the end of the nineteenth century are the beginnings of early mass music culture through the phenomenon of repetitiveness: "The unique quality of the musical event slowly disappeared; its limitation with respect to frequency began to decrease, and its restrictions to a special or unique occasion was undermined" (Supičić 159). In the same year as the initial performance in Barcelona, Albéniz and Money Coutts

further revised the opera so that it was expanded to two acts and produced this new version in Prague at the *Neues Deutsches* Theater with German translation by Oskar Berggruen (Soler xviii). Between 1899 and 1904, Albéniz continued to work on the opera and in 1905 yet another version premiered in Brussels at the *Théatre de la Monnaie* in French translation by Maurice Kufferath (Soler xviii). In 1923, Pepita Jiménez came to Paris and finally returned full circle to Barcelona in 1926 for a very brief period. The opera was never performed in English or Spanish during the lifetimes of Albéniz and Money-Coutts, and it never traveled to the Americas (Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 175). The text I will use in my discussion of the opera is the reconstruction of Money-Coutt's English libretto in two acts completed recently in 2004 by José de Eusebio, Musical Director of the Orchestra and Choir of Madrid.

2.3. Regenerating Spanish Music in the Opera Pepita Jiménez

The first task of Albéniz and Money-Coutts was to both simplify Valera's novel for performance and to heighten the dramatic and emotional intensity for opera. Schmidgall states that when approaching a work of literature in order to adapt it for the stage, composers and librettists, "will naturally gravitate away from passages of discursive complexity and towards those that issue in psychological or physical action" (15). Schmidgall explains that:

> Opera has to do with heights. […] The world of opera is one of high relief, magnification, escalation. Metaphors of ascendancy fairly leap to mind.

> What results is a spectrum of increasing expressive intensity that is available to the opera composer (this holds most strongly for nineteenth-century opera): The composer's impetus is upward along this scale, and so he and his librettist must search for moments in literature - call them lyric or explosive or hyperbolic - which permit them to rise to an operatic occasion. They must, in short, think primarily as artists willing to forgo prosaic or rhetorical niceties as well as the values of realism in order to seek moments of expressive crisis - nuclear moments in which potential music and dramatic energy is locked. (10-11)

Albéniz and Money-Coutts focus the libretto on the second part of the novel *Paralipómenos* both eliminating the problematic epistolary sections and focusing on the depiction of the conflicting emotions Luis feels, Pepita's growing desperation and possible suicidal tendencies, and the encounter between Luis and Pepita arranged by Antoñona. Central to Albéniz's project was to incorporate European musical trends into Spanish opera, which he does most fully in act one, while at the same time including Spanish music and dance, which happens principally in act two.

Act one begins *in medias res* in Pepita's garden the day of the festivities in honor of the Infant Savior. According to Clark, the use of the unities of time, space, and action in the opera was influenced by Italian operatic *verismo*, popular across Europe through works such as Cavalleria Rusticana (1890) by Pietro Mascagni and in Spain through La Dolores by Tomás Bretón (1895) ("Pepita

Jiménez" 11).[7] Don Pedro enters to call on Pepita, but Antoñona intercepts him and warns him that Pepita is in love with his son Luis. Antoñona reminds him of the excursion to Pozo de la Solana and the secret Luis and Pepita share: "To learn to ride and fence" (Money-Coutts 76). Like the novel, this secret is the seed from which their love springs. Stunned at first, Don Pedro quickly accepts the situation and encourages Antoñona to help overcome Luis's desire to enter the priesthood. Luis then enters and tells his father that he has come to say goodbye to Pepita. Don Luis advises his son outright not to reject her. In the opera, Don Pedro, alongside Antoñona, becomes an intermediary in the couple's relationship.

According to Clark, the opera is outstanding for its use of musical themes: "Albéniz adapted the technique of leitmotif to his own purposes, creating something that falls between Wagnerian and Italian practice. That is to say that, although Albéniz readily assigns musical ideas to persons, locales, and emotional states, these ideas are most often in the form not of motives but rather of themes" (Portrait of a Romantic 146). In Clark's opinion, the most beautiful theme of the opera is that of Pepita's entrance (Portrait of a Romantic 149). Pepita enters accompanied by the Vicar and Count Genazahar. Saddened by Luis's proposed departure, she asks him to stay one more evening to celebrate the Festivity of the Infant Savior. Don Pedro yet again urges Luis to postpone his departure. All retire, leaving Pepita alone with the Vicar. Deeply disturbed by the thought of Luis's departure, Pepita confesses to the Vicar that she is in love with Luis and

[7] For more information on *verismo* in Spain see Luis G. Iberni's "Verismo y realismo en la ópera española" in La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica (II: 215-26).

she knows that he feels the same way about her since they once shared a kiss. The Vicar, horrified, urges her to renounce this impossible love she feels:

VICAR: Unhappy child! A hopeless passion!...

Already on the priesthood borders,

Invested with the lower order

Don Luis' adoration

Is fixed on his vocation! (Money-Coutts 92)

Now that the entangled love-story has been fully developed up to this point in the opera, there is a first dramatic rise in emotion with Pepita's response to the Vicar:

PEPITA JIMÉNEZ: (smiling with ill-concealed triumph)

Ah no!...He loves Pepita!

(with contrition)

I told you I was wicked!...

By ev'ry act I foster'd

The love he strove to conquer!

Today, alas! He flees the village

I would gladly prevent him, gladly!

Yes, father, I am wicked!

Today he flees the village,

Perhaps never to return.

But yet remember, never

To me he seem'd so ample an apostolic sample!

To me he seem'd too clever

Too handsome and too human

For any consecration

Excepting to a woman!

And I'm so wicked that I can't regret

That once, just once, our very lips have met! (Money-Coutts 92-94)

The Vicar leaves Pepita alone in tears. Antoñona enters and admonishes both Luis and the Vicar for Pepita's unhappiness.

The ebb and flow of emotion continues as Luis returns yet again to Pepita's garden in the hope of finding her alone. He explains to her that he must leave to follow his priestly calling and Pepita sadly accepts his choice and exits. Clark explains that musically,

> The rhythms and phrasing of this 'Farewell' section are even and symmetrical, suggesting a veneer of calm and order over the underlying distress. A crucial juncture is reached as Pepita surrenders to the situation and exits sadly, leaving Don Luis to wallow in shame. This represents the nadir of the lovers' fortunes and is expressed musically by a theme that makes its most significant appearance at the end of the second act, at the point of their being brought together through Antoñona's intervention. The entry of this 'Union' theme is unusual for the opera – and therefore significant – in that it appears first in the voice (Pepita) and is then taken up by the orchestra ten bars later. (Portrait of a Romantic 150-51)

Antoñona urges Luis to see Pepita once more that evening during the festivities and to seal the deal she cunningly divulges Pepita's increasingly fragile state.

Pepita is both the musical and dramatic focus of the opera and the crisis of ideals and beliefs is explored through her character. In Valera's novel Pepita tells Antoñona, "Dios me lo perdone…; es horrible lo que voy a decir, pero lo siento aquí en el centro de mi pecho […] yo por él daría hasta la salvación de mi alma" (141). Antoñona takes these words and rearticulates them for Luis more clearly: "¿No debes volar a librar a mi niña de la desesperación y traerla al buen camino? Si se muriera de pena por verse así desdeñada, o si rabiosa agarrase un cordel y se colgase de una viga, créeme, tus remordimientos serían peores que las llamas de pez y azufre de las calderas de Lucifer" (156). The opera not only plays with these same insinuations, but make them central to the dramatic intensity of the storyline. Pepita first tells Antoñona:

Then appear'd graciously
True what he preaches;
Now how mendaciously
False seem his speeches!...
Would Don Luis forego
For Pepita one dream,
One darling ambition, one dear aspiration?
(passionately)

Ah no! But Pepita would forfeit for him her salvation! (Money-Coutts 100).

Antoñona then admonishes Luis:

You've made an evil plot
Against my mistress' peace!
She's like to die and rot;
She weeps and cannot cease;
She'll soon be bone and gristle! (Money-Coutts 106)

After Luis finally agrees to the meeting that evening, Antoñona states aside, "O 'Tona, you're a prophet!" her unique theme for the opera (Money-Coutts 112). As Luis leaves, he asks Antoñona for more information about the boorish Count Genazahar. Antoñona is pleased by this questioning because she now knows that Luis is jealous of the attention the Count pays to Pepita and his jealousy could only mean that he is truly in love. She exclaims, "I do believe he's jealous!/ O, 'Tona! you're a prophet!" (Money-Coutts 112).

After taking his leave of Antoñona, Luis runs into the Count and two officers and overhears them insulting Pepita for marrying the ancient Gumersindo for money. Luis defends her by clarifying that Pepita was only sixteen and impoverished when she married and he points out that she now uses her money to help the needy. Luis then strikes the Count across the face with his cane and they agree to fight a duel. In contrast to the novel, the opera places the duel between the Count and Luis prior to his encounter with Pepita. The duel is never depicted

on stage and this intense confrontation is left unresolved as Luis closes act one by saying, "First riding, fencing, dalliance,/ And now perchance, a murder!" (Money-Coutts 122).

Salmen notes that as the push for national musical art grew throughout many countries in nineteenth-century Europe, "realism […] with local color and a depiction of the particular setting" became important, "as well as stylized dances and songs" (277). These aspects are fully developed in act two, divided into two tableaux, and the action revolves around the festivities in honor of the Infant Savior. The guests arrive greeted by Pepita. Clark explains that:

> What follows is one of the most celebrated numbers of the entire opera, Pepita's famous 'Romance', which is suggestive of *cante jondo* in its modal and rhythmic properties and especially in her initial vocalization on 'Heigh-ho', which mimicks the 'ay' of the opening *salida* in many *jondo* genres (e.g. *soleares* and *siguiriyas*). The instrumental introduction evokes the chordal textures and *falsetas* characteristic of the guitar. We should know that Pepita is not a Gypsy or a *flamenquista*. The references to *cante jondo* are used simply as a vehicle for creating atmosphere and expressing profound emotion. (Portrait of a Romantic 153)

The chorus takes over and the village children sing a *villancico* and then dance. Seeing their happiness causes Pepita to reflect back on her despair and she faints and must retire to her room to rest. The second tableau of act two opens in Pepita's bedroom.

In the novel, the possibilities for the outcome of Pepita and Luis's relationship are clearly presented: they may strive for a spiritual love where Luis becomes a priest and Pepita continues her pious works with the hope for union in heaven or they may opt for an earthly love and union as husband and wife. A third possibility lies in the veiled references to Pepita's suicide. But despite many tense moments, the novel does have a happy ending and all conflicts are neatly resolved. In the closing moments of the opera, on the other hand, Luis is still convinced of his desire to become a priest and emphasizes that their love must be spiritual. Then an attempted suicide by Pepita is alluded to in the finale, giving the opera the possibility of a tragic ending.

The history of opera, from its birth to the present day is closely interconnected with the notion of tragedy. But according to F.W. Sternfeld, it was in the nineteenth century when the *fine tragico*, which fascinated the romantic imagination, replaced the *lieto fine* (50). This taste for the tragic continued well into the twentieth century in posterior movements such as *verismo*, *simbolismo*, and *expresionismo* (Sternfeld 50). In the novel, Pepita, upset by Luis's decision, turns and runs towards her interior chamber and leaves the door open. Luis, overcome by passion and emotion, follows her and the two definitively become lovers: "Pepita pasó la puerta. Su figura se perdió en la oscuridad. Arrastrado don Luis como por un poder sobrehumano, impulsado como por una mano invisible, penetró en pos de Pepita en la estancia sombría" (Valera 183). However, in the version by Albéniz and Money-Coutts, Luis is about to leave when Pepita says,

Far ascending

Your temple needs, for coping

My death!

[…]

Ah yes! You need it!

'Tis what you're really hoping!

And gladly I concede it!

(DON LUIS remains transfixed with horror.)

Go! Bear my last breath,

My broken heart to God! (Money-Coutts 150)

Pepita then moves towards the inner door of her chamber and bids farewell to Luis with the following lament:

Farewell forever! Farewell!

And when I lie beneath the sod,

God grant that no distress affray

Your conscience for the soul you slay!

[…]

Farewell! Farewell forever! (Money-Coutts 152)

But instead of leaving the door open, Pepita locks herself behind it. Luis follows her and bangs on the door saying, "Pepita! Oh pardon!/ I'm yours!" but the only response is a series of terrible noises (Money-Coutts 152). Luis asks himself, "My

God! What was that?/ A fall?" (Money-Coutts 154). The door then suddenly opens and Pepita falls into his arms.

To conclude the work, Albéniz and Money-Coutts use a convention from the opera world in which another character, in this case Antoñona, directly addresses the audience in order to relax the dramatic tension. She says, "A sight for sore eyes to feed on!/ Two souls in the Garden of Eden!/ O 'Tona! You're a prophet!" (Money-Coutts 154). With the allusion to a possible attempted suicide and these closing words, the ending is definitely ambiguous, a feature that also distinguishes the finales of operatic works by Wagner and functions to captivate the attention of the audience (Sternfeld 50-51). But this ambiguity may be more than simply one of many operatic techniques used by Albéniz to regenerate Spanish music. As we have seen, Valera's Pepita Jiménez began to explore the depths of the internal human experience and spiritual conflict and the novel is both tidy and neatly resolved with a concluding sense of optimism. However, in a new age of uncertainty for the Spanish nation, Isaac Albéniz, working to regenerate Spanish music, would not have been able to so efficiently resolve the crisis of ideals and beliefs played out by Valera's characters and the opera concludes with more questions rather than answers.

It is important to note that Issac Albéniz, although a widely-recognized pianist and composer both during his time and in the present day, is not particularly well-known or recognized for his musical-dramatic works for the

stage. Although Pepita Jiménez created in collaboration with the librettist Francis Burdett Money-Coutts was successfully performed in many major opera houses in both Spain and the rest of Europe in numerous languages over a thirty-year period, it never truly engaged or enraptured audiences or critics during its time. However, Clark reminds us that the opera's significance within the larger project of developing Spanish national opera must not be forgotten:

> Albéniz's desire to write for the stage possessed a significance beyond the inherent musico-dramatic quality of the works. There was a powerful movement towards national opera in nineteenth-century Spain, and Pepita Jiménez (as well as the nationalist operas he left incomplete) must be understood as an attempt on Albeniz's part to foster this development. Pedrell's Els Pirineus of 1891, Bretón's La Dolores of 1895, and Granados's María del Carmen of 1898 were also important contributions […]. (Portrait of a Romantic 275)

Furthermore, Clark points out that Albéniz's stage-works, particularly Pepita Jiménez, were crucial to his evolution in musical style which culminated in the great piano composition Iberia (1905-1908):

> [I]t is clear that Albéniz acquired a more sophisticated musical language and ability to organize large-scale pieces as a result of his composition of opera. The particular significance of Pepita Jiménez lies in the fact that it represents Albéniz's first attempt to apply all of the elements of technical control […] to the national idiom that was his real calling. It thus forms an

> important milestone on the road to Iberia […] the 'great' Albéniz, the Albéniz of Iberia, first stands revealed in Pepita Jiménez. (Portrait of a Romantic 280)

In chapter three, we will encounter another key composer of Spanish national opera, Tomás Bretón, who, significantly, during different moments of his career also collaborated with the librettist Carlos Coello and was a close colleague of Isaac Albéniz. Bretón strongly felt that what distinguished Spanish opera from other national traditions was the language. According to Bretón, common linguistic, cultural, artistic, intellectual, and even economic ties tapped through opera are what continued to unite Spain and Spanish America, even though political ties had been severed. In this next chapter, we shall see Bretón, acting as both composer and librettist, utilize a work of epic poetry, Tabaré, written by Juan Zorrilla de San Martín at a time when all that was considered Hispanic literature was tied to Spain, to reflect on national essence, which transcends geography and politics, and is conceived transatlantically.

CHAPTER 3

THE TIES THAT BIND: SPAIN, SPANISH AMERICA, AND A NEW WAY OF IMAGINING THE NATION THROUGH THE OPERA TABARÉ BY TOMÁS BRETÓN

TABARÉ.
Yo veo que mis valles,
los bosques y los ríos
serán presa del hombre
que del Oriente vino.
[…]
Y ese pueblo que viene
por donde nace el sol,
dispone hermanos míos
de otra fuerza mayor:
la que mi buena - madre tenía,
débil y triste - mas confiada
en otros seres - que ella veía
tras de los cielos - extasïada.
Tabaré (1913)

The opera Tabaré was conceived of and eventually written at two distinct moments when both Spain and its ex-colonies in Spanish America were reflecting on both their shared, common past and ideas about nation. Early in the century, all Spanish colonies in the Americas, except for Cuba and Puerto Rico, had fought for and successfully gained their independence. But tensions for Spain further mounted in the late 1860s and 1870s: On one side of the Atlantic, Cuba initiated its own independence movement in *La guerra de los diez años* (1868-1878) and then in *La guerra chiquita* (1879-1880), and, on the other side of the Atlantic, the

first Spanish Republic ended with the Restoration of the monarchy through King Alfonso XII and the search for stability through the rotation of liberal and conservative political parties in the government. Michel-Rolph Trouillot writes,

> The fast-moving fin-de-siècle era caught Spain in a state of decline. Torn by factional feuds, outflanked in Europe by nearly all the Atlantic states, threatened in the Americas by the economic incursions of Britain, the influence of the United States, and the constant fear of losing Cuba, Spain was in dire need of a moral and political uplift. (125)

This "uplift" would come in 1892 as Spain was celebrating four-hundred years since Christopher Columbus's first voyage to the Americas. Trouillot explains how interest in Columbus had steadily grown since the 1800s but reached its height around the quadricentennial celebrations, in large part due to the efforts of conservative leader Antonio Cánovas del Castillo (1828-1897):

> Cánovas turned this growing interest into an extravaganza: a political and diplomatic crusade, an economic venture, a spectacle to be consumed by Spain and the world for the sheer sake of its pageantry. The commemoration became a powerful tool with which the politician-historian and his quadricentennial junta of academics and bureaucrats wrote a narrative of The Discovery with Spain as the main character. In the words of its most thorough chronicler, the Spanish quadricentennial was 'the apex of the Restoration.' (125)

As part of the commemoration, the Royal Academy of History organized a Congress of Americanists, as seen previously, the journal La Ilustración Española y Americana dedicated an entire issue on June 8, 1892 to the transnational figure la Monja Alférez, Catalina de Erauso, and the *Ateneo* of Madrid organized a series of lectures and readings by various cultural figures and scholars.[1] At one such lecture, the Uruguayan writer Juan Zorrilla de San Martín (1885-1931) publicly read his epic poem Tabaré (1888), a work of emerging Uruguayan national literature which had been promoted in Spain with help from Spanish critics such as Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo and Juan Valera.[2] In the audience for Zorrilla de San Martín's reading that day was the prestigious Spanish composer, Tomás Bretón (1850-1923), who recognized not only the poem's musicality, but also the numerous musical references encased in the text. Bretón walked away with a signed copy of the work, which he later confessed to reading enthusiastically multiple times ("Al lector" 5).[3] Zorrilla de San Martín and Bretón parted ways in 1892, but would later reconnect again on the other side of the Atlantic in 1910.

That year, Bretón traveled to Argentina with a Spanish opera company invited to perform at the recently built *Teatro Colón* (1908) as part of the celebration of one-hundred years since the initiation of independence from Spain.

[1] According to Michel-Rolph Trouillot, over fifty lectures took place at the *Ateneo* between February 1891 and May 1892 (126).
[2] In a letter dated September 7, 1889, Valera writes to Menéndez y Pelayo that Tabaré will be published in La España Moderna (Correspondencia V: 184). Doris Sommer also notes that Zorrilla de San Martín was honored with a special foreign membership by the *Real Academia Española* in 1885 (Foundational Fictions 241).

In Buenos Aires, Bretón received yet another copy of Tabaré from the critic Enrique Frexas of the newspaper La nación (Bretón, "Al lector" 8). Now familiar with both the text and the land that inspired it, Bretón wrote to Zorrilla de San Martín in Montevideo for authorization to use Tabaré as the textual foundation for an opera. As we shall see, the opera Tabaré, with both libretto and music by the Spanish composer Bretón and first performed at the *Teatro Real* in Madrid on February 26, 1913, employs a work now considered an important contribution to Spanish-American literature in order to reflect on Spain's colonial past, present, and national essence.

3.1. Juan Zorrilla de San Martín, Uruguayan National Literature, and Tabaré

Tabaré, an epic poem or "novel in verse", is now viewed as both Uruguay's national work of literature or "foundational fiction" and Juan Zorrilla de San Martín's best-known composition.[4] Zorrilla de San Martín was born in Montevideo on December 28, 1855 to a Spanish father and a Creole mother. He received a Jesuit education in Argentina and later went to Chile to complete his formation in law. It was during his university studies that he began writing.

The first version of Tabaré was completed in 1876 as a drama in verse. The subject-matter is based on a legend; however, exactly how Zorrilla de San Martín first came in contact with this tale is almost legend itself. According to

[4] Doris Sommer notes that it was Juan Valera who coined the term "novel in verse" for Tabaré (Foundational Fictions 240).

Enrique Anderson Imbert, Zorrilla de San Martín was studying in Chile under Father Francisco Enrich, who dabbled in historical investigations. Supposedly, the priest told Zorrilla de San Martín about a group of natives, the Boroas, who had blue eyes. The priest explained to his student that they were the offspring of a native woman who was captured and made prisoner of a Spanish conquistador (13). However, according to Doris Sommer, while in Chile, one of Zorrilla de San Martín's professors pointed out the light-colored hair and eyes of the contemporary Arauco Indians, who were obviously products of their Indian ancestors who had taken Spanish women captive (Foundational Fictions 243). In any case, Zorrilla de San Martín took the teachings of his professor and applied them to a dramatic storyline about the indigenous Charrúa of Uruguay. Although nothing came of the play Tabaré for the moment, what is noteworthy is Zorrilla de San Martín's preoccupation with making the work both reflective of Uruguay's historical past and performative for its citizens, characteristics which would come to define his greatest literary works to follow.

After publishing Notas de un himno. Poesías líricas (1877), Zorrilla de San Martín's next, significant work was La leyenda patria (1879), which detailed the life of José Gervasio Artigas (1764-1850), an important figure in the wars of independence. La leyenda patria was written to be read aloud for a large, gathered public. Doris Sommer explains:

> Believing in Uruguay as an independent and sovereign country was almost a tragic joke until 1879, when Zorilla de San Martín started converting

> skeptics into believers. That was the year he feverishly wrote *La Leyenda Patria* in a few nights so that he could recite it at the inauguration of the Independence monument in Montevideo. The enthusiastic crowd listened for hours to the epic poem that rehabilitated José Gervasio Artigas into a national hero. […] First in the poem and then in a multivolume history called *Epopeya de Artigas* (1910), commissioned by the government, Zorilla recuperated the hero as a kind of proto-populist who distributed land to his troops of gauchos, blacks, and Indians, and then preferred to defend the land reform policy over making deals with Argentina. (Foundational Fictions 242)

Although Uruguay declared independence from Spain in 1810, it was not until the 1880s that it actually began to consolidate its national identity because of occasional armed intrusion by Brazil and Argentina, war with Paraguay, and internal factional strife culminating in civil war (Sommer, Foundational Fictions 243). In the newly independent Latin American nations, an essential factor in both nation building and the formation of national identity would be the production and consumption of works of literature which "would teach the people about their history, about their barely formulated customs, and about ideas and feelings that have been modified by still unsung political and social events" (Sommer, Foundational Fictions 9). The search for national literature, both through a reevaluation of colonial works and a push for new narratives, would be promoted

by important political and cultural figures such as Andrés Bello, Bartolomé Mitre, and José Martí, among others.

