Resituating Scarlatti in a Nationalist Context: Spanish Identity in the *Goyescas* of Granados

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts

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Abstract

Profound changes marked music in Spain towards the end of the nineteenth century. Casting aside Italian influences, which had governed many aspects of music in Spain up until then, Hispanic composers sought to redefine and regenerate the nation's musical identity. Taking as their model the so-called "Generation of '98," a literary movement that explored new ways of defining a "genuine" Spanishness, Spanish composers—chief among them Enrique Granados—took inspiration from pre-nineteenth-century musical figures, including, perhaps paradoxically, composers who came from outside the Iberian peninsula. This thesis demonstrates how the eighteenth-century Italian keyboardist-composer Domenico Scarlatti became an important symbol of "authentic" Spanish identity for *fin-de-siècle* composers in Spain. I show how Spanish composers claimed cultural ownership of Scarlatti and incorporated his keyboard idiom into their own works. I focus in particular on Granados' *Goyescas: Los majos enamorados,* a composition in which, I argue, Scarlatti's influence can be discerned (as yet no literature on this topic exists). I claim that Granados articulated a renewed conception of authentic Spanish identity through invoking Scarlatti in *Goyescas.*

Résumé

De profonds changements marquèrent le nationalisme musical en Espagne au tournant du vingtième siècle. Mettant de côté l'influence italienne, qui avait gouverné plusieurs aspects de la vie musicale en Espagne, les compositeurs hispanophones cherchèrent à redéfinir et à régénérer l'identité musicale de la nation. Prenant comme modèle la génération de '98, (un cercle de jeunes auteurs en quête d'une nouvelle authenticité nationale), les compositeurs espagnols puisèrent leur inspiration dans le passé musical de la nation. Dans ce mémoire, je démontre que le claveciniste du dix-huitième siècle Domenico Scarlatti, malgré ses origines italiennes, devint un important symbole d'authenticité identitaire pour les compositeurs espagnols à la fin du dix-neuvième siècle. J'examine la manière par laquelle ces musiciens se sont approprié Scarlatti et ont incorporé son langage baroque dans leurs propres compostions. Je porte une attention particulière à *Goyescas: Los majos enamorados*, une œuvre d'Enrique Granados où l'on peut noter, selon moi, l'influence de Scarlatti. (Jusqu'à maintenant, aucune recherche n'a porté sur ce sujet). Je suggère qu'en invoquant Scarlatti, *Granados* souhaite articuler une conception renouvelée d'identité hispanique.

Acknowledgments

En premier lieu, je voudrais remercier mes parents, qui, empilant livres et CDs sur ma table de chevet, ont allumé mon imagination, ont suscité en moi le goût de la connaissance, et plus que tout, m'on transmit l'amour de la musique. Sans votre appui constant, je n'y serais pas parvenu.

Mes amies de longues dates ont aussi été pour moi un support essentiel, non seulement pendant les quelques mois qu'a duré l'accouchement de cette thèse, mais pendant toutes mes années d'études à Montréal. C'est grâce à vous que j'ai pu profiter de tout ce que cette belle ville a à offrir. Je remercie particulièrement Mireille qui, dans son infinie sagesse, m'a répété avec acharnement qu'il était nécessaire que je prenne des vacances. Et surtout, qui a eu la patience de m'endurer pendant trois années qui m'ont parues bien courtes.

Les professeurs de la faculté de musique, entre autre Julie Cumming, Tom Beghin et Roe-Min Kok, ont été une source constante d'inspiration. Ils m'ont appris beaucoup sur la musique, mais peut-être plus important encore, ils ont changé ma façon de concevoir les choses. Tout cela sans oublier nos incomparables bibliothécaires, qui ont fait de la bibliothèque un lieu accueillant et chaleureux.

Finalement, je voudrais remercier Eric, qui a non seulement dédié un grand nombre d'heures à réviser cet essai, mais qui a aussi été pour moi un appui indispensable tout au long de ce processus.

Chapter 1

The Spanish Musical Renaissance: Historical Context, Ideology, and Aspirations

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For many in *fin-de-siècle* Spain, most of the nineteenth century represented a vast lacuna in their nation's musical production. A series of political upheavals had left music in a deplorable state. In the realm of piano, no "masterworks" had been composed that could rival those of Liszt, Chopin or Schumann. Instead, nineteenth-century Spanish piano repertoire consisted mainly of light salon pieces and fantasies on operatic themes.[1] However, the 1890s ushered in a new "Golden Age" of Spanish piano music, spearheaded by three composers, namely Isaac Albéniz (1860–1909), Enrique Granados (1867–1916) and Manuel de Falla (1876–1946). Drawing their source of inspiration from the rich musical heritage of their native country, these composers actively sought to revive their national tradition, engaging the efforts of an entire generation of Spanish musicians towards this goal.

These composers shared a mentor and teacher, Felipe Pedrell (1841–1922), an eminent pedagogue, composer and musicologist whose teachings and writings profoundly altered musical conceptions of national identity in Spain during and after his lifetime. According to Pedrell, contemporary Spanish composers could only revive the musical identity of the nation by looking to the past. He inspired composers to draw

[1] Linton Powell, *A History of Spanish Piano Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 150. Also see Emilio Casares Rodicio, "La música del siglo XIX español: conceptos fundamentales," in *La música española en el siglo XIX*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio and Celsa Alonso González (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1995), 42–43.

their inspiration from both collections of folksongs and the "high-art" music of Spain's pre-nineteenth-century history. Only by utilizing both of these elements could composers create "authentic" Spanish music. At the same time, Pedrell sought to Europeanize his art, hoping to win greater contemporary recognition for his nation's musical traditions. Put more strongly, Pedrell wished to universalize Spanish music.[2] His influence was far-reaching: according to his student Falla, "Pedrell was a teacher in the highest sense of the word; through his doctrine, and with his example, he led Spanish musicians toward a profoundly national and noble art, a path that at the beginning of the last century was already considered to be hopelessly closed."[3] While Pedrell's influence on Falla has been explored in scholarship,[4] his impact on Granados, another student, has largely gone unnoticed.[5] A close look at Granados' career, however, reveals that Pedrell's influence was an important factor in the development of the pianist's ideas about Spanish musical nationalism. In Granados' words, "I owe you the major part of my artistic revelation..."[6]

In what ways did Pedrell's principles of aesthetic revival shape Granados' conception of national identity? Which of his mentor's precepts did Granados follow

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[2] Celsa Alonso, "Nacionalismo," *Diccionario de la Musica Española e Hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio (Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 2001), vol. 8: 929.

[3] Nancy Lee Harper, *Manuel de Falla: his Life and Music* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2005), 29.

[4] See Michael Christoforidis, "From Folksong to Plainchant: Musical Borrowing and the Transformation of Manuel de Falla's Musical Nationalism in the 1920's," in Harper, *Falla*, 209–45. Also see Carol A. Hess, *Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain 1898–1936* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Hess, *Sacred Passions: The Life and Music of Manuel de Falla* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Jacqueline Kalfa, "Itinéraires et aspects de l'hispanisme de Manuel de Falla," in *Manuel de Falla: Latinité et Universalité,* ed. Louis Jambou (Paris: Université Paris-Sorbonne, 1999), 359–71; Elena Torres, "La presencia de Scarlatti en la trayectoria musical de Manuel de Falla," in *Manuel de Falla: estudios*, ed. Yvan Nommick (Granada: Publicaciones del archivo Manuel de Falla, 2000), 65–122; Chase, *The Music of Spain* (New York: Dover Publications, 1959); Antonio Gallego, *Felipe Pedrell y Manuel de Falla: crónica de una amistad* (Tortosa: UNED, 1989), 181–217.

[5] The literature I refer to is described later in this chapter.

[6] Letter from Granados to Pedrell cited in Walter Aaron Clark, *Enrique Granados: Poet of the Piano* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 29.

in order to realize a "regenerated" musical language? This thesis explores ways in which Pedrell's ideas may have influenced Granados' *Goyescas: Los majos enamorados* (*Goyescas: The Majos in Love*, 1909–1914). I argue that *Goyescas*, a landmark in the "Golden Age" of Spanish piano literature, articulates a concept of Spanish musical identity that reflects Pedrell's doctrine of aesthetic renovation through invocation of folklore and "high art," tradition and modernity, nationalism and universalism. Strikingly, these pairs of binary opposites were also present in the aesthetic credo of neoclassicism, then a trend in *fin-de-siècle* France. Did neoclassicism shape Pedrell's, and subsequently Granados', musical nationalism? If so, how? In order to answer these questions, I will examine various references to eighteenth-century Spain in *Goyescas*, particularly those pertaining to Domenico Scarlatti (1685–1757), an Italian composer who, in Granados' hands, emerged as a convincing symbol of Spanish "authenticity" and "universality."

In the following, I shall describe two important problems encountered by Spanish composers throughout the nineteenth century: the influence of Italian opera, and the persistence of certain exotic tropes as symbols of "Spanishness." These were problems that Pedrell sought to address, and that preoccupied composers of Granados' generation. I will then discuss important forces in *fin-de-siècle* Spanish nationalism: Pedrell's ideology of musical *regeneración*, one heavily indebted to a parallel intellectual movement known as the "Literary Generation of '98" (henceforth "Generation of '98"), and the concepts of classicism and neoclassicism then emerging in France. I shall demonstrate how, collectively, these forces profoundly affected musical nationalism in Spain.

Historical Context: Music in Nineteenth-Century Spain

Napoleonic wars and civil strife marked the beginning of the nineteenth century in Spain. As decades of political weakness and economic stagnation followed, governments fell in rapid succession; none achieved the financial and political stability needed to redress the nation. Throughout his reign (1808 and 1814–1833), Ferdinand VII harshly repressed liberalism;[7] concurrently, however, demands for reform persistently undermined his monarchy during the *decada ominosa* (1823–1833). The succession of Ferdinand's three-year-old daughter Isabella II to the throne (1833) and the regency of her mother Maria-Christina were soon challenged by Ferdinand's brother Don Carlos in what later become known as the Carlist Wars (1833–1839). This opened another tumultuous chapter in Spanish history. Fraught with civil unrest and continuously threatened by supporters of the Carlist cause, Isabella's fragile rule finally dissolved in 1868 in the midst of revolutionary turmoil. Confusion reigned for six years as Carlist and republican factions vied for power. Only the proclamation of the Republic and the return of Alfonso XII to the throne restored consensus (1874), closing one of the most turbulent centuries in Spanish history.

The political upheavals described above left their mark on the soundscape of Spain. Without financial support from the ruling classes, music found itself in a state of crisis, and progressively disappeared from the nation's educational system: the Church, in a precarious financial situation, could neither educate nor employ musicians as it had done in the past; universities across the nation removed music from their curricula, while

[7] For instance, he revoked the 1812 Constitution voted by the Cádiz *Cortes* (sessions of the national legislative body) during the Napoleonic occupation and re-established the Inquisition abolished by Joseph Bonaparte that same year.

new conservatories failed to take the lead in music education.[8] Emilio Casares Rodicio paints a bleak picture of the situation:

> The relationship between music and society in nineteenth-century Spain found itself in a state of crisis, especially at the beginning of the century, which we can observe from the following symptoms: the administration's inappropriate response to the needs of music, the lack of structures sustaining a viable music policy, the crisis of the greatest music market so far, the Church, and consequently, the deplorable state of music education, the attitude to music relegating it to the position of a sub-art, as well as the anthropological definition of the creator itself...[9]

Contemporary Spanish musicians and music critics blamed the government for the degradation of their art: according to the composer Joaquín Espín y Guillén (1812–1881), "All nations have protected Music [*sic*]… And in Spain, what has the government done to protect it? Absolutely nothing…"[10] Likewise, the organist and musicologist Idelfonso Jimeno de Lerma (1842–1903) complained that "Spanish music has constantly been orphaned from official protection."[11] The eminent scholar and composer Francisco Asenjo Barbieri (1823–1894) also drew attention to the lack of institutional support for Spanish musicians and what he felt to be the cultural backwardness of his country. He denounced the poor status of music in Spain and strongly criticized the Spanish educational system for its failure to provide a humanistic education to musicians, a type

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[8] The Madrid Conservatory, founded in 1830, is a case in point: first hailed as a laudable effort on the part of Maria Cristina of Naples, wife of Ferdinand VII, to correct the deplorable state of music in her adoptive country, the conservatory soon turned into another stronghold of Italianism. "El llamado Conservatorio de Música y Declamación es una barahúnda música, donde no salen discípulos en el canto, ni aún para coristas." ("The so-called Conservatory of Music and Declamation is a racket from which no disciple in the art of singing escapes, not even a chorister.") See Rodicio, *La música española*, 21. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

[9] Ibid., 20. "Las relaciones entre música y sociedad en el XIX español se han movido en un estado de crisis, sobre todo en los inicios del siglo, que podemos fijar en estos síntomas: mala respuesta de la administración antes la necesidades de la música, carencia de estructuras que hagan viable una política musical, crisis del hasta entonces mayor Mercado musical, el eclesiástico, y, en consecuencia, estado deficiente de la educación musical, cierta recepción de la música como una especie de sub-arte y la propia definición antropológica del creador, sin duda la causa de la situación."

[10] Ibid., "Todas las naciones han protegido el arte músico... Y en España,? Que ha hecho el gobierno para protegerlo? Absolutamente nada... "

[11] Ibid., "El arte músico español ha estado constantemente huérfano de toda protección oficial."

of education which, according to him, would allow composers to reform and modernize Spanish music.[12] Like many of his contemporaries, however, Barbieri's main criticism was directed towards the influence of Italian opera, a genre which he perceived as detrimental to the development of an independent "national" musical language.[13]

It is important to include Italian opera in our discussion on *fin-de-siècle* musical nationalism, for it is precisely against Italian influence that the first nucleus of nationalist composers coalesced at the turn of the nineteenth century. As early as the 1790s, Blas de Laserna (1751–1816), a famed *tonadilla* composer, defended this native vocal genre over Italian opera, while Garcia de Villanueva y Parra (? – 1803), in his *Manifesto por los teatros españoles y sus actors* (Manifesto for Spanish Theatres and Its Actors, 1788), argued for the development of a national school of music as an alternative to foreign—i.e. Italian—opera.[14] Likewise, the anonymous essay *Origen y progresos de las óperas* (Origin and Progress of Operas, 1828) not only praised the *tonadilla*, but also defended the lyrical qualities of the Spanish language and proposed the creation of a Spanish lyrical school.[15] These Spanish musicians, like many others throughout the nineteenth century, from Barbieri and Santiago de Masarnau (1805–1880) to Tomás Breton (1850–1923) and Ruperto Chapí (1851–1901), blamed Italian music for the lack of a strong Spanish tradition, and accused the Spanish government of favouring

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[12] Rodicio, *La música española*, 34. Fro instance, Barbieri suggested the following: "Lea Vd. Buenas obras poéticas; visite con frecuencia los museos de pintura y escultura; estudie en fin, las grandes obras del ingenio humano, de cualquier clase que sean, y aprendara Vd. en todas ellas a hacer musica de verdadera belleza. Sobre todo no olvide Vd. nunca el sabio precepto de Horacio, *Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci*." ("Read poetic works of good quality; visit frequently museums of paintings and sculptures; finally, study the great works of the human genius, whatever they be, and through all of them you will learn to make music of real beauty. Above all, never forget Horace's wise precept, *He has won every vote who has blended profit and pleasure*.") For the Latin translation see George Alexander Kennedy, *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 3, *The Renaissance* [electronic resource] ed. Glyn Norton, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 132.

[13] Alonso, "Nacionalismo," 926.

[14] Ibid., 925.

[15] Ibid., 926.

Italianism over native expression.[16] Joaquín Nin (1879–1949), a well-known *fin-de-siècle* composer and music scholar, had this to say about the sorry state of Spanish music in the first half of the nineteenth century:

> […] we are in the very middle of national degeneration. Phillip V's policy of annihilation had borne its fruits [regarding his preference for Italian over native musicians]. Spanish music, which had held on to the end of the eighteenth century behind the rampart of the tonadilla, the last refuge of the nationalist musicians, was completely lethargic. The opera, that incurable soreness of Spain, had to be Italian or it could not be. The devotees of chamber music revolved around Luigi Boccherini. The old-timers were talking about Haydn, who had been one of the musical idols of Spain, as an outmoded memory. One forgets ancestors, one disregards the past. One marks time where he is or goes forward without purpose, at random. Bellini, Mercadante, Donizetti, Rossini, Verdi reign as absolute masters, one after the other. Italian becomes the one and only approved and possible language. One speaks of nothing but opera all day and all night. At every street corner one hears someone humming, whistling, singing, howling, the same old sentimental threadbare lyrics. The high-tenor is adored like the torero, and the diva is enthroned with as much haughtiness as stupidity.[17]

Dethroning Italian music, however, would prove a hard task, with even native Hispanic genres such as the *zarzuela* (a musical drama with spoken dialogue) absorbing "the mainstream pan-European operatic style, principally in da capo arias and Italianate recitatives."[18] Even the popular *tonadilla escénica*, "the best popular medium for the stage and the only escape from the bonds of Italianism,"[19] was short-lived and could not establish a strong foundation for national music. By the 1830s, the Italianate *zarzuela* and *tonadilla* had both vanished from the Spanish stage. What could cure Spanish audiences from such chronic *Italianitis*?[20]

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[16] Chase, *Spain*, 138–149.

[17] Joaqin Nin, *Classiques espagnols du piano* (1925) cited in Powell, *Spanish Piano Music*, 48–49.

[18] Louise Stein, "Spain," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 14: 123.

[19] Chase, *Spain*, 129.

[20] Ibid., 144. "[Tomas Breton] declared that from the time of Farinelli up to his own day, Spanish music had suffered from a grave disease, chronic Italianitis: 'This Italianism stifles and degrades our art,' he exclaimed in a discourse before the Spanish Royal Academy."

Towards a National Musical Language

This ideological interest in creating a Spanish musical language free from "corrupting" Italianate traits became a primary concern of nineteenth-century Spanish composers such as Barbieri, especially from the 1840s onwards.[21] In order to create an independent Spanish school of music, composers and critics came up with a series of measures that would, in their own words, *regenerate* Spanish music: they argued for a better professional formation of Spanish musicians, sought to revalorize Spain's musical past with new editions of pre-nineteenth-century musical texts, and worked towards the elaboration a national historiography.[22] They also increasingly invoked Spanish folk songs, dances, and rhythms in their works, hoping to give these a stronger sense of national character.[23]

Towards the middle of the century (especially during the reign of Isabel II, 1843–1868), the national character found expression in popular traditions (*costumbrismo*) and picturesque settings, particularly those from Andalusia. This aesthetic trend, known as *Andalucismo*, became extremely important in the formulation of mid-century Spanish identity:

> Neither can we doubt the presence of an Andalucian aesthetic in Spanish romantic art; theatre, poetry, architecture, painting and music (especially in the realms of the salon and the theatre) were traversed by an Andalucian trend that went beyond the simple picturesque image, and that was dictated by the presence of a constant Andalucian influence in the society of the time. Accordingly, nineteenth-century *Andalucismo* is more than a simple aesthetic trend; it is a social phenomenon of great magnitude that suggests

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[21] Rodicio, *La música española*, 24.

[22] Ibid., 25.

[23] Chase, *Spain*; Rodicio, *La música española*; Christoforidis, "Folksong"; ibid., "'Invasion of the Barbarians': Spanish Composers and Challenges to Exoticism in *belle-époque* Paris," *Context* 29, no. 30 (2005): 111–17; Alonso, *La canción lírica española en el siglo XIX* (Madrid: ICCMU, 1998); R. Sobrino, *Música sinfónica alhambrista: Monasterio, Bretón, Chapí,* (Madrid: ICCMU, 1992); M. Fernández Caballero, *Los cantos populares españoles considerados como elemento indispensable para la formación de nuestra nacionalidad musical* (Madrid: Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1902); J. A. Lacárcel Fernández: "La incidencia del folklore en el nacionalismo musical español," *I Congreso de Folklore Andaluz: Danzas y músicas populares*, Granada, 1988.

> certain attitudes and specific forms of entertainment. […] Perhaps because of this should we consider the Andalucian stylization, in all its shapes and forms, as a mark of Spanish identity. This is particularly true if we take into account the fact that the popularity of Andalucian culture amongst other social spheres went hand in hand with the belief that the authentic and the indigenous—i.e. the "purely Spanish"—resided in the popular classes, particularly the Andalucian ones. This legacy of romanticism was encouraged by Spanish traditionalists (*costumbristas*) as much as by foreign travelers.[24]

In musical terms, *Andalucismo* referred to a style based on stereotypical formulations of the "Spanish musical idiom" mainly associated with Andalucía, specifically Phrygian scales, alternations between major and minor modes, melodic ornamentations on a single note, contrasting rhythms between sections, and most importantly, *rasgueado* and *punteado* figurations, which recalled the Spanish guitar.[25] While the author Ortega y Gasset (1883–1955) later rejected Andalusian stereotypes as "southern trinkets" (*quincalla meridional*) and "multicoloured farce"[26] (*farsa multicolor*), S. Salaün reminds us that *Andalucismo* played an important role in the development and consolidation of nineteenth-century Spanish musical nationalism.[27] Numerous Hispanic composers incorporated the stereotypical tropes mentioned above in their works. According to Casares, "All Spanish music in the first stages of romanticism took on the folkloric

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[24] Alonso "Andalucismo," *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio (Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 2001), vol. 2, 444. "Tampoco hay duda del alcance de un Andalucismo esteticista en el arte español del siglo romántico; el teatro, la poesía, la arquitectura, la pintura y la música (singularmente en los dominios del salón y del teatro) se vieron atravesados por una corriente andalucista que rebasa la simplicidad de la imagen pintoresca, y que obedece a la presencia de una suerte de constante andaluza en la sociedad de la época. De este modo, el andalucismo decimonónico es algo más que una corriente estética; es un fenómeno social de envergadura que propone ciertas actitudes y formas de diversión singulares. …Quizá por ello debería aceptarse la estilización andalucista, en todas sus variantes y fisonomías, como una seña de identidad española, teniendo en cuenta que la irradiación social del plebeyismo andaluzado es paralela al arraigo de la creencia en que lo genuino y lo autóctono—valga decir "lo castizo"—residía en las clases populares, en particular las andaluzas, legado romántico que alimentaron tantos los viajeros extranjeros como los costumbristas españoles. "

[25] *Rasgueado* figurations correspond to the downward strumming or an upward sweep of the guitar strings with the fingertips or thumb and *punteado* figurations to the plucking of individual strings.

[26] José Ortega y Gasset, *Teoría de Andalucía y otros ensayos* (Madrid: Revista de occidente, 1944), 2.

[27] S. Salaün, "La zarzuela, hibrida y castiza," *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana*, 2–3 (1996–97), 235–256.

element in its most superficial aspect."[28] A few examples taken from the corpus of Spanish piano and vocal music from the mid-century onwards illustrate this point: *Adiós a la Alhambra* (piano and violin, 1855) written by Jesús de Monasterio (1836–1903); Granados' *Danzas españolas* (No.5: *Andaluza*, piano, 1890), *Canción árabe* (piano, 1890) and *Canción morisca* (piano, 1890); and Falla's *Serenata andaluza* (piano, 1900) and *Segunda serenata andaluza* (piano, 1901).

Although *Andalucismo* provided Spanish composers with a convincing alternative to Italianism, it led to new problems, namely the establishment and perpetuation of an orientalized vision of Spain that reduced its music to a few exotic tropes, thus encouraging the rest of Western Europe to view Spain as a neighbouring "Other."[29] This is particularly true of France. Flooded with Spanish émigrés, Paris became a fertile ground for the proliferation of Andalusian sonorities, Alhambrist songs,[30] and arrangements of popular Spanish melodies.[31] *Andalucismo*, known to the

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[28] Rodicio, *La música española*, 40. "Toda la música española de los inicios del romanticismo asume el elemento folklórico en su aspecto más externo."

[29] A possible explanation for this exoticizing process is elaborated upon with in detail in Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978). According to Said, Western societies have constructed the Orient through their own traditions of thought, imagery and vocabulary. The crux of his argument is that this process could only be possible through an unequal institution of power relations, in which the East is culturally appropriated and thus dominated by the West. Although Said does not dwell on the orientalizing of the Iberian Peninsula by Western European powers, his study can help illuminate its perpetual state of marginality within the rest of the continent. This orientalizing and exoticizing process is particularly evident in French literature. Authors such as Francois René Chateaubriand (*Le dernier Abencerrage*, 1826), Victor Hugo (*Les Orientales*, 1829) and Théophile Gautier (*Voyage en Espagne*, 1848; *Loin de Paris*, 1865) portrayed Spain as a gateway to the Orient.

[30] Symbol of Spain *par excellence*, the Alhambra, a thirteenth-century Moorish castle located in Granada, gave its name to a musical practice recalling the country's Arab heritage. It shares the same musical characteristics as *Andalucismo*.

[31] Driven into exile after the Napoleonic war (1808–1814), an important Hispanic community emerged in the French capital, at that time a haven for exiled composers from all over Europe in search of new opportunities. Spanish émigrés were fleeing political and economic instability as well as the continued repression of liberalism. Wealthy and high-profile political exiles such as the regent Maria-Christina (1840) and the deposed queen Isabella II (1868) surrounded themselves with Spanish coteries and, importantly, provided employment for exiled Spanish musicians in Paris. The wedding of the Emperor Napoleon III to Eugenie de Montijo, celebrated in Paris in 1853, especially stimulated a new proliferation of *espagnolades*. Julien Tiersot described the craze for all things Spanish at the Exposition

French as *espagnolades*, thus became a cultural trope evoking sonorous images of "Oriental" Spain. However, criticism of such musical exoticism soon spread amongst Spanish musicians. A number of critics from the last decades of the nineteenth century perceived *Andalucismo* as disadvantageous to the establishment of a more "authentic" musical language:

> For certain Spanish music critics who later traveled to France—such as [Antonio] Peña y Goni [1846–1896], Pedrell and [Manuel] Giro [1848–1916]—these artists embody the exploitation of a populist and picturesque conception of music. They condemn their abuse of *espagnolades* and some consider it as a rupture and even treason to the motherland.[32]

By the turn of the century, composers distanced themselves from *Andalucismo* and sought new ways of voicing Spanish national identity. However, they would face a difficult problem. Although most *fin-de-siècle* Spanish composers agreed that their national musical identity needed rehauling, it would be difficult to identify an "authentic" vocabulary that went beyond exotic tropes. Cultural and musical exchanges between Spanish émigrés in Paris and French composers blurred boundaries between these aesthetic voices. According to Michael Christoforidis,

> The Parisian *espagnolades* was a unique manifestation of exoticism because it resulted from continuous cultural exchanges. Spanish musicians in Paris both informed the *espagnolades* and were inspired by it. Therefore the perpetrator and subject of exoticism were engaged in a constant if uneven dialogue.[33]

Albeniz's *Iberia* (1906–1908) exemplifies the ambiguous boundary between Spanish identity, on the one hand, and the French-led orientalization and acceptance of Spanish music on the other. In Christoforidis' words, the famous *Iberia* was "embraced by

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Universelle of 1889 thus: "bullfights to the right and left; Spanish choral societies here, Spanish soirées there; at the Cirque d'hiver Spanish fiestas, orchestra, dance, estudiantina; at the Exposition the gypsies from Granada." See Montserrat Bergadà, "Musiciens espagnols à Paris entre 1820 et 1868 : État de la question et perspective d'études," in *La Musique entre la France et l'Espagne: Interactions stylistiques I (1870–1939)*, ed. Louis Jambou (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003), 17–38.

[32] Bergadà, "Musiciens espagnols à Paris," 30. "Pour certains critiques musicaux espagnols qui gagnèrent la France ultérieurement – nous pensons a Peña y Goni, Pedrell et Giro – ces artistes incarnent l'exploitation d'une vision populiste et pittoresque de la musique. Ils blâment leurs abus des espagnolades que certains considèrent comme une rupture et même une trahison a l'égard de la madre patria."

[33] Ibid.

Parisian critics as a masterpiece of both Spanish nationalism and of French piano literature."[34] Spanish composers, despite their successes with French audiences, increasingly felt the need for some kind of aesthetic independence; and by the turn of the century, the *compositor afrancesado* (Frenchified composer) had become an epithet to avoid.[35] Composers began to maintain a safe aesthetic distance between Spain and France, a shift demonstrated in the following comment by Pedrell: "[Granados] never experienced the slightest weakness of exotic assimilation, nor the tempting yet corrupting [influence] of France, which had ruined so many."[36]

With this in mind, is it possible to separate the language of Spanish musical nationalism from the (self-) exotic representation of the Other? Was there really a stylistic distinction between "authentic" *españolismo* and exotic *espagnolades*? How could composers articulate what, according to them, would be a true musical nationalism without referring to stereotypical folkloric gestures? Celsa Alonso alludes to the difficulties Spanish composers faced in elaborating what they considered to be an authentic Spanish musical language:

> In the transition between the nineteenth and twentieth century, almost all Spanish composers agreed to the necessity of renovating and Europeanizing Spanish music, on the value of popular tradition and in the urgent need to suggest aesthetic alternatives to Italian music. However, it was very difficult to translate to musical praxis the "Spanish" components in recognizable terms beyond the reformulation of pre-established rhythms and harmonic turns derived from folk songs. Spanish musicians were confronted with this problem during the Silver Age (1902–1936).[37]

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[34] Christoforidis, "'Invasion of the Barbarians,'" 113.

[35] Hess, *Modernism*, 29. The word *afrancesado* had a pejorative meaning: it referred to the Spaniards who had sworn allegiance to Joseph I Bonaparte, who was appointed king of Spain by his brother Napoléon Bonaparte after the Napoleonic Wars (1808–1814). It also extended to the predominantly middle-class Spaniards who saw French culture as an agent of change in Spanish society.

[36] Felipe Pedrell, "La personalitat artística d'en Granados," *Revista Musical Catalana* 13 (1916): 174 cited in Hess, *Modernism*, 29.

[37] Alonso, "Andalucismo," 932. "En el tránsito del s. XIX a XX, casi todos los compositores españoles estaban de acuerdo en la necesidad de regeneración y europeización de la música española, el valor de la tradición popular y en la urgencia de plantear alternativas estéticas a la música española. Sin embargo, era muy difícil traducir a la praxis musical los componentes nacionales españoles en términos

It is not the aim of this thesis to establish a clear demarcation between *Andalucismo* and a so-called authentic nationalism. Rather, I would like to focus on the process by which Spanish musicians and critics, in particular Pedrell and Granados, constructed a national style which they *perceived* to be authentic. In order to escape both Italianism and the confines of exoticism, a new vocabulary of musical identity gradually emerged in the last decades of the nineteenth century, one that attempted to reconcile popular and folkloric elements with a number of loftier musical ideals circulating in intellectual and artistic circles of the time.

The pedagogue, composer and musicologist Felipe Pedrell had a fundamental role to play in bringing about this new Spanish musical identity. While folklore remained an important facet of his brand of nationalism, he also stressed the importance of rediscovering the history of Spanish music, a process which he thought would provide both an alternative to Italianism as well as new sources of inspiration beyond folklore. Pedrell differed from earlier music scholars in that his conception of Spanish nationalism drew heavily upon the Generation of '98, an important intellectual-aesthetic movement in *fin-de-siècle* Spain.[38] This movement, as explained below, informed the cultural context of a large portion of Spanish music at the turn of the century and was integral to the elaboration of a renewed Spanish school of music.

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reconocibles, más allá de la recreación de determinados ritmos y giros armónicos procedentes del canto popular. A este problema se enfrentaron los músicos españoles durante la Edad de Plata (1902–1936)."

[38] See Sopeña, *La Música en la Generación del* 98," (Arbor, 1948); Harper, *Falla*, 28; Alonso, "Nacionalismo," 929–930; ibid., "La música y el 98 a debate: aclaraciones, reflexiones y propuestas en torno al nacionalismo y regeneracionismo musical español," in *Una reflexión multidisciplinar sobre el 98*"(Avilés: Centro de Profesores y Recursos, 1999); ibid., "La música española y el espíritu del 98," *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana,* 5 (1998).

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Signed on December 10th 1898, the Treaty of Paris served as a clear demonstration of the Spanish government's inadequacy in state affairs. Any illusions of national grandeur Spaniards might have harboured before their defeat in the Spanish-American War vanished alongside the unforeseen loss of Cuba (by then the nation's only remaining colony). Spain's state of disarray stimulated an intensive search among its younger generation for solutions to its political and social woes, motivating a group of young authors and intellectuals known as the "Generation of '98" to criticize the nation's apathy and to call for urgent social and political reforms. Among several concerns they had for their nation, they were apprehensive about Spain's marginal position within Western Europe. Theirs was a quest for national *regeneración*.

Of all the intellectuals who belonged to this literary group, the philosopher, novelist, and essayist Miguel de Unamuno (1864–1936) was perhaps the one who most influenced *fin-de-siècle* nationalist composers. His recommendations not only shaped Spanish intellectual discourse, but also proved instrumental in the development of a new Spanish musical identity. Unamuno outlined the main precepts of his doctrine of national renovation in his influential essay *En torno al casticismo* (The Essence of Spain, 1895). First, Unamuno (like most authors of the Generation of '98) believed "the spirit of Castile" (*castizo*) to be the cradle of "authentic Spanishness" (*casticismo castellano*).[39] For Unamuno, Castile was the "natural centre of Spain," and the "true

[39] Unamuno, *En torno al casticismo* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1983), 103. "El casticismo castellano es lo que tenemos que examinar, lo que en España se llama castizo, flor del espíritu de Castilla." Unamuno begins his essay by defining those two words: "Castizo, deriva de casta, así como casta del adjetivo casto, puro. Se usa lo más a menudo el calificativo de castizo para designar a la lengua

maker of Spanish unity and monarchy";[40] it was where the Spanish language (*castellano*) first took hold, and where the nation's earliest literary classics were written; it was also from Castile—the land of the castles—that Spanish armies cast out the Moorish invaders after centuries of occupation.[41] In short, Unamuno and the Generation of '98 converted Castile into a symbol of national unity, the foundation upon which a renewed Spain could be built.

Nevertheless, Unamuno rejected facile expressions of *casticismo* such as *localismo*, *costumbrismo* or *temporalismo*, judging that the essence of Spanish identity did not reside in superficial manifestations of national traditions. This brings us to a second element of fundamental importance to Unamuno's conception of national renewal. He believed that Spaniards would find true *casticismo* in Spain's *intrahistoria*, or "eternal traditions," a term the Hispanic music specialist Carol Hess defines as "a collective sense of the past that persists through the events, grand and inconsequential, of history."[42] In Unamuno's own words, *intrahistoria* was the "intimate and popular character" of the nation.[43] Only by drawing from these "eternal traditions" would Spanish intellectuals successfully renovate *fin-de-siècle* Spanish identity: "The future of Spanish society lies within our historical society; it is in our intra-history, in the

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y al estilo. Decir en España que un escritor es mas castizo que otro, es dar a entender que se le cree más español que a otros" (65). (" 'Castizo,' derived from 'caste,' like the adjective 'chaste,' 'pure.' The adjective 'castizo' is often used to qualify language and style. To say in Spain that an author is more *castizo* than another is to imply that he is believed to be more Spanish than others.")

[40] Ibid., 96–98. "La verdadera forjadora de la unidad y de la monarquía española." This view of Castile was a commonly accepted one amongst Spanish *fin-de-siècle* intellectuals and served as foundation for the renovation of Spanish identity. According to the author Azorín (1873–1967), Castile was the most essential and most authentic part of Spain. In his own words, it was "that most glorious part of Spain to which we owe our soul." See Clark, *Granados*, 112.

[41] Ibid., 95–99.

[42] Hess, *Modernism*, 14.

[43] Unamuno, *Casticismo*, 91. Unamuno acknowledges the fact that his concept is akin to Herder's *Volkgeist.* See Unamuno, *Casticismo*, 195. Also see Donald Leslie Shaw, *The Generation of 98 in Spain* (London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1975).

forgotten people…"[44] Perhaps more importantly, Unamuno insisted that Spanish intellectuals incorporate Spain's intra-history into the cultural and historical life of the nation. He took as his model various authors from the Golden Age of Spanish literature such as Miguel Cervantes (1547–1616), Lope de Vega (1562–1635) and Pedro Calderón (1600–1681). Unamuno not only invested these authors with true *casticismo*, he also understood their works as an ideal balance between history and intra-history, high-culture and traditions, classic and *castizo*:

> The Castilian idea…gave birth to our classical Spanish (*castiza*) literature. It is *castiza* and classical, with historical foundations and intra-historical foundations, one being temporary and passing, the other, eternal and permanent. They are so tightly bound to each other; they interconnect and mix in such way that it becomes a difficult task to distinguish the *castizo* from the classical and establish where they coincide…[45]

For Unamuno, unearthing *intrahistoria* was not an end into itself, but rather, it was a fundamental tool for *fin-de-siècle* intellectuals wishing to renovate contemporary Spanish society.

While promoting *intrahistoria*, Unamuno believed that national *regeneración* also involved extension beyond narrow national traditions and culture. For him, societal renewal in Spain also depended upon an alliance between Spanish *intrahistoria* and Western European values of progress and modernity.[46] He insisted on the validity of his vision, declaring that Spaniards who resisted Europeanization (i.e. progress)

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[44] Unamuno, *Casticismo*, 194. "El porvenir de la sociedad española espera dentro de nuestra sociedad histórica, en la intra-historia, en el pueblo desconocido..."

[45] Ibid., 102. "La idea castellana…engendró nuestra literatura *castiza clásica*, decimos. Castiza y clásica, con fondo histórico y fondo intrahistórico, el uno temporal y pasajero, eterno y permanente el otro. Y están tan ligado lo uno a lo otro, de tal modo se enlazan y confundan, que es tarea difícil siempre distinguir lo castizo de lo clásico y marcar sus conjunciones…"

[46] Although geographically situated in the European continent, Spain was considered to be an outsider. Spaniards themselves understood Western Europe to include only more "developed" nations such as France, Italy, and Germany.

risked perpetuating the most negative aspects of the "Castilian spirit."[47] In the author's own flowery prose,

> Only by opening the windows to European winds, drenching ourselves with European ambience, having faith that we will not lose our personality in so doing, Europeanizing ourselves to create Spain and immersing ourselves in our people, will we regenerate this treeless plain.[48]

Unamuno easily reconciled his concept of *intrahistoria* with his call for Europeanization. In his view, *intrahistoria* reached well beyond Spanish nationalism; it was also a "cosmopolitan" and "universal" concept: "Humanity is the eternal caste (*casta eterna*)…; only what is human is eternally Spanish (*castizo*)."[49] To confine Spain to navel-gazing nationalism and to resist European influence would therefore be to deny Spain's eternal and universal spirit. Again, Golden Age literature provided Unamuno with a model: "Because he was a true Spaniard, and especially because of his beautiful death, Don Quijote belongs to the world."[50] In sum, post-1898 *casticismo* articulated a conception of Spanish identity where nationalism could coexist with intellectuals' claims to universalism. It would finally allow Spain to stand on equal footing with the rest of Europe.

Pedrell's Musical **Regeneración**

In the realm of music, the process of aesthetic renovation and national *regeneración* came to a head in the writings of Pedrell. Concerned with problems facing

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[47] Shaw, *Generation of 98,* 76. Although Unamuno later rejected his internationalist model, arguing that only Spanish mysticism could protect Spain from soulless European progress, other authors such as Ortega y Gasset (1883–1955) continued to denounce *españolismo* as superficial and aspired to a broader European perspective (Hess, *Modernism*, 47).

[48] "…que solo abriendo las ventanas a vientos europeos empapándonos en le ambiente continental, teniendo fe en que no perderemos nuestra personalidad al hacerlo, europeizándonos en el pueblo, regeneraremos esta estepa moral" (translated in Clark, *Granados*, 111).

[49] "La humanidad es la casta eterna, sustancias de las castas históricas que se hacen y deshacen como las olas del mar; solo lo humano es eternalmente castizo" (ibid., 88).

[50] "De puro español, y por su hermosa muerte sobre todo, pertenece Don Quijote al mundo" (ibid., 87).

Spanish composers—namely the lack of institutional support, the predominance of Italian opera, the crumbling music educational system, as well as composers' dependence on *Andalucismo*—Pedrell urged the creation of an "authentic" national music. His recommendations greatly resembled those of Unamuno in the field of literature: he rejected facile *casticismo*, but extolled Castile as the fulcrum of Spanish identity, stressed the need to rediscover the history of Spanish music, and sought to bring into Spanish culture what he called "the best qualities of modern Europe."[51]

Pedrell articulated these concerns in his influential and widely disseminated essay *Por nuestra música* (For Our Music, 1891). Published as a preface to his opera *Los Pirineos* (The Pyrenees, 1891), the essay outlined Pedrell's strategies for the creation of a national opera. Much like Unamuno's *intrahistoria*, Pedrell sought "to assimilate and re-create the essence of the Spanish spirit as embodied in a synthesis of all its most authentically characteristic manifestations," authentic manifestations that could be found, according to Pedrell, in both rural folklore and pre-nineteenth century art music.[52] Pedrell's main argument was that Spanish composers should draw from these two different sources of inspiration. First, he invoked Padre Eximeno, an eighteenth-century Spanish theorist who is said to have recommended that "each nation should construct its musical system on the basis of its national song."[53] Accordingly,

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[51] Chase, *Spain*, 146–48; Felipe Pedrell, *Por nuestra música,* 2d ed. (Barcelona: Henrich & Co., 1891); Christoforidis, "Folksong," 213–15; Edgar Istel, "Felipe Pedrel," *Musical Quarterly* 11, no. 2 (1925): 164–91.

[52] Chase, *Spain*, 148.

[53] "Sobre la base del canto national debía de construir cada pueblo su sistema." Pedrell, *Por nuestra musica*, 485. See also Pedrell, *P. Antonio Eximeno* (Madrid: Unión musical española, 1920), 7. Alice Pollin has showed that this dictum did not belong to Eximeno, but to the critic Menéndez Pelayo (1856–1912), who observes: "he [Eximeno] was the first to speak of popular taste in music and to insinuate that on the basis of national song, each nation should construct its system." Pollin explains that Eximeno was in fact interested in the forms and patterns of popular speech, rather than folk songs, and that Eximeno believed "natural" speech should determine the rhythm and accents of poetry and music. She shows that although Pedrell correctly attributed the paraphrase to Menéndez, later references to it were

Pedrell himself assiduously studied the living folklore of his nation, gathering and publishing traditional folk songs in his *Cancionero Musical Popular Español* (Songbook of Spanish Folk Music, 1917–1922). Second, Pedrell reminded composers that if they wished to capture the essence of Spanish music, they should look beyond folk sources. He recommended Spain's corpus of courtly and ecclesiastical works as an important source of inspiration. Pedrell dedicated most of his professional life to reviving and studying Spain's pre-nineteenth-century classical music, actively participating in the historicist trend that characterized the *regeneracionista* movement from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. He believed that Spanish composers could only capture the essence of their national music by fusing both folk and historical artistic traditions into a single musical language. In Pedrell's words, "The character of truly national music is not found only in the folk songs and in the impulse of primitive epochs, but in the genius and master works of the great centuries of art."[54] Which early masters did Pedrell himself draw from? A closer look at his *Hispaniae Schola Música Sacra* (Hispanic School of Sacred Music, 1894–1896), an internationally acclaimed collection of Spanish sacred music, sheds light on this question.

Looking to the Past: Castile's "Old-Masters"

In *Música Sacra*, Pedrell compiled polyphonic works from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain, a period perceived by nineteenth-century composers as the "Golden Age" of Spanish music. The early masters celebrated in Pedrell's collection were Francisco Guerrero (1528–1599), Cristobal Morales (1500–1553), Antonio de Cabezón (1510–1566), J. Ginés Pérez (1548–1600), Tomás de Santa María (1510–

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systematically attributed to Eximeno. See Alice Pollin, "Toward an understanding of Antonio Eximeno," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 10, no. 2 (1957): 86–96.

[54] Otto Mayer Serra, "Falla's Musical Nationalism," *Musical Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (1943): 8.

1570), Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548–1611), as well as other Hispanic composers of polyphony. Pedrell hoped his eight-volume collection would demonstrate that Spain had produced composers deserving of greater recognition than had been acknowledged in history books thus far.[55] By reinstating these composers, Pedrell also had a second, perhaps more important goal in mind: to provide the next generation of Spanish composers sources from which they could create both "authentic" and "universal" Spanish music. Pedrell, as well as many other musicians and critics of his generation, invested Golden Age composers with the most authentic qualities of their race; their music, because it expressed "spirituality, profundity, and exalted seriousness of purpose, austerity, and sublimity of thought," symbolized true Castilian identity.[56] If Golden Age composers had created masterpieces which captured the essence of Spain, then *fin-de-siècle* composers should, in order to infuse their works with a similar authenticity, draw their inspiration from the polyphonic works of these old masters. Perhaps the most obvious example of a *fin-de-siècle* composer who chose that path is Manuel de Falla. The tradition of Victoria and Cabezón—two golden-age composers strongly associated with Castile in the minds of *fin-de-siècle* musicians—permeates the *Harpsichord*

[55] For instance, Pedrell described Cabezón as "a sixteenth-century Bach," an authentically Spanish composer in whose works "[were] found all the germinal elements of instrumental music that, passing through Frescobaldi, lead eventually to the orchestra of Haydn." See Chase, *Spain*, 64–65.

[56] Hess, *Modernism*, 244. Intellectuals from the Generation of '98 did not share a single aesthetic, nor did they share a single philosophy; rather, they voiced multiple approaches in defining Spanishness. However, at least one common denominator emerged: authors from the Generation of '98 established Castile as the cradle of authentic Spanish identity. According to the author Azorín (1873–1967), Castile was the most essential and most authentic part of Spain. In his own words, Castile represented "that most glorious part of Spain to which we owe our soul" (Clark, *Granados*, 112). Golden Age authors such Cervantes (1547–1616), Lope de Vega (1562–1635), Luis de Góngora (1561–1627) and Pedro Calderón (1600–1681) were also invested with the essence of Castilian identity and became an important source of inspiration to *fin-de-siècle* composers. During the 1920s, Falla repeatedly annotated discussions on the simplicity and sobriety of these authors. These qualities reflected the aesthetic concerns prevalent at the time (both in Spain and in Paris) and informed his later works, such as *El Retablo de Maese Pedro* (1919–22), and the *Harpsichord Concerto* (1926) (see Hess, *Modernism,* 215). Granados' *Tonadillas* (1912–13) also attest of his own interest in *Siglo de Oro* authors. All the lyrics are pre-1700 Castilian romances taken from the *Romancero General*, a compilation by Augustín Duran (Madrid, 1851). Two texts are by Luis de Góngora, and one by Lope de Vega (see my p. 96).