In the same year as his composition and reading of La leyenda patria, Zorrilla de San Martín began Tabaré anew, this time as an epic poem. Although novels were primarily the chosen genre for patriotic narratives, epic poetry was also an appropriate vehicle for Zorrilla de San Martín's foundational legend since the genre has been historically associated with societies undergoing new development of cultural identity or important shifts in the process (Walters 65). Furthermore, Zorrilla de San Martín could connect and insert his literary creation within the long tradition of Spanish epic poetry from the Siete infantes de Lara (lost, but known through the *romance* of the same name), to the Cantar del mío Cid (first written down in 1142), and all the way through to Spain and the Spanish America's shared colonial past with Alonso de Ercilla's La araucana (1569, 1578, 1589). Additionally, epic poetry was created with an audience in mind and it was through its performance that a communal spirit could be generated with the goal of informing, entertaining, and inspiring (Walters 19). Later, as epics were fixed in writing, they combined both the traditional, oral elements with the new, written ones (Walters 2). The impact of Zorrilla de San Martín's poem would be double: it could circulate orally almost like a national hymn and circulate within the print culture, both with a keen eye to the effect on the public. Ultimately both the oral and written facets of the composition were successful since Sommer informs us that Tabaré was recited from memory by Uruguayan school children and it

circulated in literary circles in both Spain and Latin America (Foundational Fictions 245).

Tabaré is organized into an introduction and three books sub-divided into various cantos with numbered sections. The poem opens with images evocative of Orpheus, the archetypal poet and singer, entering the underworld (Kramer 2). The poet-singer, with lyre in-hand, lifts off the covering of a tomb and enters the darkness. The musical notes that spring forth from his instrument awaken echoes from the past and resurrect words. According to Lawrence Kramer in Music and Poetry: The Nineteenth-Century and After, images such as this represent,

> the mythical union of a lower reality embodied in language and a higher one embodied in music. Through song, usually the song of a disincarnate voice or of a figure touched by divinity, language is represented as broaching the ineffable. Carried by the singing voice, poetry approaches the source of creation by uniting with the "harmony" that its words cannot express. (2)

Zorrilla de San Martín himself discusses poetry and music as follows: "Conocidas son las preciosas páginas de Carlyle sobre Dante, en que habla de eso, de la *sustancia musical* de que está formado el pensamiento rítmico" ("El libreto" 175). He then goes on to quote Thomas Carlyle directly:

> Todos los viejos poemas, el de Homero como todos los demás, son auténticamente cantos…Sólo cuando el corazón del hombre es transportado a las regiones de la melodía, y el acento mismo de su voz

> llega a convertirse, por la grandeza, profundidad y música del pensamiento, en notas musicales, sólo entonces podemos llamarle poeta. ("El libreto" 175)

Furthermore, Zorrilla de San Martín claims to have sensed music as he was writing Tabaré and he connects music to inspiration which eventually leads to the materialization of ideas:

> yo declaro haberla [la música] percibido cuando lo escribí, también yo sentí, con mayor o menor intensidad o vaguedad, aquello que decía Schiller en su carta a Goethe, cuando le describía el proceso anímico de su inspiración: "Primero invade mi espíritu una especie de disposición musical; la idea concreta viene después". Esa disposición musical, o lejana armonía, no es otra cosa que el despertar, en la memoria, de las ideas pasadas o sensaciones dormidas. […]Hay música, pues, allí donde existe inspiración, incorporación del espíritu humano a la eterna armonía en que se confunden lo verdadero, lo bueno y lo bello. ("El libretto" 173-74)

The process described here is also reflected in the opening introduction of the poem Tabaré: In the abyss, music from the poet-singer's lyre recreates the past and both musical and linguistic sounds assault the poet-singer's mind. As the rhythms become unified, ideas take form and ghosts of the race of Charrúa natives, who vanished long ago, are reincarnated in the verses of musical words:

> Al desgranarse las potentes notas
>
> de sus heridas cuerdas,

despertarán los ecos que han dormido
sueño de siglos en la oscura huesa

y formarán la estrofa que revele
lo que la muerte piensa:
resurrección de voces extinguidas,
extraño acorde que en mi mente suena. (Zorrilla de San Martín, Tabaré 23-24)

After this dramatic introduction, book one begins with a poetic description of the landscape where the Charrúa live and the poet connects this land with the land which is now Uruguay, tying the past depicted in the epic to the nation's present. New arrivals to this land are the Spanish. Doris Sommer explains the colonial setting populated by the Charrúa and the Spanish as follows:

> Zorrilla pushed his story back far enough to reduce complications, back before Portuguese, or Brazilian, or Argentine claims could blur Uruguayan identity. So much cutting left only the first Spaniards and the practically forgotten Charrúa Indians, the expendable bodies that condense several purifying sacrifices into one missing identity in this not quite nostalgic poem. (Foundational Fictions 244).

The first canto narrates an attack on the Spanish by a gathering of warriors led by the fierce Caracé. Many Spanish warriors perish, some survivors flee, but one

woman is left behind as she faints on the beach. Caracé divides the spoils from the attack amongst his fellow warriors, but keeps the white woman as his captive.

The Spanish captive laments her fate, and soon after, the cries of a child she has by the Charrúa chief join hers and their sad song mingles with the voices of the birds in the trees around. The child is the *mestizo* Tabaré, distinguished by his blue eyes, and he is calmed by the Christian hymns his mother sings to him. Tabaré's mother eventually dies, leaving her child to be raised by the natives.

In book two, the poet-singer clearly identifies the current Uruguayan nation's mother-race as Spanish:

España va, la cruz de su bandera,
su incomparable hidalgo;
la noble raza madre, en cuyo pecho
si un mundo se estrelló, se hizo pedazos.

El pueblo altivo que, en la edad sin nombre,
era el cerebro acaso
del continente muerto,
ya sumergido en el abismo atlántico,
[…]
Sólo España, ¿quién más? sólo ella pudo,
con paso temerario,
luchar con lo fatal desconocido,

despertar el abismo y provocarlo;

llegarse a herir el lomo del desierto

dormido en el regazo

de la infinita soledad su madre,

y en él clavar el pabellón cristiano; (Zorrila de San Martín, Tabaré 55-56)

Time has passed since the initial attack on the Spanish, but another group has returned to establish a village surrounded by the river on one side and the forest on the other. From the forest, the natives watch the Spanish expand their settlement under the watchful eye of their commander, Juan de Ortiz. Now the tides have turned in favor of the Spanish and during a recent battle, many Charrúa warriors have fallen.

The poet-singer introduces, Don Gonzalo de Orgaz and his wife, Luz, who watch over his younger sister Blanca after the death of their parents. After the battle with the Charrúa, Gonzalo returns to the Spanish village with captives. Among them is the blue-eyed Tabaré who is noticeably different from the other Charrúa. Tabaré, upon seeing Blanca, is overcome with emotion because she reminds him of his own mother. Blanca too is touched by the Indian's strong displays of sentiment and his noble demeanor and she treats him with compassion. However, the other Spanish settlers are suspicious and weary of his presence in the village.

Father Esteban, who offers spiritual guidance to the Spaniards and hopes to someday redeem the native population through Christianity, also recognizes Tabaré's noble qualities. One night, the priest hears a cry outside. Upon investigating, he sees that it is Tabaré outside of Blanca's window which, as Doris Sommer has pointed out, is a parody of Peri underneath Cecy's window from the Brazilian novel O Guaraní (1857) by José de Alencar (1829-1877) (Foundational Fictions 245). Tabaré is surrounded by the Spanish soldiers on patrol, but Father Esteban intervenes on his behalf. Both Blanca and Padre Esteban care for and guide Tabaré. Ultimately, though, Don Gonzalo allows Tabaré to leave the village and return to the Charrúa because of the growing discontent over the *mestizo*. As stated by Sommer, "[t]he blue-eyed savage is as much an outsider among the whites as among the Indians. Tortured by his mixed, 'impossible,' and sick duality, alternately crying like the most sentimental Spaniard and remaining stoically mute as any brave, he expects an early end" (Foundational Fictions 244).

In book three, the Charrúa people are engaged in funerary rites for their dead chief and the women sing and dance around the corpse. They later collapse into silence, but the arrival of the warrior Yamandú breaks the calm as he claims that he is the successor to the chief. Yamandú professes war against the Spanish and the Charrúa attack the village that night. Yamandú carries off the beautiful Blanca as his captive. After wielding their damage, the Charrúa retreat into the forest. Don Gonzalo, upon seeing that his sister is missing, immediately suspects Tabaré as her abductor. He organizes a rescue party to search for her in the forest.

In the interim, Tabaré intercepts Yamandú, kills him, and takes Blanca in his arms to return her to the Spanish.

Meanwhile, Don Gonzalo and his search party look for Blanca in vain and the conquistador becomes even more enraged. Father Esteban suggests that they return to the safety of the Spanish settlement and Don Gonzalo rushes to attack the priest for having befriended Tabaré in the first place. Suddenly, they see Tabaré approaching in the distance with Blanca in his arms. Before any explanation is provided, Don Gonzalo turns from the priest and kills Tabaré. A distraught Blanca stays by the dying *mestizo*'s side as Padre Esteban prays. Doris Sommer presents a compelling argument that views the figure of Tabaré as the "divided spirit of Uruguay, so torn between the expansionist designs of Argentina and Brazil that it was practically bicultural, not to say culturally divided, only the 'human' Spaniards can survive to weep over him" (Foundational Fictions 245). Some Latin American nations espoused principles of racial and cultural blending or *mestizaje* as the basis for national identity, even while many citizens of African or native descent were kept from power and the political process (Trouillot 122). However, this was not the case in Uruguay which is, not surprisingly, reflected in its emerging national literature. Therefore, Sommer explains that,

> Reading *Tabaré* must have been a collective exorcism of internal dualities in Uruguay, a curative bloodletting of Indians (and indigenist Brazilians) in order that lovely but radically equivocal Spanish creatures like Blanca could be safe from the recurring temptations of allying with the enemy. In

> Brazil, literary *mestiçagem* was an active writing project that promised a coherent and unique national type; but in Zorrilla's defensively Hispanic Uruguay, it is an unwelcome, erasable supplement that could confuse Spain's character to the point of defenselessness. (Foundational Fictions 245)

Many critics have pointed both to Zorrilla de San Martín's Hispanophile tendencies and Catholic beliefs in Tabaré.[5] Both these aspects and the musical qualities of the text – the poet-singer, numerous references to Christian hymns, Spanish ballads, and Indigenous chanting and dancing, and descriptions of the landscape as musical - would have appealed to the Spanish composer Tomás Bretón as the basis for a work of Spanish national opera.

3.2. Tomás Bretón and National Opera in Spanish

The career of Tomás Bretón, violinist, pianist, and composer, is defined both by his composition of instrumental pieces inspired by literature and works of zarzuela and opera. He also wrote extensive prose explaining his ideas on music. Bretón was born in Salamanca on December 29, 1850. Unlike Miguel Marqués and Isaac Albéniz, poverty and struggle marked his early years. Bretón's father

[5] Also as part of the intellectual gathering sponsored by the *Ateneo* in 1892, Zorrilla de San Martín gave speeches for both the *Real Academia Española de la Lengua* and the *Real Academia de la Historia* which, according to Enrique Anderson Imbert, express the author's Hispanophile tendencies towards the colonization of the Americas (10). During his time in Spain, Zorrilla de San Martín also participated in a ceremony held at La Rábida, where Christopher Columbus stayed before his voyage and where a monument to the discoverers was erected, from which evolved the essay Discurso de la Rábida (1892).

died in 1853 and in order to make end's meet, Bretón's mother, Andrea Hernández Rodríguez, was forced to rent rooms to the performers of the *Teatro Hospital* located close by. In this way, the young Bretón first came in contact with the theater as he was able to attend performances as an invited guest of the performers (Sánchez, Tomás Bretón 24-25). Although difficult to manage economically, Bretón received his first musical instruction at the *Escuela de Nobles y Bellas Artes de San Eloy*. In need of an instrument, his mother was able to secure help to pay for a violin that she had seen for sale in town (Hernández González 22). Through his skill with the violin, Bretón began to play in various local orchestras, church functions, and dances. In 1865, at the age of fifteen, Bretón was offered a position by Luis Rodríguez de Cepeda to play the violin at the *Teatro Variedades* in Madrid. Accompanied by his mother and brother, Bretón left Salamanca behind (Sánchez, Tomás Bretón 27).

However, in 1865 Madrid suffered a severe cholera epidemic which forced all the theaters to close. Bretón's mother and brother returned to Salamanca and Bretón was left alone to try and salvage his opportunities in the capital. Luckily, he was helped out by the dancer Luis González who had once rented a room from the Bretón family in Salamanca (Sánchez, Tomás Bretón 28). Once the theaters reopened, Bretón was able to obtain a position in the orchestra of the *Teatro de la Zarzuela* and later in Arderius's *bufos madrileños*. In 1866, Bretón wrote his first compositions and in 1867 he was admitted as a second violinist in the *Sociedad de Conciertos*. Despite these recognized

accomplishments, Bretón also had to work in many second-tier theaters and cafés to survive economically. Of note is that he directed music and composed pieces for an equestrian circus until 1875 (Sánchez, Tomás Bretón 29). Bretón was largely a self-taught musician and composer through his experiences in these various venues and by examining scores on his own time, although he did study briefly under Emilio Arrieta at the Madrid Conservatory. In 1872 he won first prize for composition at the conservatory sharing the honor with Ruperto Chapí (1851-1909) who would later become his greatest rival (Webber, Zarzuela Companion 47).

Now a fully recognized composer, Bretón applied his talents in many directions. Between 1873 and 1916, he composed over forty works of zarzuela, twenty of them between 1873 and 1877 alone ("Bretón" I: 288; Sánchez, Tomás Bretón 35). Many were composed for less well-known theaters, although, as we have seen, he composed El alma en un hilo alongside Carlos Coello in 1874 for the *Teatro de la Zarzuela*. Composing works of zarzuela was a secure way for Bretón to make a living and he alternated between composing works of *género grande* and, eventually, *género chico*. He is most famous for, "perhaps the greatest zarzuela of all," La verbena de la Paloma (1894), a *sainete lírico* of one act based on a libretto by Ricardo de la Vega (1839-1910), and set in Madrid with popular characters (Webber, Zarzuela Companion 50). But Bretón would later turn away from zarzuela, especially since he felt that it would never lead to Spanish national opera: "La Zarzuela es un género imperfecto, que dista tanto del

Drama y Comedia, como de la Ópera. […] ¡Y ese género imperfecto y desacreditado quiere guiar y producir el más perfecto y elevado género de la Ópera….! Tal sería el pretender que un viejo gastado y achacoso engendrase un lozano y varonil rapaz…..! (Más en favor 11, 26)

In 1880, Bretón was given the opportunity to leave the theater world behind for the time being to further his career abroad when Francisco Asenjo Barbieri supported his candidacy for a scholarship to study in Rome provided by the Music Section of the Academy of Fine Arts. In 1881, he left Madrid with his mother, wife, and son who were able to accompany him thanks to complementary funds provided by King Alfonso XII and obtained through the mediation of Count Guillermo Morphy y Ferriz (Torres Mulas, preliminary study vii). Bretón stayed in Rome for thirteen months and then traveled to Venice, Vienna, Milan, back to Venice again, and then finally to Paris, experiences which he recorded and wrote about in a diary (1881-1884). Finally given the freedom to "practice his art as an end in itself" Bretón was able to reevaluate the direction of his musical career (Salmen 268). He writes early on in his diary: "Continué con lo que traigo entre manos y me formé un plan de estudios y de vida. Si lo llevo adelante no he hecho poco en este día. Debe ser muy útil, utilísimo a un artista pararse a pensar un poco; ¡yo he pensado poco, no he hecho nunca más que trabajar..!" (I: 30).

Since Bretón was now, at least momentarily, freed from his obligations to the Madrid public as a composer and could focus on music as art, and not just a way to make a living, he directed his artistic energy towards the composition of

the symphonic poem Amadís de Gaula (1881) based on the legendary figure from Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo's Amadís de Gaula (first edition 1508). According to Víctor Sánchez, Bretón had brought this book with him to Rome from Spain (Tomás Bretón 99). When Bretón finished the composition, he sent the score to Emilio Arrieta in Madrid, who congratulated the composer's efforts, however, Arrieta still felt that musical theater was a much more appropriate for the story of Amadís and, in that way, Amadís could achieve the status of Richard Wagner's opera, Lohengrin (1850). However, Bretón was interested in exploring the immateriality of music freed from verbal expression. He writes in his diary:

> ¿cómo no ha de ser propio de la música el exagerado y patético amor de Amadís y su nobleza y energía en los combates…? La cuestión será tratarlo bien y esto es lo que yo no sé si he hecho, aunque él [Arrieta] me da la enhorabuena. Me decía en la anterior que … "alguna vez, en el teatro podrían tratarse dichos asuntos: como Lohengrin, por ejemplo" pues en el teatro es más difícil imponer el convencionalismo que tales asuntos requieren por la materialidad de la palabra. Este es hoy, mi juicio, sin dejar de conocer que cuanto más inmaterial y fantástico sea un asunto, dentro de lo bello y de lo bueno, será más musical […]. (I: 60)

Among Bretón's other symphonic achievements are six songs (1886) based on the poetry of Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer (1836-1870). Here, Bretón was influenced by the German *leider*, or songs set to poems, introduced in Spain in the nineteenth century and celebrated frequently during joint poetic and musical recitals. Bretón

also composed the serenade La Alhambra (1888), part of the *Alhambrismo* movement which sought to communicate Moorish culture through music, and Escenas andaluzas (1894), which sought to evoke popular regional scenes musically.

But despite Bretón's huge success in the world of zarzuela and his artistic accomplishments through instrumental works, it was opera that lay heaviest on his mind and generated an extensive corpus of writings between 1885 almost until his death in 1923. As we have seen, the use of the mythologized past and history as a basis for story-telling was highly valued during Romanticism. In Tomás Bretón's operas, we see a consistent use of legends. But not just any legends: Only those that resonated throughout Spain's literary history and had been taken up and reformulated by writers all the way from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Bretón also completed two operas based on Spanish history, and one that is definitively included as a work of Spanish national opera: La Dolores.

Bretón composed his first opera Guzmán el Bueno in 1876 with libretto by the poet Antonio Arnao based on an episode of the Reconquest from Spanish medieval history. The main thrust of his operatic production would come later, though, between the years of 1884 and 1914 in which he would create seven operatic works. To examine this particularly productive period of his career, we must look back to Bretón's scholarship for study in Rome. One of the scholarship requirements put forth by the Academy of Fine Arts was that the recipient create an extensive musical-dramatic work of at least three acts (Sánchez, Tomás Bretón

125). For his subject matter, Bretón chose the medieval legend of the impossible love between Juan Diego de Marcilla and Isabel de Segura, "Los amantes de Teruel". This legend had been rewritten by a long line of authors for the stage such as Andrés Rey de Artieda, Tirso de Molina, Juán Pérez de Montalbán, and in the nineteenth century, Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch. However, as pointed out by Víctor Sánchez, distant and disconnected from the literary scene of Madrid, Bretón had difficulty finding a librettist (Tomás Bretón 127).

He first contacted Julián Cano y Masas, and then Miguel Ramos Carrión, and even Carlos Coello, but all to no avail. Therefore, using Hartzenbusch's 1837 play, and perhaps inspired by Wagner, Bretón decided to simply write both the music and the libretto by himself. Although Los amantes de Teruel did not premiere until 1889, the process of creating a work of Spanish opera while in Rome probably caused Bretón to reflect on the traditions of Italian versus Spanish opera. In 1885, Bretón published Más en favor de la ópera nacional, proposing the establishment of a resident company of Spanish opera in Madrid whose repertory would include works based on national authors, both past and present, as well as foreign works translated into Spanish. Bretón writes:

> Todos los elementos necesarios para una regeneración musical existen en este país, favorecido por el cielo: un idioma dulce y sonoro; un género de música popular exclusivamente suyo, y cuyas melodías se han esparcido por todo el mundo; un instinto que ha producido muchos y distinguidos artistas que ocupan los primeros teatros de Europa, precisados á emigrar

> en pós de la gloria y fortuna que les niega su pátria; y un número considerable de maestros compositores, cuyas obras de reconocido mérito hán sido coronadas del aplauso público, són elementos bastantes para el engrandecimiento de un arte, que, apoyado en la opinión, en la prensa y en la cultura del país, reclaman imperiosamente el establecimiento de la gran ópera nacional. (Más en favor 7)

Bretón was also solidifying his views on the importance of national opera in Spanish at that particular time since he was under intense pressure from the *Teatro Real* to translate Los amantes de Teruel into Italian for performance.

But for his next opera, Garín (1892), inspired by a legend of Montserrat, Bretón shifted his focus from Madrid to Barcelona. Strangely enough, especially in light of his growing defense of Spanish opera, Bretón worked with the Italian poet, Cesare M. Fereal, who based his libretto on El Monserrate by Cristóbal de Virúes (1550-1614) (Sánchez, Tomás Bretón 188). Like his good friend and colleague, Isaac Albéniz, Bretón seemed to respect Barcelona's long-standing historical ties with Italian opera and the work premiered in Italian. Bretón returned to working as both librettist and composer for La Dolores (1895) based on a play by José (Josep) Feliú y Codina (1847-1897) and supposedly inspired by a *copla* the author heard while traveling between Madrid and Barcelona (Sánchez, Tomás Bretón 230). With this opera, we see Bretón's first shift away from romantic legend to a realism reflecting the national character (Sánchez, Tomás Bretón 230). However, Bretón would continually return to legend for the rest of

his career, as evidenced by his next opera, Raquel (1900), about the love between Raquel, a Jew from Toledo, and King Alfonso VII of Castille. In 1902, Bretón worked with the Seville-based writer, Juan Antonio Cavestany (1861-1924) on his next opera Farinelli (1902) based on the life of the historical figure who spent a great amount of time in Spain, the *castrato* Carlo Broschi. Tomás Bretón's next operatic project would be Tabaré.

In 1910, Tomás Bretón, Felipe Pedrell, and Emilio Serrano were invited to travel to Argentina with a Spanish opera company organized by the Spanish orchestral director Juan Goula who was residing in Buenos Aires at the time. The company offered a program of works in Spanish at the *Teatro Colón* as part of the celebration of the beginning of one century of independence from Spain. According to Bretón, this trip evoked memories of the poem Tabaré that he first came to know in 1892:

> Mi buena estrella quiso que con ocasión de las fiestas del Centenario de la independencia, el ilustre maestro D. Juan Goula, vecino de Buenos Aires hace algunos años, realizara el pensamiento de llevar á aquella capital una compaña de ópera española de la que con otros compositores tuve el placer de formar parte. – En cuanto dicho pensamiento se inició, surgió TABARÉ de nuevo en mi memoria con más fuerza que nunca, puesto que ya veía la posibilidad de que cristalizara lo que hasta entonces había tenido sólo el carácter de ilusión. ("Al lector" 8-9)

As mentioned in the introduction, Bretón received yet another copy of Tabaré while in Argentina. With two copies of Tabaré in hand, one given to him in celebration of Spain's "discovery" of the Americas in 1892, and the other given to him in celebration of the Americas's independence from Spain in 1910, Tomás Bretón contacted Zorrilla de San Martín directly, received his authorization, and immediately began work on the project.

As with the operas Los amantes de Teruel and La Dolores, Bretón took on the double role of composer and librettist for Tabaré. In the prologue to the published libretto of Tabaré, Bretón clarifies that he does not view himself as a poet but claims that, in general, it is simply too difficult to find librettists for works of opera since they tend to be dramaturges or poets who prefer to focus their talents strictly on traditional drama or poetry ("Al lector" 9-10). Bretón goes on to say that, ideally, text and music for an opera should be equally beautiful and balanced when examined separately so that, together, they form a perfect union ("Al lector" 10). However, he concedes that this almost never happens:

> Claro que cuando concepto, forma poética y música son notables junta y separadamente, el todo es acabado y perfecto; pero esto es tan difícil de alcanzar, que serán muy escasos los ejemplos que puedan ofrecerse. ¡Cuántas obras justamente aplaudidas y admiradas por la grandiosidad de la música, leído solamente su libreto, parecerían sosas y triviales, de concepto no siempre levantado y de leguaje muy discutible! ("Al lector" 10)

Furthermore, Bretón adds that once a composer is inspired directly by a text, it is difficult, if not imposible, to mediate that inspiration through another person: "Cuando un asunto se siente con gran fuerza é intensidad, es muy difícil que otro espíritu, así sea elevado, lo sienta de igual modo" ("Al lector" 10) Finally, although text is important, it is only the inspiration for the composer who will create the music, which ultimately, is the essence of the opera: "fácilmente se comprende que si para el drama y el poema son indispensables un García Gutiérrez, un Espronceda, para un modesto libreto de ópera no sean necesarias tan altas cumbres" ("Al lector" 10).

It is important to note that the Uruguayan composer Alfonso Broqua (sometimes spelled Brocqua) also took up Zorrilla de San Martín's poem Tabaré at the same time as Bretón in 1910. However, Broqua composed a lyric poem for soprano, female chorus, and orchestra, performed for the first time in 1910 at the *Teatro Solís* in Montevideo and then later in Paris. Zorrilla de San Martín compares Broqua's project to the poetry of Heinrich Heine (1797-1856) set to music by the composer Robert Schumann (1810-1856) and makes an important distinction between the musical adaptations of Tabaré by Broqua and Bretón. Broqua's project translates the verses directly into music and is therefore more intense. Bretón's opera, on the other hand, is more extensive as it encompasses not only music, but spectacle and performance:

> Bien es verdad que mi compatriota Alfonso Brocqua, que es un noble artista, ha oído esa intrínseca palpitación de vida musical americana en

> *Tabaré*, y la ha inoculado en inspiradísima partitura que me encanta; pero el músico uruguayo ha hecho con mis versos lo que Schumann, pongo por caso, con los de Heine, su compatriota alemán: ha traducido en música los versos mismos. Y lo que Bretón va a hacer es otra cosa. La ópera, género a mi parecer menos intenso que el otro, por lo más extenso, no es sólo deleite difuso del oído; lo es al par concreto de los ojos y de la atención. No basta, para que haya ópera, que se oiga música; es preciso ofrecer espectáculo, color, personajes visibles, fábula interesante, acción dramática. ("El libretto" 176)

Zorrilla de San Martín defines the role of the librettist as simply "el poeta del poeta" ("El libretto" 184).

After his time in the Americas, Bretón returned to Spain and began the project first by writing the libretto, which was completed by the end of 1910 (Sánchez, Tomás Bretón 421). Bretón conserved some original sections of Zorrilla de San Martín's poem which he indicated with an asterisk in the published version of the libretto. In the spirit of collaboration, Bretón sent the libretto to Zorrilla de San Martín for approval and the author apparently made a few minor changes accepted by Bretón (Bretón, "Al lector" 11-12). After the issue of the libretto was settled, Bretón began to compose the music although he also was juggling many other projects at the time. The version for voice and piano is dated October 1911 and the orchestral score is signed July 1913 (Sánchez, Tomás Bretón 21-22).

3.3. The Opera Tabaré: A New Way of Reflecting on Nation and Nationality

As pointed out by Benedict Anderson in Imagined Communities, the idea of nation as an entity with a shared, common culture is in reality an invention (6). The opera Tabaré reflects on the Spanish nation in a new way to illustrate that the concept of the nation is not limited to geography and politics but can also be viewed transatlantically and artistically. As pointed out by Antonio Ferros, the events of 1892 caused Spanish political leaders and scholars, to search for, attempt to uncover, and re-establish the "true self" or essence of the Spanish nation (113). Furthermore, views formulated around this time regarding the Spanish nation and its empire would dominate well into the twentieth century and can be summarized as follows: Modern day Spain can not be understood without an examination of its imperial past and both nation and empire had multi-ethnic foundations (Ferros 110). Ferros explains:

> Spaniards advocated the idea of "mestizaje," both "cultural" and "biological," between all ethnic groups involved, voluntarily or forced, in the colonization of America. These views became the foundation of one or more of the most persistent myths or legends in the Spanish colonization of the Americas: that all Hispanic Societies are in essence racial democracies. (113)

What we see during this period is a post-colonial attempt by Spain to reconnect to its ex-colonies based on the idea that, even though separated geographically and now independent, they still share the essence of Spain, both biologically and

spiritually (Ferros 111). One important way this reconnection would happen was through cultural and artistic products such as opera.

Bretón's writing reflects these views. Bretón comments in Impresiones de un viaje a América on hearing the Spanish language spoken in the Americas during his trip to Argentina and is inspired by the thought that, "toda la América en que se habla nuestro idioma fuera una prolongación de la madre patria, sin términos, límites ni fronteras, todo una federación augusta que entonase épicos himnos, sublimes cantos a la gloria y en loor de nuestra raza inmortal […] En este hermoso país no me avengo a considerarme extranjero" (qted in Sánchez, Tomás Bretón 402). Furthermore, according to Bretón, "Spanish Opera" extended beyond the territorial boundaries of Spain as what made opera "Spanish" was the language. Spanish language in opera not only unified Spain and the nations of Spanish America but also distinguished them from other "foreign", colonizing operatic traditions such as the Italian. Bretón wrote about establishing Spanish opera and then driving out the invading Italians in Más en favor de la ópera nacional: "El número de compañías italianas que explotan la Ópera, tanto en la Península como en las Américas españolas, disminuiría sensiblemente y se aumentaría en la misma porción, por lo menos, el de las nuestras" (29).

The epic poem Tabaré, set in the colonial period, allows Bretón to explore, not so much the issue of the colonizer Spanish and the colonized natives, but the point of intersection of both Spanish and Spanish-American history and national identity. Furthermore, the main character, Tabaré, embodies and represents the

biological, cultural, and spiritual blending of Spain and the Americas. Bretón writes about selecting this poem for operatic adaptation as follows:

> Tanto por su belleza como por la especial índole del argumento que vincula maravillosamente nuestra raza con las de las riberas de *la mar chica*, como llamaron al Plata los heróicos conquistadores nuestros antepasados, pensé que podía ser base de un drama lírico interesante para los que hablamos la misma lengua, hoy que la aproximación de aquellos pueblos con la madre patria no es un vano ideal, sino que viene sellándose con hechos cada vez más elocuentes y fraternales. ("Al lector" 7)

Further solidifying Bretón's selection would have been the fact that the author of the poem, Zorrilla de San Martín, was widely recognized on both sides of the Atlantic as an important literary figure, and, as indicated by Doris Sommer, the Uruguayan author alongside Jesús Galván and Juan León Mera undertook a revalorization of Spain and "understood their Spanish-American identity to be, precisely, a dual allegiance" to both Spain and the Americas (Foundational Fictions 241). Another factor would be Zorrilla de San Martín's Catholic beliefs as Catholicism took on new meaning during Spain's crucial moments of reflection on empire. According to Ferros, Catholic beliefs professing the common origins of all people not only tied into the new vogue of Spanish *mestizaje*, but also served to differentiate Spanish colonialism from that other nations, such as the English and the Dutch (114). It is important to remember that in the nineteenth century Spain received a lot of criticism from other foreign powers regarding its

colonies. The English pressured Spain to abolish slavery, tensions with foreign nations escalated in 1898 with the Spanish-American War as Spain lost Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, and the so-called *leyenda negra* seemed to gain new life as the United States blamed much of Latin America's "backwardness" on Spain (Ferros 117).

But as pointed out by Víctor Sánchez, for Bretón Spanish opera was not just a question of artistic or cultural coming together, but also a powerful economic factor: Fostering ties with the Americas would also expand the market for Spanish opera ("Tomás Bretón" II: 205). To illustrate this point, Bretón's speech delivered at the Royal Conservatory of Music after returning from his trip to Argentina must be referenced:

> […] puede afirmarse que el arte serio músico español ha abierto allí un riquísimo mercado; porque no se reduce sólo a la gran ciudad argentina sino que puede extenderse a toda la nación, al Uruguay, a Chile, al Paraguay, Perú y a todas las naciones americanas que hablan nuestra lengua desde el Plata al golfo de Méjico. ¿Veis qué campo tan vasto se abre a nuestra producción artística musical? […] pero nos falta la mercancía. (qted in Sánchez, Tomás Bretón 406)

All of these factors – new conceptualizations of nation, reflections on shared language, culture, history, and even economy - outline the context or "social drama" in which the opera Tabaré was conceptualized and created. The opera Tabaré exposes the social drama through Zorrilla de San Martín's text with

some key modifications that focus the dramatic action on the bicultural Tabaré, a non-violent leader of the Charrúa who calls for reconciliation and peace with the Spanish. Cultural misunderstanding and violence are propagated by both parties in the opera, but Tabaré is the resounding voice of reason above them all. Unlike Zorrilla de San Martín's epic poem, the opera focuses less on a potential love interest between Tabaré and Blanca, and instead connects them more as siblings, brother and sister. During the course of the opera, both have visions of their dead mothers, maternal figures which I believe symbolize "la Madre Patria", the spiritual essence embodied in both these characters and what ultimately and eternally links them, New World *mestizo* and Old World Spaniard.

The opera is organized into three acts, with the final act divided into two scenes. The main characters are Tabaré (tenor), Blanca (soprano), Yamandú (baritone), Gonzalo (tenor), and Luz (contralto). As indicated in the character list, the same bass singer plays the role of both Padre Esteban and Siropo, an indigenous elder. The secondary characters are four Spanish soldiers: Ramiro (baritone), Garcés (bass), Damián (tenor), and Rodrigo (baritone). Miscellaneous Spanish soldiers and Charrúa natives make up the chorus.

Víctor Sánchez points out that the opera begins with an extensive musical overture that functions like a symphonic poem that includes all of the themes in the opera (Tomás Bretón 422). The struggle between the Spanish and the Charrúa is perceived in the music as the Spanish sections include touches of military music over which is heard a brief section of the national anthem of Uruguay,

definitively connecting the Spanish past to the present nation of Uruguay (Sánchez, Tomás Bretón 422). The musical sections related to the Charrúa, on the other hand, are atonal, creating an exotic feel (Sánchez, Tomás Bretón 422). The curtain rises on the Charrúa village.

Act one of the opera begins in book three of the poem with the Charrúa gathered to mourn the death of their leader, Cayú,

El ínclito charrúa,
muerto quizás de ira
al ver su patria hollada
por la raza maldita. (Bretón, Tabaré 13).

The funerary rites become preparations for war against the Spanish encouraged by the fierce Yamandú:

La guerra al blanco pide
el fuerte Yamandú
y aquí convoca á todos,
al par que honrar debemos
la muerte de Cayú. (Bretón, Tabaré 14).

Bretón recreates the scene from the original poem where the native women sing and dance as part of their mourning ritual with a corps of dancers accompanied by the chorus. Sánchez remarks how the music, again, seeks to evoke a tribal ambiance through atonality and is reminiscent of Stravinsky's Rite of Spring,

completed and performed around the same time as the opera Tabaré (Tomás Bretón 423).

Just as in the poem, once the dance is completed, the chorus falls silent and Yamandú enters calling for revenge against the Spanish, asking all to follow him:

¡Corramos ya!
De noche, cuando dormidos soldados y jefes estén,
unidos iremos todos
los blancos á sorprender. (Bretón, Tabaré 18).

Emotions are raised and the group ecstatically agrees to follow Yamandú, but the ancient and wise Siripo stops them to remind them that they have not yet conferred with Tabaré, who is the son of Caracé and, in reality, their leader. All the conflicting emotions and mistrust surrounding Tabaré as the *mestizo* son of Caracé and a Spanish woman come out:

SIR. ¡No, que falta Tabaré (Sensación.)
El hijo de los ceibos, (Noble y tranquilo.)
noble y valiente…
YAM. ¡Y de extranjera blanca! (Airado.)
SIR. El bien amado… (Como antes.)
YAM. Sus ojos son azules. (Iden id.)
SIR. Agil y fuerte…
YAM. No silba como el indio.

SIR. Es el más bravo. (Con energía.)

El arrancar tu lanza

Jugando puede.

CORO. ¡El es nuestro cacique!

(Con respeto y veneración.)

¡El es nuestro jefe!

YAM. Pues yo á su jefatura no me allano.

SIR. Es hijo y sucesor de Caracé

YAM. Y de una blanca… (Bretón, Tabaré 19)

Tabaré then enters. He sympathizes with his people's frustrations with the Spanish, but also views their presence as the future destiny of the land and the people who live there. Although in the past violence has marked their relationship, Tabaré advocates freedom from strife and compromise with the Spanish:

TAB. Nadie cual yo lamenta las desdichas

que á nuestra patria afligen.

¡Pobre pueblo charrúa…

En vano luchará contra el destino!

[…]

¡No vistéis sus piraguas

tan altas como cerros

y sus armas que siembran

la muerte con sus fuegos!

¡No veis cómo gigantes

con fuerza sin igual,

más que el ñandú veloces

el hombre y bruto van!

Y ese pueblo que viene

por donde nace el sol

dispone hermanos míos

de otra fuerza mayor:

la que mi buena – madre tenía,

débil y triste – mas confiada

en otros seres – que ella veía

tras de los cielos – extasïada. (Bretón, Tabaré 20)

Tabaré's speech emphasizes both the technological advancement through weaponry and spiritual superiority through Christianity of the Spanish over the Charrúa. His ability to see the future of the Spanish in the land of the Charrúa is seemingly confirmed as he then has a vision of his mother.

Although Tabaré is resolute, the Charrúa are divided, with some choosing to follow Yamandú and others choosing to follow Tabaré. However, their deliberations are interrupted when news arrives that the Spanish are coming to attack the village. Instead of showing their bravery, all the Charrúa flee except for

the noble Tabaré and the wise indigenous elder Siripo. The Spanish soldiers, Ramiro, Damián, and Rodrigo, led by Gonzalo, take them captive.

Act two of the opera reflects back on book two of the original poem and takes place in the Spanish settlement of San Salvador. Unlike the previous act, the music demonstrates clarity, simplicity, and a refined orchestration (Sánchez, Tomás Bretón 424). The Spanish soldiers, Ramiro, Damián, Garcés, and Rodrigo show as much antagonism towards the Charrúa as the Charrúa towards the Spanish:

DAM. Cierto: que el indio es malo.

GAR. Malo, y acomete

cuando menos se espera.

RAM. Sin remedio

habrá que aniquilarlos como á fieras. (Bretón, Tabaré 23)

Through references reminiscent of Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, they explain how, to their chagrin, the priest defends the natives:

ROD. El Padre los defiende…

RAM. Loco empeño.

DAM. El Padre Esteban cree que todos somos

iguales.

ROD. Es tan bueno…

GAR. Verdad que los charrúas que cogimos

un mes hará, son mansos. (Bretón, Tabaré 24)

They discuss how Tabaré, described as a “fantasma” and “el indio loco,” wanders the village (Bretón, Tabaré 24). They recall how, once, Tabaré, asked to hold a Spanish weapon, an arcabus, and in jest, the soldiers obliged him. Tabaré took the weapon and, instead of using it against the Spanish in an attempt to escape, destroyed it by breaking it into pieces. Even though now a captive of the Spanish, Tabaré remains a peaceful figure, staunchly against perpetuating the violence and the fighting between the Spanish and the Charrúa. Both Padre Esteban and Don Gonzalo ask that the soldiers respect the Charrúa leader and Don Gonzalo’s younger sister, Blanca, and Padre Esteban protect him. A duo between Blanca and Tabaré is the musical highlight of this second act and anticipates an even more intense musical moment between the two characters in act three (Sánchez, Un músico 424).

Blanca, like Tabaré, is also an orphan and in the opera, she remembers and envisions her mother along with her homeland of Spain. Blanca sings:

BLAN. ¡Qué día tan hermoso!
De la patria lejana
[r]ecuérdame con pena y alegría
aquel tiempo dichoso,
en que mi madre ufana
y amante entre sus bra[z]os me tenía,
ríendo placentera
como ríe la flor en la primavera.

¡Ya de la gloria (Tristemente.)

gozando está

¡Mas tu memoria,

madre adorada,

nunca olvidada

de mí será!

Acuérdate también tú desde el cielo

de los que sin consuelo

dejaste aquí en la tierra, madre mía,

¡Vela por tu hijo amado

que de tanto peligro está cercado!

¡Oh, patria! ¡Oh, Andalucía! (Bretón, Tabaré 26-27)

Blanca awakens memories of Tabaré's own mother and he has yet another vision.

As Tabaré exits, Don Gonzalo's wife, Luz, enters with Padre Esteban and she admonishes Blanca for speaking to Tabaré. Again, colonial discourses regarding the nature of the indigenous peoples are present:

LUZ ¡El indio! (con terror)

BLAN. (Amorosamente.) Luz, Padre…

LUZ Blanca,

¿hablabas con ese?

BLAN. Cierto.

LUZ ¡Me asusta!

BLAN. ¿Por qué? (confiada)

LUZ No debes

hablar más con él.

P. EST. (Bondadosamente.) Es bueno

LUZ Padre, sin Dios y sin ley,

sin alma…

P. EST. ¿Quién dice eso?

La tiene, y á lo que alcanzo,

muy hermosa.

LUZ No lo creo. (Bretón, Tabaré 28-29)

After Don Gonzalo enters the discussion, Padre Esteban shares with them all the story of Tabaré. According to the priest, Tabaré's mother was a member of the expedition led by the conquistador of the River Plate region, Juan Díaz de Solís. Solís was constructed as a key figure in Uruguayan history around the same time that Uruguay began to consolidate its national identity and when Juan Zorrilla de San Martín wrote Tabaré: [6]

P. EST. Gonzalo, escucha:

ese indio es singular: oye su historia

que él mismo me contó. De mí no huye.

(Todos escuchan con interés.)

6 Among these publications are Frejeiro's Juan Díaz de Solís y el descubrimiento del Río de la Plata (1879-80), Diego García Trelles's, Primer descubridor del Río de la Plata (1879), and Francisco Berra's Bosquejo Histórico de la Republica Oriental del Uruguay (1881).

Cuando Solís con su gente

esta tierra descubrió,

animoso y confiado

en conquistarla pensó,

y abandonado la orilla

sobre que audaz puso el pie,

la muerte halló, combatiendo

contra el indio Caracé

¡Pocos pudieron de aquella

terrible lucha esperar!

Una mujer fué cautiva

que el indio llevó á su hogar.

[…]

Magdalena era su nombre

y de aquella unión extraña

fruto fue ese pobre indio….

[…] Mezcladas

la sangre tiene y creencias,

y en su cerebro batallan

las de sus padres, ya muertos,

la gentil y la cristiana. (Bretón, Tabaré 30)

Night falls on the settlement and all four pray together before retiring. Tabaré appears and continues his wandering followed by the Spanish soldiers.

The intensity of the music returns in act three of the opera and the action returns to book three of Zorrilla de San Martín's epic poem (Sánchez, Tomás Bretón 424). In scene one Tabaré is alone in the forest close to the Uruguay River. He hears voices and hides to observe what is going on. A group of Charrúa natives enter carrying loot from their very recent attack on San Salvador. Again, the opera highlights the fact that there are two wars of extermination, one carried out by the Spanish and the other by the Charrúa:

> INDIOS […] ¡Guerra de exterminio
>
> nuestro lema sea!
>
> ¡Muera el extranjero!
>
> ¡Muera!" (Bretón, Tabaré 34)

This battle led by the Charrúa serves to balance out the initial attack carried out by the Spanish in act one. Yamandú enters with the captive Blanca and is declared the new leader by the Charrúa. Themes from the tribal dances from act one are interwoven in the music (Sánchez, Tomás Bretón 425). The group exits to continue their celebrations, leaving Yamandú and Blanca alone. As he moves to approach her, Tabaré interrupts the violent act about to take place and kills Yamandú, depositing his body in the river. The central moment of the opera is a second duo between Blanca and Tabaré (Sánchez, Tomás Bretón 425). Blanca awakens and first accuses Tabaré of abducting her and pleads with him to show

her mercy. But he is redeemed in her eyes once she realizes that Tabaré is actually her savior and they walk off slowly to return to the Spanish village.

An orchestral interlude serves as a transition from act three, scene one, to act three, scene two (Sánchez, Tomás Bretón 426). The Spanish party searches for Blanca in the forest. In the distance, they see Tabaré carrying Blanca and hide to surprise the Indian. Padre Esteban suggests too late that Tabaré is possibly innocent:

> P. EST. ¡Si acaso inocente!...
>
> (Como iluminado por idea generosa se alza é intenta interponerse. Tabaré ha llegado con Blanca desmayada sobre sus hombros y la deposita al pie de la loma que termina en la escena; Gonzalo, como una fiera, ha rechazado violentamente al Padre Esteban que quería oponérsele y ciego de ira hunde su espada en el cuerpo de Tabaré. Cae Tabaré lanzando un grito que hace á Blanca volver en sí.) (Bretón, Tabaré 44)

Blanca, distraught, clarifies that Tabaré saved both her honor and her life. The last scene is then modified from the original poem so that Tabaré is not only mourned by Blanca and Padre Esteban, but by all the Spanish who pray for his soul:

> ¡Quién pudo sospechar
> en el indio charrúa
> tan nobles sentimientos!
> […]
> ¡Que Dios acoja su alma!