Concerto, allowing Falla to express, in the words of a contemporary critic, "genuinely Hispanic music."[57]

Golden Age masters, however, were not the only source of inspiration to *fin-de-siècle* musicians. I believe that the musical idiom of Domenico Scarlatti (1685–1757), a Neapolitan composer who spent 28 years in the Iberian Peninsula, provided them with another source of inspiration. Again, Falla's *Concerto* provides the most immediate example, since it includes clear references to the Baroque composer. Besides the musical elements, which are abundant and have been carefully studied by Elena Torres, Falla himself states: "The greater one's understanding of the Spanish influence on Domenico Scarlatti, the more one comprehends the final movement of the *Concerto*."[58] Considering that Falla's *Concerto* has repeatedly been labelled his most Spanish work, and that Scarlatti figures as a fundamental element of its conception, we could reasonably argue that Scarlatti, like Victoria and Morales, had become for Falla (and for his critics) a symbol of Spanish authenticity.

However, Falla is not the only composer who emulated Scarlatti's keyboard idiom. As I will show, Granados, inspired by Pedrell's teachings, also associated various aspects of Scarlatti's eighteenth-century keyboard idiom with *casticismo*. Although Granados, unlike Falla, never specifically mentioned the inclusion of an eighteenth-century voice in his compositional process, I show in chapter 2 that a number of elements in *Goyescas*, his most famous piano work, point to the presence of a

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[57] Hess, *Modernism*, 244. For instance, the opening to the second movement alludes to plainchant, more specifically to the *Pange lingua moro hispano*, a chant used by many Spanish composers, including Victoria and Cabezón. See Hess, *Modernism*, 237. Also see Gianfranco Vinay, "La lezione di Scarlatti e di Stravinsky nel concerto per clavicembalo di Falla," in *Manuel de Falla tra la Spagna e l'Europa: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi*, ed. Paolo Pinamonti (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1989), 185–187.

[58] Christoforidis, "Folksong," 235. See also Torres, "La presencia de Scarlatti," 65–122.

Scarlattian idiom. As we shall see below, this eighteenth-century reference does not appear in *Goyescas* without reason.

Scarlatti: Bridging Authentic Spanish Identity with Universalist Aesthetics

What were Granados' motivations for including a Scarlattian idiom in his *Goyescas*? I first argue that Granados, like Falla and many *fin-de-siècle* Spanish composers, considered Scarlatti to be an authentic Spanish musician. How is this possible? How could an eighteenth-century Neapolitan keyboard master be perceived as the embodiment of "authentic" Spanish identity, particularly since Italian music had been perceived as a threat to a true Spanish musical language since the beginning of the nineteenth century? Often included in Spanish history texts because of his employment at the Madrid court, yet dismissed as a foreigner due to his Italian origins, Scarlatti's is an ambiguous case indeed. In chapter 3, I contend that Granados and other *fin-de-siècle* Spanish composers such as Joaquín Nin and Falla claimed cultural ownership of Scarlatti as a Spanish "old master" in Pedrell's sense, both in scholarship and in musical works.[59] They argued that Scarlatti's unique keyboard style was heavily indebted to Spain, and that he had transferred many Spanish folk idioms to his keyboard sonatas.[60] Scarlatti had therefore become an authentic Spanish old master in Pedrell's sense.

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[59] Michael Talbot alludes to this phenomenon in his review of Janice B. Stockigt, "Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745): A Bohemian Musician at the Court of Dresden." According to Talbot, "migrant composers, unless they attain the stature of a Handel, tend to fall victim to scholarly neglect both in their countries of origin and in those where they made their home…The cultural problem has to do with 'ownership' of the composer. For which national tradition can he be claimed?" See Michael Talbot, review of *Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745): A Bohemian Musician at the Court of Dresden*, by Janice B. Stockgit, *Music and Letters* 83, no. 1 (2002): 115–17.

[60] Joaquín Nin, *Idées et commentaires*, (Paris: Fischbacher, 1912); ibid., Letter Nin-Falla dated November 25, 1920, (AMF 7333) cited in Torres, "La presencia de Scarlatti"; John B. Trend, *Manuel de Falla and Spanish Music* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1934), 148–49; Adolfo Salazar, *concert programs of Pilar Bayona (February 26, 1916) and Joaquin Nin (May 23, 1917)*, AMF (NFN 1916-001) cited in Torres, "La presencia de Scarlatti," 76.

While the above is arguably Scarlatti's most obvious link to Spain and often discussed in the literature,[61] I suggest that Granados invested in Scarlatti a second layer of *casticismo*, one that expresses another important facet of Pedrell's nationalist ideology. Dean Sutcliffe has pointed out that Scarlatti's sonatas merged Spanish folk sonorities with a more mainstream or international (i.e. European) Baroque language.[62] If we accept this, Scarlatti's music would have exemplified the symbiosis between folk and art music strongly advocated by Pedrell (and by Unamuno in the field of literature). More specifically, I demonstrate that for *fin-de-siècle* musicians such as Granados, Scarlatti's sonatas reconciled a number of conflicting ideas within Pedrell's discourse: tradition vs. modernity, folk vs. classical, national vs. international, and as we shall see, national vs. universal.

This last binary opposition brings us to a third force driving Granados' conception of national musical identity. In chapter 3, I argue that Granados included a Scarlattian idiom in *Goyescas* in order to invest his work with a universal dimension. I have mentioned above that *fin-de-siècle* Spanish musicians converted Scarlatti into an authentically *castizo* composer. However, he was also part of the European canon and therefore, for Spanish composers, he represented the universal dimension with which they sought to invest their works. Again, Granados followed

[61] Jane Clark, "Domenico Scarlatti and Folk Music: a Performer's Reappraisal," *Early Music* 4, no. 1 (1976): 19–21; Malcolm Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti: Master of Music* (New York: MacMillan, 1987); Dean Sutcliffe, *The Keyboard Sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Powell, *Spanish Piano Music*; idem., "Guitar Effects in Spanish Piano Music," *Piano and Keyboard* 180 (May/June 1996): 33–37; Chase, *Spain*, 108–14, Vinay, "La lezione di Scarlatti"; *Scarlatti*; Clark, *Granados*.

[62] See Sutcliffe, *Sonatas.*

the teachings of his mentor, for universalism was a fundamental element in Pedrell's nationalist ideology:[63]

> The Pedrellian idea concludes with a universal and symbolic evaluation of the work that goes beyond the simple reference to folklore or the use of modern music, and converts itself into a superior entity reflecting the musical accent of a nation.[64]

Pedrell's influence was far-reaching. An entire generation of Spanish composers adopted his universalist views, forming the vanguard of the nation's "musical renaissance."[65] I believe this aspect of Pedrell's doctrine is an essential element in the creation of *Goyescas*, and allows a more symbolic reading of the work.

Literature Review

Little has been written in English on the use of pre-nineteenth-century sources in *fin-de-siècle* Spanish music, and even less with respect to Granados' *Goyescas*. This lacuna is symptomatic of the state of research on Spanish music in general, particularly outside Spain. For instance, many English-language studies on Spanish music rely heavily on Gilbert Chase's *The Music of Spain*, first published in 1941. This path-breaking study, which came out in its second edition in 1959, provides a comprehensive view of Spanish music from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century. A very useful tool, it could nonetheless be bolstered by a modern study. This is also the case with

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[63] Alonso, "Nationalismo," 928–935. Also see Bergadà, "Pedrell i els pianistes Catalans a París," *Recerca Musicològica* 11–12 (1991–1992): 243–57; Frances Bonastre, "El nationalisme musical de Felip Pedrell. Reflexion a l'entorn de *Por nuestra música*," *Recerca Musicològica* 11–12 (1991–1992): 17–26; Yvan Nommick, "El influjo de Felip Pedrell en la obra y el pensamiento de Manuel de Falla," *Recerca Musicològica* 14–15 (2004–2005): 289–300; Dochy Lichstensztajn, "El regeneracionismo y la dimensión educadora de la música en la obra de Felip Pedrell," *Recerca Musicològica* 14–15 (2004–2005): 301–23; Carol A. Hess, "Enric Granados y el contexto pedrelliano," *Recerca Musicològica* 14–15 (2004–2005): 47–56; and Josep M. Gregori, "Felip Pedrell i el renaixement musical hispànic," *Recerca Musicològica* 11–12 (1991–1992): 47–61.

[64] "La idea Pedrelliana termina con una evaluación universal y simbólica de la obra, que va mas allá de la simple cita popular o de la utilización de la música moderna, convirtiéndose en una entidad superior que refleja el acento musical de un pueblo." Francesc Bonastre, "Pedrell Sabaté, Felipe," *Diccionario de la Musica Espanola e hispanoamericana*, Emilio Casares Rodicio, ed. Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, Madrid, vol. 8, 556.

[65] Alonso, "Nationalismo," 935.

Linton Powell's *A History of Spanish Piano Music* (1980), which provides an overview of Spanish keyboard works from the 1500s to the 1950s with little analytical discussion. The fact that Powell's book is still seen as a basic reference source on Spanish keyboard repertoire speaks volumes about the state of research on Iberian keyboard music outside of Spain.

Happily, scholarly interest in the Catalan composer-virtuoso Granados has been growing in the past two decades. For instance, Douglas Riva's critical edition *The Goyescas for Piano by Enrique Granados* (1983) provides a wealth of reliable information on the work's compositional genesis and performance history. The first chapter describes the cultural *milieu* in which Granados composed, and more importantly, establishes late-eighteenth-century Madrid as Granados' primary source of inspiration.[66] However, Riva does not mention Scarlatti as a possible source of inspiration for Granados. Miguel Salvador's DMA dissertation "The Piano Suite *Goyescas* by Enrique Granados: an Analytical Study" (1988) also foregrounds Madrid's late-eighteenth-century past as an essential element in Granados' piano work. Interestingly, Salvatore traces the lavish ornamentation in *Goyescas* to Scarlatti's eighteenth-century keyboard practice, although he does not provide strong analytical evidence for his passing comment.[67]

Carol A. Hess's *Granados: A Bio-Biography* (1991) was a significant step towards a comprehensive English-language tome on the life and works of Granados. Above all, it highlighted the need for further research, a call that was answered fifteen

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[66] J. Douglas Riva, "The Goyescas for Piano by Enrique Granados: A Critical Edition" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1983).

[67] Salvador, "The Piano Suite *Goyescas* by Enrique Granados: an Analytical Study" (DMA. diss., University of Miami, 1988), 47.

years later by Walter Aaron Clark's *Enrique Granados: Poet of the Piano* (2006), the most complete and recent work on the Catalan composer to date. Relying on a wealth of primary sources, Clark provides detailed information on the composer's life and career, and includes ample musical examples in his discussion. On more than one occasion, Clark hints at the presence of a Scarlattian keyboard practice in *Goyescas*, and establishes a stylistic relationship between the two composers. However, he does not consider the possibility of ideological motivation behind Granados' inclusion of an eighteenth-century keyboard practice.[68] My thesis is the first to acknowledge the importance of Scarlatti in Granados' conceptualization of an "authentic" and universal Spanish identity in *Goyescas*.

So far, I have posited that Granados shaped his understanding of Spanish identity according to Pedrell's doctrine and to the nationalist ideals of the Generation of '98. However, I have yet to present a second reason to argue for both a national and universal Scarlatti in Granados' *Goyescas*. This second reason takes us to Paris, one of the most important sources of influence for *fin-de-siècle* Spanish musicians. Between 1870 and 1930, an important aesthetic movement called new classicism (later recognized as neoclassicism) emerged in the French capital. As we shall see below, this aesthetic movement was directly related to French composers' concerns about the future of their national music, concerns which were strikingly similar to the ones facing Spanish composers. Considering the constant cultural exchanges between France and Spain, I believe it is possible to draw a number of parallels between new classicism and Spanish *fin-de-siècle* nationalist ideology. Scott Messing's seminal study *Neoclassicism in Music: From the Genesis of the Concept*

[68] Clark, *Granados*, 110–42.

through the Schoenberg/Stravinsky Polemic (1988), which we now turn to, provides a useful tool to examine Scarlatti as a symbolic agent of both nationalism and universalism.

iii

Scott Messing examines the history of a concept that resists rigid definitions. He shows that neoclassicism, generally understood as a stylistic affiliation between early/mid twentieth-century composers and pre-romantic sources, underwent a lengthy evolution, moving from *classicisme* and *nouveau classicisme* to the later "neoclassicism." In his first chapter, Messing associates the genesis of a neoclassical aesthetic with the rise of an increasingly fervent nationalism in *fin-de-siècle* France (ca. 1870–1914), a nationalism which was fuelled by their resounding defeat during the Franco-Prussian war (1870–1871). French musicians reacted to this defeat by circumventing German music, which they believed to be excessive and decadent, and by returning to their native pre-romantic roots.

> In France, more so than in other European countries, an expanding nationalism helped to foster inspiration from native, pre-romantic antecedents, and incipient nationalism was born from a disbelief among artists in different genres that the progeny of decadence and symbolism could any longer supply useful models for creative expression.[69]

For French composers, the progeny of decadence and symbolism could be found in Germanic music, especially the works of Richard Wagner. Despite their initially enthusiastic reception of Wagner's music dramas, French composers increasingly believed his works represented a Teutonic mentality that could be held accountable for the excesses of the nineteenth century. At the same time, French composers "became

[69] Scott Messing, *Neoclassicism in Music: From the Genesis of the Concept through the Schoenberg/Stravinsky Polemic* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1988), 6.

acutely aware that the nineteenth century appeared to be a vast lacuna in their musical tradition and that the era more aptly characterized its most cherished icons in Germanic terms."[70] French critics reacted strongly against this Germanic hegemony, in both the concert scene and political arena; the independence, vitality and nature of French musical style began to emerge as increasingly pressing concerns in their writings:

> What does being French consist of in music? Does a musical tradition exist which can be called French? Where does this tradition begin? Is interrupted with Berlioz? If lost, is it rediscovered after him? And finally, where are we at present? (10)

French composers sought answers to these questions in *classicisme*, a term describing "an object which displayed artistic beauty by its fealty to principles of formal perfection embodied in a national tradition" (12). Leading composers such as Claude Debussy (1862–1918), Vincent d'Indy (1851–1931) and Maurice Ravel (1875–1937) participated in classical revivals, seeking a renewed sense of authenticity and independence in their art. Composers hoped pre-nineteenth century French sources would offer "viable expressive alternatives to *fin-de-siècle* Wagnerian themes" (12). According to Messing, this return to tradition provided French composers the opportunity to establish a discrete musical identity *vis-à-vis* a Teutonic idiom, leading the French musical style on the path of artistic renascence.

French *classicisme* relied on a number of traits considered intrinsic to the French musical style and, moreover, inherent to the French race:

> The term classicism tended to act as the embodiment of a number of aesthetic attributes which, even taken together, do not necessarily constitute for us an accurate basis for defining artistic style: clarity, simplicity, austerity, sobriety, pure construction, precision, discreet harmony, and formal perfection. Such words have validity to the extent that artists themselves found them to be comprehensible and useful descriptions. The crucial point is that these terms could be represented as fundamentally nationalist traits, that is Gallic, Hellenic, Latin, and southern—a claim which took in a rather large and diffuse geographical and cultural area (10).

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[70] Messing, *Neoclassicism in Music*, 6. All further references to Messing's book in this chapter will be annotated by page numbers enclosed in parentheses.

In order to achieve order, simplicity, elegance and clarity, French composers turned to the eighteenth-century French keyboard tradition. The graceful, precise, and delicate languages of Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764) and François Couperin (1668–1733) embodied idealized conceptions of Hellenic sensibility and voiced the timeless qualities of French musical genius. For Debussy, an ardent defender of a national musical tradition, Rameau's keyboard aesthetics represented a path through which France could assert its musical identity:

> We have, however, a purely French tradition in the works of Rameau. They combine a charming and delicate tenderness with precise tones and strict declamation in the recitatives—none of that affected German pomp, nor the need to emphasize everything with extravagant gestures or out-of-breath explanation, the sort which seem to say, 'You are a singular collection of idiots who understand nothing and would easily believe that the moon be made of cheese!' At the same time one is forced to admit that French music has, for too long, followed paths that definitively lead away from this clearness of expression, this conciseness and precision of form, both of which are the very qualities peculiar to the French genius […] (41).

As the above statement illustrates, for Debussy as for so many other *fin-de-siècle* French composers, to adopt this purely French musical vocabulary also meant taking a stance of "ruthless denigration of foreign, 'cosmopolitan' influence" (43).

However, French *fin-de-siècle* composers also sought a path towards "universal art," a circumstance that might come as a surprise since French classicism had supposedly represented a return to "pure" national traditions. They were able to reconcile their nationalist principles with their universal aspirations by way of a cosmopolitan nationalism that Carl Dahlhaus describes as follows:

> Even after the mid-century, and in spite of the inducement to support the more aggressive form of nationalism, the 'national schools' in general served a cosmopolitan outlook, insofar as they had no intention that the nationalist music which they created or felt themselves on the way to creating should be excluded from universal art (a difficult thing to define); on the contrary, the national character of their music was what would ensure for it a place in universal art.[71]

[71] Carl Dahlhaus, "Nationalism and Music," in *Between Romanticism and Modernism*, translated by Mary Whittall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 83–84.

Clearly, the national character of French music would be central to their universalist aspirations but if French composers relied too strongly on folklore, they would likely be marginalized in comparison with the European mainstream. This necessitated a turn to their classical past.

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Messing's multifaceted concept of new classicism is a useful tool for the recovery and recognition of potential layers of nationalist meanings in Granados' *Goyescas,* revealing striking parallels between Hispanic and Gallic musical nationalism in this period. When Spanish composers such as Granados claimed cultural ownership of Scarlatti and incorporated his eighteenth-century keyboard idiom into their *fin-de-siècle* works, they were going beyond mere references to their nation's classical past. Like contemporary French composers, they wished both to renew their musical identity and to reflect in their works a "universal" or pan-European aesthetic. The following chapters shall reveal how Granados was inspired by both Pedrell's ideals of musical *regeneración* (and through him, those of the Generation of '98), and those of French new classicism. In situating *Goyescas* within these two cultural contexts, I will show that Granados pushed for Hispanic identity beyond Spanish borders, in the hopes of securing for his works a universal relevance.

Chapter 2

Granados' *Goyescas*: An Idealized Vision of Eighteenth-Century Madrid

i

> I have concentrated my entire personality in *Goyescas*. I fell in love with the psychology of Goya and his palette; with his lady-like Maja; his aristocratic Majo; with him and the Duchess of Alba, his quarrels, his loves and flatteries. That rosy whiteness of the cheeks contrasted with lace and black velvet with jet, those supple-waisted figures with mother-of-pearl and jasmine like hands resting on black tissues have dazzled me.[1]
>
> - Enrique Granados

Enrique Granados believed music and politics did not share any common ground. In his own words: "It seems to me that art has nothing to do with politics."[2] However, if nationalism and affairs of state were one and the same (especially in *fin-de-siècle* Spain), would it really have been possible for Granados to divorce his musical output from contemporary politics? Even if Granados did limit his direct involvement with nationalist movements such as the Catalan *Renaixença*,[3] this did not prevent his music

[1] Clark, *Granados*, 123.

[2] "A mi me parece que el arte no tiene nada que ver con la política" (Riva, *Goyescas*, 853).

[3] Ibid. The Renaixença (known as *Art Nouveau* in France and North-America and *Jugendstil* in German-speaking lands) was a dominant artistic movement in Cataluña during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. It sought to restore the Catalan language and culture by looking to the past, particularly to the Middle Ages. In the realm of music, the Renaixença movement worked towards the protection and cultivation of Catalan folklore. While Renaixença looked to the past, another movement called Modernism looked to the future. By combining these two cultural forces, artists from Cataluña (especially from Barcelona) sought to renew their cultural identity after years of *decadencia*. Although born in Catalunya, Granados participated little in the *Renaixença*. He only set a few Catalan texts from the Middle Ages to music. For Clark, "Granados never wholly committed himself to any particular camp,

from taking part in the contemporary debates over national identity which so preoccupied the Generation of '98.[4] Did Granados internalize their political and nationalist message, as Clark believes?[5] And if so, how did it become manifest in his works?

Celsa Alonso suggests that Granados' nationalism was voiced in more subtle ways than active involvement in political affairs: "With respect to Granados, his nationalism becomes manifest in his reinterpretation of *Goyesque casticismo*."[6] As we discussed earlier, *casticismo* relates to what Spaniards understood as Castilian identity in its most authentic and purest form. But what of *Goyesque*? Francisco Goya (1743–1828) was a famous Spanish painter who depicted late-eighteenth-century Madrid. However, for Granados and his contemporaries, Goya had done much more than simply paint his surroundings: he had delved into the Spanish soul. He was the national figure *par excellence* and a rallying point for those in search of Castilian identity. Granados' construction of *casticismo*, heavily indebted to Pedrell and to the Generation of '98, was therefore tied to an imagined and romanticized past embodied by Goya. This is particularly true of his *Goyesque* period (1911–1916), which encompasses all vocal and piano works based on Goya's paintings,[7] culminating in *Goyescas: Los majos*

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ideology, identity, or movement. In an ongoing affirmation of his individuality, he embraced the beautiful, not the political, wherever he found it" (Clark, *Granados*, 9).

[4] At the very least, as a student of Pedrell and as a resident of Barcelona**,** Granados would have been familiar with both Azorín's articles and Unamuno's writings on the "national essence" published in the *Diario de Barcelona* and *La vanguardia*.

[5] Clark, *Granados*, 111.

[6] "En cuanto a Granados, su nacionalismo se manifiesta a través de su reinterpretación del casticismo goyesco..." (Alonso, "Nacionalismo," 930).

[7] Convention divides Granados' career in three distinct periods: the nationalist/salon period (1886–1898), grounded on Spanish folklore, the romantic/modernist period (1899–1910), clearly influenced by Schumann and Chopin, and the *Goyesque* period (1911–1916).

enamorados (*Goyescas: The Majos in Love*, 1909–1914), a work which would become a landmark in Spanish piano literature.[8]

In this chapter I will show that *Goyescas* is replete with cultural tropes that signalled to his Spanish audience the nation imagined by the Generation of '98 and his mentor Pedrell. Granados' musical representation of this imagined Spain was three-fold. In the words of Gabriel Alomar (1873–1941), a contemporary poet, essayist and educator, *Goyescas* could be understood as a "…mixture of the three arts – painting, music, and poetry…inspired by the same model: Spain, the eternal *maja*."[9] In consideration of these three arts, I will examine three figures of cultural importance which embody them in *Goyescas*: the painter Goya, the playwright Ramon de la Cruz (1721–1794), and the famous *tonadilla* composer Blas de Laserna (1751–1816). While each of these manifestations of Granados' musical nationalism has received attention in previous research and has been connected to nineteenth-century Spanish ideas of national authenticity,[10] scholars have generally overlooked several musical references to Domenico Scarlatti which, I argue, are also present in *Goyescas*. As we shall see, Scarlatti, like Goya, Cruz, and Laserna, belonged to Granados' construction of an idealized Spain. They should be considered if we are to shed light on Granados' *Goyesque casticismo*.