¡Recemos!" (Bretón, Tabaré 45-46)

Tabaré premiered with Tomás Bretón as conductor on February 26, 1913 at the *Teatro Real* in Madrid. A Madrid premiere in the eyes of Bretón was appropriate since, "Madrid es la capital de la gran familia que habla nuestra hermosa lengua" ("Al lector" 11). Tabaré was not only well-received by critics in Spain, but Bretón considered it one of his finest works: "Tengo o considero esta obra por la más personal e independiente que he podido hacer, y el asunto, es brutalmente bello, enorme, sublime… precisamente para los españoles que amen su historia" (qted in Sánchez, Tomás Bretón 432). According to Doris Sommer, the opera was also performed in Buenos Aires that same year (Foundational Fictions 241).

As we have seen in the course of this chapter, late nineteenth and early twentieth century Spain was forced to revisit its colonial past on numerous levels. Although politically separate from its former colonies, intellectual discourse of the time sought to point out and foster ties with "las americas españolas" that were timeless and unbreakable. Therefore, instead of focusing on imperial discourses that only privileged the Spanish perspective, there was a search to create an overarching master narrative that would embrace the two realities (Ferros 110). Ties between Spain and the Americas could be made evident through cultural products that not only forged spiritual and aesthetic bonds, but also economic ones. Bretón's opera can be viewed as not only an intercultural performance, the "outcome of 'contact' among the world's peoples", but more

specifically a horizontal intercultural performance which "locates transcultural or universal 'truths' in similarities among contemporary cultures" (Schechner 263). In the opera, the Charrúa and the Spanish mirror each other with both expressing gross misunderstandings towards the other group. The main character, Tabaré is not so much the isolated romantic hero of Juan Zorrilla de San Martín's poem who meets a tragic end, but the biological and spiritual union of two peoples with a resounding voice calling for a new bringing together of disparate peoples. Even though in the end he himself is a victim, his death leads to a new understanding of the long-term repercussions of divisiveness and separation.

In chapter four, the focus is on Cuba of the 1930s, a recently independent Spanish colony still feeling the effects of external, foreign pressure, this time from the United States, as well as internal pressure from the governing Machado administration. Notably, it was during this period that Cuban intellectuals worked to forge the island's own unique national identity through *mulato* or mixed Spanish and Afrocuban symbolism. Historically, Cuba enjoyed a unique status as an important center of transatlantic musical exchange and it was during the early twentieth century that Cuban lyric theatre was in development and inserted itself in its own way into both the native theatrical traditions of the island, such as *teatro vernáculo,* and the tradition of Spanish zarzuela with an entire corpus of works set during colonial times. One such work of Cuban zarzuela is the much celebrated musical-dramatic work Cecilia Valdés by the composer Gonzalo Roig

and the librettists José Sánchez-Arcilla and Agustín Rodríguez, and based on Cirilo Villaverde's colonial novel of the same title.

CHAPTER 4

PERFORMING CUBA'S COLONIAL NOVEL: RACE, RENEWING LYRIC THEATER, AND A REDEEMED HEROINE IN CECILIA VALDÉS BY GONZALO ROIG, AGUSTÍN RODRÍGUEZ, AND JOSÉ SÁNCHEZ-ARCILLA

CECILIA VALDÉS.
Sí. Yo soy Cecilia Valdés.
[…]
Hierve la sangre en mis venas,
soy mestiza y no lo soy.
Yo no conozco las penas,
yo siempre cantando voy.
Siento en mi alma cubana
la alegría de vivir.
Soy cascabel, soy campana…
¡Y no sé lo que es sufrir!
Cecilia Valdés (1932)

Cuba's second war of independence began in 1895 and Spain ultimately lost the island, alongside Puerto Rico and the Philippines, in 1898 with the intervention of the United States in the conflict. Cuba officially gained its independence when the Republic of Cuba was established in 1902. But it was not until the 1920s and 1930s – an especially tumultuous period of political and economic turmoil, aggressive foreign intervention and influence by the United States, and internal armed struggle against the Gerard Machado administration (1925-1933) - that Cuba began to consolidate its national identity. According to

Homi Bhabha in his essay "DissemiNation", the nation is a liminal space, a performative, "that is *internally* marked by cultural difference and the heterogeneous histories of contending peoples, antagonistic authorities and tense cultural locations" (299). In the case of the new Cuban nation, *mulato* or mixed Spanish and Afrocuban imagery became the foundation upon which to construct national identity and culture. Although the *Afrocubanismo* movement affected all artistic practices, it was during this particular point in time that Cuba developed and solidified its national lyric theater. Encouraged by musical publications, and supported by government institutions and other musical organizations, the newly professionalized librettists and composers began to develop and cultivate uniquely "Cuban" musical-dramatic works. These new works were hybrid compositions: Characters from the Cuban *teatro vernáculo* tradition were integrated into the Spanish-derived genre of zarzuela which was considered a more appropriate frame for performative artistic expression (Moore 138). The storylines of these new works were set in colonial times, typically during the 1830s. Robin Moore explains:

> Afrocuban imagery from the past seems to have been viewed both as more picturesque and as less controversial than contemporary expression. It could be freely reinvented on the stage with little or no regard for sociohistorical authenticity since it had never been carefully documented in its day. It had the additional advantage of avoiding sensitive issues such as contemporary racial conflict, discrimination, and black urban poverty

> that otherwise might have surfaced in the dialogue of the libretto. With the abolition of slavery in the 1880s, depictions of the suffering of Afrocubans under colonial authorities became a relatively noncontroversial means of incorporating "serious" themes into the *zarzuela*. Issues pertaining to Afrocuban oppression could be alluded to in slave songs without implying that they still existed or needed to be addressed in the present. (138-39)

Furthermore, setting the zarzuela story-lines in the early nineteenth century allowed Cubans of all ethnicities to reflect as a whole on a historical time period of perceived common struggle - "la esclavitud del negro y la servidumbre política del blanco nativo" – resolved through an eventual coming together to overthrow the oppressive rule of the Spanish, instead of reflecting on differences, both past and present (Ducazcal n. pag.). Other important changes in the new musical-dramatic works of the 1920s and 1930s were that the love triangle from the *teatro vernáculo* between the *mulata*, the *negrito* or *mulato*, and the *gallego* or white Spanish aristocrat was maintained, but it definitively lost its comedic characteristics and became the dramatic focal point of the plot, while the comedic aspects were relegated to the secondary characters, and the *mulata* became the central character of the story-line (Río Prado 150).

The first work of this type was La niña Rita o La Habana en 1830 with music by Ernesto Lecuona and Eliseo Grenet and libretto by Aurelio Riancho and Antonio Castells, premiering on September 29, 1927 at the *Teatro Regina*. The critic N. González Freire writes,

> El estreno de la zarzuela *Niña Rita* […] marca el inicio de una serie de obras sobre temas históricos y asuntos de época, hicieron posible que nuestro Teatro Popular […] llegase a alcanzar categoría de <<género grande>>. [La zarzuela] apareció con el ánimo de dignificar el sainete al uso en *Alhambra* mejorando el ambiente, el asunto y las intervenciones musicales de este. (qted in Río Prado 45)

Subsequent works to follow were El cafetal (1929), El batey (1929), María la O (1930), El maizal (1930), and El calesero (1930). However, Cecilia Valdés (1932), based on the novel of the same name by Cirilo Villaverde, is undoubtedly Cuba's most prized musical-dramatic work.

Cirilo Villaverde was born on a sugar plantation in the province of Pinar del Río in 1812. At the plantation, he witnessed first hand both the new technologies for cultivating and harvesting sugar, as well as the horrors of slavery, as his father, a physician, treated many of the slave's injuries and illnesses (Lamore 11). Villaverde left this rural environment and went to Havana for his educational formation and in 1832 he received his credentials in law. In 1834, Villaverde began to attend the intellectual gatherings of Domingo del Monte (1804-1853) and he published his first stories in various Havana newspapers. Among them was the first version of Cecilia Valdés, a short story about a young, street-wise *mulata* the narrator claims to have known personally who, despite her grandmother's warnings, falls in love with a young man from a white, privileged family only to disappear in the end (Fischer xiv). This story was published in two

parts in the magazine La siempreviva in 1839. That same year, Villaverde further developed the story into a much lengthier text with the subtitle, "La loma del ángel".

Villaverde became involved in the political life of Cuba and in 1846 conspired with General Narciso López (1797-1851) for the liberation of Cuba from Spain. As a result, Villaverde was imprisoned, but was able to escape to Florida in the United States. Both Villaverde and López reunited in New York City and worked for independence from there until López's death in 1851 (Lamore 12). Villaverde and his wife, from an exiled Cuban family in Philadelphia, wrote for newspapers and Villaverde became one of many important writers of Hispanic Caribbean literature written in the United States. He did return to Cuba in 1858 under an amnesty, however, his stay was short-lived and he was again forced into exile.

In 1879, after the end of *La guerra de los diez años* (1868-1878) and at the beginning of the *La guerra chiquita* (1879-1880), Villaverde revisited his text, Cecilia Valdés, La loma del ángel (Fischer xv). This time, Villaverde dates Cecilia's birth to coincide with his own in 1812, with the majority of the novelistic action set in Havana during the 1830s. The definitive version of the novel was published while Villaverde was in exile in New York City in 1882. Villaverde neither lived to see his novel published in Cuba nor witnessed Cuba's independence since he died in 1894. Cecilia Valdés was eventually published in Cuba in 1903, one year after the establishment of the Republic (Fischer xxvi).

Although, at the time, part of the Spanish literary tradition, the development of the nineteenth-century novel in the Caribbean is closely tied to the independence movement and the search for national identity, and Cecilia Valdés is now widely recognized as Cuba's national novel (Luis 125). Divided into four parts, the novel narrates the story of the beautiful, fair-skinned *mulata* Cecilia and her love affair with Leonardo, son of Don Cándido Gamboa, a Spanish slave-trader. Unbeknownst to both is that they actually share the same father, making their relationship, which eventually produces a daughter, incestuous. What happened was that upon Cecilia's birth, Don Cándido took her away from her mother and temporarily placed her in the orphanage to protect the Gamboa family honor and to give the girl the last name "Valdés". This separation caused Cecilia's mother, Rosario "Charo" Alarcón, to go insane. Cecilia was eventually raised by her grandmother, Josefa ("Chepilla") who knows the secret of her granddaughter's origins and, along with Don Cándido Gamboa, tries to separate the lovers.

Leonardo, eventually tired of his dalliances with Cecilia, plans to marry the white, upper-class Isabel Ilincheta. The result are tragic: Cecilia, enraged, orders the *mulato* musician José Dolores Pimienta to exact revenge, and only too late clarifies that she meant for Isabel, not Leonardo, to die. José Dolores stabs Leonardo on his wedding day, Isabel enters a convent, and Cecilia is sent to the women's hospital of San Francisco de Paula where she finally meets her crazy mother, who momentarily recuperates her sanity only to die moments later. Doris

Sommer writes that the novel Cecilia Valdés "is about impossible relationships," and, "[u]nlike the foundational fictions of other Latin America countries, where passion together with patriotism produced model citizens, Villaverde's Cuban novel cannot make romance and convenience coincide. Cuba was not quite American, nor even a country yet. It was too closely bonded with aristocratic, hierarchical Europe" (Proceed with Caution 208). The love story between the *mulata* Cecilia and the white Leonardo is framed by life under General Dionisio Vives's government (1812-1832), and is contextualized by colonialism, slavery, and the interactions between whites and blacks.

Beginning as early as the seventeenth century, the *mulata* became an important cultural construct in Cuba found in a variety of artistic expressions (Moore 49). As indicated by Jean Lamore, she was frequently depicted as voluptuous, sensual, and dangerous, and as such, she symbolized sin, incest, and crime, reflecting Cuba's anxieties over miscegenation (36-37). Frequently associated with music and dance, the *mulata* was a common theme of popular music. For example, in 1882, the same year as the publication of the definitive version of Villaverde's Cecilia Valdés, a collection of *guaracha* lyrics was published in Cuba (Moore 50). One, titled "La mulata," states: "La mulata es como el pan;/ Se debe comer caliente;/ Que en dejándola enfriar/ Ni el Diablo le mete el diente" (qted in Moore 250). In Villaverde's novel, Cecilia herself inspires a song, "Caramelo vendo," and she is depicted as a woman who will do whatever it takes to better her position in society. Lamore writes, "no sueña más

que con salir de la esfera en que ha nacido para entrar en el medio de los blancos" (34).

However, beyond the boundaries of the novelistic page, Lamore notes that, "El mito de Cecilia ha perdurado transformándose […] ha dado lugar a una imagen muy distinta […] resueltamente positiva" (45). It was in part through iconic performances of the *mulata* in the public sphere of lyric theater in the late 1920s and early 1930s that protagonists from Cuba's colonial past were transformed into national figures. It is in the liminoid space of the theater and through the framed experience of performance that, in Richard Schechner's words, "the imagi*nation* [is] made flesh" (my emphasis 124). In a similar vein, Fernanda Macchi writes, "la Cecilia Valdés escénica da cuerpo (literal) al mito de la mulata, esencia elegida de la cubanía" (75). It is, therefore, the 1932 zarzuela Cecilia Valdés by the composer Gonzalo Roig (1890-1970) and the librettists José Sánchez-Arcilla (1903-?) and Agustín Rodríguez (1885-1957) that marks an important shift in the perception of our protagonist. Art and society not only converge in Cecilia Valdés – in the prologue to the published libretto Ducazcal calls it "[o]bra legítima de arte y de patriotismo," - but it too was part of a greater artistic process taking place on a societal level, in Ducazcal's words, the "regeneration and progress" of Cuban lyric theater ("la regeneración y el progreso del arte escénico cubano") (n. pag.).

4.1. Theater and Lyric Theater in Cuba: A Center for Transatlantic Exchange

Historically, Cuba was central to the movement and development of lyric theater in the Americas. Because of its geographic location, most European companies made their first stop there and usually performed in theaters on the island before embarking onward to other destinations (Sturman 47). Therefore, Cuban lyric theater is rooted in both European traditions and the unique theatrical adaptations of the island.

As seen in the introduction, in the mid-eighteenth century in Spain, the writer Ramón de la Cruz popularized the *tonadilla* and the *sainete* through the use of Spanish settings, character types, and language. These peninsular forms eventually made their way to Cuba where they inspired local writers such as Francisco Covarrubias (1775-1850), born in the same year as the construction of the first theater on the island (Tolón 11). In 1810, Covarrubias worked with a group of Spanish actors, musicians, and dancers who were forced to leave Spain because of the Napoleonic invasion (Sturman 48). Together, they fostered the *tonadilla* and the *sainete* in Cuba. However, in 1812, Covarrubias made key substitutions of his own: He replaced the settings, characters, and language of Spain with recognizably Cuban locales and types. *Majos*, *gitanos*, and *mendigos* became *guajiros*, *monteros*, and *peones*, and works such as Las tertulias de Madrid became Las tertulias de la Habana (Sturman 48). Clara Pérez Díaz summarizes Covarrubias's contributions in the following way:

> En el caso de Francisco Covarrubias, por su pionera y cuantiosa producción de sainetes musicales criollos, realizados entre 1810 hasta 1841, y que aportaron contribuciones sustanciales al modelo de identidad nacional en el arte teatral cubano – de la cual sólo ha quedado para la historia la referencia de sus títulos a través de la prensa de la época –, sería considerado el creador del teatro vernáculo cubano – génesis del género lírico nacional –, así como precursor del costumbrismo en otras manifestaciones artísticas. ("Cuba" I: 582)

The work of Covarrubias is, therefore, the basis for much of the theater, lyric theater, literature, and visual art produced in nineteenth-century Cuba. Additionally, Covarrubias introduced the African component of the island with the *negrito* character-type and employed well-known Cuban melodies into the dramas (Sturman 48)). However, it was Bartolomé Crespo Borbón (1811-1871), known also as, "Creto Gangá," who made the *negrito* a permanent fixture in the theater and distinguished the character-type by utilizing the linguistic characteristics of the Blacks of the island, also known as *bozal* speech (Tolón 16).

As also indicated in the introduction, around 1850, romantic zarzuela emerged in Spain. Modern zarzuela arrived shortly after in Cuba in 1853 with the premiere of El duende by Luis Olona and Rafael Hernando.[1] The 1860s saw a second wave of zarzuela companies arrive to the Americas from Spain due mainly

[1] Clara Pérez Díaz states that El duende was first performed in 1846 in Spain while Christopher Webber indicates that it was originally performed in 1851 at the *Teatro del Circo* in Madrid. See Clara Pérez Díaz, "Cuba" (I: 583) and Christopher Webber, "Zarzuela Index".

to economic difficulties and competition in Madrid (Sturman 36). In 1864, the composer Manuel Fernández Caballero brought his company, which stayed in Cuba for seven years, and in 1868 Joaquín Gaztambide, one of the founding members of modern zarzuela, brought another company (Molina 211). As stated by Janet Sturman, it is important to recognize that, in general, it was the elite in Cuba who patronized zarzuela, as well as Italian and French opera (48). But simultaneous to the importation of foreign forms of musical drama was the development, as early as the 1860s, of a comic theater rooted in the tradition of Covarrubias: the *teatro vernáculo*. Robin Moore notes that *teatro vernáculo* is also referred to as *teatro bufo*, *teatro criollo*, or *teatro de variedades* and he theorizes this type of theater as an artistic forum for the negotiation of emerging concepts of *cubanidad*, and as such, he views *teatro vernáculo* as the foundation for the later *Afrocubanismo* movement (41-42). This theatrical form increasingly utilized African characters, although it relied heavily on parody (Moore 42). The *gallego* and the *negrito* from Covarrubias were maintained, but additional types were added as well, such as the *mulata* (usually depicted in a love triangle with the *gallego* and the *negrito*) and the *negra lucumí* (Moore 42). Furthermore, Afrocuban inspired music, such as the *guaracha* and the *rumba*, were cultivated in the *teatro vernáculo* (Moore 54-60). In 1867, the Spanish troupe *Los bufos madrileños* lead by Francisco Arderius and modeled on Jacques Offenbach's *Les Bouffes Parisiens* toured Havana and performed El joven Telemaco (Lane 70).

One year later, in 1868 the group *Los bufos habaneros* was created in Cuba and performed for the first time at the *Teatro Villanueva* (Pérez Díaz, "Cuba" I: 583).

With the onset of the Ten Years War in 1868 and Cuba's intensified struggle for independence, comic theater became especially popular. The comedic elements could cleverly critique colonial authorities, and as a result, *teatro vernáculo* was officially banned in 1869 until 1878 with the signing of the Pact of Zanjón (Moore 43). As explained by Robin Moore, playwrights in support of the Cuban independence movement began to employ African characters as national symbols pitted against the *gallego*, clearly associated with Spain (43-44). This progressed further until the 1895 revolution. Moore writes,

> A combination of political censorship and rising nationalist sentiment during the 1895 revolution led to the inscription of the *negrito* and *mulata*, especially, with meanings never intended or foreseen by earlier *teatro vernáculo* authors. Afrocuban characters continued to serve as objects of public ridicule, and yet for the first time they also represented Cuba itself. (44)

Teatro vernáculo, with its combination of music, dance, and drama, continued to be an important Cuban theatrical expression well into the early twentieth century.

4.2. The Social Status of the Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Musician in Cuba

Afrocuban themes were becoming more and more prominent in the theater with shifting meanings now closely linked to the early development of Cuban national identity. However, it is important to recognize that Afrocubans were not simply the objects of cultural creation, but also the subjects. In fact, the social status of the nineteenth-century musician in Cuba was markedly different than in Spain and the rest of Europe. While colonial authorities suppressed African-derived forms of cultural expression, free Afrocuban musicians trained in European music, some with formal education in Europe, but most instructed as soldiers in military bands, dominated the musical scene (Moore 19). According to Robin Moore, musicians in Cuba were paid significantly less than other professions and most white Cubans considered music to be a less than prestigious career choice and they instead chose other areas of study such as law and medicine (19). However, music would have been an appealing career option for Afrocubans interested in pursuing a profession that provided access to all social classes and permeated a variety of settings.

The *mulato* character, José Dolores Pimienta, from Cirilo Villaverde's novel, Cecilia Valdés, exemplifies perfectly the early nineteenth-century Afrocuban musician. Many literary critics have pointed to the fact that Villaverde based many of the characters in his novel on historical figures or people the author knew in Havana. José Dolores Pimienta is most likely based on the

Afrocuban band leader, Pimienta, mentioned by Robin Moore in his musical history of Afrocubans and national culture (20). In fact, in the novel José Dolores Pimienta is mentioned alongside other famous historical musical figures such as the violinist and composer Claudio Brindis de Salas (1800-1872), the violinist Tomás Buelta y Flores (1798-1851), and the violinist and orchestra director Ulpiano Estrada (dates unknown). In Villaverde's novel, José Dolores is a performer, conductor, and composer, and he accompanies both the choirs at church and the small orchestras of the dances held at the *casas de cuna*. Despite all of these musical roles, he must supplement his income as a tailor:

> De organización musical, tenía que hacerse gran violencia, cosa que no podía echar a puerta agena, para trocar el clarinete, su instrumento favorito, por el dedal o la aguja del sastre, una de las artes bellas por un oficio mecánico y sedentario. Pero la necesidad tiene cara de herege, según reza el característico adagio español, y José Dolores Pimienta, aunque director de orquesta, ocupado a menudo en el coro de las iglesias por el día y en los bailes de las ferias por la noche, no le bastaba eso a cubrir sus propias necesidades y las de su hermana Nemesia, desahogadamente. La música en Cuba, como las demás bellas artes, no hacía ricos, ni siquiera proporcionaba comodidades a sus adeptos. El célebre Brindis, Ulpiano, Vuelta y Flores y otros se hallaban poco más o menos en este caso. (Villaverde 202)

According to Villaverde's novel, José Dolores's musical masterpiece is the *contradanza* "Caramelo vendo," inspired by Cecilia Valdés and dedicated to "La virgencita de bronce". This noteworthy composition was an instant success, played throughout the season and among every class of society. Nonetheless, while the music flourished, the novel makes it clear that the exact name of the author of the work was promptly forgotten. Although the music is able to transcend barriers, the Afrocuban composer and his contributions to music in Cuba are not celebrated and he is not considered so much a unique artist, but rather a laborer of sorts (Moore 19). Also clear from the novel is the fact that the white, upper-class Leonardo Gamboa and his friends Meneses and Solfa, although able to afford an elite musical education, choose other career paths, in their case law.

It is important to point out that the predominance of Afrocubans in the arts caused great anxiety for many intellectuals of the time. One noteworthy critic was José Antonio Saco, who in 1831 wrote,

> Among the enormous evils that this race has brought to our land, is that they have alienated our white population from the arts […] [A]ll of them became the exclusive patrimony of the people of color, leaving for the whites the literary career and two or three others that were taken to be honorable […] In this deplorable situation, no white Cuban could be expected to devote himself to the arts, because the mere fact of embracing

them was taken to mean that he renounced the privileges of his class. (qted in Fischer xvi-xvii)

The perceived threat of Afrocubans reached at boiling point with the Escalera Conspiracy of 1844, a planned slave and free black revolt, whether real or fabricated by colonial authorities, with great repercussions for Afrocuban musicians. For example, alongside thousands of others, the band leader Pimienta was executed, Claudio Brindis de Salas and Ulpiano Estrada were harshly treated and imprisoned, and Tomás Buelta y Flores was exiled from the island (Moore 20). Conflict would obviously continue to impact the arts for the remainder of the century. However, in spite of its continued colonial status, Cuba established its first musical institution, the *Conservatorio Nacional de Música* in 1885 (Moore 123).

As indicated by Clara Pérez Díaz, the end of nineteenth century to the 1920s marks a period of increased musical professionalization in Cuba ("Cuba" I: 584). Once Cuba finally achieved independence from Spain and the Republic was established in the early years of the twentieth century, the following national music institutions, cultural organizations, and publications in support of musicians were slowly solidified: the *Academia Municipal de la Habana* (1903), the *Escuela Municipal de Música* and the *Academia Nacional de Artes y Letras* (both in 1910), *Cuba Contemporánea* (1913), *Pro-Arte Musical* (1919), a Festival of Cuban Song (1922), and the *Sociedad de Folklore Cubano* (1923) (Moore 123). However, it was also the time of heightened commercialization and differentiation

in the music world globally, eventually leading to what we now know as the modern music industry (Martin 238-41). The Cuban professional working within these contexts generally divided their time between multiple engagements by performing as a member of musical ensembles for silent films, as performers and composers of art music, entertainers, as cultural ambassadors when they traveled and performed Cuban music abroad, especially for audiences in the United States and Spain, and finally, as composers for Cuban lyric theater.[2]

4.3. The Composer Gonzalo Roig Lobo and the Librettists José Sánchez-Arcilla y García and Agustín Rodríguez

Even in the twentieth century the *teatro vernáculo* continued to employ many musicians and Robin Moore emphasizes that, "virtually all of the well-known composers from the early twentieth century began their careers conducting orchestras or writing music for productions of this sort" (45). Its activity was soon centered at the Alhambra Theater which, according to Rine Leal, first opened its doors in 1890 (110). Alejo Carpentier in La música en Cuba calls the Alhambra, "un verdadero conservatorio de ritmos nacionales," (254). It was in the tradition of the *teatro vernáculo* and at the Alhambra Theater that the composer, Gonzalo Roig, and the librettists, José Sánchez-Arcilla and Agustín Rodríguez, of the zarzuela Cecilia Valdés, began their professional careers.

[2] Cuban composers working during this time period would later become integral to the cinematic industry as composers of film scores.

According to Robin Moore, Gonzalo Roig Lobo was born in Havana to a white family of tobacco growers on July 20, 1890 (140). He received a well-rounded artistic education in both the visual and musical arts. However, it was his music teacher, Gaspar Agüero Barreras, who inspired Roig to dedicate himself fully to music (Pérez Sanjurjo 500). Roig first mastered the violin, then the bass, and finally the piano. Enrique Río Prado indicates that his first musical composition was the song, "La voz del infortunio" (1907) and Roig's first work for lyric theater, El baúl del Diablo, with text by Manuel and Federico Ardois, was also completed in the year 1907 for performance at the Alhambra (342). In 1912, Roig became the orchestra leader at the Alhambra theater.

Regarding the librettists of Cecilia Valdés, José Sanchez-Arcilla y García was born in 1903, although it is unclear whether he is originally from Guanabacoa, Cuba or Madrid, Spain, although he did first begin writing for a theater company in Guanabacoa (Río Prado 366). Later, in Havana, he continued working as a journalist and editor of the newspapers, Avance and Diario de la Marina. Antonio Molina mentions that Sánchez-Arcilla was a poet as well (541). Sánchez-Arcilla's first works of lyric theater as a professional author, and almost all his subsequent compositions, premiered at the Alhambra Theater. Of note is his *sainete* El presidio modelo (1925) with music by Jorge Anckermann. He continued to work at the Alhambra until 1925.

Agustín Rodríguez was born in the small town of Vicedo, near Lugo, in Galicia, Spain in 1885. He arrived in Cuba sixteen years later and first earned a

living as a typographer. However, soon after, he began work at the Alhambra Theater as a prompter and eventually premiered his first lyrical work there (Río Prado 361). His first great success was the *sainete* Ramón el conquistador (1913) (Piñeiro Díaz, "Agustín Rodriguez" II: 633). José Piñeiro Díaz notes that Rodríguez stayed at the Alhambra for nineteen years and, alongside Federico Villoch and Gustavo Robreño, he was one of the most widely recognized and popular writers there ("Agustín Rodriguez" II: 633). Even though Rodríguez continued to write, he became especially interested in creating and managing theater companies, initially organizing groups that resided at the Alhambra.

It was Agustín Rodríguez who had connections to both Gonzalo Roig and José Sánchez-Arcilla. Roig gained initial fame with the song "Quiéreme mucho" (1911) with lyrics by Rodríguez and they later collaborated together on El problema de la frita at the Alhambra in either 1917 or 1921 (Río Prado 362). Rodríguez and Roig also collaborated on La guajirita del Ymurí o La mulata (1917) for the Alhambra Theater, ¿Quién tiró la bomba? (1920) for the *Teatro Payret*, and La gripe (1922) also for the Alhambra (Díaz Pérez, "Roig" II: 643). Rodríguez later worked with Sánchez-Arcilla at the *Teatro Payret* on El voto de las mujeres (1927). All three first collaborated on Frivolina (1928) at the Alhambra Theater (Díaz Pérez, "Roig" II: 643).

While José Sánchez-Arcilla and Agustín Rodríguez continued to work principally at the Alhambra, Gonzalo Roig supplemented his income at various movie theaters as a pianist and he played in a string quartet for tourists at the

Hotel Miramar Garden (Moore 140). It was really only in the 1920s that his reputation was firmly established. In 1922, he was chosen to direct the new *Orquesta sinfónica de la Habana* and by 1927 he also directed the *Escuela Municipal de Música* and the *Banda Nacional*. In 1930 the *Unión Panamericana de Washington* invited him to the United States to direct a series of concerts of Cuban music (Río Prado 342). Roig maintained his contacts with both Rodríguez and Sánchez-Arcilla while collaborating on El impuesto de los solteros (1930) and Roig then worked with Rodríguez on Los madrugadores (1931) and Las sensaciones de Julia (1931) (Díaz Pérez, "Roig" II: 643).

Talk of adapting Cirilo Villaverde's novel Cecilia Valdés into a zarzuela can be traced to around 1929 when the newspaper, El mundo, announced a competition for a libretto for Cecilia Váldes, with a prize of 100 *pesos* to be decided by jury (Río Prado 92). In 1930, the *Teatro Payret* announced that Cecilia Valdés by Ernesto Lecouna and Gustavo Sánchez Galarraga would be part of their upcoming season (Río Prado 93). However, nothing came of these initial attempts to stage the novel.

In 1931, Agustín Rodríguez, now working principally as a director of theatrical companies, joined forces with another impresario, Manuel Suárez Pastoriza. Together they formed the *Compañía de Zarzuela Cubana* to be housed at the *Teatro Martí*. Gonzalo Roig, an accomplished musician, composer, teacher, and orchestral director, was named the new musical director of this company alongside Rodrigo Prats, and José Sánchez-Arcilla, a skilled writer and journalist,

immediately became involved as a librettist for various projects. In December of 1931, the Havana newspapers announced that Rodríguez, Sánchez-Arcilla, and Roig would premiere Cecilia Valdés (Río Prado 93-95).

Performance processes can be theorized as a series of sequential events comprised first of rehearsals, then performance, and, finally, spectator and critical response (Schechner 261). However, in order to generate interest and heighten excitement for the premiere of Cecilia Valdés, the authors invited theater critics to attend rehearsals before the initial performance. On March 11, 1932, the Heraldo de Cuba announced, "Gonzalo Roig quiere, y así nos lo ha hecho saber, que la crítica de los diarios habaneros la oiga una audición privada que ofrecerá a los encargados de las secciones teatrales en los diarios el próximo jueves" (qted in Río Prado 96). Interestingly, Gonzalo Roig seemingly takes all the credit for Cecilia Valdés and constructs himself as the inspired professional musician, completely absorbed in his creation:

> La *Cecilia Valdés* yo la escribí en un mes y días. Pero no fue solo escribirla, sino instrumentarla también. Yo no vivía nada más que para aquello. Me ponía un mono por la mañana, me iba para el teatro y allí me llevaban la comida. Igual componía a las tres de la mañana que a las dos de la tarde. Y esa obra se logró por el afán mío de que se hiciera *Cecilia Valdés* para teatro, porque yo la veía. (qted in Río Prado 95)

Critical response to the zarzuela Cecilia Valdés, both prior to and after the initial performance, was overwhelmingly positive.

4.4. A New Heroine for the Cuban Nation in the Zarzuela Cecilia Valdés

The adaptation of Villaverde's "novela de costumbres cubanas" for lyric theater presented a challenge for the librettists because of the novel's numerous narrative layers, intertextuality, and long list of characters representing different ethnicities and socio-economic statuses, in both the urban environment of Havana and in the countryside. However, in their structuring and organizing of the plot, the librettists were able to create a musical-dramatic work that seemingly mirrored Villaverde's original text, so much so that critic Juan Bonich after the premiere at the *Teatro Martí* on March 26, 1932 wrote, "<<Cecilia Valdés>> llevada por ellos a la escena es positivamente la <<Cecilia Valdés>> de Cirilo Villaverde […] los que no leyeron la novela y han asistido al teatro, conocen ya la obra de Villaverde" (qted in Río Prado 207). Bonich was not the only critic to remark on how the zarzuela faithfully reproduced the novel by Cirilo Villaverde. Franciso Ichaso comments, "Los señores Agustín Rodríguez y José Sánchez Arcilla, al hacer la transcripción escénica de <<Cecilia Valdés>>, han rendido tributo de lealtad a Cirilo Villaverde. Han trasplantado lo pintoresco del ambiente, han respetado los caracteres" (qted in Río Prado 209-210).

Instead of the typical two- or three- act work, the librettists divided the zarzuela into multiple scenes that correspond directly to the various backdrops of the novelistic action. The zarzuela is comprised of a prologue, eight scenes, an epilogue, and an apotheosis. The prologue and scene three take place at Josefa's house; Scenes one and five are set in the streets of Havana; Scene two happens at

the Gamboa family mansion; Scene four takes place in the countryside (both at the Ilincheta coffee plantation and the Gamboa sugar plantation); Scene six is set in a dance hall; Scene seven provides an intimate look into Leonardo and Cecilia's "love nest"; Scene eight happens at the church were Leonardo and Isabel are married; and, finally, the epilogue and apotheosis close the zarzuela at the women's hospital of San Francisco de Paula. The librettists then simply inserted the different events referenced throughout the entire course of the novel into the frames of each location. Musically, the zarzuela also offered an eclectic mix of rhythms and melodies, from the *contradanza*, a nineteenth-century ballroom dance, to *tango-congo*, originally linked to nineteenth-century Kings' Day processions by Blacks, both articulated anew in the twentieth century (Moore 278; 286).

Within the constraints of the internal pressures of the *machadato* and the external demands of US imperialism, Cuban artists were working to articulate symbolically new notions of "Cubanness" and now more than ever would be the crucial moment to (re)create foundational fictions. As we have seen, it was through musical-dramatic performance in Cuban theaters that the *mulata* became the body on which to inscribe and reproduce new meanings. Within this new cultural context demanding a new heroine for the nation, and through the seemingly authentic frame of Villaverde's colonial novel, the librettists subtly rearticulate the main character Cecilia Valdés as "portadora del mestizaje como fuerza fundadora" (Lamore 47). Reinforced through continuous performance, the

Cecilia Valdés now being reproduced and inscribed in the collective memory was a redeemed heroine.

In the zarzuela, Cecilia exudes confidence and, like her counterparts in other musical-dramatic works of the time such as María la O and Amalia Batista, and similar to some operatic arias of other traditions, she proudly asserts her origins and identity (Río Prado 153-54). Supported by the chorus, Cecilia makes her grand entrance in the following way:

TODOS: - Cecilia Valdés, Cecilia Valdés . . .

CECIL: - Sí. Yo soy Cecilia Valdés.

TODOS: - Del barrio del Angel el alma es.
Cecilia Valdés, Cecilia Valdés.

CECIL: - Hierve la sangre en mis venas,
soy mestiza y no lo soy.
Yo no conozco las penas,
yo siempre cantando voy.
Siento en mi alma cubana
la alegría de vivir.
Soy cascabel, soy campana…
¡Y no sé lo que es sufrir!
[…]
Cecilia Valdés me llaman;
me enamora un bachiller;

mis amigas me reclaman . . .

Y algo debo de tener.

Yo soy bailadora fina

¡Un verdadero primor!

La danza a mí me fascina;

soy, bailando, la mejor.

¡Cecilia Valdés!

Mi nombre es

precursor de la alegría.

Yo canto y bailo a porfía . . .

¡Yo soy Cecilia Valdés! (Rodríguez and Sánchez-Arcilla 13)

In the novel, the adult Cecilia makes her entrance at the *casa de cuna* - nineteenth-century centers of music and dance and important social gatherings across racial, class, and gender lines - of Mercedes Ayala (Moore 277). Enrique Río Prado explains that changing Cecilia's grand entrance from *casa de cuna* to Cathedral plaza may have been implemented by the librettists to distinguish Cecilia Valdés from Ernesto Lecouna's María la O (1930), where the first scene opens at the *cuna* of Caridad Almendares (177). Nonetheless, this scene at one point does reference the *cuna* of Mercedes Ayala and, as indicated in Villaverde's novel, the streets of Havana are another key place for social contact and where the roving Cecilia spent much of her time, and are, therefore, an acceptable substitution for the zarzuela. What is crucial in Cecilia's entrance into the

musical-dramatic work is that she is clearly not ashamed of her mixed ancestry and proudly asserts, not only that she is a *mestiza*, but that she is, above all, Cuban ("soy mestiza y no lo soy./ […] Siento en mi alma cubana/ la alegría de vivir"). Therefore, her ability to "pass as white" and hopefully better her position in society through a relationship with a white man is not a prominent feature of the libretto.

Instead, the focus is on the true love she feels for Leonardo. Cecilia explains to a skeptical José Dolores Pimienta, "Me quiere, José Dolores. Me quiere y me hace feliz" (Rodríguez and Sanchez-Arcilla 24). However, a union between Leonardo and Cecilia is ultimately impossible, not so much because of social status or even race, but because of the fact that they are brother and sister. Doris Sommer points out that in Villaverde's novel, the narrator "cannot bring himself to say the obvious about the heroine's obscure background" (Proceed with Caution 187). In the zarzuela, on the other hand, in scene three, Don Cándido Gamboa makes it clear, at least to the audience, that Leonardo and Cecilia are siblings as Leonardo enters Cecilia's home for a last amorous encounter before leaving for the Gamboa plantation in the countryside. Don Cándido tries to intercept them, bangs on the door and shouts, "¡Dios mío! ¡Qué horror! ¡Ellos juntos! Y yo sin poder evitarlo . . . Sin poderles decir que no se pueden querer porque son hermanos . . . ¡hermanos!" (Rodríguez and Sánchez-Arcilla 28).

Although Cecilia Valdés is still, at times, referred to in the zarzuela as "dangerous" and "jealous", these discourses are definitely not as strong as in Villaverde's novel and Cecilia, more than anything, is constructed as a victim of circumstances beyond her control. As an infant, she and her family fall prey to the devices of Don Cándido Gamboa who in scene one immediately snatches Cecilia away after her birth, in spite of the protests of Josefa and even Doctor Montes de Oca: "No hay tiempo que perder. Deme la niña. . ." (Rodríguez and Sánchez-Arcilla 7). This cruel act instantaneously causes Rosario's slip into insanity: "¡No! ¡Me roban mi hija, me la roban! ¡Miserable! ¡Ah! […] (Ya sus gritos denotan que ha perdido el juicio) ¡Mi hija! ¡Mi hija!" (Rodríguez and Sánchez-Arcilla 8-9). Later as an adult, Cecilia is deceived by Leonardo and further manipulated by the designs of Doña Rosa, Don Cándido Gamboa's wife and Leonardo's mother, who, in order to exact revenge on her husband for his past wandering ways, is complicit in the incestuous relationship between Leonardo and Cecilia. Doña Rosa frees Cecilia from the *Casa de Recogidas* where Don Cándido had her placed in order to separate her from Leonardo, sets up the two young lovers in a "love nest" on *calle de las damas*, and, when Leonardo admits to being bored with his love-affair, she agrees to look after the daughter he has with Cecilia, taking on the role Don Cándido himself played for so many years.

The victimization of Cecilia Valdés, which inspires pity and identification in the audience, is highlighted by the character of the crazy ex-slave Dolores Santa Cruz who, in the zarzuela, has a very prominent role. From Villaverde's

novel we learn that Dolores Santa Cruz was an industrious slave who was able to buy her freedom, a home, slaves of her own, and she then opened a retail business. Although not explained in detail, she was taken to court over an ownership dispute over her property. Because of the long legal battle and high costs paid to attorneys, she lost everything that she worked for and ended up a slave to poverty. This caused her to go crazy, roaming the street in rags repeating, "¡Po! ¡pó! Aquí va Dolores Santa Cruz. Yo no tiene dinero, no come, no duerme. Los ladrones me quitan cuanto tiene. ¡Po! ¡po! ¡Poó!" (Villaverde 321). In the zarzuela, Dolores Santa Cruz directly precedes the exuberant entrance of Cecilia Valdés in scene one and her suffering serves as a contrast to the happiness and optimism of the protagonist. The wording of her litany is almost exactly the same as Villaverde's novel except now the *bozal* speech, originally from the *teatro vernáculo*, is emphasized over a *tango-congo* rhythm: "Pó. Pó. Aquí tá Dolore Santa Cru, que no tiene dinero, ni come, ni duerme, poqué lo abogao y lo caballero le quitaron toitico cuanto tiene. Pó. Pó. Pó" (Rodríguez and Sánchez-Arcilla 12). Río Prado believes that Dolores Santa Cruz is "el papel de destino omnipresente, eje conductor de la vida de los personajes protagónicos, ave agorera, pitonisa, en cuya locura está al corriente de lo que sucede y prevé y anuncia el desenlace final de la obra" (162). Along the same lines, I see Dolores Santa Cruz as a continuation of the *negra lucumí* character-type, generally a mystic figure who predicts the future, from the *teatro vernáculo* tradition, although she is now no longer a comedic character (Moore 283). The *negra*

lucumí is also found in Ernesto Lecuona's piano compositions of the same period, which attests to the character's resurgence within the new cultural context of *Afrocubanismo*.

Although not indicated exactly where in the libretto, through an examination of the musical recording of the zarzuela we see that Dolores Santa Cruz performs a second *tango-congo* in which she tells the tale of Tanilá from the barrio of Manglar who seduces Mercé and then abandons her. These metaficional references to Dolores Santa Cruz's own life-story and then the tale of Tanilá and Mercé serve as prophetic utterings which both warn of and foreshadow Cecilia Valdés's own disparaging fall.

In effect, Cecilia's most difficult moments come to pass in scene seven, set in Leonardo and Cecilia's love nest. The character Cecilia opens the scene by singing a lullaby to her infant daughter:

> Duerme, hija mía, mi pequeña, duerme . . .
>
> Duerme arrullada por mi triste canción.
>
> Duerme, inocente; ten sueños de rosa . . .
>
> No escuches las quejas de mi corazón. (Rodríguez and Sánchez-Arcilla 36).

Cecilia then mentions to her friend Nemesia that Leonardo has not come to visit for some time and Nemesia reveals that Leonardo is going to marry Isabel that very day. Distraught, Cecilia asks aloud who will punish this crime, and at that moment, the musician José Dolores Pimienta appears. It is essential to note that

José Dolores is a strikingly different character in the zarzuela: He is jealous, vindictive, and adopts a menacing tone whenever the topic of Cecilia's relationship with Leonardo comes up: "[…] aquí estoy yo para protegerte, para vengarte. […] Un día te lo ofrecí, ¿te acuerdas? Quien se atreve a hacerte llorar, sea quien sea, tendrá que habérselas con José Dolores Pimienta. Y ese miserable, ese canalla te ha hecho llorar, Cecilia . . . (Con voz amenazadora)" (Rodríguez and Sánchez-Arcilla 38). Even José Dolores Pimienta's music is tinged with hate when in scene six he plays a clarinet solo at a celebration held in honor of Leonardo's graduation and his future marriage to Isabel, which, according to the notes of the musical recording, "reflects his hate and despise for Leonardo's betrayal" (Roig n. pag.).

In the novel, there is no question that it is Cecilia who manipulatively asks José Dolores Pimienta to kill for her: "¡José Dolores! José Dolores de mi alma! Ese casamiento no debe efectuarse. […] ¡José! ¡José Dolores! ¡A *ella*, a *él* no!" (Villaverde 637) But in the zarzuela, Cecilia is no longer guilty of orchestrating the murder: It is José Dolores who decides that Leonardo must die and Cecilia actually tries to stop him: "¡No! ¡No! ¡Sujétalo, Nemesia! ¡No, no!" (Rodríguez and Sanchez-Arcilla 38). But she arrives too late, and as in the case of Dolores Santa Cruz, justice turns a blind eye to the innocent and Cecilia is committed to the women's hospital for the crime. However, there is hope for Cecilia Valdés as the librettists of the zarzuela deal with Villaverde's tragic ending in an innovative way.

The epilogue of the zarzuela begins with the female voices of the hospital of San Francisco de Paula. One of the voices asks God to punish the man who enjoys the company of another woman in the barrio of Manglar while she suffers. This reference to the man of Manglar points directly to Tanilá from Dolores Santa Cruz's second *tango-congo* and this female voice, then, must be that of Mercé. Dolores Santa Cruz then enters singing "Pó. Pó. Pó", but Madre Soledad, who cares for the wards, is finally able to calm her and quiet her down. Madre Soledad then converses with the recently recovered Rosario, Cecilia's mother from scene one. Madre Soledad confides to Rosario that a new woman has been ordered to spend a year confined to the hospital for ordering the death of her lover in a jealous rage. Through learning more about this new ward, Rosario slowly begins to remember her past, and mother and daughter are reunited when Rosario recognizes the half-moon mark on Cecilia's shoulder. This reunion is declared a miracle by Madre Soledad and Rosario gives thanks to the *Virgen de la Caridad del Cobre* for answering her prayers. As pointed out by Fernanda Macchi, unlike the novel which points decisively to the over-arching power of civil law, in the final scene of the zarzuela a superior or divine sense of justice is evoked (83). The stage directions of the libretto clarify that the Virgin actually appears on stage in the closing moments of the zarzuela: "(En rápida trasmutación, aparece en lo alto La Virgen de la Caridad del Cobre envuelta en cendales de luz.)" (Rodríguez and Sanchez-Arcilla 42). I believe this apparition of the Virgin on stage is a reworking of the long-standing operatic technique of *Deus ex machina*, according to the New

Grove Dictionary of Opera, the intervention of a divine figure, typically hoisted on stage with machinery, frequently employed to bring about a reversal of fortune in tragic circumstances or to resolve a hopeless situation (1141-42). Prostrate in front of the Patroness of Cuba, Cecilia Valdés asks for forgiveness by singing a *sanctus*, not for the heinous crime attributed to her name, but rather for having sinned for love,:

> ¡Virgen santa, Virgen buena,
> Cecilia Valdés pecó;
> pero Cristo perdonó
> un día a la Magdalena
> por un pecado de amor! (Rodríguez and Sánchez-Arcilla 42).