Francisco Goya

Granados is said to have told French composer Jacques Pillois that "...at the entrance to the Prado Museum in Madrid, the first thing that impresses us is his [Goya's]

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[8] For a complete list of movements, and dedicatees, see Appendix A.

[9] Angel Del Campo, *Granados* (Madrid, Publicaciones Espanolas, 1966), 29 cited in Salvador, "The Piano Suite Goyescas," 19.

[10] See Clark, *Granados*; Hess, *Enrique Granados: A Bio-Bibliography* (New York: Greenwood, 1991); Riva, *Goyescas*; Salvador, "The Piano Suite Goyescas."

statue."[11] For Granados and his contemporaries, Goya was monumental. Granados not only saw him as the "representative genius of Spain," but also as a figure which "exhorts us to contribute to the greatness of our country."[12] The need for icons and symbols of the nation's past greatness was particularly acute in the years following the defeat of 1898. It is no coincidence that the first biographies of Velázquez (Jacinto Octavio Picón, 1899; Benigno Pallal, 1914) and El Greco (Manuel Bartolomé Cossío, 1908) appeared shortly thereafter.[13] However, it is Goya, more so than his two Golden Age predecessors, who most inspired writers and musicians of the early 1900s. As Fernando Periquet (1873–1946), an influential journalist friend of Granados, explained, "To every Spaniard who possesses culture, Goya means not only a name, but an epoch also."[14]

Goya captured the spirit of late-eighteenth-century Madrid so well that this entire moment in Spanish history became known as the *Goyesque* period. The close of the eighteenth century was a moment of tremendous change, a time when the ideals of the Enlightenment were gradually making their way into Spanish society. Madrid, the social, artistic and intellectual centre of the country, was particularly sensitive to those changes. During the reign of Carlos III (1716–1788), a number of nobles, intellectuals, bourgeois and clergymen, known as the *Ilustrados* (the Enlightened), adopted some of the concerns of French *philosophes* and revolutionaries: reason, society, individuality, popular sovereignty and freedom of expression. These *Ilustrados* sought to modernize Spain by pushing for the separation of state and church as well as by reforming the educational, economic, and political systems of the nation. Enlightened despot Carlos

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[11] Salvador, "The Piano Suite Goyescas," 17.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Clark, *Granados*, 112.
[14] Riva, *Goyescas*, 8.

III allowed many reforms to take place in Spain while maintaining the established social order of the *Ancient Régime*. However, the French Revolution dampened the court's enthusiasm for enlightened thought, and the *Ilustrados* promptly fell in disfavour, the political situation in France forcing Carlos IV to adopt a much more conservative stance than his father's. Finally, a series of wars with Republican France (War of the Convention, 1793–95), Portugal (War of the Oranges, 1801), and Imperial France (Peninsular War, 1808–1814) made any further plans for reform impossible.

Goya, Carlo IV's First Court Painter, witnessed these events first hand. He adopted the *Ilustrados*' preoccupations which came to shape his aesthetic in profound ways. Coupled with a terrible illness that left him completely deaf, his vision of life became considerably darker. His depictions of the Spanish people became less and less idealized as toil and suffering made their way into his paintings. The *Caprichos*, a set of eighty etchings published in 1799, illustrate human folly in the guise of vanity, superstition, pride and self-deception. It is perhaps not surprising that the Inquisition promptly stepped in to censor this overt satire of Spanish society. However, the protection and friendship of Carlos IV allowed Goya to continue his work. Later on, the Napoleonic invasion led Goya to create a new series of etchings entitled *Disasters of War* (*Los desastres de la guerra*, 1810–1815) where he unapologetically displayed the human cost of the conflict. Like the *Caprichos*, the *Disasters of War* etchings are deeply-felt critiques of Spanish politics. In the last years of his life, Goya's work drew upon even stranger and darker themes. The *Black Paintings* (*Pinturas negras*, 1819–23) depict a world where the Enlightenment has not yet taken hold, a world dominated by social unrest, the Church, and its Inquisition. These works, greatly indebted to Edmund Burke' ideas on the Sublime, are surprisingly symbolic and expressionistic. Far from the

aesthetic of his courtly days, his works now demonstrated a very peculiar kind of "hallucinatory vividness."[15]

The darker *Disasters of War* and the *Black Paintings*, however, are not the works of art that sparked Granados' imagination. Much more interested in idealized depictions of eighteenth-century Madrid, Granados found inspiration in Goya's picaresque world of *majos* and *majas*, "the swashbuckling gallants of Madrid and their gay ladies, ever ready for a deadly brawl or a passionate rendezvous, as quick with their wit as with their swords."[16] Between 1776 and 1778, Goya created a series of cartoons for the dining room of the prince and princess of Asturias in which he depicted *majos* and *majas* enjoying a day of rest on the outskirts of Madrid. Their presence in Goya's royal cartoons was not arbitrary. The artist had found in *majismo*, the eighteenth-century fascination with Madrid's free-spirited characters, "a subject that suited his audience and suited the deep need of the time—by no means confined to Spain—to get in touch again with the spirit of the nation."[17] He could find no better subjects, for the lively *majos* and *majas* were thought to embody the pureness and authenticity of the Castilian spirit. Their loyalty to Spanish culture, dress code and amusements were also seen as an instrument of political and cultural protest in the face of *afrancesamiento*, or French influence.[18] This explains why it became fashionable for the Spanish nobility to imitate in dress and manner these lower-class characters. For instance, Goya's famous

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[15] Salvador, "The Piano Suite Goyescas," 17.

[16] Chase, *Spain*, 130.

[17] Richard Schickel, *The World of Goya* (New York: Time-Life Books, 1968), 53 cited in Salvador, "The Piano Suite Goyescas," 15.

[18] Albert Boime, *A Social History of Modern Art*, vol. 2, *Art in an Age of Bonapartism*, 1800–1815 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 225.

patroness, Teresa Cayetana, thirteenth Duchess of Alba (1776–1802), loved to play the role of a *maja*, and is represented as such in at least one of Goya's works.[19]

Granados found inspiration in these paintings, infusing his *Goyescas* with the spirit of *majismo*.[20] But as the paintings and etchings that directly inspired *Goyescas* reveals, Granados was much less inclined towards social critique than Goya had been. This is particularly striking if we consider *Los requiebros* (Flirtations), the opening movement of *Goyescas*. Based on Goya's fifth *Capricho*, *Tal para cual* (Two of a Kind; see Appendix B), an etching which appeared on the frontispiece of the original edition of *Goyescas*, it portrays a *maja* flirting with an attentive *majo* while two old ladies exchange comments in the background. Granados translated the flirtatious atmosphere of *Tal para cual* in *Los requiebros* with "its playful mood, its starts and stops, and continually changing tempo."[21] Concentrating on the characters' romantic wooing, he paid little attention to the more incisive layer of meaning present in the etching:

> It is often disputed whether men are worse than women or the contrary, but the vices of the one and the other come from bad upbringing. Wherever the men are depraved, the women are the same. The young lady portrayed in this print is as knowing as the young coxcomb talking to her, and as regards the two old women, one is as vile as the other.[22]

The flirtatious *majos* depicted by Goya are therefore far from the idealized lovers we hear in *Goyescas*. *Majismo*, according to Granados, represented first and foremost a

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[19] This painting is called *Mourning Portrait of the Duchess of Alba* (1797) and is alternately known as the *Black Duchess*. It is often said that the Duchess was also the model for *La maja desnuda* and for its counterpart *La maja vestida* (1800–1803). However, many art critics have disagreed with this and have suggested other models.

[20] In so doing, he was following a trend of his own time, for the 1900s witnessed a *majismo* revival that inspired many writers and musicians to draw from Madrid's eighteenth-century past. See Clark, 114–15 for a list of majismo related writings and music.

[21] Salvador, "The Piano Suite Goyescas," 65.

[22] "Muchas veces se ha dispuesto si los hombres son peores que las mujeres, ó lo contrario. Los vicios de unos y otros vienen de la mala educación. Donde quiera que los hombres sean perversos, las mujeres lo serán también. Tan buena cabeza tiene la señorita que se representa en la estampa como el pisaverde que la está dando conversación: y en cuanto a las viejas, tan infame es la una como la otra" (*Francisco Goya*, *Los Caprichos, by Francisco Goya y Lucientes*, introduction by Philip Hofer [Dover Edition: 1969], Plate 5).

source of Spanish authenticity and not an instrument of social criticism. In the words of Walter Clark, Granados did not manifest "any interest in proto-democracy and egalitarianism in the Madrid of that epoch but rather a preoccupation with the psycho-mental dimension of the art itself: the texture and color of the clothing, the inner being of the artist's subjects."[23]

The same observation can be made of the first movement in the second book of *Goyescas*, *El amor y la muerte* (Love and Death). This movement represents Granados' most direct reference to Goya's tenth *Capricho*, which depicts a terrified *maja* holding her dying lover in their last embrace (see Appendix C). For Granados, "Three great emotions appear in this work: intense sorrow, amorous longing, and final tragedy."[24] Expression markings such as *con molto espressione e con dolore* and *malinconico ricordanza* indicate how gripping and emotional Granados wanted this movement to be. The piece progresses through dramatic octaves, chromatic love themes, and endless reworkings of thematic material until, in Granados' words, "the final chords are struck in short bass notes that represent the renunciation of happiness."[25] But despite this intense romanticism, the manuscript 'explanation' at the Prado Museum reveals that Goya's romantic scene is in fact a social satire, one that seems to have gone unnoticed by Granados.

> Here you see a lover of Calderon, who, for not knowing how to laugh at his rival, dies in his lover' arms and loses her because of his recklessness. It is not a good idea to draw the sword too often.[26]

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[23] Clark, *Granados,*123.
[24] Ibid.,137.
[25] Salvador, "The Piano Suite Goyescas," 104.
[26] "Ve aquí un amante de Calderon que por no saberse reír de su competidor muere en brazos de su querida y la pierde por su temeridad. No conviene sacar la espada muy a menudo" (Goya, *Caprichos*, Plate 10).

Although Goya provided the inspiration for all of the *Goyescas* movements, only one other piece can be related to a specific painting. *El Pelele (Escena goyesca)* (1792), inspired from Goya's tapestry cartoon bearing the same name, was not originally part of the *Goyesca* suite but was only later incorporated into the opera *Goyescas* (1915). *El Pelele* gains special pertinence with respect to Granado's *Goyescas* for it is closely related to the other movements and is often found in modern editions of the piano suite.[27] In *El Pelele*, Granados focused on the physical movements of young women playing in the streets of eighteenth-century Madrid captured in Goya's picturesque scene. The women played the *pelele*, a game where they would each hold the end of a cloth and bounce a straw man in the air (see Appendix D). Although Goya did not provide any explanation for his cartoon as he later would for his *Caprichos*, one can still observe in it elements of social satire—an alternative meaning to the cartoon is suggested by his replacements of eighteenth-century conventions of grace and beauty with stiffness and distortion.[28] He repeated the theme of the puppet in a later work, this time making his personal views slightly more evident: the straw man was accompanied on the cloth by a seemingly dead donkey (see Appendix E). Perhaps Goya's point of view can be connected to the Spanish proverb: "Con los burros se juega a los peleles" (Those who play with puppets are like donkeys).

From the three examples discussed above, it becomes apparent that Granados discarded elements of social satire present in Goya's works, only to retain their *castizo* dimension. Concentrating on what he considered to be the essence of Spain, Granados

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[27] See Enrique Granados, *Goyescas*, ed. Alicia de Larrocha and Douglas Riva (Barcelona: Editorial de Música Boileau, 2001).

[28] Donald A. Rosenthal, "Children's Games in a Tapestry Cartoon by Goya," *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* 78, no. 335 (1982): 14–24.

constructed a vision of Madrid's eighteenth-century past that would better suit the needs of his identity-seeking country, a vision that comes to the fore in his notebook *Apuntes y temas para mis obras* (Notes and Themes from my Works)—a vision filled with optimism rather than irony. In his notebook, Granados included his own sketches of *majos* and *majas* in *Goyesque* style, offering a window into his conception of *majismo*. His sketches concentrated on typical scenes of eighteenth-century Madrid, for example a *maja* dressed in lace or two lovers flirting through a lattice-window (see Appendix F). This last sketch corresponds to the second movement of the *Goyescas*, *Coloquio en la reja*, a movement filled with symbols of Spain: guitar sonorities, tonadilla melodies, and Spanish dance rhythms. As we shall soon see, these symbols were closely associated with idealized *majos* and *majas* and became central to Granados' reinvented Spanish national identity.

Ramón de la Cruz

After Goya, the eighteenth-century figure who most influenced Granados was Francisco Ramón de la Cruz (1721–1794), the leader of literary *majismo*. A prolific and popular author, Cruz wrote more than five hundred works for the Spanish stage and played a crucial role in the development of a national theatrical form. Richard Schickel explains:

> Cruz supplied the Spanish stage with a medium, as acceptable to the common people as the autos [ancient miracle plays] had been in former days, but wholly directed to their earthly lives and not their transcendental fantasies, he saved the stage for the people and thus prepared the ground for its revival in the following generation.[29]

In order to understand the importance of Cruz for Granados and his contemporaries, we must first direct our attention to a polemic that divided Spanish playwrights during the

[29] Richard Schikel, *The World of Goya (1746–1828)* (New York: Time-Life Books, 1968), 53 cited in Salvador, "The Piano Suite Goyescas," 14.

first half of the eighteenth century, one that opposed the French tragedy with the Spanish *comedia*. The Spanish elite generally preferred French tragedies to *comedias*, most of the works presented on the Spanish stage until the 1760s consisting mainly of neoclassical dramas in the French style.[30] Pierre Corneille (1606–1684) and Jean Racine (1639–1699) were seen as models of good taste and reason, while the Aristotelian rule of the three unities (time, place, and action) became a favoured aesthetic among playwrights writing *au goût du jour*.[31] However, this adoption of French aesthetic met the opposition of a number of writers who remained faithful to the native *comedia*, a tradition inherited from Lope de Vega (1562–1635) and Calderon (1600–1681). This is particularly true of Ramon de la Cruz, a public servant turned playwright who by his incredible fecundity exerted a real dominion in the comedic theatre of mid-eighteenth-century Madrid.

Cruz played an important role in the tragedy vs. comedy polemic, defending the comedic genre and arguing for the quality and incisiveness of its satirical texts.[32] More specifically, he defended the *comedia* as an indispensable element of a varied and balanced theatrical production, and was particularly fond of the *sainete*. Played between the acts of a longer drama, the *sainetes* were short one-act sketches lasting usually less than an hour and enlivened with popular songs and dances (some of which are discussed below). The *sainetes* offered temporary relief from the main drama. Its primary function, far from a moral one, was to make the public laugh by all possible means. The

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[30] Salvador, "The Piano Suite Goyescas," 13.

[31] Mireille Coulon, *Le sainete à Madrid à l'époque de don Ramón de la Cruz* (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes: 2009), 257. The introduction of neoclassical drama in Spain served a specific purpose. In order to be granted a place among 'cultured' European nations, Spain needed to produce tragedies *a la francesa*, works of a cosmopolitan and universal outlook. See Charles B. Qualia, "The Campaign to Substitute French Neoclassical Tragedy for the Comedia, 1737–1800," *PMLA* 54, no. 1 (1939): 184.

[32] Coulon, *Le sainete à Madrid*, 259.

simple plots, which dismissed the rule of the three unities used in French tragedy, took place in typical neighbourhoods of Madrid, and depicted middle to lower-class citizens such as the *petimetre* (from the French *petit-maître*, or fop), the *payos* (who lived on the outskirts of the capital), and of course, the *majos* and *majas*. Critics of the *sainete* argued that this comedic interlude undermined the credibility of the central drama and demonstrated the lack of culture and plebeian bad-taste of the *parterre*. Perhaps more importantly, Cruz's *sainetes* endured heavy criticism for placing the 'worst' elements of Spanish society in better light than they were thought to deserve:

> The *majas*, the rogues, the rascals, worthy heroes of our popular dramas, climbed on the stage with all the splendour of their character, and draped themselves with audacity, and picaresque insolence. Their customs are applauded, their vices are canonized, or are excused, and their insults are celebrated, and exalted.[33]

Cruz's *majos* and *majas*, less idealized than they would be in the nineteenth century, were seen as a corrupting element in the Spanish comedy. Critics denounced the picaresque vein exploited in the *sainetes* and scornfully evoked "the proper repugnance and the social disgust that inspire[d] many of the little dramas of the perverse D. Ramón de la Cruz."[34]

For Mireille Coulon, such criticism indicates that this polemic was not entirely based on disagreements over which theatrical rules to observe, but rather demonstrated a number of social tensions witnessed by Cruz and his contemporaries. She makes the following observation in her detailed study on the *sainete*:

> …it is obvious that these preoccupations were mostly political ones. The *majos*' cheekiness, this insolence exerting itself against the representatives of justice and of the dominant class—he [Samaniego, a Spanish man of letter] accused them, let us

[33] "Las majas, los truhanes, los tunos, héroes dignos de nuestros dramas populares, salen a la escena con toda la pompa de su carácter, y se pintan con toda su energía del descaro, y la insolencia picaresca. Sus costumbres se aplauden, sus vicios se canonizan, o se disculpan, y sus insultos se celebran, y se encaraman a las nubes" (Coulon, *Le sainete à Madrid*, 333).

[34] "La repugnancia honrosa y el asco social que infunden muchos dramillas del pervertidor D. Ramón de la Cruz" (ibid., 335).

> remember, to be 'irreverent with justice' and 'insolent with the nobility'—was an incentive to scorn the established order.[35]

The drunkards, players, prostitutes, and other delinquents depicted in Cruz's works, not only indicated the audience's bad-taste and lack of education, but also its subversion to authority as well. Another aspect of *majos*' subversive attitude was their rejection of foreign influence, be it French (in the theatre) or Italian (in music). According to Craig Russell, the figure of the Spanish *majo* was a "theatrical representation of Spanish resentment towards foreign cultural invaders."[36] The Spanish writer Ramón Mesonero Romanos (1803–1882) espoused the same view, highlighting the resistance of this segment of the population towards foreign influence, especially after the Peninsular War (1808–14).[37] In his *sainetes*, Cruz therefore acted out the societal tension of his day with a realism few of his contemporaries achieved. In fact, the Spanish intellectual Menéndez y Pelayo (1856–1912) considered Cruz the only original Spanish poet of his time, the only one who "dared to give, in short scenes, of singular power and effective realism, a faithful and poetic transcription of the only national elements left in that heterogeneous society."[38]

Cruz, like Goya, had captured the spirit of *majismo*, but had not done so for the sake of folkloric or romantic ideals. Rather, he wished to depict the reality of Madrid's underworld and nascent middle-class. Most nineteenth-century intellectuals, however, conceived of the *majos* and *majas* as exponents of a romanticized Spanish identity,

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[35] "…il est évident que (ces) préoccupations étaient surtout d'ordre politique. Cette effronterie des majos, cette insolence s'exerçant contre les représentants de la justice et de la classe dominante—il [Felix Maria Samaniego] les accusait, rappelons-le, d'être 'irreverentes con la justica' et 'insolentes con la nobleza'— leur attitude était une incitation au mépris de l'ordre établi" (Coulon, *Le sainete à Madrid*, 334).

[36] Craig H. Russell, "Spain in the Enlightenment," in *The Classical Era: from the 1740s to the End of the 18th century*, ed. Neal Zaslaw (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1989), 259.

[37] Coulon, *Le sainete à Madrid*, 335.

[38] "…se atrevió a dar en cuadros breves, pero de singular poder y eficacia realista, un trasunto fiel y poéticos de los únicos elementos nacionales que quedaba en aquella sociedad abigarrada" (ibid., 336).

forgetting that Cruz had gone beyond a reductionist *costumbrista* vision of eighteenth-century Madrid. It is precisely this romantic interpretation of Cruz and his *sainetes* that appealed to Granados and that inspired the third movement of his *Goyescas*. *El Fandango de Candil* shares its title with one of Cruz's most popular *sainetes* (1768), and demonstrates Granados familiarity with Cruz's popular sketches. Granados' scenic indication for his opera *Goyescas* gives further evidence of his familiarity with Cruz's works: "Reunion of majos, chisperos etc. in a small theatre or room of the classic style, as already described by Ramon de la Cruz."[39] *El fandango de candil* refers to a popular custom called *baile de candil* which took place in a usually humble home where the guests danced in the candlelight to the sound of the guitar and other instruments.[40] In Cruz's *sainete*, a variety of Madrileños from different social classes attend such an event. The interactions of *majos*, *majas*, fops, and dandies result in burlesque situations, the plot culminating in the outbreak of a brawl and the arrival of the police. As usual with Cruz's works, the interest of this *sainete* doesn't lie in the plot's intricacies, but rather in its fast-paced rhythm, in the liveliness of its characters, and in its colloquial dialogues.

One hears little of the burlesque in Granados' *Fandango de candil*. Instead, he musically represents the *sainete* using two elements, two Spanish symbols in their own right: guitar sonorities and dance rhythms. The first of these, imitations of the guitar, occur frequently throughout the piece, both in *rasgueado* figurations and *punteado* ones.

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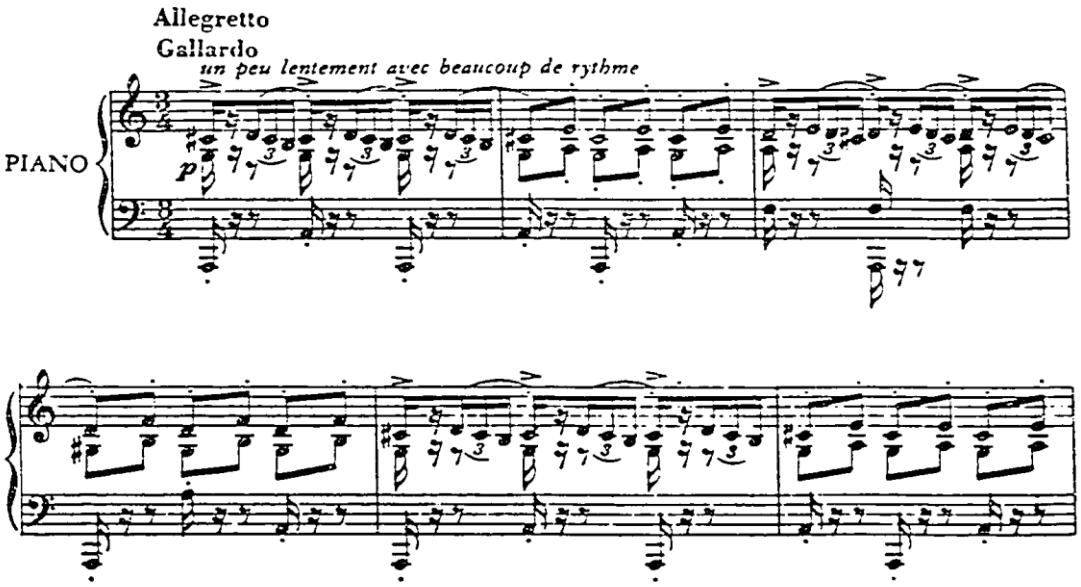
[39] Scenic indication for *Goyescas*; see Salvador, "The Piano Suite Goyescas," 84.