The zarzuela libretto also makes it clear that this final moment of the zarzuela is an "apotheosis", which according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, is an "elevation to divine status" or "deification" (50). Through the process of confession and absolution, Cecilia Valdés, "la virgencita de bronce," is put on a pedestal and directly linked to the Patroness of Cuba herself. Macchi remarks that "La virgin constituye en Cuba el símbolo de unidad racial por excelencia […] La aparición de la virgen de la que esta vez la audiencia toda es testigo redime a Cecilia de sus pecados y recompone en escena una familia [cubana]" (84). The zarzuela then ends full-circle with the same musical love theme from the opening prologue, "El corazón no sabe mentir", but this time the music highlights the

symbolic (re)union and (re)construction of a Cuban "family", instead of the moment when it was torn apart (Roig n. pag.).

In Cuba, after the initial performance of Cecilia Valdés in 1932, it was performed daily (twice on Saturdays and Sundays) for almost a month and the representations were only interrupted because the actors/singers needed a break, especially since they were also performing different roles in other theaters at the time (Río Prado 96). But after a brief repose, the performances continued. Eventually, the zarzuela Cecilia Valdés by Agustín Rodríguez, José Sánchez-Arcilla, and Gonzalo Roig was not only available to Cuban audiences, but to those around the globe through both traveling companies of Cuban zarzuela and local musical theater groups interested in the genre with access to the libretto, score, and stage directions. It would eventually be through the new technologies of radio and recording of the modern music industry that the music from the zarzuela, "freed from the social context of its production", reached new audiences not necessarily tied spatially to the theater (Martin 21-22).

Now, through an examination of the *ópera chica* Adiós a la bohemia by the composer Pablo Sorozábal and the writer Pío Baroja in chapter five, we shall see other important ways in which modern life impacted lyric theater.

CHAPTER 5

SPECTERS OF MODERNITY: BOHEMIA, MUSIC, AND THE THEATER IN ADIÓS A LA BOHEMIA BY PABLO SOROZÁBAL AND PÍO BAROJA

TRINI.- *¡Qué pena!*
Tú hubieras sido un gran pintor.
RAMÓN.- (Con sonrisa dolorosa.)
Bah!... ¡Tú que sabes!
TRINI.- *Todos lo decían*
cuando vivíamos juntos:
¡Ramón es un artista!...
¡Ramón llegará!...
RAMÓN.- *Pues ya ves:*
todos se han equivocado.
Adiós a la bohemia (1933)

Pío Baroja y Nessi (1872-1956) was one of Spain's most important and prolific novelists of the twentieth century. He was born on December 28, 1872 in San Sebastián, however his middle-class family moved frequently and he spent his youth also in Madrid, Pamplona, and Valencia (Orringer and Faber 36). According to Nelson Orringer and Sebastiaan Faber, Baroja was a voracious reader of novels, poetry, and plays by writers from all traditions (36). But when it came to choosing a professional career, Baroja opted for medicine. While studying the sciences, he became simultaneously interested in philosophy and amplified his reading to include Immanuel Kant, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, and Arthur Schopenhauer. Ultimately, it would be Schopenhauer and Friedrich

Nietzsche who would most influence Baroja (Orringer and Faber 37). Although Baroja obtained his doctorate in medicine in 1893, his career as a practicing physician, mainly in rural Basque towns, was short-lived. In 1895, he returned to San Sebastián where he experimented with other professions until he finally settled on writing in 1899.

With approximately sixty-six novels published between 1900 and 1956, the most widely recognized being El árbol de la ciencia (1911), critics almost exclusively focus on his novelistic production (Orringer and Faber 35). Another frequent topic of critical inquiry are his essays or autobiographical writings, mainly because, in the words of Orringer and Faber, his "literary production was often autobiographical and always intensely personal" (35). But there is another facet to Pío Baroja's work that deserves further exploration: his contribution to both theater and lyric theater, and his ideas about performance and music. Although Baroja claimed in "Nuestra generación", "Yo he tenido poca curiosidad por los autores dramáticos, por el teatro y por los cómicos" and "he ido poco al teatro", we know that by 1902 Baroja worked as a theater critic for the newspaper El globo and Baroja, like other authors of his time, had an eye towards writing for the stage from the very beginning of his professional career (83; Orringer and Faber 39).

In 1899, Pío Baroja wrote the short story "Caídos", set in a Madrid café. But instead of prose narrative, Baroja structured it like a script for a play, first with a description of the scenery that then transitions to a lengthy dialogue

between Ramón, a failed artist and ex-painter who plans to leave Madrid to return to the countryside of his birth, and Trini, his once lover and model who now works as a prostitute on the streets of the Spanish capital. The only other character who intervenes in the conversation is the waiter who simply asks if they would like, "¿Café?" (Baroja, "Caídos" 159). Towards the end of the story, the scenery changes as Ramón and Trini leave the café together to explore the city and take the tram to an unknown destination. Seeing that Ramón is low on tobacco, Trini promises to buy him cigarettes and they exit the tram to take a coach. Ramón says, "¡Es lástima! Si no estuviéramos los dos caídos…¿eh? seríamos buena gente" (Baroja, "Caídos" 162). In addition to integrating theatrical aspects into the story, Baroja adds music at the end with Trini's evasive reply and final lines: "¡Cállate! ¡No hables de cosas tristes! (*Cantando*.): Tengo yo una bicicleta/ que costó dos mil pesetas,/ y que corre más que el tren" (Baroja, "Caídos" 162). "Caídos" was published as part of Baroja's first book Vidas sombrías in 1900.

Although not explicitly stated in the story, the implication is that Ramón and Trini are not only characters on the margins of Madrid society, but are "fallen" bohemians by virtue of the artistic, non-conventional lifestyle they once shared. It is important to understand that the figure of the bohemian and bohemianism in general arose as a reaction to the values of fast-changing, modern societies. Christine Stansell remarks that "[t]he turn to bohemia was one manifestation of gathering revulsion against a society that seemed locked in a stranglehold of bourgeois resolve" (14). Its origins are in Paris, around the 1830s,

and its name was taken from that of the Central European Kingdom, where gypsies supposedly came from, therefore immediately conveying a sense of counterculture (Stansell 17). Bohemianism can be viewed as a performance in everyday life played out on the stage of the modern city and it has inspired many literary and musical-dramatic depictions in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[1] Stansell explains that "bohemia proved to have enduring fascination. As a lived experience it was never quite separate from its celebration (and condemnation) in print and on the stage" (17).

Henri Murger (1822-1861) first captured this counterculture, which now included many artists and writers, set to the urban backdrop of Paris in a series of magazine articles in the early 1840s, then in the play La Vie Bohème (1849), and finally in the novel Scènes de la Vie Bohème (1851). Descriptions of the quickly growing urban sphere and these new "urban specimens" greatly appealed to nineteenth-century writers absorbed in both *costumbrista* sketches of everyday life and realist descriptions (Stansell 17). Although Bizet's Carmen (1875) based on Prosper Mérimée's novel is considered to be the first realist opera, it was Murger's novel that became the basis for not one, but two realist operas of the 1890s: the four-act La Bohème (1896) by Giacomo Puccini and the four-act La Bohème by Ruggiero Leoncavallo (1897). By 1904, Murger's Parisian bohemia

[1] The anthropologist Victor Turner recognized that ritual changed between traditional and modern cultures. In modern societies, with advanced industrialization and a marked division of labor, Turner felt that ritual was supplanted by the arts, entertainment, and recreation. Furthermore, he postulated that the growth of counter-cultures in modern societies was partially an attempt to recuperate the power and sense of community of traditional ritual and the state of liminality created by the ritual process (Schechner 67).

was adapted for performance in Madrid by the Spanish composer Amadeo Vives (1871-1932) and the librettists Guillermo Perrín and Miguel de Palacios as the one-act work of *género chico* Bohemios.

It was during the Restoration period that Spain underwent an intense period of modernization which would have consequently fostered the development of countercultures in reaction to these wide-spread changes. Víctor Fuentes considers the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century the "Golden Age" of Spanish bohemianism (12). This was clearly the time period in which Baroja wrote the short story "Caídos", and although Baroja denies that he himself was ever part of the bohemian lifestyle, he obviously participated in the cultural debates of his time and the story very much reflects the lives of the people Fuentes calls "los 'desheredados' de la ciudad moderna" (107).[2] However, Peter Brooker notes that as the gears of modernity shifted and changed so too did the figure of the bohemian: "The bohemian was the product of and reaction to changing forms of modernity, and the persona correspondingly altered" (7).

The early twentieth century became especially tumultuous for Spain: The extreme right and left jockeyed for power, revolts, such as the one in Catalonia (1909), were violently suppressed, and in 1917 major strikes in all the principal cities paralyzed the economy. Internationally, Spain became embroiled in further

[2] Baroja writes: "Muchas veces a mí me han dicho: Usted ha sido un bohemio, ¿verdad? Yo siempre he contestado que no. Podrá uno haber vivido una vida más o menos desarreglada en una época; pero yo no he sentido jamás el espíritu de la bohemia" ("Bohemia o seudobohemia" 73).

overseas conflict in Morocco, which would eventually lead to the defeat of the Spanish army at Annual in 1921, and the outbreak of World War I (1914-1918) divided the people of an officially neutral Spain. By 1923, the military overthrew parliamentary government, ending the system of alternating control between parties. With King Alfonso XIII still commander-in-chief, Captain General Miguel Primo de Rivera was named prime minister in order to give his dictatorship legitimacy. Although greatly opposed by intellectuals such as Miguel de Unamuno and Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, Primo de Rivera had the support of the general Spanish public. In the name of restoring order and progress, the Spanish constitution was suspended, the press was censored, and the important cultural institution of the *Ateneo* in Madrid was closed. The dictatorship would last for seven years.

In the face of these growing tragedies, not only was faith in the ideals of modernity waning, but also perhaps the "doomed enthusiasm for the life of the spirit" embodied in bohemia (Graña 72). Interestingly, this was the period in which Baroja revisited his short story "Caídos" from his first publication and remade it into the play now clearly titled Adiós a la bohemia. The change from "Caídos" to Adiós a la bohemia is significant as it represents a shift from the re-creation of the bohemian life of Madrid as the social and aesthetic reaction to modernization through the eyes of two "fallen" and marginalized characters, Ramón and Trini, to a realization that this entire world itself is increasingly obsolete and about to come to an end, not only by virtue of the overwhelming

powers of modernization, but also through relentless social upheaval that would eventually be dealt with through increasing authoritarianism, first in the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and, after the Spanish Civil War, in the dictatorship of General Francisco Franco.

In Adiós a la bohemia, The central story of Ramón and Trini remains largely the same, but the action is now entirely centered in the café and Baroja amplified the setting through the addition of various other characters such as a man who reads the newspaper El heraldo, a man with a cape, a group of young artists, and finally, a pimp who comes to take Trini away in the end. In this second version music plays an increasingly important role: A pair of café musicians, a violinist and a pianist, begins to play the symphony from Pietro Mascagni's realist opera Cavalleria rusticana (1890). The play notes that, "Ramón y la Trini escuchan sin hablar. Sólo se oyen las voces de los artistas, que discuten, y los siseos del público, que protesta de la charla" (Baroja, Adiós a la bohemia 97). Theodor Adorno in his essay "Music in the background" notes that, for the most part, music is silenced by modern life, forcing listeners to travel to spaces outside of their everyday existence – such as the concert hall – to experience music. However, in Adorno's opinion, ordinary musical life is still present, although pushed into the background, in the café. In the café,

> [m]usic belongs; it may have been shooed off the street, but not to the distant reaches of formalized art. Rather, it keeps the customers company – the tired ones with their stimulating drink, the busy ones at their

> negotiations, even the newspaper readers; even the flirts, if there still are any. The first characteristic of background music is that you don't have to listen to it. No stillness surrounds it with an insulating layer. It seeps into the murmur of the conversations. ("Music in the background" 507)

Live-performance café music is one of the last remnants of a musical life in the modern world, but at the same time it is not original music but rather an arrangement of much more extensive works from the past. Adorno continues:

> No original compositions are played, no piece as it is conceived. Everything is in arrangements for the salon orchestra, which falsifies and alters it. It softens grandly conceived passages into intimacy, blows up tender ones with tremolo and vibrato. The works dissolve in all this, and dissolved works, by those once famous, then forgotten masters, are the right ones for background music. The question is only whether they stop at dissolution. In dissolution the works fall silent. Here they become audible once again. […] the café arranges bouquets of dead flowers. ("Music in the background" 508)

This café arrangement of music from Cavalleria rusticana causes Ramón and Trini to reminisce in further detail about their past life together before their final farewell. Through a reexamination of their past, they reflect on their seemingly naïve hopes at that time for the future and sadly realize that all of their shared friends and acquaintances have also failed, intensifying even more their present disillusionment and tragic situation.

According to Javier Suárez-Pajares, Adiós a la bohemia was first published in El cuento semanal in 1911 and then in Baroja's collection of works Nuevo tablado de Arlequín (1917) ("Adiós" I: 11). However, it would be in the theater, "poised at the center of social and intellectual life in urban centers and enjoying a popularity that no other art form could rival until the advent of film", and through performance that Baroja's work would become increasingly important during the difficult social and political conditions in Spain (Dougherty, "Theater and Culture" 211). Adiós a la bohemia was first performed for audiences in Madrid at the Cervantes Theater in 1923, alongside the theatrical adaptation of his second novel of the trilogy Tierra Vasca, El mayorazo de Labraz (1903). Adiós a la bohemia was performed again in 1926 for a more intimate gathering at the inaugural session of El mirlo blanco, the non-professional theater group founded by Ricardo Baroja and his wife Carmen Monné, together with the *sainete* Arlequín, mancebo de botica o Los pretendientes de Columbina (Lima 36). Interestingly, around the same time that performances of Pío Baroja's play Adiós a la bohemia were taking place in Madrid, Ramón María del Valle-Inclán (1866-1936) published (1920) and revised (1924) his theatrical work Luces de bohemia, which describes the last night in the life of the failed writer Max Estrella, based on the historical figure of Alejandro Sawa. Here Valle-Inclán develops his aesthetic of *esperpento*, or a type of grotesque deformation of reality. In the words of his main character Max, "El sentido trágico de la vida española sólo puede darse con una estética sistemáticamente deformada" (Valle-Inclán 162). Society is

literally placed in front of a mirror and its ridiculous projection becomes a new way to view it as both humorous and absurd, as well as a way to critique it. In 1926, Adiós a la bohemia made its way to San Sebastián where it was performed at the Principal Theater (Suárez-Pajares, "Adiós" I: 11). The musician who played the role of the café violinist for the San Sebastián production was the young musician Pablo Sorozábal Mariezcurrena (1897-1988).

In 1931 Pablo Sorozábal, now an established composer who had abandoned the pursuit of absolute music for lyric theater, was in search of a new story-line of a more social character tied to the realities of modern life in Spain (Ruiz Silva 60). By the 1930s, the crises of modernity were becoming more acute: The Great Depression of 1930 caused economies world-wide to slow down and mounting discontent over the socio-economic situation in Spain and calls for social revolution from various key sectors eventually forced Primo de Rivera to resign in 1930. King Alfonso XIII promptly appointed General Dámaso Berenguer in his place, but the King was forced to flee without abdicating. In 1931, the Second Republic was established, but it inherited the unresolved, but now severe, issues plaguing the country, such as economic difficulties and debt, changing political coalitions and polarization, and continued social unrest. It was at this time that Sorozábal remembered Pío Baroja's short play from five years before and contacted the writer directly (Ruiz Silva 60). As well as being the original author of the play, Baroja agreed to serve as the librettist for the project. The first version of the *ópera chica* Adiós a la bohemia was completed in 1931.

However, it did not premiere until 1933 at the Calderón Theater in Madrid with Sorozábal serving as conductor.

5.1. Pablo Sorozábal Mariezcurrena

Pablo Sorozábal was born September 18, 1897 in San Sebastián. His parents were Basque farmers who had moved from the countryside to the city in search of better economic opportunities for their family. The young Sorozábal took advantage of the free music classes offered by Manuel Cendoya at the Academy of Fine Arts. Although his father hoped he might sing, Sorozábal continued his studies on the violin and the piano at the *Orfeón Donostiarra* with Alfredo de Larrocha and Germán Cendoya (Suárez-Pajares, "Sorozábal" II: 788). There, Sorozábal participated as a musician in the San Sebastián premiere of the Basque opera Mendi Mendiyan by José María Usandizaga. For extra money, he also performed as a musician in a cinema trio.

In 1914, Sorozábal obtained a position in the Gran Kursall Orchestra directed by his teacher Larrocha. Later, this orchestra grew into a full symphonic ensemble led by the Madrid- and London-based composer Enrique Fernández Arbós (1863-1939), who was also a colleague of both Isaac Albéniz and Tomás Bretón. It was through Arbós, who had studied and worked in both Belgium and Germany, that Sorozábal first began to take special interest in German music (Suárez-Pajares, "Sorozábal" II: 788). As the family's economic situation greatly improved, in 1918 Sorozábal left the orchestra and he experimented with the

bohemian lifestyle as a pianist in the Café del Norte and as part of the artistic group, "los independientes" (Suárez-Pajares, "Sorozábal" II: 788). According to Sorozábal's memoirs, Mi vida y mi obra, it was also around this time that he read Henri Murger's Scènes de la Vie de Bohème, became familiar with Puccini's score for the opera La Bohème, and discussed Paris with a Mexican couple who had just come to Spain after living in the Latin Quarter as artists for some time (49-50). But this lifestyle came to an end one year later when Sorozábal was called to complete his military service.

After his service, he moved to Madrid to become a violinist in the Philharmonic Orchestra and also found extra work in another café. In the Spanish capital, his hopes to have his two compositions, a quartet and his symphonic poem, Capricho español, performed were frustrated and Sorozábal returned to San Sebastián (Suárez-Pajares, "Sorozábal" II: 788). In 1920, his talent was finally recognized as he received a government scholarship to study abroad in Leipzig.

Especially after World War I, Germany was no longer the chosen destination of study for the up and coming professional musician. Paris was now the cultural capital of Europe with such illustrious composers of modern music as Maurice Ravel, Claude Debussy, and Paul Dukas, and where Spanish composers such as Manuel de Falla (1876-1946) chose to live, study, and perform. However, as we have seen, Sorozábal was influenced early on by the German musical training of Arbós, and according to José Luis Téllez, as a young man, Sorozábal was also intrigued by the Romantic writings of the German composer Robert

Schumann (1810-1856) (18). However, once in post-war Germany, Sorozábal admits to feeling isolated and marginalized as a foreign artist. He writes, "En aquella época de la posguerra y la inflación los alemanes odiaban a todos los extranjeros y yo pagaba una culpa sin haber cometido mas delito que tocar el violín y pretender estudiar música" (Mi vida 85). In Germany, Sorozábal would meet only one other Spaniard studying music, Víctor Doreste, with whom he would become very close.

In Leipzig, Sorozábal studied with Stephan Krehl and Hans Sitt. Of Krehl Sorozábal writes:

> Él me dio lecciones particulares en su casa. Vivía Krehl en el barrio musical, situado a espaldas de la antigua y famosa sala de conciertos *Gewandhaus*. Todas las calles de ese simpático barrio llevaban nombres de músicos famosos. Mi profesor vivía nada menos que en la calle de Juan Sebastián Bach, y para llegar a ella tenía que atravesar muchas calles que por sus nombres era una evocación de la historia de la música. Yo leía con fruición los rótulos y me sentía orgulloso de ver que una población había dado tales nombres a todo un barrio. (Mi vida 94)

As part of his training, Sorozábal was allowed to conduct the Symphonic Orchestra and he took advantage of this opportunity to finally include in the program his Capricho español from a few years prior (Suárez-Pajares, "Sorozábal" II: 788). In 1922, Sorozábal left Leipzig for Berlin where he had the option of studying composition with Hugo Kaun, Friedrich Koch, and even,

Arnold Schoenberg, the pioneer of atonality.[3] Sorozábal comments on Schoenberg in his memoirs:

> Yo conocía algunas composiciones de Schönberg, pero no me gustaban. Su pretendida atonalidad me parecía un experimento de laboratorio, un snobismo muy cerebral. Para mí si el arte no tiene calor humano, no es arte. Esa vanguardia que necesita crear un nuevo vocabulario para decir algo que luego no se entiende, no la comprendo. Para mí las palabras, los medios de expresión son lo de menos, lo que importa son las ideas, los sentimientos, y si se plasman con claridad y sencillez, mejor que mejor. (Mi vida 100)

Sorozábal opted to work with Koch, but in 1923, added economic stresses forced Sorozábal to supplement his income with none-music related jobs; he sold socks and made pillows (Suárez-Pajares, "Sorozábal" II: 788).

Despite all the years Sorozábal spent in Germany, his music made its way back to Spain as some of his choral works were performed in San Sebastián in his absence. Sorozábal also consistently returned in the summers to perform and conduct, slowly solidifying his reputation as an important musician and composer. He writes,

> Desde que llegué a Alemania, todos los veranos durante las vacaciones, o sea los meses de julio y agosto, volvía a San Sebastián, a casa de mis

[3] According to the Grove Music Online dictionary, "a fundamental development [of the atonality of Schoenberg, Berg and Webern] was the elimination of hierarchical pitch-class distinctions, typified in tonality by entities such as the major scale. This led to the use of all 12 pitch classes within small time spans" (Lansky and Perle "Atonality").

> padres. […] Mis éxitos como director de orquesta habían sido reflejados por la prensa donostiarra. Yo me había encargado de enviar las críticas alemanas a las redacciones de los periódicos. También mis coros vascos que había estrenado el Maestro Esnaola al frente del Orfeón Donostiarra habían tenido mucho éxito, así es que yo ya tenía cierta fama en mi pueblo. (Mi vida 106)

Inspired by his homeland, he wrote and premiered his Suite Vasca, based on the poetry of Emeterio Arrese, and Variaciones sinfónicas sobre un tema vasco (Suárez-Pajares, "Sorozábal" II: 789). In 1927, this last work caught the attention of an orchestra manager in Madrid who hired Sorozábal to conduct in the capital. But according to Suárez-Pajares, Sorozábal was growing increasingly unhappy with his economic situation and his prospects as a conductor of symphonic music ("Sorozábal" II: 789). Sorozábal explains further,

> Yo andaba ya por mis treinta años de edad y no tenía nada, excepto mi violín con el que, si había trabajo, podía ganarme la comida diaria. Este era mi capital. Mientras trabajaba en la instrumentación del Gernikako le daba vueltas en la cabeza pensando en mi situación y llegué a la conclusión de que, si se realizaba mi presentación como director en Madrid, aprovecharía la ocasión para ponerme en contacto con algún autor de libretos de zarzuela e intentaría escribir para el teatro. Esta idea al principio me dolió mucho, me parecía una claudicación ya que, por mi gusto, yo aspiraba a dedicarme exclusivamente a la música sinfónica, a la

> música pura, pero me daba cuenta de que eso era imposible y no conducía más que a la miseria. (Mi vida 110-11)

Around 1928, Sorozábal did begin to contact and meet various individuals of the Madrid theater world who eventually connected him to the librettists Emilio González del Castillo and Manuel Martí Alonso who, according to Sorozábal, also worked as inspectors of the train system (Mi vida 115). Sorozábal would collaborate with them, sometimes by long distance while he was in Germany, on Katiuska (1931), his first work for lyric theater. Sorozábal writes: "Yo rechazaba el ambiente de alpargata de las zarzuelas al uso y quería un ambiente de opereta y a poder ser moderno, del día" (Mi vida 115-16). This piece had a contemporary theme about a Soviet Commissar torn between love and duty set against the backdrop of the exodus of the Russian aristocracy after the Bolshevik Revolution (Webber, Zarzuela Companion 215-18). As a way to immortalize his former job in Berlin, Sorozábal included in the work the character of a Catalán sock-seller named Amadeo Pich (Suárez-Pajares, "Sorozábal" II: 789). Katiuska premiered in Barcelona and then traveled to Madrid.