[40] In 1833 Ramón de Mesonero Romanos published *La capa vieja y el baile de candil*, a story in which he described and illustrated young people from the lower class dancing this very scene. See Clark, *Granados,* 132.

For instance, the *Fandango* opens with a 'guitar prelude' in which every beat of the first, third, and fifth measures produce a dissonant guitar-like chord (see Ex. 2.1a).

Ex. 2.1a: "El fandango de candil," mm. 1–6.



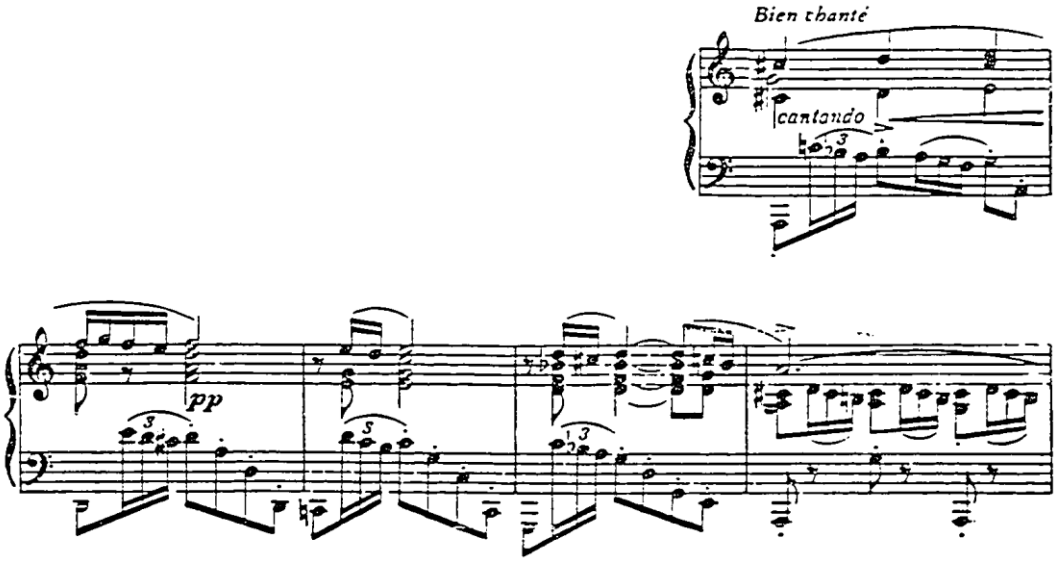
Granados also incorporates a number of characteristic features of the fandango, a dance in triple time popular among eighteenth-century *majos* and *majas*.[41] For instance, Clark has shown that, between the cadences of the first and second phrases of the prelude, Granados integrates a major-third relationship, a harmonic idiom common in the fandango.[42] He also includes the characteristic triplet rhythm of the fandango (see Ex. 2.1a, mm. 1, 3 and 5), which he repeats insistently throughout the piece with varying degrees of intensity. Although Granados diverges from the fandango by substituting its usual verse-refrain form (an alternation between refrains with guitar and castanet

[41] According to the Oxford dictionary, the fandango is "a lively Spanish dance believed to be of Spanish American origin. It is in simple triple or compound duple time, and of ever-increasing speed, with sudden stops during which the performers (a single couple) remain motionless, and with intervals during which they sing." *Oxford Music Online*, "Fandango," http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09282 (accessed August 20, 2009).

[42] Clark, *Granados,* 132.

accompaniment and verses with sung couplets) with a ternary one, he still maintains the vocal quality of the original couplet with a lyrical theme in the upper register of the right hand (see Ex. 2.1b).

Ex. 2.1b: "El fandango de candil," mm. 9–13.



In this contrasting lyrical section, I suggest Granados does more than simply adapt the sung couplet of the fandango to the piano: by incorporating this *bien chanté* section, in which the right hand acts as a solo voice, while the left plays a guitar accompaniment in *punteado* style, Granados also highlights vocal music as a key ingredient of Cruz's theatrical works. Indeed, the *sainete* almost always ended with a musical number—usually a sung dance like the seguidilla, the tirana, or the fandango—a musical number that captured Spanish everyday life and served as a vehicle of national expression.[43] This vocal dimension of Cruz's *sainete* also inspired Granados in the composition of *Goyescas*, leading us to examine another important element of eighteenth-century Spain: the *tonadilla* composer Blas de Laserna.

[43] Roland J. Vazquez, "The Quest for National Opera in Spain, and the Re-invention of the Zarzuela (1808–1849)" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1992), 40.

Blas de Laserna

Blas de Laserna (1751–1816), director of the Teatro de la Cruz, composed around a hundred *sainetes*, numerous *zarzuelas* (a Spanish lyric dramatic genre) and works of incidental music. He also collaborated with Cruz on a number of occasions. He is particularly remembered for his *tonadillas*, which are considered some of the best of this Spanish lyric genre. Originally, during the 1750s, the *tonadilla* referred to those songs (*tonadas*) which were interpolated within the *sainete*, and often heard at the end of the play. As the tonadilla grew more elaborate during the 1760s, it gained autonomy from the theatre and, like the *intermezzo*, became recognized as an independent lyrico-dramatic form.[44] The *tonadilla escénica* (as opposed to the simple *tonadilla*), a small satirical sketch with several musical and dance numbers tied together with short spoken sections, became the most popular form of Spanish lyrical theatre in the second half of the eighteenth century.[45] Like the *sainete*, the *tonadilla's* subject matter addressed everyday aspects of popular life and gave centre stage to humorous stock characters from the lower classes, particularly *majos* and *majas*.

Despite its popularity, only a few of the more-than-2000 *tonadilla* manuscripts preserved at the Biblioteca Municipal in Madrid were published. This is perhaps due to the widespread criticism directed towards the *tonadilla* throughout the course of its existence. Félix Maria Samaniego, the Spanish critic who had spoken against Cruz's *sainetes*, had a similarly poor opinion of the *tonadilla*:

> With Easter the theatre returns, and we return refreshed to our charge, beginning with those musical interludes known as tonadillas. In them you will see compounded all the vices of our sainetes, along with a great many others which are peculiar to them.[46]

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[44] Coulon, *Música y sainetes: Ramón de la Cruz* (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2009), 290.

[45] Chase, *Spain*, 129.

[46] Vazquez, "National Opera in Spain," 45.

Like the *sainete*, the *tonadilla* conflicted with the neoclassical ideals of the French drama. Not only was it considered formulaic and clichéd, it also appeared to contradict the idea that a reformed Spanish theatre should have a didactic and moral function. To depict the mores of lower-class *Madrileños*, the *majos*, *majas*, and other stock characters of the *tonadilla* used slapstick humour, satire, and verbal wit, all of which had little to do with elevated moral standards. Musically, Samaniego decried the use of Italian style, which he believed impeded the development of a national school.

> The good [Luís] Misón had blazed a path which, had it been carefully followed, could have led us to the glory of having a national [school of] music, but his successors have strayed from it...[47]

Although this statement is unquestionably simplistic, it is at least partly accurate. José Subira, the leading authority on the *tonadilla* suggests that the genre's decline in the first decade of the nineteenth century was likely caused by the increasing absorption of Italian traits into the *tonadilla*.[48]

Despite all of this, both the simple *tonadilla* and the *tonadilla escénica* played a fundamental role in the emergence of Spanish musical nationalism towards the end of the eighteenth century. Because it faithfully portrayed the daily reality of Madrid's lower classes, the *tonadilla* became a vehicle of national identity just like the *sainete,* its theatrical counterpart. François Bourgoing, a French diplomat residing in Madrid from 1777 to1785, and author of one of the most substantial foreign accounts on eighteenth-century Spanish life and manners, notes: "Manners, customs, adventures, music,

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[47] Vazquez, "National Opera in Spain," 46.

[48] José Subira, *La tonadilla escénica* 3 vols. (Madrid: Tips. de archivos, 1928–1930) cited in Vazquez, "National Opera in Spain," 51.

everything in [the *tonadilla*] is national."[49] Contrary to Samaniego, proponents of a Spanish lyric theatre such as Laserna viewed the *tonadilla escénica* as an alternative to Italianism. According to Roland Vazquez, "Laserna speaks of the *tonadilla* as synonymous with 'la música española.' "[50] He even tried to have a *tonadilla* school subsidized by the Spanish government, on the basis that the state had already financed an Italian lyrical school. Although this effort was not a success, it demonstrates the importance of the *tonadilla* in the development of a national school. Even Eximeno, the late-eighteenth-century Spanish theorist, refers to *tonadillas* and *zarzuelas* as the only "passages in which there glows a particular affect. In this way, the audience is not irritated by the insufferable monotony of Italian recitative."[51] Even when its popularity waned (ca. 1810), early nineteenth-century composers defended the *tonadilla* as a purely Spanish genre and the source of what, for convenience's sake, we may call 'the Spanish idiom' in music."[52]

One of the clearest evidences of Granados' longstanding interest in eighteenth-century Spain can be found in his own *Tonadillas* (1912–13), which he proudly claimed to be "in the old style" (en estilo antigo). These are *tonadillas* in the earlier sense of the term: solo songs in popular style portraying the sorrows and joys of *majos* and *majas*. The texts were written by Fernando Periquet, a friend of Granados who admired the works of Goya with such enthusiasm that it is certainly Periquet's admiration of Goya certainly fuelled Granados' own fascination for the *Goyesque* period. Periquet, like

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[49] "Manières, costumes, aventures, musique, tout y est national" (Vazquez, "National Opera in Spain," 41).

[50] Ibid., 54.

[51] Ibid., 56.

[52] Chase, *Spain*, 130.

many other nineteenth-century Spanish intellectuals, understood the tonadilla as the last remaining bastion of Spanish musical nationalism against Italian hegemony.

> Pure Spanish culture, hunted by the oppressive talons of foreign taste, found refuge in the patriotic sentiment of the lower classes, in which this fragrance concentrated, according to the phrase of Feliu y Codina, waiting for time to clear the air in our land so it could diffuse itself with more intensity than ever throughout the entire nation.[53]

Although Granados always attempted to distance his music from political movements, and remained silent on the subject of Spanish nationalism, it seems highly unlikely that his views were radically different from the one espoused by his friend and collaborator Periquet. Moreover, the following comment, made by the Spanish critic and composer Juan José Mantecón upon hearing Granados play his *Tonadillas*, suggests that his audience also recognized the nationalistic character of these vocal works: "The memory of that evening, in which Granados revealed his song to us, tells us that our movement is not dead, that the fecund pollen of our patriotic feeling grows in the spirit of the artist."[54]

Granados also included *tonadillas* within his *Goyescas*. *Los Requiebros*, the first movement of *Goyescas*, opens with an unmistakable reference to the *tonadilla*. In order to project the world of *majos* and *majas*, Granados quotes *La Tirana del Trípili*, a *tonadilla* attributed to Blas de Lasenra which became enormously popular throughout the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is one of the few ever to be published, and became known all over Europe due to its inclusion in the overture of Mercadante's opera *I due Figaro* (1835).[55] Granados extracts two themes from *La Tirana*: the first comes from the opening four measures of Laserna's song (see Ex. 2.2a) and is clearly showcased in *Los requiebros* in the upper register of the right hand (see Ex. 2.2b).

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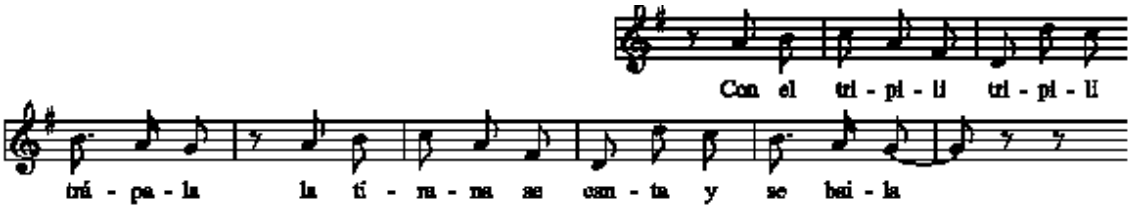
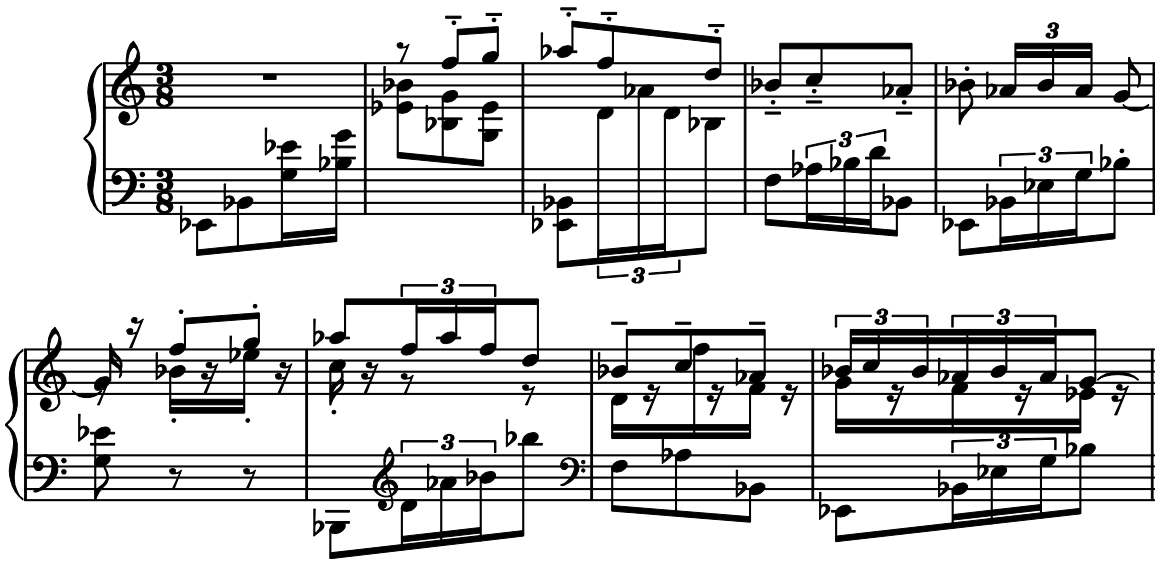
[53] Clark, *Granados*, 116.
[54] Ibid., 120.
[55] Clark, *Granados*, 125.

Ex. 2.2a: "Con el trípili, trípili, trápala," mm. 20–28

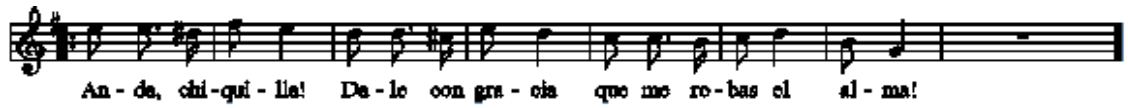


Ex. 2.1b: "Los requiebros," mm. 7–11

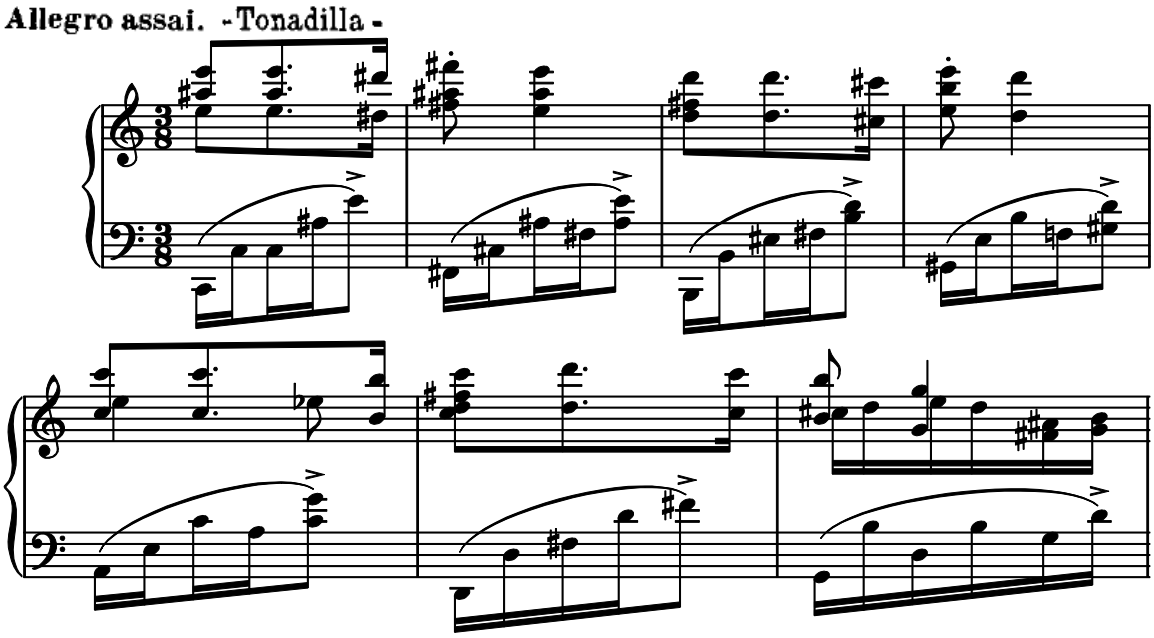


The second theme, also in the right hand, articulates the last part of the refrain (see Exx. 2.3a and 2.3b).

Ex. 2.3a: "Con el trípili, trípili, trápala," mm. 29–36



Ex. 2.3b: "Los Requiebros," mm. 139–145



Granados clarifies his reference to the tonadilla with the indication *Allegro Assai. - Tonadilla* - above the staff at m. 139. According to Chase, "Granados uses the word 'Tonadilla' to mark the presence of these themes in *Los Requiebros* because he employs the word in its current meaning of 'song' having probably little conception, if any, of its historical meaning as a musicodramatic form."[56] However, *pace* Chase, it is quite unlikely that Granados would have missed the historical significance of the *tonadilla*. Between the influence of Periquet's nationalism on Granados (as well as Pedrell's) and the allusion to the iconic eighteenth-century figures of Goya, Cruz and Laserna, Granados' use of the term *tonadilla* appears to serve two purposes: to highlight the lyrical character of his main theme, and also (perhaps mainly) to make a clear, cultural-nationalistic reference to eighteenth-century Madrid.

[56] Chase, *Spain*, 164.

Domenico Scarlatti

It might come as a surprise that Scarlatti, an Italian keyboardist, could be included among the "authentically" Spanish figures upon whom the *Goyescas* are constructed. Nevertheless, several elements strongly indicate that Scarlatti served as important figure in Granados' compositional style. For one, Granados had a lifelong involvement with Scarlatti's keyboard sonatas and performed his works throughout his career.[57] His familiarity with Scarlatti's works is evident from his piano roll recording in Paris (1912) of Scarlatti's sonata K. 190 (L. 250), ambiguously titled "in the style of Scarlatti."[58] This recording allows us a unique glimpse into Granados' understanding of Scarlatti; the piano rendition, a romantic interpretation of the eighteenth-century sonata, showcases clarity in texture, filigree ornamentation, unrestrained leaps and technical virtuosity, elements that pervade Granados' *Goyescas*. Further evidence of Granados' esteem for Scarlatti can be found in Granados' transcriptions and first edition of twenty-six Scarlatti sonatas from newly found manuscripts (*Ventiseis sonatas ineditas*).[59] Published with an *estudio biográfico-bibliográfico-crítico* by Pedrell in 1905, shortly before Alessandro Longo's complete edition began appearing, these sonatas were performed by Granados at the Salle Pleyel in Paris on March 31, 1905. Critics noted admiringly that Granados had displayed "tact" and "not falsified the style" of the music.[60] For Spanish audiences

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[57] Clark, *Granados,* 114.

[58] Enrique Granados, *Masters of the Piano Roll: Granados Plays Granados*, performed by Enrique Granados (Dal Segno, DAL 008, 2005). The recording also includes Granados' own interpretations of some of his most famous works, including *Danzas españolas*, *Valses poéticos*, and a rendition of four movements from the *Goyescas* cycle.

[59] Domenico Scarlatti, *Veintiséis sonatas inéditas para clave compuestas en España para la Familia Real (1729–1754)*, ed. Felipe Pedrell and Enrique Granados, vol. 1 and 2 (Madrid: Unión Musical Española, 1967).

[60] Clark, *Granados*, 115.

during the *fin-de-siècle*, Granados had achieved a convincing re-interpretation of the eighteenth century.

Granados' careful study of the *essercizi* raises speculation: what was the extent of Scarlatti's impact on Granados' compositional style? The Catalan composer never verbally acknowledged the influence Scarlatti had on his music; however, given his life-long engagement with the study and performance of the sonatas, it is certainly possible to identify particular keyboard practices in some of Granados' own works. As Clark has put it, "[Much] of what Granados understood to be Spanish music of the eighteenth century was mediated through the Italian eyes and ears of Scarlatti."[61] If we accept this mediation, we can establish relationships between seemingly disparate genres. "In other words," Clark continues, "Granados' musical language is highly sophisticated, deeply connected to Spain's musical heritage even as it employs a complex late-romantic harmonic idiom, and its matrix of referents and symbols operates on several levels at the same time."[62] In *Goyescas*, Scarlatti's eighteenth-century practice could therefore exist alongside Granados' late romantic idiom without a sense of contradiction. Which of Scarlatti's keyboard techniques did Granados use to depict the world of *majos* and *majas*? I will turn to this question for the remainder of the present chapter.

Guitar Techniques

Guitar sonorities are so strongly connected with both Scarlatti and Spanish music that the guitar specialist Guy Chapalain has stated that we can observe the evolution of Baroque guitar music by examining Scarlatti's keyboard sonatas: "The Baroque era provides us with a particularly important commentary—that of Domenico

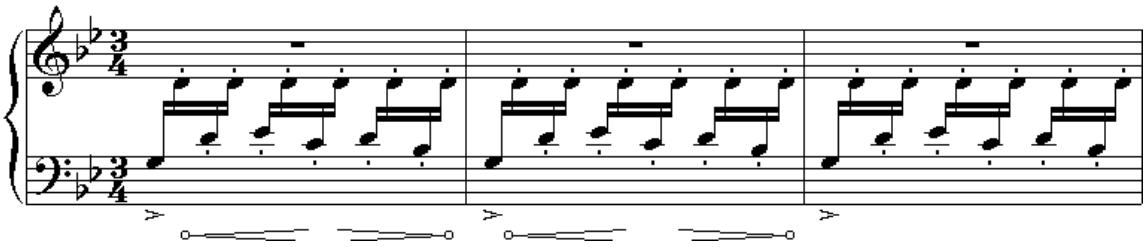
[61] Clark, *Granados*, 124.
[62] Ibid.