In 1931, Sorozábal also composed the music for La guitarra de Fígaro with text by Ezsequiel Enderiz and Joaquín Fernandez Roa. In this work, he incorporated his Capricho Español from 1919 (Suárez-Pajares, "Sorozábal" II: 789). La guitarra de Fígaro premiered first in Bilboa and arrived later to the *Teatro de la Zarzuela* in Madrid in 1933. It was also through his connections to the theater world that Sorozábal met the Madrid-based actress and singer

Enriqueta Serrano and he conceived of his next work La isla de las perlas, set in the Pacific, specifically for her. La isla de las perlas premiered in 1933 and that same year Sorozábal and Serrano were married. He was now completely dedicated to both composing for the theater and staying in the capital. His fourth premiere for lyric theater would be Adiós a la bohemia written in collaboration with Pío Baroja.

5.2. Aesthetic Considerations That Shaped the Collaboration of Pablo Sorozábal and Pío Baroja

Dru Dougherty characterizes Spanish theater between the years of the First World War (1914-1918) and the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) as a "syncretic stage" because of the multiplicity of competing aesthetic and ideological currents ("Theater and Culture" 220). Works written and performed during this time varied among those influenced by foreign trends, others that utilized experimentation in line with avant-garde movements, some that incorporated politics or social issues into drama, and on the other side of the spectrum, those that pushed for a commercial theater with popular themes geared towards mass audiences (Dougherty, "Theater and Culture" 220). In the world of lyric theater, further calls for the renewal and regeneration pushed some writers and composers to move away from regional settings and storylines. At this point in time in his career, Sorozábal was not at all interested in what he believed to be the frivolous characters and simplistic storylines of zarzuela. He was looking for a way to

modernize musical theater and felt that this could be done through music based on librettos that moved away from certain set formulas. Sorozábal writes,

> Desde esas fechas seguramente preocupado por mi constante lucha con los libretos, empecé a pensar seriamente en los temas y ambientes teatrales que me gustaría componer. […] Mi mente buscaba un camino. Me hubiera gustado hacer un teatro más humano, con seres vivos y no con personajes refabricados, de guardarropía. Un teatro con menos oficio, menos carpintería teatral y más emoción […] y dándole vueltas a todo esto me acordé de una comedia muy cortita de Pío Baroja. […] se la vi representar varias veces. Yo estaba actuando en el mismo teatro […] como en la comedia de Baroja tenía que sonar un violín, fui yo el violinista. El recuerdo de esa comedia empezó a obsesionarme […]. (Mi vida 202)

However, it is important to recognize that Baroja seems to have felt some unease towards the performance of his writing. Performance gave his work a sense of immediacy as it interacted with a large public of spectators who almost instantaneously validated it or not. In the article "Con motivo de un estreno" written for the premiere of the play version of Adiós a la bohemia, Baroja compares novelistic to theatrical writing:

> En principio, lo que me ha estorbado más para hacer una obra de teatro ha sido la idea del público. Las novelas que yo he escrito las he hecho sin pensar gran cosa en el público. […] trabajo por dejarlo lo más agradable que puedo, pero no busco la aprobación de nadie […] Cierto, ya sé que, al

> escribir un libro, con el tiempo, algunas personas lo leerán, y hasta quizá me den su opinión; pero estas personas son para mí tan vagas, tan problemáticas, tan lejanas, tienen tan poca realidad, que no me preocupan. […] Esto me da cierta impresión de libertad, de irresponsabilidad; me hace pensar que un libro es como una carta escrita a la familia. Al pensar en una comedia o en drama, esas personas fantásticas que yo veo de ordinario en una perspectiva lejana se me acercan tanto en la imaginación, que se apoderan de ella, y se hacen tan reales, toman tal aire de Aristarcos, imponen tal número de condiciones y de exigencias, observan lo que hago, lo miden, lo pesan, lo comparan con esto y con lo otro, y me producen, a la larga, la inhibición y la perplejidad que me hacen abandonar mis proyectos. (230-31)

Similar to Sorozábal, what Baroja does admit to are the monetary advantages of writing for the theater:

> La pequeña escena dramática titulada Adiós a la bohemia, que se va a estrenar en el teatro Cervantes, no tiene nada de esotérico, y no se presta, por su parvedad de material, como dirían los antiguos, a un comentario. A mí, como a la mayoría de los escritores de libros, se me ha venido a la imaginación muchas veces la idea de escribir para el teatro, naturalmente atraído por la posibilidad del dinero y del éxito. […] Además de las seducciones del dinero y del éxito, podía existir, al pensar en hacer algo

> para el teatro, la ilusión de crear una cosa nueva […] El crear algo nuevo en el teatro me parece imposible. ("Con motivo de un estreno" 227-28)

Although Baroja claims that novelty in the theater is impossible, theater is not the only art form with limitations:

> El teatro, como arte puro, igual que la pintura, la escultura, la arquitectura, y quizá también la música, es un arte cerrado, amurallado, completo, que ha agotado su material; un arte que ha pasado del período de la cultura al de la civilización, como dirían Houston Stewart Chamberlain y el moderno autor de la decadencia de los pueblos occidentales. El teatro, desde hace mucho tiempo, ha dejado de inventar para repetirse. ("Con motivo de un estreno" 228)

While obvious from the quote, Fernando Varela Iglesias in his article "Baroja y la música" makes it clear that Baroja's ideas about the decadence of art forms parallel those of the German historian and philosopher Oswald Spengler in his work The Decline of the West (57).

Noticeably absent from Baroja's list of exhausted art forms is literature since, as he explains, literature still has the possibility of innovation through the use of narrative detail: "En la mayoría de las artes […] la formula no puede ser más que ésa: o repetir, o morir. […] Yo creo que actualmente en la literatura la única posibilidad está en los detalles" ("Con motivo de un estreno" 229). One of the literary details that Baroja employs throughout his vast literary production is abundant examples of music. As pointed out by Varela Iglesias, although in the

textual background, music in his narrative works has the ability to create or change the ambience of the characters' world and, many times, the characters themselves become involved in impassioned debates about the music of their time which reflect both philosophical inquiry and questions about the role of art in society (35). Baroja, most likely following the ideas of his favorite philosophers Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, felt that the art of music was an absolute phenomenon without any rational explanation (Varela Iglesias 43). Furthermore, while all art is tied to ideas, music, unlike the visual arts, was not limited by time, space, and the representation of the world of experience (Valera Iglesias 43-44). Also, Baroja considered music to be a direct and universal expression, immediately comprehensible to everyone (Valera Iglesias 44; 48). Interestingly, Baroja's ideas on music do not make a distinction between art and popular music perhaps because Baroja felt that Art for Art's sake was an artificial notion (Valera Iglesias 37).

As we have seen from the introduction, both the original story "Caídos" and the play Adiós a la bohemia are two of Baroja's texts that employ musical details. However, these musical details would become central in Baroja and Sorozábal's *ópera chica*. Through the union of text and music, the "closed" and "walled off" art form of theater, according to Baroja, could be potentially freed and thus break the chain of ceaseless repetition to invent something new again.[4]

[4] Baroja was not the only writer of the early twentieth century to see the expressive possibilities of combining literature or theater with music. The novelist and dramatist Ramón del Valle-Inclán incorporated musical methods and structure in his works of modernist prose Sonatas, written between 1902 and 1905, and music is an important element in creating the effect of distortion and

5.3. Adiós a la bohemia: Resurrecting Bohemia through Music

In the *ópera chica* Adiós a la bohemia, various musical and theatrical forms converge. The music is continuous, though varied, through the use of duos, arias, recitative, and choruses, aligning it with works of opera. However, according to Roger Alier, the use of a contemporary setting and character-types from Madrid connect it much more closely with zarzuela (La zarzuela 112). The brevity of the work definitely ties it to the one-act *género chico* style of zarzuela, with roots in the eighteenth-century *tonadilla* and *sainte*. *Género chico* was solidified as a musical-dramatic genre in the 1870s, with further promotion and growth from the 1890s forward. Christopher Webber notes that the popular dance rhythms of the piece, such as the *chotis*, *habanera,* and *pasodoble* also link Adiós a la bohemia to *genéro chico* ("Adiós a la bohemia"). Furthermore, much like the avant-garde movements of his time, Sorozábal viewed Adiós a la bohemia more as an experiment than a commercial work (Mi vida 210).

The setting and behavior of the characters is modeled on everyday life and is realistic in style. The *ópera chica* opens with a group of bohemians passionately discussing painting in the background while in the foreground Ramón nervously awaits the arrival of Trini. A man with a cape enters, greets the group of bohemians, and then approaches Ramón, whom he has not seen in the café for a very long time. Baroja then expands the role of the man who reads the

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deformation characteristic of *esperpento* in Luces de bohemia. Federico García Lorca, who in 1922 alongside the composer Manuel de Falla and other musicians and writers had organized the *Concurso de Cante Jondo* in Granada, incorporated popular music into his plays, from Mariana Pineda (written 1923-1925; performed 1927) to La casa de Bernarda Alba (written 1936; performed 1945).

newspaper El heraldo, not only to extend the length of the work, but also to enhance the role of music in the story. Utilizing poetic forms traditionally linked to both music and performance, Baroja, like Carlos Coello in the zarzuela La Monja Alférez, employs the tradition of *romances de los ciegos* or blind-men's ballads. According to Carlos Ruiz Silva, Baroja was especially fond of this popular musical form and spoke of it frequently in his autobiographical writings (62). Like traditional blind-men's ballads, the one sung by the man who reads the newspaper is geared towards describing a criminal, violent, and sensational account which greatly affects its audience (Walters 87):

> *EL SEÑOR QUE LEE* EL HERALDO *canta, leyendo*. […] *EL CAMARERO y luego LA VIEJA* […] *siguen la lectura expresando cómicamente en sus rostros la impresión que les cause el horrible drama*.)
>
> EL SEÑOR QUE LEE EL HERALDO:
>
> 'Al volver cansado a su buhardilla
> el peón Gregorio Tarambana,
> como siempre puso en la mesilla
> el jornal de toda la semana.
> Y su niña, que sin darse cuenta,
> el jornal tomó para su juego,
> un billete grande, de cincuenta,
> inocente lo quemó en el fuego.
> Furioso el padre, desesperado,

en un momento de locura,

con un cuchillo muy afilado

cortó el gaznate a la criatura.

La pobre madre, que al más chiquito

bañando estaba en la cocina,

salió corriendo al oír un grito

y se murió de la sofoquina.

Mientras tanto el niño se ahogaba

al sorber el agua en la bañera,

al peón un guardia detenía

medio loco por la carrerea.

Y aun tratándose de proletarios

ha causado grande sensación

y se hacen muchos comentarios

del horrible crimen de Chinchón.' (Baroja, Adiós a la bohemia 117-18)

This story of the crime of Chinchón read from the newspaper reflects the violence, poverty, and difficulties inherent to the society in which the characters live.

Trini finally arrives and Ramón and Trini face each other across a café table for the first time in many years. It is both a reunion and a last farewell before Ramón leaves Madrid to supposedly return to the country. Upon hearing of his proposed departure, Trini laments the fact that Ramón could have been a great

artist. Trini, we learn, was not only Ramón's lover, but also his model and inspiration for his art: "Tú hubieras sido un gran pintor./ […] Dime, ¿qué hiciste de aquel retrato?/ Estaba yo, con el corazón en la mano, sonriendo" (Baroja, Adiós a la bohemia 126). Ramón confesses that he later destroyed the work of art, although it was his best:

> RAMÓN.-
>
> Lo quemé./
>
> Aquella figura
>
> es la mejor que me ha salido.
>
> No podía hacer otra cosa
>
> que resultase a su lado.
>
> No tenía tiempo,
>
> ni tranquilidad, ni dinero.
>
> Me quisieron comprar el cuadro
>
> Sin concluir y lo quemé.
>
> Romperlo me hubiera hecho daño.
>
> Ya no pienso coger los pinceles. (Baroja, Adiós a la bohemia 126)

Not only do we learn through their conversation that Ramón is a failed artist, but that Trini is a now prostitute. Ramón alludes to her profession by stating, "Tu dinero es y tú lo ganas/ con tu honrado trabajo…/ ¡Con *tu honrado trabajo*!… (*Ríe*.)" (Baroja, Adiós a la bohemia 121). Fuentes explains that many bohemians viewed prostitution as a form of rebellion against a society morally based in the

bourgeois family (148). However, in Baroja's work, it is clear that Trini's profession is no act of rebellion but rather a way to survive. Baroja comments in his memoirs on how the bohemian life affected men and women differently in Spain: "Todavía por Madrid se puede encontrar algo parecido al hombre bohemio; lo que no se encontrará es algo parecido a la mujer bohemia. Y la razón es comprensible. Con la vida desordenada, el hombre puede perder algo; la mujer lo pierde todo" ("Bohemia o seudobohemia" 73). Perhaps this is why in Baroja's libretto there is still hope for Ramón if goes through with his plan to leave Madrid, while it is clear that Trini remains trapped: "TRINI.-Más pronto me olvidarás tú a mí. Tú tienes la vida por delante. En tu pueblo te casarás, puedes tener mujer, hijos… Yo, en cambio…¿qué le queda a una como yo? El hospital… el Viaducto…" (Baroja, Adiós a la bohemia 139).[5]

Baroja maintains the importance of the café music played by the violinist and the pianist from the play version of Adiós a la bohemia. Music not only has the ability to comment on the contemporary world of the time, such as in the case of the *romance* of the crime of Chinchón, but also to evoke the past. We learned from Adorno that café music in the background, the final remnant of an ordinary musical life in the modern world, is comprised of fragments of originals. These musical fragments then,

[5] José Luis Téllez notes that the viaduct in Madrid was and still is a popular place for suicides (20). These lines also seem to reference Henri Murger's Scènes de la Vie Bohème in which bohemia is described as a stage that eventually ends at either the academy, the hospital, or the morgue (Brooker 2).

> awaken the ruins to a new, ghostly life. If our art music lingers in the comforting realm of Orpheus – here its echo sounds from Euridice's mournful region. Its glow is netherworldy […] the melodies wander around as ghosts, one need not fear any disturbance from them, no matter how present they are. For they are quoted from the unconscious memory of the listeners […]. ("Music in the Background" 509)

Baroja discusses the power of music in a similar way in "Nuestra generación": "La música, a veces, retrotrae el espíritu a un estado inconsciente ya pasado que, sin ser mejor ni peor que el actual, tiene un atractivo oscuro" (94). The café music has an almost mystic quality that allows Ramón and Trini, "specters of bohemia", to undertake a final journey together, one through memories of a past life they once shared.[6] Ramón begins by saying: "Esta música. ¡Cómo me recuerda aquellos tiempos!/ ¿Recuerdas nuestro estudio?" (Baroja, Adiós a la bohemia 128). The music, then, has an uncanny ability to bring to mind a whole other series of characters from their common past, "specter[s] of the past" to use a phrase from Valle-Inclán's Luces de bohemia (122). It is through the memories of Ramón and Trini that the audience comes in contact indirectly with a poet with tuberculosis, a sculptor, a French performer who recited the poetry of Paul

[6] Pío Baroja has a poem titled "Espectros de bohemios" which begins: "Cuando el mísero escritor/ despierta al día temprano/ en el hospital inmundo/ donde yace abandonado,/ una serie de visiones/ se apoderan de su ánimo,/ que en ocasiones le alegran/ y otras más le dan espanto,/ Vive una vida ficticia/ en casinos y teatros,/ en reuniones y cafés,/ en escenarios y en palcos./ Se yerguen ante sus ojos/ sus compañeros de antaño,/ y le interpelan hablándole con un bríos extraordinario. […]" (Fuentes 42). Ramón del Valle Inclán also uses the term "espectro de la bohemia" in Luces de bohemia (130).

Verlaine, and an anarchist, all who have either fallen into disgrace or are deceased:

RAMÓN.- ¿Y cuando vino aquel poeta
enfermo a casa, no recuerdas?
TRINI.- Sí, lo estoy viendo entrar.
Nevaba fuera y nosotros hablábamos
alrededor de la estufa.
¡Cómo temblaba el pobrecillo!
[…]
¿Y qué se hizo de aquel pobre hombre,
del poeta?...
RAMÓN.- Murió en el hospital. […]
TRINI.- ¿Y aquel escultor del pelo largo?
RAMÓN.- Creo que dejó el oficio, se hizo vaciador. Ha bajado en categoría y ha subido en alimentación.
TRINI.- ¿Y el otro, el francés flaco de la perilla,
que cantaba y accionaba…?
RAMÓN.- ¿El que recitaba los versos de Paul Verlaine por la calle? Le cogió un ómnibus en París.
TRINI.- ¿Y el anarquista?
RAMÓN.- Ése se hizo de la policía.

TRINI.- ¿Y el otro, el de los bigotes?

[…]

¿Murió también?

RAMÓN.- Sí, murió. Casi todos los que nos reu-
níamos aquí desaparecieron. Nadie ha triunfa-
do. Y otros muchachos, llenos de ilusiones, nos
han sustituido y, como nosotros, sueñan y ha-
blan del amor y del arte y de la gloria. Las co-
sas están igual: nosotros, únicamente, hemos variado.
(Baroja, Adiós a la bohemia 132-33, 136-38)

The bohemian life, brought to life through the café music, is not something portrayed romantically, "poverty made more pretty and pleasurable, more apparently 'right'" as in Puccini's opera La Bohème, but rather draws attention to the present reality and suffering of the characters (Leppert 548). The past and the present together mark a process in which life, for Ramón and Trini, has become a shadow of its former self. These competing visions, one of past ideals, and the other of present disillusionment, are embodied by the two choruses that Baroja uses to frame Ramón and Trini's duet, the chorus of young bohemians debating art ("El Greco, Velázquez, Goya,/ ¡ésos son pintores!") and the chorus of

prostitutes who call Trini away from the café to the streets as night falls (Baroja, Adiós a la bohemia 214).[7] The chorus of prostitutes sings,

> CORO DE MUJERES.- (*Cantando*.)
>
> ¡Noche! Noche triste y enlutada
>
> como mi negro destino.
>
> ¡Noche! Con el alma destrozada,
>
> entre tus sombras camino.
>
> ¡Luna, que mis pasos iluminas,
>
> mi siempre fiel compañera,
>
> ¡Luna! Ven y alumbra las esquinas,
>
> que voy a hacer la carrera.
>
> ¡Luna! Tú que ves el sacrificio
>
> de mi cruel profesión.
>
> ¡Luna! Que perdones nuestro vicio
>
> te pido con devoción. (Baroja, Adiós a la bohemia 138-39)

While Trini exits accompanied by her pimp, the waiter reassures Ramón that when one woman leaves another enters. Ramón replies, "Es que no es una mujer la que se va, Antonio. ¡Es la juventud, la juventud!...Y ésa no vuelve. […] Me voy a dar un paseo largo… ¡muy largo!..." (Baroja, Adiós a la bohemia 144).

[7] In a letter to Sorozábal dated June 23, 1931 Baroja writes, "En el coro de golfas he cambiado unas palabras porque el publico español no aceptará la palabra prostitución en ese coro" (qtd. in Sorozábal, Mi vida 214). All of Baroja's letters to Sorozábal are published in the composer's memoirs (Mi vida 214-23).

Ironically, this tragic and realistic depiction of life in Madrid is what the opera spectators would have most likely hoped to forget momentarily by attending the performance.

5.4. A Disappointing Premiere: A Time of Strikes, Violence, and Dwindling Audiences

According to Suárez-Pajares, Adiós a la bohemia premiered during elections in 1933 ("Adiós" I: 11). Sorozábal recalls that it was a time of strikes, violence in the streets outside the theater, dwindling audience attendance, and, because of economic problems, restrictions on benefits for those involved in theater productions. Sorozábal writes,

> La situación política en Madrid en el invierno de 1933 era muy tensa. Vivíamos continuamente en huelgas y tumultos. Por Navidades, fecha en la que se iba a estrenar *Adiós a la bohemia*, me parece que había huelga en el ramo de la construcción y, además conectada con un movimiento revolucionario en Asturias. Corrientemente sonaban tiros, pacos que disparaban de las ventanas altas. Los guardias de asalto iban con el fusil en la mano y a veces a los peatones nos hacían circular con los brazos en alto, el marqués anunció a todos que en esa temporada iba a acabar con los vales de favor. No habría "tifus". Para dar ejemplo cuando empezó la temporada él mismo se acercaba a taquilla y compraba una butaca para entrar a su despacho. ¡Algo increíble! Yo, dispuesto a sacrificar la obra de

> mis ilusiones, resignado, callaba y montaba *Adiós a la bohemia* lo mejor posible con los medios que tenía. (Mi vida 210-11)

Further marring the premiere was Sorozábal's association with the Marqués de Valdeflores mentioned above. As pointed out by Dougherty, with the exception of avant-garde works, theatrical productions at this time in Spain were almost entirely financed by private investors ("The Commercial Stage" 579). The Marqués de Valdeflores had approached Sorozábal about showcasing his work La isla de las perlas, and eventually Adiós a la bohemia at the Calderón Theater. Despite warnings from others that the Marqués was a bit erratic in his behavior, Sorozábal agreed to the partnership. Sorozábal later writes of the Marqués: "Tenía días, ratos, completamente normales pero otras veces me daba miedo. […] me di cuenta de que se trataba de un loco de atar. Alguien me informó que padecía o padeció sífilis y le había atacado el cerebro" (Mi vida 207-09).