Scarlatti—on the evolution of the guitar language."[63] Other scholars have drawn similar stylistic parallels, systematically tracing the origins of guitaristic keyboard composition to Domenico Scarlatti. The English Hispanist John Trend notes:

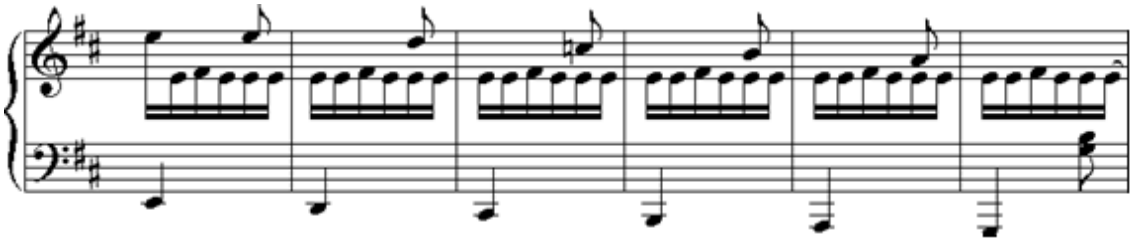
> [The guitar] chord made by all the open strings at once EAdgbe has been at the back of the minds of all composers who have worked in Spain, from De Falla to Domenico Scarlatti.[64]

Similarly, in his book *A History of Spanish Piano Music*, Powell begins his chapter "Influence of the Guitar on Spanish Keyboard Music" by comparing the internal pedal point in Scarlatti's sonata K. 26 (see Ex. 2.4b) with Albeniz's *Leyenda* from the *Suite Española* (see Ex. 2.4a).

Ex. 2.4a: "Leyenda" mm. 1–3.



Ex. 2.4b: "K. 26," mm. 48–53.



With this and other examples, Powell establishes, like Chase and Kirkpatrick before him, a strong correlation between the two composers' keyboard transposition of guitar techniques.[65]

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[63] Guy Chapalain, "Les traits stylistiques," 255.

[64] John. B. Trend, "Falla in Arabia," *Music and Letters* 3, no. 2 (1922): 137. Trend uses lowercase letters for open strings that are written below middle C and uppercase letters for open strings written above middle C. (Note that this is *written* rather than *sounding* pitch since the guitar sounds an octave lower than it is written.)

[65] Powell, *Spanish Piano Music*, 148. Also see Chase, *Spain*; Kirkpatrick, *Scarlatti*.

While no exhaustive study has been written on this topic, many scholars have noted that the guitaristic writing found in the sonatas can be traced to popular eighteenth-century mandolin or guitar practices.[66] A close look at the sonatas reveals Scarlatti's penchant for extremely dissonant *acciaccatura* chords, as well as for the *rasgueado* and *punteado* techniques of Spanish guitarists; this suggests that during the course of his stay in Portugal and Spain, Scarlatti might have become attuned to certain aspects of popular Iberian music. Some scholars have even argued that a number of sonatas replicate typical Spanish dances such as the *jota*, the *seguidilla*, and the *fandango*, dances which are often played or accompanied on the guitar.[67] Does this justify the correlation between Scarlatti's imitation of guitar techniques and those of later Spanish composers? According to Sutcliffe: "there is no doubt that Scarlatti had an influence on later Spanish art music, whether in defining an approach to the incorporation of popular elements or whether in suggesting a certain compositional ethos."[68] For Clark, this Scarlattian influence can be related more specifically the use of guitar techniques by later Spanish piano composers:

> …many of the elements of Spanish folklore as they coalesced in the early nineteenth century were indebted to the Baroque, especially the techniques of strumming and plucking developed on the Baroque guitar and the associated chordal patterns and techniques of variation, to name a few.[69]

Considering these two statements, it is possible that Spanish pianists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries understood guitar techniques in terms of a Scarlattian practice.

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[66] See Jane Clark, "A Performer's Reappraisal"; Sutcliffe, *Keyboard Sonatas*; Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti*; Kirkpatrick, *Scarlatti*; Chase, *Spain.*

[67] See Jane Clark, "A Performer's Reappraisal"; Sutcliffe, *Keyboard Sonatas*.

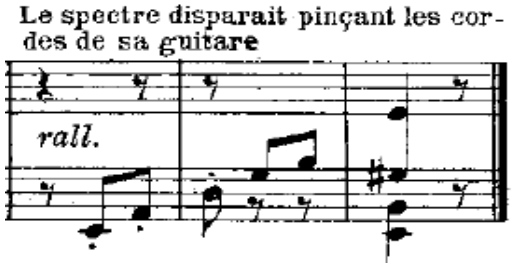
[68] Sutcliffe, *Keyboard Sonatas*, 107.

[69] Clark, *Granados*, 124.

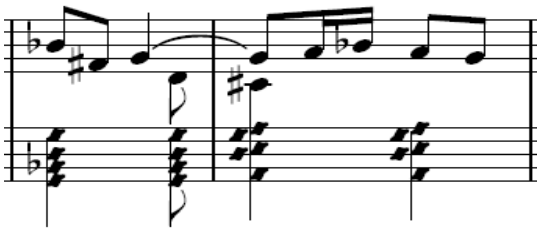
As far as they knew, he had been the first to arrange these authentic Spanish sonorities for the keyboard, and had therefore paved the way for the Spanish piano school.[70]

In *Goyescas*, Granados writes for the piano in a similar guitaristic way as had Scarlatti as one can readily hear in Granados' *Coloquio en la Reja*. This movement begins with the left hand's lower register imitating guitar open-string tuning sonorities and bears the performance marking "*toutes les basses imitant la guitare*" (all bass notes imitate the guitar). *Epílogo* concludes with a similar programmatic indication: "*le spectre disparait en pinçant les cordes de sa guitare*" (the spirit disappears while plucking the strings of his guitar) (see Ex. 2.5a). In both movements, the technique of building arpeggiated chords by fourths (according to standard guitar tuning) instead of thirds recalls chordal patterns found throughout Scarlatti's output, for instance, in sonata K. 64 (see Ex. 2.5b).

Ex. 2.5a: "Epílogo," mm. 260–261.



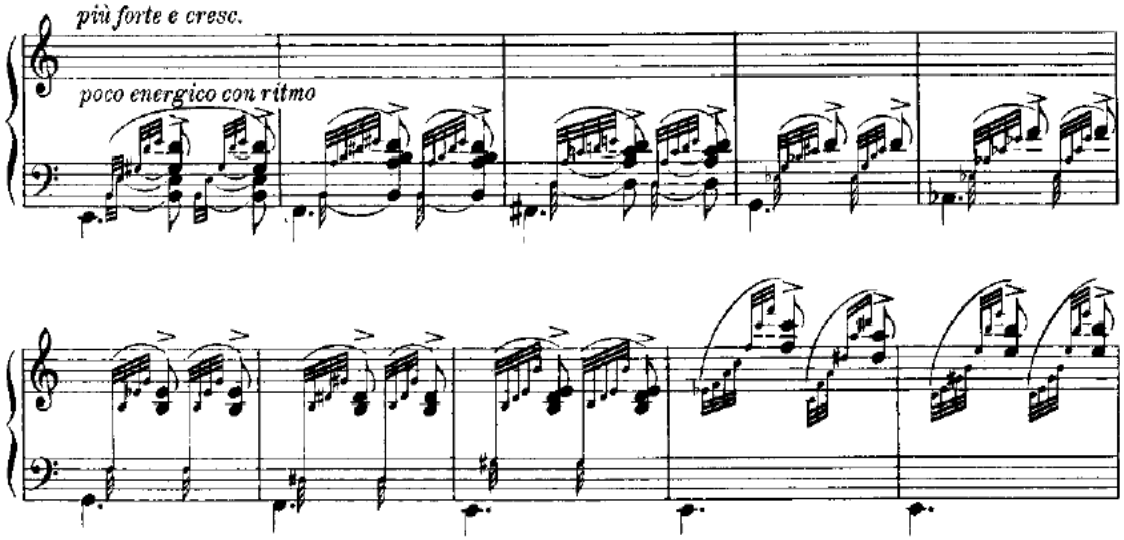
Ex. 2.5b: "K. 64," mm 27–28.



[70] This being said, I do not claim that Scarlatti owns the exclusive rights to keyboard transpositions of guitaresque techniques. Rather, I follow Clark's example in suggesting that within his post-romantic musical language, Granados interlocks different layers of signifiers.

More guitar techniques can be observed in the arpeggiated figurations of *Epílogo* (mm. 107–116), this section exemplifying the *rasgueado* technique of Spanish guitarists (see Ex. 2.6a). Keyboard *rasgueado* such as this one may have been drawn from Scarlatti's *acciaccatura* chords, themselves inspired by the guitar *rasgueado*. Kirkpatrick observes, "some of Scarlatti's wildest dissonances seem to imitate the sound of the hand striking the belly of the guitar, of the savage chords that at times almost threaten to rip the strings from the instrument."[71] In K. 175, for instance, Boyd compares the dissonant chords of mm. 23–28 with guitar sonorities, "and in particular with the technique, common among folk-musicians, of advancing the left hand up the fingerboard on certain strings while leaving others open, thereby producing exotic and largely unpremeditated combination of notes"[72] (see Ex. 2.6b).

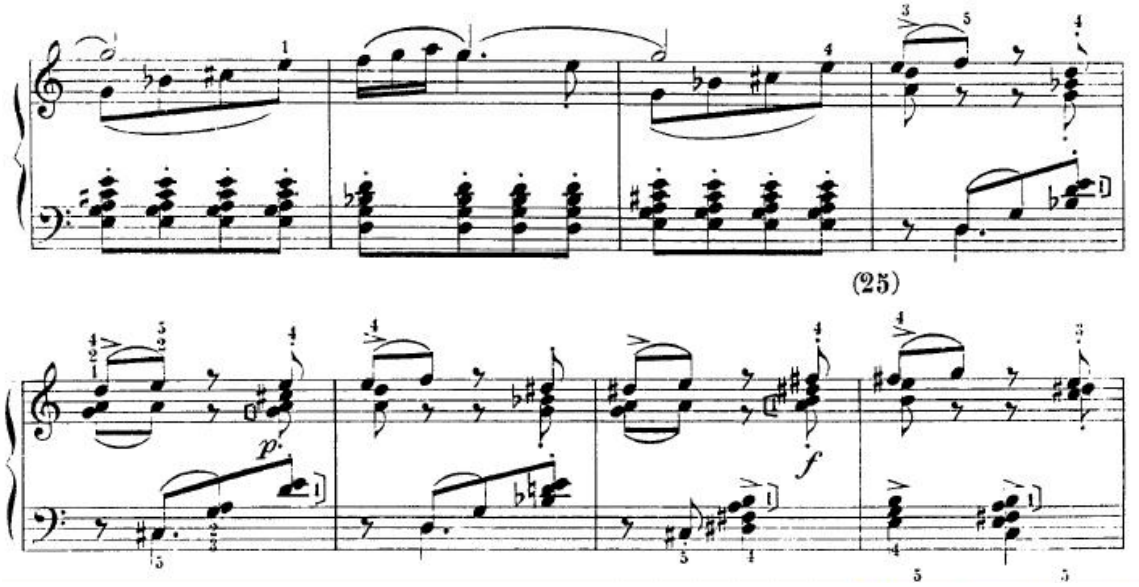
Ex. 2.6a: "Epílogo," mm. 107–112.



[71] Kirkpatrick, *Scarlatti*, 205. For a discussion on the link between Scarlatti and Spanish folk guitarists see Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 183. For an enumeration of guitaresque elements in Scarlatti's output see Powell, "Guitar Effects in Spanish Piano Music"; Guy Chapalain, "Les traits stylistiques."

[72] Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 183.

Ex. 2.6b: *Scarlatti*, "K. 175 (L. 429)," mm. 22–29 (taken from Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 183).



From these few examples, we can see that already in the eighteenth-century, Scarlatti had defined the keyboard vocabulary that later Spanish composers would use to inflect their works with the sound of the guitar. In fact, Scarlatti had been the first to do so: "When it comes to the incorporation of exotic elements," Sutcliffe states, "he [Scarlatti] does appear to stand at the beginning of the line."[73] Granados, a student and reviewer of the eighteenth-century sonatas, would have been aware of Scarlatti's role in the development of Spanish piano repertory. Is it not possible, therefore, that Granados' guitar imitations in *Goyescas* allude not only to the folk, but also to Scarlatti's own courtly mediation of popular Spanish music?

Ornamentation

Scarlatti's ornamentation, one of the most distinctive characteristics of his keyboard practice, involves chains of trills, sometimes in an inner voice, and often a series of mordents that contributes to the brilliancy of his music. It provides an even

[73] Sutcliffe, *Keyboard Sonatas*, 109.

stronger link between Granados' post-romantic language and Scarlatti's eighteenth-century keyboard practice. According to the acclaimed pianist and advocate of Spanish music Alicia de Larrocha,

> Wide, rolling phrases embroided with arabesques and ornaments, the evident consequence of dedication as a reviewer and interpreter of the works of Scarlatti, enrich these pages in which [Granados] describes the underworld of the majas and chisperos of Madrid.[74]

Interestingly, Sutcliffe has suggested that Scarlatti's ornamentation possibly indicates a flamenco style or manner in a number of his keyboard sonatas, specifically in its "ornate embellishment, incessant repetition of a single note decorated by appoggiaturas above and below, a limited melodic range and portamento effects."[75] While ornamentation does not automatically equate with flamenco style, Sutcliffe suggests that in some cases Scarlatti might have used the keyboard techniques to create the quarter tones and melismas of flamenco singers, going so far as to say that "it requires a real act of will not to hear such passage as Spanish."[76]

Like Scarlatti's sonatas, ornaments such as turns, mordents and *acciaccaturas* permeate Granados' piano cycle. For Clark,

> Granados' fixation on the rich visual detail of Goya's paintings results in a music of surpassing sensuality, through melodic lines encrusted with glistening ornaments and harmonies studded with added tones, like thick daubs of impasto applied to the canvas with a palette knife. Intricacies of rhythm, texture, and harmony even suggest the tracery of latticework and lace. And, in fact, the chromaticism, ornamentation, and sequencing in *Goyescas* harken back to the rococo style that prevailed for so long in Spain, and particularly to Scarlatti.[77]

One only has to glance briefly at the score to come across the numerous *acciaccaturas* that embroider Granados' piano writing, from *Los requiebros* to *El pelele*. Their

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[74] Clark, *Granados*, 139. It is perhaps valuable to note that Alicia de Larrocha studied piano with Frank Marshall, a former student and close musical associate of Granados.

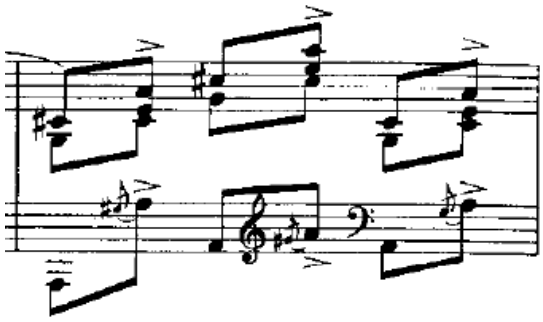
[75] Sutcliffe, *Keyboard Sonatas*, 112.

[76] Ibid., 114.

[77] Clark, *Granados*, 123–24.

presence, I argue, is no coincidence and must be considered some of the clearest manifestations of a Scarlattian practice within *Goyescas* (see Ex. 2.7a and 2.7b).

Ex. 2.7a: "El fandango de candil," m. 105

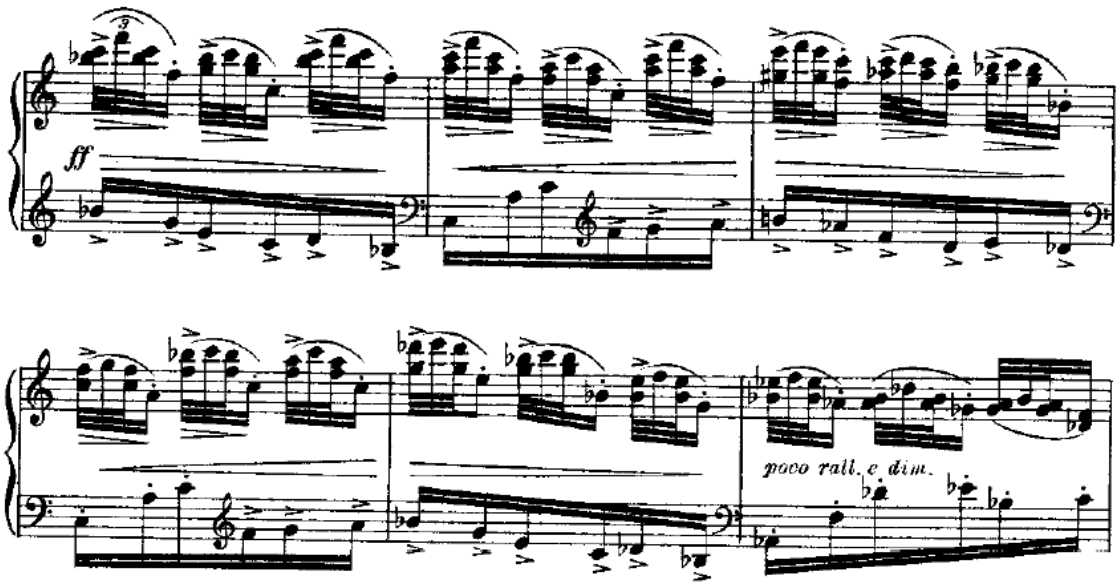


Ex. 2.7b: "K. 548 (L.404), mm. 30–31(taken from Kirkpatrick, *Scarlatti*, 372).

The same can be said of what Sutcliffe has called "the closest approximation to that now ingrained marker of Spanishness, the rapid turn figure."[78] In *L*os *requiebros*, the clear, Scarlattian texture is constantly embroidered with both *acciaccaturas* and turn-figures. This is particularly striking between mm. 48 to 55 and 106 to 111, where a denser texture is suddenly replaced with the detached and articulated phrasing of a Scarlatti sonata (see Ex. 2.8a).

[78] Sutcliffe, *Keyboard Sonatas*, 116.

Ex. 2.8a: "Los requiebros," mm. 106–111.

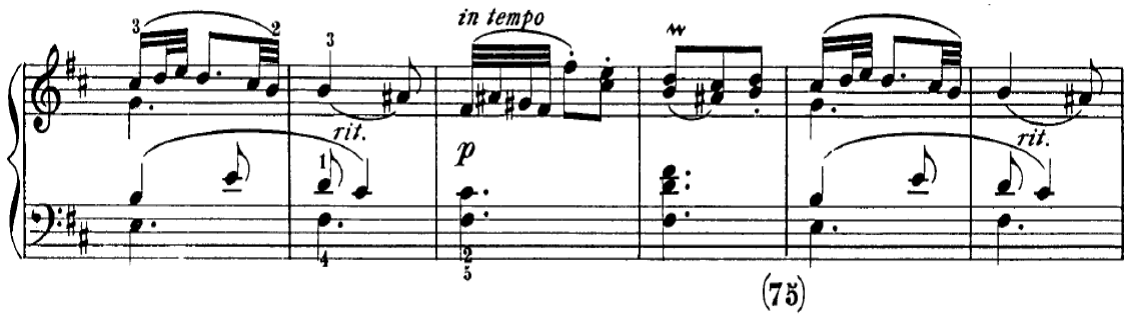


Similar ornamentations abound in *Coloquio en la reja*, in which a relentless five-note turn-figure becomes a central element of the piece. For Clark, this figure could portray "the arabesque filigree typical of Spanish folk song, the ornamentation of a Scarlatti sonata, and perhaps the geometric pattern of a *reja* [window bars]."[79] This very pattern reappears in *El amor y la muerte*, this time so obsessively that Granados replaces the five-note figure with a turn sign above the staff.

The rapid turn figure abounds in Scarlatti, whether written in or above the staff. In one occasion, Sutcliffe associates this figure with a particularly striking Spanish colouration. Could this be, as Sutcliffe suggests, an approximation of the flamenco vocal style? (see Ex. 2.8b).

[79] Clark, *Granados*, 131.

Ex. 2.8b: "K. 313 (L. 192)," mm. 71–76. (Example taken from Sutcliffe, *Keyboard Sonatas*, 116)



Many instances of Scarlattian ornamentation can be found in *Goyescas* and they demonstrate beyond any doubt that Granados had assimilated at least this aspect of Scarlatti's eighteenth-century idiom. Equally important, perhaps, is the idea that Scarlattian ornamentation is one of the most easily recognizable features of Scarlatti's keyboard practice; the cultural references invested in *Goyescas* were therefore accessible to his audience, making the nationalist message that much more easily heard.

Rhythm and Meter

Certain aspects of rhythm and meter in Granados' *Goyescas* may also stem from a Scarlattian practice, in particular those aspects that can be traced to Spanish dances. For instance, Granados alternates measures in 3/4 and 6/8, a characteristic trait of both Scarlatti sonatas and Spanish dances in general. He also incorporates rhythmic attributes of the *jota* (*Los requiebros)*, the *jácara* (*Coloquio en la reja*) and the *fandango* (*El fandango de candil*), Spanish dances which are believed to have inspired Scarlatti in the composition of his sonatas. In fact, a number of scholars have argued that Scarlatti's rhythmic inventiveness could have been fuelled to a large extent by the Portuguese and Spanish dances with which he came into contact during his stay in the Iberian

Peninsula.[80] The highly repetitive melodic and rhythmic motives of many of the sonatas, in conjunction with their unpredictable changes of time signature and their "agglomeration of different melodic rhythms" suggest to Sutcliffe that Scarlatti was "presumably trying to capture [in his keyboard sonatas] the metrical complexity of flamenco rhythms."[81] The list of sonatas said to be based on dance forms is extensive, and uncertain: what Jane Clark believes to be a *buleria* (K. 492) becomes a Portuguese *fandango* for Rafael Puyana, and what he calls a Majorcan *bolero* (K. 491) becomes a *saeta* for Clark. Nevertheless, it is impossible to ignore the presence of the Spanish dance in Scarlatti' sonatas, nor could one reasonably ignore Scarlatti's role in the incorporation of popular sonorities into Spanish art music.

Can we trace Scarlatti's fingerprint in the rhythms of *Goyescas*? If dance types offer a path that seems fraught with ambiguities, there is perhaps a more tangible aspect of Granados' rhythmic choices: meter. Granados not only alternates measures in 3/4 and 6/8, he occasionally superimposes these two meters one upon the other: in *Coloquio*, for example, the left and right hands simultaneously articulate 3/4 and 6/8 times (see Ex. 2.9a: mm. 134–135). This sort of rhythmic opposition was, according to Boyd, one of Scarlatti's favourite rhythmic devices.[82] Similarly, Chase claimed that the frequent opposition of duple and triple meters found in Scarlatti's sonatas signals Spanish folk dances such as the *jota* (K. 209).[83] Kirkpatrick would have likely agreed with Chase; he described metric opposition as "one of Scarlatti's richest rhythmic devices, and for that

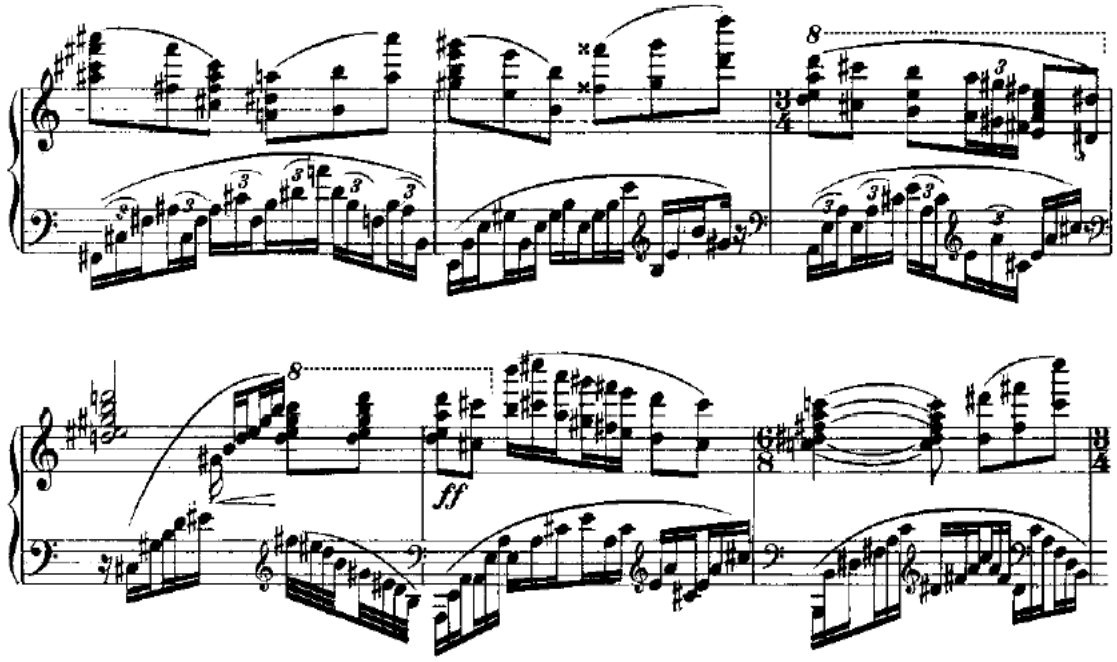
[80] See Chase, *Spain*; Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti*; Sutcliffe, *Keyboard Sonatas*; Jane Clark, "A Performer' Reappraisal"; Kirkpatrick, *Scarlatti*.
[81] Sutcliffe, *Keyboard Sonatas*, 119.
[82] Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 188.
[83] Chase, *Spain*, 111.

matter, one of the richest of the Spanish dances in general."[84] The example provided by Kirkpatrick, K. 521 (L. 408), can strengthen my case for a Scarlattian conception of popular dance rhythm in certain parts of *Goyescas*. Indeed, this very sonata was included in Granados' 1906 edition (Vol. 2, no. 5) (see example 2.9b), demonstrating that he had studied Scarlatti's metric oppositions.[85] Granados' extensive knowledge of the sonatas as a professional performer and pedagogue must have attuned him to certain rhythmic patterns in Scarlatti popularly perceived as "Spanish." Again, we are faced with a dilemma: it is next to impossible to say with certainty whether Granados was referring directly to Spanish folk dances with metric alternations such as the *jota aragonesca* and the *seguiriya gitana*, or alluding to Scarlatti's eighteenth-century understanding of Spanish dance rhythms. However, it is evident that he knew both, and moreover, that by the end of the nineteenth century the two had merged to a certain degree in the popular imagination.

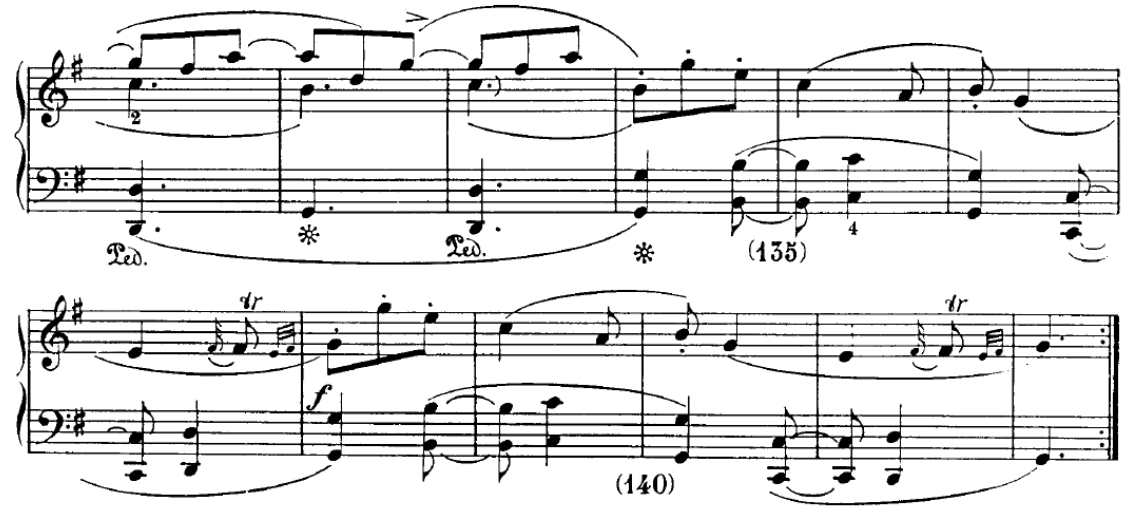
[84] Kirkpatrick, *Scarlatti*, 296.

[85] Boyd follows a similar line of reasoning in examining a possible Scarlattian influence on Brahms. See Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti,* 220.

Ex. 2.9a: "Coloquio en la reja," mm. 130–135.



Ex. 2.9b: "K. 512 (L. 408)," mm. 131–142 (taken from Kirkpatrick, *Scarlatti*, 296).

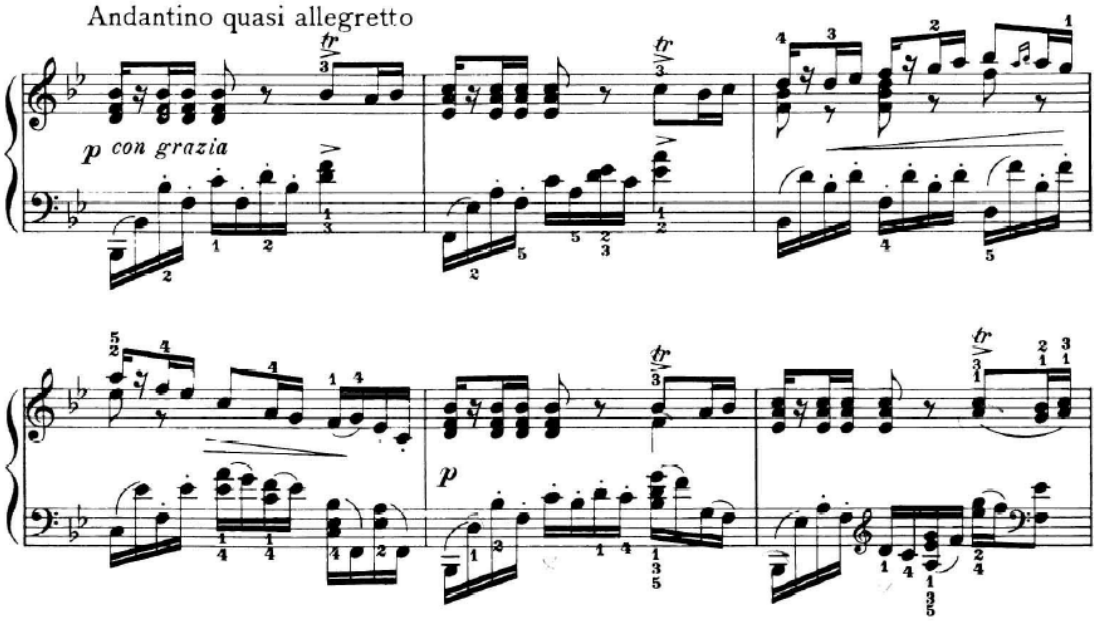


"Tight-Rope" Elements, Binary-Form and Hand-Crossings

El pelele contains some of the strongest evidence of a stylistic connection between Granados and Scarlatti. According to Clark, "The influence of Scarlatti is more marked here than in any of the other works in the sheer delight it takes in sensual

virtuosity and irrepressible bonhomie."[86] The ascending melodic contour at the very beginning of the piece suggests the limp straw figure of the *pelele* portrayed by Goya as it is hurled into the air (see Ex. 2.10a). However, these first few measures evoke more than just upward motion of a physical object. A number of musical elements also recall Scarlatti's harpsichord idiom, such as a clear, almost filigree texture. The main motive, interspersed with ornaments and sixteenth-note rests, harks to Scarlatti in its melodic and rhythmic makeup and in its insistent repetition. In *El Pelele*, wide leaps in the left hand punctuated with staccatos suggest what Boyd calls Scarlatti's "tightrope elements"[87] (see right hand of Ex. 2.10b).

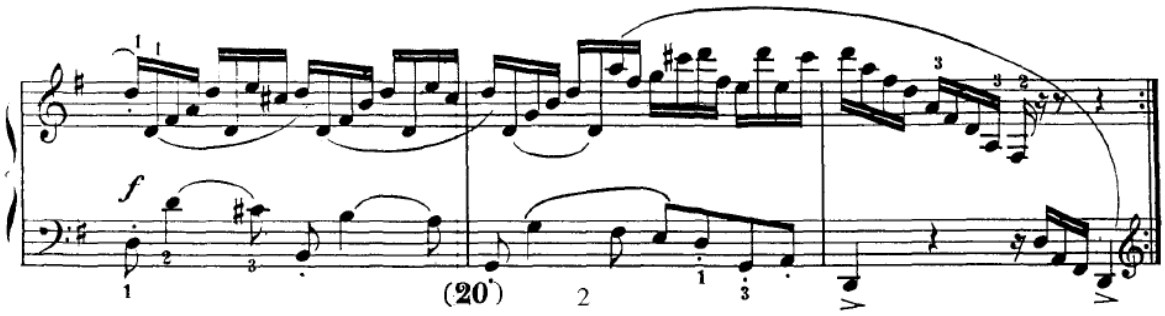
Ex. 2.10a: "El Pelele" mm. 3–8



[86] Clark, *Granados*, 138.

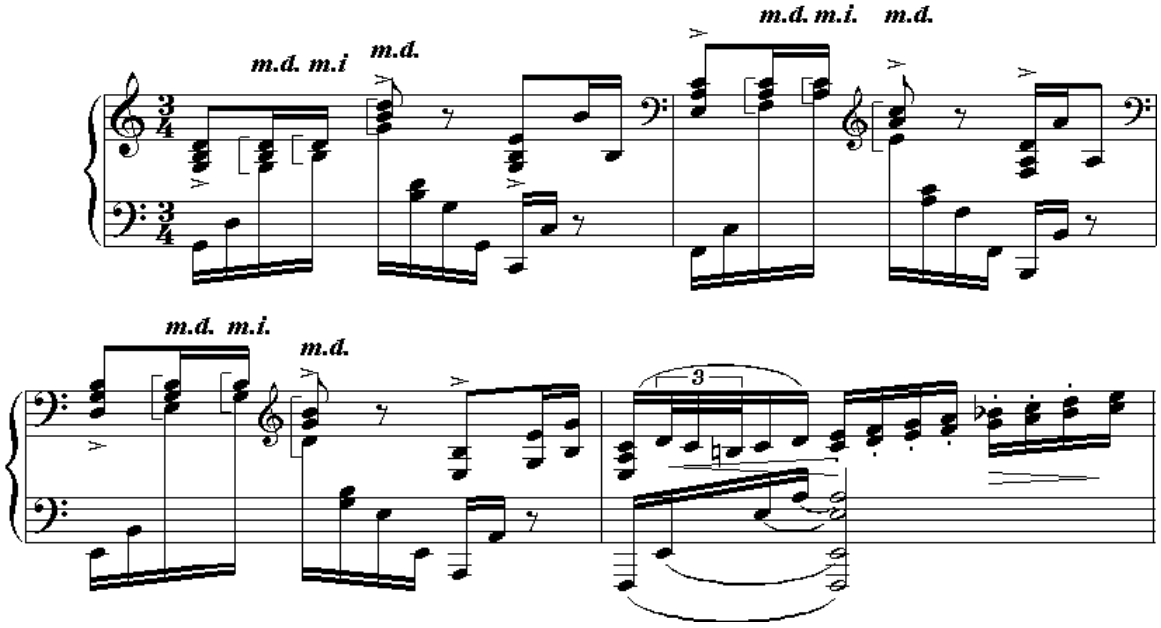
[87] Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 186. Clark also observes a formal relationship between the *pelele* and Scarlatti's sonatas, tracing the A′A″BA‴ structure of *Pelele*, unusual in Granados' output, to the rounded binary form characteristic of the keyboard sonatas; see Clark, *Granados*, 139.

Ex. 2.10b: "K. 427 (L. 286)," mm. 19–21.



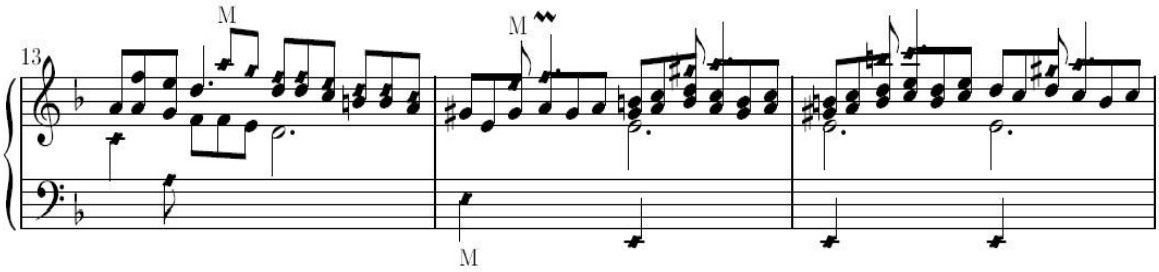
Finally, Granados portrays the up-and-down bouncing motion of the straw man with hand-crossing, "the feature of keyboard technique with which Scarlatti's name has been most often associated"[88] (see Ex. 2.11a). These hand-crossings, which involve wide leaps (sometimes more than three octaves) at often very fast speeds, are present in a number of sonatas; K. 120, for example, includes leaps of two and three octaves (see Ex. 2.11b).

Ex. 2.11a: "El Pelele," mm. 11–14



[88] Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 186.

Ex. 2.11b: "K. 120 (L. 215)," mm. 13–15
Notes with oval heads are recommended for the right hand, those with diamond heads for the left.
http://imslp.org/wiki/Keyboard_Sonatas,_Kirkpatrick_Catalogue_101-200_(Scarlatti,_Domenico) (accessed 19 August 2009).



Scarlatti's sonatas can hardly be conceived without this kinetic dimension, for it is precisely the virtuosic aspect of his keyboard writing that has made his sonatas so popular amongst performers. For Boyd, no other music from the eighteenth century "is so 'choreographed' to employ the fingers, hands, wrists, arms, shoulders and even the waist of the performer. This is music to be played rather than listened to."[89] Or it is perhaps also music to be seen. By using hand-crossings, Granados provided visual cues to performers and audience members alike. He transported them to Goya's eighteenth-century Spain via Scarlatti's most recognizable idiosyncrasy, leaving no doubt that Scarlatti, alongside Goya, Cruz, and Laserna, belonged to his romantic vision of eighteenth-century Spain.

* * *Page: 69

With the musical examples provided above, I have attempted to demonstrate that Granados not only incorporated a Scarlattian practice into *Goyescas*, but did so with a specific purpose in mind: to transport performers and listeners into the idealized past of their nation. By encapsulating in *Goyescas* the colours of Goya, the poetry of Cruz, the

[89] Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 186.

tonadillas of Laserna, and the harpsichord practice of Scarlatti, Granados captured what he and many of his contemporaries understood to be the essence of Spain at the most romantic moment of its history. In his own words: "I subordinate my inspiration to that of the man who knew how to translate so perfectly the characteristic actions and times of the Spanish people."[90] This quality of Granados has been well understood by those who have inherited his pianistic tradition. For Frank Marshall, a former student of the Catalan composer, "Granados achieves a musical translation of all the elegance, delicacy and aristocracy of the eighteenth-century Spain…[*Goyescas* is] a music which brings us closer to the most intimate subtleties and complexities of the Spanish soul."[91]

In the next chapter, I will examine in greater detail some reasons that might have pushed Granados to include so many eighteenth-century references in his *Goyescas*, and more specifically, why he decided to include so many references to Scarlatti. Is it only a reflection of Granados' personal involvement with Scarlatti's sonatas, or is it a testimony to a larger trend? Did other composers do the same? And how is it related to the neoclassical movement taking shape in France?

[90] Riva, *Goyescas,* 6.
[91] Ibid., 7.

Chapter 3

Domenico Scarlatti:
Granados' Model for a Universal Spain

i

> Any history of Spanish piano music must by necessity begin with Domenico Scarlatti…
>
> - Linton Powell[1]

> One of the greatest composers who lived in Spain was Domenico Scarlatti and considering the years he spent there and the amount of music he wrote, it would be no more unreasonable to describe him as a Spanish composer than it is to describe El Greco as a Spanish painter.
>
> - John B. Trend[2]

> [Scarlatti is] the classic Spanish composer.
>
> - Manuel de Falla[3]

We saw in the last chapter that Scarlatti emerged as one of *Goyescas*' four symbols of authentic Spanishness, four symbols which drew upon an idealized past and which would serve Granados in building a renewed sense of Spanish musical identity. However, the presence of an Italian composer amongst symbols of *casticismo* may appear paradoxical—especially after the Spanish music scene had rejected Italy's century-old domination (particularly in the vocal realm), a rejection which became a central tenet of Spanish nationalism since the mid-nineteenth century (see chapter 1).

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[1] Powell, *Spanish Piano Music*, 3.
[2] Trend, *Falla and Spanish Music*, 148.
[3] Sutcliffe, *Keyboard Sonatas*, 107.

The presence of a Scarlattian idiom in *Goyescas* suggests that Granados, far from considering Scarlatti to be a purely Italian composer, understood him as a signifier of Spanish identity. What's more, it seems certain that Granados' audience would have imagined him in a similar light considering that, as we saw in chapter 2, performers and critics systematically drew attention to the Scarlattian aspects of *Goyescas*. In order to perceive him as a national symbol, however, Spaniards had to alter their conception of Scarlatti through a necessary process of cultural appropriation, one that would have relinquished his Italian roots, and replaced it with a Spanish identity. A number of aspects of this process will be explored in the first part of this chapter, including the image of Scarlatti in past and recent scholarship, the disputes between Spanish and Italian visions of Scarlatti, and *fin-de-siècle* claims to Scarlatti voiced by Spanish composers and intellectuals. Through this survey of Scarlatti's past and present guises, I hope to shed some light on how the Italian composer transformed into a signifier of Spanish identity.

In the second half of the chapter we will discover that this process of cultural appropriation is symptomatic of ideological trends circulating in *fin-de-siècle* Spain, trends of which Granados would certainly have been aware. Pedrell's doctrine of musical *regeneración* will prove especially important in this regard considering the influence he would later have on an entire generation of Spanish composers including Granados. In chapter 1 we outlined Pedrell's wish to rejuvenate Spanish music; the ideological cornerstone for this renewal, which will gradually come into sharper relief throughout this chapter, was his belief that Spanish music had to transcend national boundaries. Influenced by German philosophy, as well as by various ideas on the spirit of nations circulating at the time, Pedrell hoped to find a way in which Spanish music

could become part of the international mainstream without sacrificing its individual national identity. In the second part of this chapter we will investigate several key concepts that were central to Pedrell`s goals including a belief he maintained in what he called universal art. Necessary for this were a number of factors including the relationship between Spanish sonorities and what he referred to as the "European" musical language, and the fusing of both folklore and high art music into contemporary Spanish works.

Scarlatti acted as bridge between the national and the supranational, mollifying the contradictions in Pedrell's discourse. Ultimately, he proved to be an important resource in Granados' redefinition of Spanish musical identity. As we will see later on, Scarlatti's sonatas combined both Spanish folklore and the more prestigious styles of the high Baroque, encouraging Granados to perceive him as a signifier of both national and international Spain. Perhaps more importantly, I will also show that within *Goyescas*, Scarlatti emerged as a signifier of universal Spain. In order to do so, I will refer to the neoclassical discourse surrounding Falla's *Harpsichord Concerto*, a work which alludes directly to Scarlatti's style, and which *fin-de-siècle* critics have consistently described as universal. By examining the various ideologies associated with Scarlatti, I hope to show that *Goyescas* participated in the redefinition of Spanish musical identity at the turn of the century, and that it played an important role in giving Spanish national music an international voice. Contrary to the prevailing image of Spain as exotic and peripheral, *fin-de-siècle* Spanish composers like Granados felt that their music was part of the European mainstream, believing it to be uncompromisingly nationalistic, international, universal.

Scarlatti and the Problem of Cultural Appropriation

The epigraphs which began this chapter reveal themselves as wilful acts of cultural appropriation. Numerous critics, from early twentieth-century Hispanists to modern-day musicologists, have awarded Scarlatti an honorary Spanish nationality. Influential scholars such as John B. Trend, Henri Collet and Gilbert Chase have explicitly included Scarlatti in the pantheon of great Spanish composers, placing Scarlatti at the very beginning of the Spanish piano tradition. For instance, Chase states: "Among modern composers who owe allegiance, tacit or avowed, to Domenico Scarlatti are Albéniz, Granados, Falla, Turina, Joaquín Nin, and the Halffter brothers, Ernesto and Rodolfo."[4]

In the last twenty years, however, a number of Spanish scholars have put under scrutiny the assumption that Scarlatti should be considered Spanish. They have distanced themselves from the Italian keyboard master, denouncing the presence of Spanish musical elements in his sonatas as mere folkloric veneer. Macario Santiago Kastner, for example, strongly criticizes the absence of authentic *hispanidad*, or Spanishness, in the sonatas: "When the southern Italian appears to be moved or fiery, he does it to affect a pose, but this is not as convincing as Iberian depth or tragic sentiment."[5] Kastner downplays the role of Scarlatti in the Spanish keyboard tradition, arguing that the features usually thought typically Spanish and as unique to Scarlatti can be found in keyboard sonatas of many other Iberian contemporaries such as Rodríguez,

[4] Chase, *Spain*, 113.

[5] "Cuando el Italiano del Sur se muestra conmovido (*commosso)* o fogoso, suele ser para afectar una postura, pero no es tan convincente como la hondura o el sentimiento trágico ibéricos" (Macario Santiago Kastner, "Repensando Scarlatti," *Anuario Musical* 44 [1989]: 137).

Seixas, Albero and Soler.[6] For those who would like to evaluate Scarlatti, Kastner concludes, "it seems more prudent to ignore folklore."[7] Contemporary Hispanic scholars have thus adopted a more sceptical approach to the question of whether Iberian music influenced the Italian composer, and have also minimized Scarlatti's impact on Spanish keyboard music.

A possible explanation for these scholars' wariness may be the recurring notion among Anglophone researchers that Scarlatti's keyboard sonatas captured the so-called "essence" of Spain. Trend, Chase, Powell and Kirkpatrick claim, implicitly or otherwise, that the sonatas derive their Spanish identity from Scarlatti's innate understanding of the "Spanish soul." For example, Kirkpatrick stated:

> There is hardly an aspect of Spanish life, of Spanish popular music and dance that has not found itself a place in the microcosm that Scarlatti created in his sonatas. No Spanish composer, not even Manuel de Falla, has expressed the essence of his native land as completely as did the foreigner Scarlatti. He has captured the click of the castanets, the strumming of the guitars, the thud of muffled drums, the harsh bitter wail of gypsy lament, the overwhelming gaiety of the village band, and above all the wiry tension of the Spanish dance.[8]

This idea of a Spanish musical essence becomes problematic when we consider some underlying issues, particularly Europe's exoticization of Spain. This impulse has left an ethnocentric stamp on Anglophone Scarlatti scholarship; the words *essence* and *soul*, for example, are loaded with exotic connotations and have never revealed much about the composers and their works. However, these terms have foregrounded the Otherness of

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[6] On the other hand Powell notes that "Soler, Albero, Larrañaga, Blasco de Nebra, and F. Rodríguez all used guitar effects in their keyboard works, but sparingly"; see Powell, *Spanish Piano Music*, 149.