According to Sorozábal, the Marqués had failed to invite the newspaper critics to the opening night of Adiós a la bohemia, as custom dictated. Those critics who did arrive for the premiere on their own accord were visibly upset and warned that this would have negative repercussions for the reception of the work. Perhaps in order to make amends for this oversight and to quickly fill the empty seats because of the small paying audience, the Marqués then ordered his representative to take tickets to a near-by bar for distribution. While Sorozábal was conducting the first work scheduled for the evening, La guitarra de Fígaro,

the patrons of the bar, “furcias y chulos” in the words of Sorozábal, noisily arrived (Mi vida 212). He writes:

> Llevaríamos una media hora de representación de *La guitarra de Fígaro* cuando de pronto empezó a entrar precipitadamente gente al teatro. Se oían pasos presurosos por los distintos pasillos de detrás de los palcos, como también entraba bastante gente en el patio de butacas. Además de pasos o carreras sonaban gritos, llamadas y exclamaciones […]. (Mi vida 211)

Sorozábal sums up the inaugural performance of Adiós a la bohemia in the following manner:

> En esas condiciones, en ese ambiente y con ese público se estrenó mi mejor obra, la que creo nada menos que un hito en el teatro lírico español […] La obra pasó sin pena ni gloria. Bueno, esto es un decir porque mi pena, la que yo sentí en mi alma esa noche, fue horrible, tremenda. (Mi vida 212-13)

Sorozábal had been initially attracted to Baroja’s play because it would allow him to create a work of lyric theater of a more social character tied to the realities of modern life in Spain. However, it is clear from Sorozábal’s comments that he wanted that reality to remain conceptualized and contained within the artistic creation itself as he obviously felt incredible unease when the bohemia of the “real world” entered the theater that day to see the performance. Although, on one hand, Sorozábal strove to give his musical art a sense of warmth and humanity,

the music ultimately stays within the boundaries of formalized art, separate from everyday life. It is unclear whether Pío Baroja was in the audience or not.

One year later in 1934, Sorozábal premiered three additional musical-dramatic works, El alguacil Rebolledo, Sol en la cumbre, and La del manojo de rosas, and two more in 1935, No me olvides, and La casa de las tres muchachas. We can infer from Sorozábal's memoirs that he maintained close contact with Baroja during those years and that they even planned on collaborating on a work for lyric theater in the Basque language. However, with the onset of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, Baroja fled to France while Sorozábal stayed. Sorozábal writes:

> Por culpa del alzamiento militar que nos separó en 1936 no hice yo la obra lírica vasca con él. En aquella época ya estaba dispuesto a comenzar a trabajar. Nos habíamos reunido bastantes veces a cambiar ideas y hacer proyectos, pero Franco acabó con nuestros planes. (Mi vida 223)

In 1936, Sorozábal premiered only one piece, La tabernera del puerto. Instead of working in the theaters, he became the Director of the Municipal Band, an official position with certain political connotations (Suárez-Pajares, "Sorozábal" II: 791). For a short period of time he was also the Director of the National Orchestra of Spain, an initiative begun by the Government of the Republic, and he then left for Valencia with his family to wait out the rest of the war.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the course of this dissertation, we have seen how zarzuela and opera grew as important cultural expressions in both Spain and Spanish America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and by focusing on literary texts from the Hispanic tradition rewritten and adapted as libretti and transformed through performance, we gain an understanding of how these adaptations are in dialogue with the cultural contexts in which they were created. Essential to any discussion of how these artistic creations were shaped by new social, political, economic, and cultural circumstances and adapted to communicate new meanings is a detailed discussion of the collaborations of writers, librettists, and composers and an appreciation of the pressures and conditions under which they worked. However, the purpose of these concluding remarks is not so much to summarize what I have already said throughout the course of this study, but rather to indicate areas for further investigation and scholarly work. It is important to point out that all of the works of Spanish and Spanish-American literature adapted as musical-dramatic works for the theater examined here in this investigation – La Monja Alférez, Pepita Jiménez, Tabaré, Cecilia Valdés, and Adiós a la bohemia - resurfaced yet again during different times periods and socio-cultural contexts and these works too require further scholarly attention. What follows is by no means

an exhaustive summary of this new body of works in question, but rather an overview which may help scholars in a variety of fields to understand the afterlife of these musical-dramatic works and to begin new investigations.

In the late nineteenth and well into the twentieth century, the figure of the Lieutenant Nun, Catalina de Erauso, continued to appear, especially in the Hispanic world, in numerous texts – literature, theater, and film - indicating continued dialogue and cultural anxiety surrounding this transvestite figure. The potential for another musical-dramatic version of La Monja Alférez was explored by Amadeo Vives (1871-1932), a major composer of the next generation posterior to that of Miguel Marqués and an active member of the Catalan musical renaissance who divided his time between Barcelona and Madrid (Webber, Zarzuela Companion 249). We know that Vives, at some point during his career, attempted to rewrite La Monja Alférez for lyric theater, either by himself or with the help of another writer, based on an incomplete and unpublished manuscript housed at the *Sociedad General de Autores y Escritores* in Madrid. The manuscript is not dated, but in terms of the chronology of Vives's career, he published his first zarzuela in 1898 and his most esteemed works are the one-act Bohemios (1904), Doña Francisquita (1923) and La Villana (1927).

Unlike the *comedia* of Juan Pérez de Montalbán and the zarzuela of Carlos Coello and Miguel Marqués, Vives commences his musical-dramatic work in the convent as indicated in Catalina de Erauso's narrative. The few available

fragments show that Vives had developed two characters: Catalina de Erauso and Piscolabis. Piscolabis is a comedic character who was wronged by the woman he loved, and as a result, he swore a vow of chastity and consequently ended up at the convent. He explains:

> De estas buenas monjitas soy de
> mandadero pero es
> toy ya tan harto de tanta mujer que si
> salgo a la calle no acierto a volver
> Desde muy joven en mis amores fui desgra
> ciado y una muchacha que me te
> nia enamorado dio me un de
> saire vi claramente su falsedad
> y a qui me vine haciendo
> voto de castidad […]
> salgo a la calle y dice el que me
> ve ¡Bendito tu eres entre
> todas las mujeres! ¡y no hay de que! […]
> Si yo tuviera quien me ayudase por suerte
> mia ¡con que contento de estos lu
> gares me escaparía! […]
> les juro por quien soy qe aunque mujeriego
> fui, la verdad es que ya es

toy de mujeres hasta aquí! (n. pag.)

Both Piscolabis and Catalina desire freedom, the central theme of the unfinished piece. In one section, Vives planned for Catalina to dramatically tear off her religious scapular and exchange it for the key to the doors of the convent they steal from the nuns. Catalina's vocal part indicates that in the opening section she would sing:

[…]¡Respira corazon! ¡Res
pira juventud¡ ya qe hoy logras el sueño de
tu felicidad trocando al fin el simbolo de es
clavitud por el emblema santo de
libertad Respira corazon! ¡Res
pira juventud ya qe hoy logras el sueño de
tu felicidad Nada de dudas, es la oca
sion ¡Vamonos pronto amen (n. pag.)

This incomplete work potentially explores issues relevant to the Hispanic nation in the twentieth century. In addition to gender relations, the work seems to touch upon the confines of religion and the desire for individual freedom, especially since it opens in a religious institution and both Catalina and Piscolabis are seemingly trapped there and long to escape. The majority of archival material related to the composer Amadeo Vives is in Barcelona and a thorough investigation may lead to more information on this partial piano and vocal score housed at the *Sociedad General de Autores y Escritores* in Madrid.

A further intriguing area of study is how, after the Spanish Civil War, the new political, social, and cultural contexts of Francoism affected the reinterpretation of some of the works studied in this dissertation. We have seen that Pablo Sorozábal and Pío Baroja planned future projects together, such as a work for lyric theater in Basque, after the premiere of the *ópera chica* Adiós a la bohemia in 1933, but the onset of the war interrupted and extinguished those plans. The subsequent shift to the post-war Franco regime marks another great transformation for Spanish theater and lyric theater. Many Spanish playwrights, theater directors, actors and actresses, died during the conflict or were exiled from Spain (Zatlin 221). Within Spain, the victorious Francoists quickly implemented their own vision of national theater and censored both past and contemporary works that were perceived to challenge it. Audiences enthusiastically returned to theaters both as a way to forget or to better understand and negotiate the new realities they faced, and to be a part of the cohesive whole once more.

Pío Baroja returned to Spain from France one year after the end of the war in 1940 and Pablo Sorozábal returned to Madrid from Valencia in 1943. By 1944, they decided to undertake a second version of the *ópera chica* Adiós a la bohemia. The libretto largely remained the same, but it was now framed by a prologue and epilogue by the character of the Vagabond. Sorozábal in his memoirs takes credit for this addition:

> Se me ocurrió que tanto para alargar la obra, como para darle más importancia al papel del Vagabundo, lo mejor sería empezar la obra con un prólogo cantado por dicho personaje en el que explicase, como si él fuera el autor del libreto, el contenido de su obra. Se lo dije a don Pío, y le gustó la idea. No sé si ese prólogo lo hizo entero expresamente para mí. Tengo la impresión de que aprovechó algo que estaba en boca de algún personaje de alguna de sus novelas. No sé…Pero aunque así fuera venía como anillo al dedo. (Mi vida 213)

Carlos Ruiz Silva points out that this prologue may have been inspired by Ruggiero Leoncavallo's opera Pagliacci (1892) in which the character Tonio addresses the audience directly and reminds them that the story they are about to see on stage is based on real life (68-69). Interestingly, Leoncavallo's Pagliacci is typically performed alongside Pietro Mascagni's Cavalleria Rusticana, the opera music played by the café violinist and pianist in the play version of Adiós a la bohemia.

The Vagabond, once a writer himself, presents his play to the gathered audience:

> VAGABUNDO.-
>
> ¡Señoras, señores! Yo poeta fracasado,
>
> tengo que dar unas ligeras explicaciones
>
> por la parvedad de materia de mi obra.
>
> ¡Yo, que voy en el metro y medio

De mi producción literaria…

(Señalando la altura con la mano.)

tengo que contentarme

con mostrar ante el público

un par de centímetros de ella!

[…]

He tenido que evocar el Madrid

de los suburbios de hace años,

el cafetucho de barrio, el violinista melenudo,

la confabulación lamentable del artista que fracasa

y de la mujer que se malogra. (Baroja, Adiós a la bohemia 112)

However, the Vagabond's most stirring lines that frame the story of Ramón and Trini are, "¡Realismo! Realismo, cosa amarga, triste…/ Vale más vivir en el sueño" (Baroja, Adiós a la bohemia 111; 144).

Not only had Baroja by this time definitively overcome his unease of the public of spectators present for the performances of his work, but in this new version of Adiós a la bohemia he consciously engages them. The Vagabond confronts the audience members directly with a blatant disregard for the illusory fourth wall between them and the stage and its characters, creating a sense of indeterminacy with no clear distinction between what is real and what is fiction. Here, the aesthetic drama of the characters and the social drama of the spectators confront each other and the work of art in its totality functions as a mirror upon

which the audience must hold up their own lives for examination. If what the audience sees both on stage, and by extension in their own lives, is real, then, evoking Calderón, perhaps it is better to live in a dream.

For the first version of the *ópera chica* Adiós a la bohemia, Baroja and Sorozábal were careful to exclude problematic words at that time such as "prostitute" or "prostitution", and for this second version, they were both also very conscious of avoiding problems with the censors. On February 26, 1944 Baroja writes, "Le envío a usted la copia de 'Adiós a la bohemia' […] He suprimido alguna palabra que podría alarmar a la Censura. A ver si la obra pasa" (Sorozábal, Mi vida 220-21). The second version did pass the censors and, according to Carlos Ruiz Silva, it was performed again in Spain at the Apolo Theater in 1945 without much success (69). However, after his premiere of La eterna canción in 1945, Sorozábal was hired to take a company to South America to showcase his work. Even though Spain was growing increasingly isolated as a result of the dictatorship, cultural ties with the Americas seemed to endure. Sorozábal spent a season at the Avenue Theater in Buenos Aires and in 1946 went to Montevideo, Uruguay for more performances. While there, he heard the news of the death of the exiled Manuel de Falla in Argentina. Although his plans to travel next to Chile were ultimately frustrated, Sorozábal enjoyed another season in Buenos Aires, this time at the Colón Theater where he showcased not only his musical-dramatic works, but also his symphonic compositions, including one he had recently composed in honor of Falla (Suárez-Pajares, "Sorozábal" II: 792).

Sorozábal returned to Spain in 1947. Baroja was very much aware of Sorozábal's successes in the Americas. On January 8, 1948, Baroja writes:

> ya leímos aquí que andaba usted triunfante por tierras americanas y también supe que se había representado allí 'Adiós a la bohemia'. Hacia el comienzo del otoño estuve en la Sociedad de Autores y me pagaron bastantes pesetas por derechos de autor. Lo que marcha mal para los escritores es la cuestión de la imprenta, porque no hay papel y si antes éramos treinta o cuarenta en España los ilusos que publicábamos novelas, historias o versos, ahora el número de los aficionados va a quedar reducido al mínimo. Ya empiezan a dar lecturas de novelas por radio. (Sorozábal, Mi vida 222-23)

This final version of Adiós a la bohemia would be published for posterity by the *Sociedad General de Autores y Escritores* in 1949.

Interestingly, in the 1950s and 1960s, Pablo Sorozábal would also take up the opera Pepita Jiménez by Isaac Albéniz and Frances Burdett Money-Coutts. As we saw in chapter two, the opera concluded ambiguously as Pepita falls into Luis's arms after a possible suicide attempt and Antoñona addresses the audience. This ending has been approached in unique ways in various translations and reworkings of Pepita Jiménez by other composers and librettists. For example, Joseph de Marliave, a friend of Albéniz, undertook a new translation of Pepita Jiménez in French for a vocal and piano score in 1923 (Soler xviii). This score was published in Paris by Max Eschig and included some modifications to the

opera's plot, supposedly authorized by Albeniz himself (Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 145). In the last scene of this French version, Pepita clearly tries to commit suicide on stage by drinking the contents of a vial ("Elle boit le contenu du flacon"), but Luis stops her just in time and saves her (Soler xvi). This French version is most likely the one that inspired the opera Pepita Jiménez in three acts by Pablo Sorozábal (Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 145).

Sorozábal describes how members of Albéniz's family gave him a piano score of Pepita Jiménez edited in Paris that he was unfamiliar with at the time and, beginning in 1955, he dedicated himself to studying the opera (Mi vida 300). Sorozábal approved of the music, but he did not like the libretto by Money-Coutts. Sorozábal most likely believed in the ideas circulating at the time, but now discredited by Clark, about the supposed "Pact of Faust" between the English banker and the Spanish musician in which Albéniz was contractually obligated to compose music against his sensibilities to texts written by the untalented Money-Coutts (Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 108). Sorozábal interprets the ending scene of the opera and final gesture of the protagonist Pepita Jiménez in an interesting way. According to Sorozábal, Pepita's attempted suicide was not an honest reaction to Luis's departure, but rather a manipulative act used to control his emotions. Pepita, the operatic reflection of her creator, Money-Coutts, is calculating and controlling. Sorozábal writes:

> Quitando la pasión del personaje de Pepita, no hay nada, y el final de la novela es de novela rosa. Al banquero inglés se le ocurrió hacer un final

> dramático, pero falso; Pepita simula un suicidio y se encierra en una habitación. Luis corre hacia ella pidiendo perdón y asegurándole que la ama […] El personaje de Pepita, que puede interesar por su tremenda pasión, al final, se convierte en una mujer tan pícara que es capaz de fingir un suicidio para forzarle al seminarista a que cuelgue sus hábitos. (Mi vida 316-17)

In order to resolve these perceived problems with Money-Coutts's libretto and to reclaim what he believed to be the opera's true essence, Sorozábal rewrote the work, this time entirely in Spanish, and modified the closing moments, definitively giving it a tragic ending (Sorozábal, Mi vida 319). In Sorozábal's version, in act three during the last meeting between Luis and Pepita, Luis, convinced of his desire to enter the priesthood, turns his back on Pepita. Luis thinks Pepita is acting when she retrieves a vial of poison from her drawer in response to Luis's rejection. The notes in the libretto clarify: "(*Luis cree que todo es una farsa*.)" and Luis says, "¡Basta de bromas, Pepita,/ por favor!" (Sorozábal, Pepita Jiménez n. pag.). However, Pepita drinks the poison and dies in Luis's arms.

Sorozabal's Pepita Jiménez premiered on June 6, 1964 at the *Teatro de la Zarzuela* in Madrid in celebration of twenty-five years of rule under General Francisco Franco, and Franco's wife, Doña Carmen Polo, was in attendance (Sorozábal, Mi vida 319). Some critics speculate that Sorozábal decided to end his opera with the impossibility of a relationship between Pepita and Luis because of

the difficulties that the zarzuela composer Federico Moreno Torroba had in 1939 with the censorship of his work Monte Carmelo, the story of a woman who falls in love with a priest (Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 272; Clark, "Pepita Jiménez" 29). Sorozábal himself had difficulties as a composer working under the restrictions of the Franco regime, however, I agree with Clark who believes that these changes probably had more to do with Sorozábal's aesthetic vision of Pepita Jiménez (Clark, Portrait of a Romantic 272). According to Sorozábal and constantly highlighted in his writings, Pepita was a passionate character. Therefore, it would be impossible to tame this passion with marriage, as does Valera in his "novela rosa," or to convert Pepita into a "pícara" as in the case of Money-Coutts's libretto.

Sorozábal's version only had two performances. However, the composer continued to modify the work, highlighting even more Pepita's tragic end by adding a final solo for the protagonist as she expires (Sorozábal, Mi vida 320). Interestingly, Sorozábal's tragic version was recorded in 1967 by Columbia music, reproduced, and distributed around the world, and many unknowingly attributed this interpretation of Valera's novel to Albéniz and Money-Coutts.

As we have seen, during the lifetimes of Albéniz and Money-Coutts, Pepita Jiménez was never performed in English or Spanish, but in 1995, the conductor Joseph Pons went back to Albéniz and Money-Coutt's original English libretto and recorded some of the music, although not the entire opera. In 1996, the composer and conductor Josep Soler also returned to the original opera, but he

adapted it in his own way for performance in Spanish at the *Theatre Llure* supported by a chamber orchestra of woodwinds, brass percussions, harpsichord, and harmonium (Eusebio 35-36). This libretto was later published by the *Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales*. It would be in 2004, with the support of funds from the Autonomous Region of Madrid, that José de Eusebio, the Musical Director of the Orchestra and Choir of Madrid, began an extensive project to recover Albéniz's operatic and orchestral works. Part of this project was to reconstruct Albéniz's final vision of the music for Pepita Jiménez and restore the use of the original English libretto by Money-Coutts. Furthermore, with the support of Deutsche Grammophon, Eusebio's reconstruction was recorded by such acclaimed international opera stars as Plácido Domingo (Luis), Carol Vaness (Pepita Jiménez), and Jane Henschel (Atoñona). This recording of Albéniz and Money-Coutts's operatic vision for Pepita Jiménez came on the market only in 2006 as part of the upcoming celebration of the centenary of Albeniz's death (1909-2009).

Finally, more work must be done in the area of musical nationalism in the Americas, which gained strength in the twentieth century, and the further development of works of lyric theater based on Spanish-American literature. Juan Zorrilla de San Martín's poem Tabaré was later taken up by the Argentinean composer Alfredo Schiuma (1885-1963) and reformulated as an opera in three acts in 1925 at the *Teatro Colón* in celebration of the one-hundred year

anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Bolivia. According to an online article by Ana María Mondolo of the Carlos Vega Musicological Research Institute in Buenos Aires, Schiuma was originally born in Italy but immigrated to Argentina at the age of three with his family. He studied violin first with his father Rafael Schiuma (1844-1940) and graduated from the conservatory in 1912. Like many American composers of his time, he initially composed music in the European style, but around 1920, he completed the symphonic poem "La pampa" and became interested in creating national music reflecting the realities of the Americas. The librettist for the opera Tabaré was Jorge Servetti Reeves who seems to have been principally a poet. Among his works are two Incan inspired works, Nina Uilca: el fuego sagrado (1921) and Scisi Bacha (La hija del Rey de Quitu) (1921), as well as Meteoros (1921) and Ame luz (1924).

The opera Tabaré by Schiuma and Servetti Reeves begins as the Charrúa captives of the Spanish enter the village of San Salvador for the first time. Tabaré is both fearful of and fascinated by Blanca, who, in defiance of her brother and sister-in-law, defends the Charrúa:

LUZ

¡Gonzalo!... No te olvides

De la española sangre derramada.

BLANCA

¿Y qué? ¡Acaso es crimen

Luchar por su hogar y por su Patria!

¡Defiende la tierra en que ha nacido,

La libertad que el español le arranca! (Servetti Reeves 17)

Servetti Reeves restores the scene from Zorrilla de San Martín's poem in which Tabaré stands under Blanca's window one night in awe but is promptly surrounded by the Spanish soldiers. Because of Tabaré's transgression, he is thrown out of the village by Don Gonzalo and the Spanish condemn him by making it clear that the *mestizo* will now never receive Christianity and never become one of them.

In act two, after the Charrúa take part in their funerary rights for their deceased leader, rally together under Yamandú to attack the Spanish village, and Tabaré stumbles upon Yamandú and Blanca in the jungle and kills Blanca's captor, it is clear that the *mestizo* and the Spanish *doncella* share a star-crossed love:

BLANCA

¡Tabaré!...

TABARÉ

¡Blanca!...

¡Oh! En tus brazos vivir

Un instante de amor…

¡Después morir!

¡Sí! ¡Después morir!

BLANCA

¡Oh! En tus brazos vivir. ¡Vivir!

¡Y después morir!

TABARÉ

¡Sí! En mis brazos amar. ¡Amar!

¡Y después morir!

BLANCA

¡Sí! En tus brazos soñar. ¡Soñar!

¡Y después morir! (Servetti Reeves 46)

In Cuba in 1958, Gonzalo Roig returned to his most famous zarzuela Cecilia Valdés to add an additional musical number "Dulce quimera" for the character of José Dolores Pimienta taken from another one of his zarzuelas El cimarrón (Díaz Pérez, "Cecilia Valdés" I: 440). But it would be in 1961 - in the context of the success of the Cuban Revolution, the new leadership of Fidel Castro, and external pressure from the United States that culminated in the Bay of Pigs invasion - that Roig would complete his final version of Cecilia Valdés. Roig added additional musical numbers and the original libretto by Rodríguez and Sánchez-Arcilla was reworked by Miguel de Grandy, a famous tenor and the original "Leonardo" from the 1932 premiere of the zarzuela (Díaz Pérez, "Cecilia Valdés" I: 441).

Clara Díaz Pérez calculates that, in all, Cecilia Valdés has been performed on at least two thousand occasions in more than fifteen versions in Spain,

Colombia, Peru, Nicaragua, México, the United States, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, and the former Soviet Union ("Cecilia Valdés" I: 442). Of note is that there are two dance versions of Cecilia Valdés as well, even though the music in both cases was composed and arranged by José Ramón Urbay and not Roig. The inaugural production of this ballet was in 1975 by the National Ballet of Cuba. Jordan Levin in his article, "Revisting a Timeless Cuban Classic" for the Miami Herald (September 30, 2002) notes that, when Urbay's daughter left the island in 1991, she carried only her father's score with her which she later used for another ballet production in Miami in 2002 (n. pag.). Levin writes that the story of Cecilia Valdés "is so central to Cuban culture that she has become a symbol of Cuban identity and rebellion that transcends time, race, and national borders" (n. pag.).

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