[7] Ibid., 154. In his comparative study of Scarlatti's *Essercizi* and thirty sonatas by Vicente Rodríguez (1690–1760), Águeda Pedrero-Encabo chooses precisely this strategy; he makes no mention of Iberian influence on Scarlatti at all, a fact which might appear surprising given the aim of his study is to determine whether Scarlatti influenced Rodriguez, and also which of the two composers could claim certain "progressive" features in their works; see Águeda Pedrero-Encabo , "Los 30 Essercizi de Domenico Scarlatti y las 30 Tocatas de Vicente Rodríguez: paralelismo y divergencias," *Revista de musicologia* 20, no. 1 (1997): 388.

[8] Kirkpatrick, *Scarlatti*, 114.

Spanish music, hindering a true understanding of its standing within the pan-European musical tradition. Kirkpatrick once again provides an enlightening example:

> In the light of his later music, it is by no means difficult to imagine Domenico Scarlatti strolling under the Moorish arcades of the Alcazar or listening at night in the streets of Seville to the intoxicating rhythms of the castanets and the half-oriental melodies of Andalusian chant.[9]

This description of Scarlatti's four-year experience in Seville shows Kirkpatrick's understanding of Spain was based on orientalized discourse, and at least partly explains Spanish scholars' defensiveness when dealing with the purported 'essence' of Spain.

While Spanish scholars put Scarlatti's of-mentioned Spanishness in question, their Italians counterparts did exactly the reverse, claiming Scarlatti for their own musical tradition. This should not come as a surprise: Scarlatti's Italian birth and upbringing are hardly in question. Nonetheless, Italian scholarship on the matter is worth a brief perusal, for it demonstrates the highly subjective and one-sided nature of Italian claims of cultural ownership over Scarlatti. Italian academics have repeatedly dismissed any evidence of meaningful Spanish influence in Scarlatti's sonatas. For instance, although the Italian composer Gian Francesco Malipiero, writing in 1927, acknowledged the presence of Spanish sonorities in Scarlatti's keyboard sonatas, he also stressed the distinctively Italian qualities of these works:

> Far more than the Spaniard of the habañera or the malaguena, which makes their transient apparitions, it is the Neapolitan who predominates with the typical rhythms of the Italians born at the foot of the Vesuvius. Domenico Scarlatti, in fact, is a worthy son of Parthenope; mindful of Vesuvius, he loves to play with light and fire, but only for the greater joy of humanity.[10]

Scarlatti was without doubt "the greatest of Italian clavicembalists;" and "the last heir of that great Italian school issuing from Palestrina, Gesualdo da Venosa, Girolamo

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[9] Kirkpatrick, *Scarlatti*, 82. See also Trend, "Falla," 133–149.
[10] Gian Francesco Malipiero, "Domenico Scarlatti," *Musical Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (1927): 488.

Frescobaldi and Claudio Monteverdi."[11] The Italian scholar Cesare Valabrega also insisted that,

> It doesn't matter if [he] spent a number of years at court in Spain and Portugal; his creative spirit, even if breathing the fickle vapours of the Spanish guitar, remains essentially Italian and free from any deep ethnic influence.[12]

While it is correct to say that we should be careful in granting a Spanish origin to all Scarlattian gestures, it would also be unjust to rule out Iberian music from his keyboard practice. These comments demonstrate that deeper national issues were at stake for both Malipiero and Valabrega: it was a question of appropriating Scarlatti for their own musical history.

Sutcliffe suggests a second example of Italian denial, or at least misunderstanding, in questions of foreign influence on the Neapolitan composer: for Sutcliffe, Italian claims of cultural ownership are also evident in the continuing status of the Longo edition in Italian conservatories, a status that has been challenged by both the Kirkpatrik (1953) and Fadini (1978) editions. The debatable chronology of Longo's 1906–1908 edition is only one of its problems. Longo also corrected several instances of what he considered inexplicable harmonies, trying to rationalize passages containing surprising note-clusters.[13] Malcolm Boyd speculates that either Longo mistrusted his sources or perceived them to be "barbaric crudities of an earlier age;"[14] today, however, Scarlatti scholars generally recognize these harmonies as distinctive features of

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[11] Malipiero, "Scarlatti," 477 and 485.

[12] Cesare Valabrega, *Il clavicembalista Domenico Scarlatti: il suo secolo – la sua opera* (Modena: Guanda, 1937), 88 cited in Sutcliffe, *Keyboard Sonatas,* 62.

[13] For instance, Sutcliffe compares L. 142 (mm. 85–91) with its equivalent in the Kirpatrick catalogue (K. 193); see Sutcliffe, *Keyboard Sonatas*, 24.

[14] Malcolm Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti: Master of Music* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1986), 181.

Scarlatti's keyboard style.[15] Some, like Boyd, have even suggested that these original and highly individualistic elements of Scarlatti style could potentially be linked to Spanish music.[16] In this light, Longo's corrections could be interpreted as subtle means of cultural appropriation. This could also explain why Longo's edition has enjoyed a privileged status in Italy for so long, and more importantly, why no Italian translation of Kirkpatrick's foundational book on Scarlatti appeared until 1984.[17]

Scarlatti's Casticismo

Despite these attempts to have Scarlatti stay Italian, he should not be discarded as an important figure in Spanish musical nationalism. A closer look at Spanish performance and scholarship at the beginning of the twentieth century confirm this idea. We already know that Granados actively studied his works and repeatedly showcased Scarlatti's virtuosic keyboard sonatas in his concert recitals. What's more, other distinguished *fin-de-siècle* Spanish pianists such as Isaac Albéniz and Manuel de Falla did so as well. The French scholar Henri Collet noted Albéniz' 1880 performance of twelve Scarlatti sonatas, drawing attention to the influence Scarlatti had on later Spanish composers:

> This [the inclusion of twelve Scarlatti sonatas] is very important and brings to our attention the existence, during the eighteenth century, of a Scarlattian School in Spain…Moreover, the style of Scarlatti would have a great influence on the style of Albéniz, the composer. [18]

Falla, like Albeniz and Granados, also performed Scarlatti regularly: the concert programs and sonata scores preserved at the Manuel de Falla Archives (AMF)

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[15] Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 181. See also Sutcliffe, *Keyboard Sonatas*; Kirkpatrick, *Scarlatti*.
[16] Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 183.
[17] Sutcliffe, *Keyboard Sonatas*, 63–64.
[18] "Ceci est très important et nous rappelle l'existence au XIIIe siècle d'une école de Scarlatti en Espagne, dont le P. Soler, mis à la mode, aujourd'hui, par J. Nin, est le plus illustre représentant. De plus, le style de Scarlatti aura une grande influence sur le style d'Albéniz compositeur" (Henri Collet, *Albéniz et Granados*, [Paris: Libraire Felix Alcan, 1929], 35).

amply demonstrate his enthusiasm for the Italian composer.[19] During his stay in Paris (1907–1914), Falla also assisted to concerts at the Schola Cantorum and heard performances of Scarlatti sonatas by Wanda Landoswka, Alfredo Casella and the Casadeus family.[20] Falla's admiration for Scarlatti is confirmed by his student, the Spanish (naturalized Mexican) composer Rodolfo Halffter (1900–1987):

> Later, in 1929, in Granada, during my brief stay there, we analyzed, among other pieces, various sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti. Falla's admiration for Scarlatti had no bounds. He admired the freshness of his inspiration and above all, the rhythmical asymmetry of his phrases and periods. Moreover, Falla made me hear the distant rumblings of guitars and popular Spanish songs which emanated, like exquisite perfume, from these sonatas...With care and patience, Falla...examines my first works of composition; I, by myself, never in formal classes, received from the great maestro very valuable counsel which I have never forgotten.[21]

It is no coincidence that these three prominent composers (Granados, Albeniz and Falla) should study Scarlatti. Following the precepts of their mentor Pedrell, they adopted Scarlatti as a Spanish composer. More than this, they adopted him as a model to follow in the creation of national music. Scarlatti was, in Falla's own words, "the classic Spanish composer."[22]

Alongside a strong performance tradition, the writings of *fin-de-siècle* music scholarship in Spain will support my case for the Spanish appropriation of the Italian keyboard master. As mentioned in chapter 2, Granados edited in 1906 a collection of unpublished Scarlatti sonatas, together with an *Estudio biográfico-bibliográfico-crítico*, or preface, authored by Pedrell. This preface clearly illustrates Pedrell's attempt at

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[19] Torres, "La presencia de Scarlatti," 68.

[20] Harper, *Falla*, 51.

[21] Antonio Iglesias, *Rodolfo Halffter: Su obra para piano* (Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto, 1979), 50–51. Rodolfo Halffter, cited in Nancy Lee Harper, "The Piano Sonatas of Rodolfo Halffter: Transformation or New Technique?" (D.M.A. diss., University of North Texas, 1985), 4.

[22] Sutcliffe, *Keyboard Sonatas*, 107.

incorporating Scarlatti into a Spanish musical tradition. It begins with one main concern: the absence of Spain in the history of Western European music. Pedrell calls for a complete reassessment of Spain's contribution to Western music, stressing its neglect in contemporary scholarship:

> Isn't this a further element for the thesis that for years I have been defending: that the history of the development of musical art needs to be redone, to be reformed completely, and that, without drawing from untimely and pretentious patriotism, the role our nation in that development has not, judging from this and other facts, been well recognized nor carefully studied?[23]

He was especially interested in the influence of Spanish music on Scarlatti's style, charging that such influence remained unacknowledged by Western Europe. Pedrell even claimed that Longo's reference to "an insinuation of sentiment" had originated in "our old and glorious Spanish school of organists."[24] Pedrell avoided mention of the relationship between the popular idioms of Spain and the Spanishness of Scarlatti's keyboard works. Instead, he stressed that for the entire duration of Scarlatti's employment in Madrid, he had hardly come into contact with music outside the court.[25] Pedrell foregrounds—I should say, chooses—Spain's sixteenth and seventeenth-century organ school as a primary source of inspiration for the Italian composer:

> Could he (Scarlatti) perhaps have been influenced, knowing, like he probably did, the splendid production of our classical polyphonists, as well as that of our organists and harpsichordists?[26]

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[23] "No se trata, ahora, de un dato más para la tesis que vengo sosteniendo hace años: que la historia del desarrollo del arte musical necesita rehacerse, reformarse por completo, y que, sin recurrir en patrioterismo extemporáneo y cursi, la parte que nuestra nación ha tenido en ese desarrollo no está, a juzgar por este y otros hechos, ni bien reconocida ni bien estudiada a fondo?" (Felipe Pedrell, Enrique Granados, ed., *Domenico Scarlatti*, *Veintiséis sonatas inéditas para clave compuestas en España para la Familia Real (1729–1754)*, (Madrid: Union Musical Española, [1967], 2: 2).

[24] "'Esa insinuación de sentimiento' es la caracteristica de nuestra antigua gloriosa escuela de organo española" (Pedrell, Granadso, *Veintiseis sonatas inéditas*, 2: 1).

[25] "Veinticinco años permaneció Scarlatti en su cárcel regia de Madrid, sin ninguna clase de contacto con el arte español de su época, en el cual no ejerció ninguna influencia, ni como clavicordista que jamás se dejó oir fuera del palacio, ni como compositor de dos o tres insignificantes obras teatrales de circunstancias…" (ibid., 1: 2).

[26] "Pudo, acaso, ser influido él [Scarlatti], conociendo, como conocería, sin ninguna clase de duda, la espléndida producción así de nuestros clásicos polifónicos como la de nuestros organistas y clavicordistas?" (ibid).

Pedrell's emphasis on the Spanish organ tradition (rather than on folklore) is consistent with the ideals he articulated in his pamphlet *Por nuestra musica*. Through this connection, Pedrell implicitly claimed the Italian composer for the Spanish musical tradition.

Joaquín Nin (1879–1949) was the first scholar to claim Scarlatti unreservedly for the Spanish musical tradition. Originally from Cuba, Nin dedicated an important part of his life to the study of the Spanish Baroque and playing an important role in the revival of pre-nineteenth-century music in turn-of-the-century Spain.[27] On November 25th 1920, Nin received a soon-to-be-published article by Manuel de Falla entitled *Claude Debussy et l'Espagne*, who asked Nin to make two copies before final publication, Nin replied:

> I took the liberty of adding a couple words to your article, and you will see why: I have been working for a long time on the preparation of a study destined to claim, or almost, Domenico Scarlatti for the Spanish school (of music); my article on Scarlatti considered as a Spanish composer has been announced by the *Chesterian* for more than a year; and you conclude your own article announcing an upcoming work in which you'll study the influence of Spain on musicians from all countries, from Scarlatti to etc. etc.
>
> Right there, where you mention Scarlatti, I have simply added this: whom Joaquin Nin *claims for Spain*. If this bothers you in any way, please tell me and I will remove it, my intention only being to avoid that others later accuse me of plagiarism, when I had already published the idea of this work in an article dating back to 1909!![28]

Falla followed Nin's request, including an addendum to his article on Debussy:

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[27] Joaquín Nin, *Pour l'art* (Paris: n.e., 1909); ibid., *Idées et commentaries* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1912); he also published two collections of Spanish keyboard music—*Seize Sonates Anciennes d'Auteurs Espagnols* (Paris: Max Eschig, 1925) and *Diz-sept Sonatas et Pièces Anciennes d'Auteurs Espagnols: deuxième recueil,* (Paris: Max Eschig, 1929).

[28] "Me he permitido añadir dos palabras a tu artículo, y vera por qué: hace mucho tiempo que trabajo en la preparación de un estudio destinado a casi reivindicar para la escuela española a Domenico Scarlatti; hace más de un año que entre los artículos que anuncia *Chesterian* está el mío sobre Scarlatti considerado como compositor español; y tú terminas tu artículo anunciando un próximo trabajo donde estudiarás la influencia de España sobre los músicos de todos los países, desde Scarlatti hasta etc. etc.

Ahí, en Scarlatti, he añadido este, simplemente: que Joaquín Nin *revendique pour l'Espagne*. Si te molestas lo más mínimo, dímelo y lo quitaré, mi intención era evitar el que se me acusara de plagio más tarde, cuando la idea de ese trabajo la publiqué ya en un artículo que data de 1909!!" (Torres, "La presencia de Scarlatti," 73).

> I would have many things to say on Claude Debussy and Spain, but this modest study is nothing more than the outline of other more complete ones in which I will deal with all that our country and our music have inspired to foreign composers, from Domenico Scarlatti, whom Joaquín Nin claims for Spain, up to Maurice Ravel.[29]

This important piece of evidence removes any doubt that by 1909, debates of cultural ownership were already circulating in the Spanish discourse on national music.

However, some contradictions to these claims become apparent in light of *fin-de-siècle* Spanish nationalism. As we have seen in chapter1, *fin-de-siècle* nationalist composers like Pedrell consistently rejected foreign influences—particularly Italian ones—preferring compositional models taken from their own musical tradition. Nonetheless, Joaquín Nin, Felipe Pedrell, and a number of other *fin-de-siècle* composers reconciled Scarlatti with the development of a Spanish musical tradition. James Burnett observes:

> Ironic at first sight is the way in which the leading composers of the (Spanish) Renaissance over a century later, notably Falla himself, who were in the habit of denouncing the Italian influence on Spanish music and its debilitating effects on the native product, themselves looked to Scarlatti as mentor and exemplar.[30]

Why was Scarlatti not included in this systematic rejection of Italianism? Nin provides the answer: according to the baroque specialist, while, "Spaniards disguised themselves as Italians, Domenico Scarlatti, the Neapolitan genius, composed in Madrid what could be considered as Spanish music…"[31] In other words, if Spanish composers were often criticized for writing "international" music—a move that was seen as a betrayal of their national identity for European success—fin-de-siècle musicians believed Scarlatti to have done quite the reverse. In fact, it seems Scarlatti composed music that represented

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[29] "Yo tendría muchas cosas que decir sobre Claude Debussy y España, pero este modesto estudio de hoy no es más que el esbozo de otros más completo en el cual trataré igualmente de todo lo que nuestro país y nuestra música han inspirado a los compositores extranjeros, desde Domenico Scarlatti, que Joaquín Nin reivindica para España, hasta Maurice Ravel" (Torres, "La presencia de Scarlatti," 74).

[30] James Burnett, *Manuel de Falla and the Spanish Music Renaissance* (London: Gollancz, 1979), 35.

Spanish identity more deeply than the music of some native composers. ***Scarlatti's Significance in Spain***

How did Scarlatti's music come to embody the *castizo* ideals of the Generation of '98? Scarlatti's extended immersion in Spanish culture provides some clues to the claims of cultural ownership described above. After a successful career in Rome (1708–19), the Neapolitan Scarlatti found employment as court composer and *mestre de capela* to the Portuguese king, João V (1719–28). Scarlatti also instructed Don Antonio (the king's younger brother) and the Infanta Maria Barbara de Bragança (the king's daughter) in the art of keyboard playing. Scholars generally agree that most of Scarlatti's 555 sonatas (according to the Kirkpatrick catalogue) were composed for Maria Barbara, who "surprised the amazed intelligence of the most excellent Professors with her mastery at Singing, Playing, and Composition."[32] When, in 1729, the Princess was married to Crown Prince Fernando of Spain, Scarlatti was allowed to follow his royal pupil to her adoptive country and remained in Madrid for the rest his life.

A close look at the composer's keyboard works will provide specific indications of why Spanish musicians have claimed Scarlatti for their own musical heritage. In light of our earlier discussion, it will come as no surprise that Scarlatti's sonatas—the main testimony of his experience in Spain—contain passages surprisingly "Spanish" in character. They reveal Scarlatti's interest in the folk sonorities that shaped the popular dimension of his new musical environment; according to the music historian Charles Burney (1726–1814), one can find in the sonatas many passages "in which he imitated

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[31] "Les Espagnols se déguisaient en Italiens, pendant que Domenico Scarlatti, le génial Napolitain, faisait à Madrid de la musique quasi espagnole…" (Nin, *Idées et commentaires*, 207).

[32] Roberto Pagano et al., "Domenico Scarlatti," *Oxford Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/24708pg7#S24708.7 (accessed August 20, 2009).

the melody of tunes sung by carriers, muleteers and common people."[33] Many scholars have argued that Scarlatti could easily have come into contact with a variety of popular musical styles during his twenty-eight years in Spain. Kirkpatrick, for instance, detailed the moves of the Spanish court throughout the country, which suggests that Scarlatti had many opportunities to hear various kinds of Spanish popular music.[34] For Jane Clark, Scarlatti's first four years in Andalusia (1729–33) were crucial in the development of his keyboard practice: "it was not music heard in the streets of Madrid or the gardens of the Aranjuez that impressed Scarlatti; it was music heard in Seville, or Cadiz, or Granada, which is very different now, and must have been completely so in 1729."[35] The Italian composer, a foreigner recently arrived in the country, must have been particularly attuned to the new sonorities offered to him in Andalucía. He probably even found them surprising, and dare I say, exotic.[36]

While this interpretation partly explains Scarlatti's sustained interest in Spanish music, it does not elucidate why *fin-de-siècle* musicians singled him out as the father of the Spanish piano school. Indeed, what made Scarlatti so unique? According to the current state of research on eighteenth-century Spanish keyboard literature, Scarlatti seems to stand alone: few eighteenth-century composers incorporated Spanish folk sonorities into their keyboard works, and if they did, these were never as numerous nor

[33] Percy Scholes, ed., *Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 2: 87.

[34] Kirkpatrick, *Scarlatti*, 81–90.

[35] Jane Clark, "A Performer's Reappraisal," 19.

[36] The term *exotic*, however, warrants a cautionary note: I am far from claiming that popular Spanish idioms, which Scarlatti likely encountered during his extended stay in the Iberian Peninsula, should belong to an immutable category called "*exotic* music"; rather, I would like to suggest that Scarlatti, a foreigner, could have perceived as unusual certain idiosyncratic sonorities that were absent from his previous horizons of experience.

as systematic as those in Scarlatti's keyboard sonatas.[37] Scarlatti also stands out in relief because eighteenth-century Spanish composers themselves seemed resistant to using folk sonorities. For instance, the guitar—a defining symbol of the Spanish soundscape—is unusually absent from their works. According to Powell,

> [N]ative Spanish composers of the eighteenth-century did not show an overwhelming predilection for emulating the guitar in their keyboard works. Perhaps they considered such 'gypsy music' vulgar.[38]

Powell hints at a socio-historical context that can potentially shed light on native composers' apparent disregard towards folk music, a context, which might also explain why Scarlatti seemed immune to similar considerations. Aware that Western European nations perceived Spain as a cultural backwater, the Bourbon court in Madrid preferred to emulate European trends. In the realm of music, Italianism was prescribed as the antidote.[39] However, to embrace modernity also meant to relegate musical signifiers of Spanish identity to the lower strata of society. An important division was thus created between the Italianate style of the Spanish court and the folk idioms heard beyond its confines.

While Juan José Carreras has contested the historiographical model presented above as an essentialist one, that reading is useful for approaching Scarlatti's treatment of exotic/popular sonorities as well as the reception of his works at the end of the nineteenth century.[40] In the works composed for Maria Barbara, the future queen of Spain, Scarlatti juxtaposes two musical worlds: first, the Baroque/galant idiom, *en vogue* at the Spanish court during the mid-eighteenth-century—what Sutcliffe describes as an

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[37] Sutcliffe, *Keyboard Sonatas*, 109.
[38] Powell, *Spanish Piano Music*, 149.
[39] See Chase, *Spain*, 107–8.
[40] Juan Jose Carreras, "From Literes to Nebra: Spanish Dramatic Music between Tradition and Modernity," in *Music in Spain during the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Malcolm Boyd and Juan José Carreras (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 8.

international musical language[41]—and second, the musical features usually associated with the lower classes, what we now recognize as Iberian folk melodies, rhythms and dances. Sutcliffe cogently argues that by inserting folk gestures in a Baroque context, Scarlatti exaggerates the differences between the two idioms. In other words, Scarlatti often presents folk elements in a manner that stresses the exotic nature of Spanish music: "The exotic will assume a harder edge when it is an unexpected visitor than when it presents itself from the start."[42] I believe it is precisely Scarlatti's mixed style that attracted *fin-de-siècle* composers, particularly those under Pedrell's influence. The presence of both popular folk idioms and high art conventions in Scarlatti's sonatas allowed Spanish *fin-de-siècle* composers to reconcile the contradictions within Pedrell's ideology of musical nationalism. In Scarlatti's sonatas, national folk idioms and international art music fuse to create authentically Spanish, yet European works.

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> Like so many other elements from the Catalan culture of that time, the tension between the regional, the national, and the international had an influence on all manifestations of [Catalan] culture. We can also observe this tension in the works of Pedrell.
>
> - Carol Hess[43]

Pedrell's (Inter)nationalism

While Pedrell encouraged Spanish composers to look to the musical resources of their own nation, he also believed that Spanish composers should adopt European music

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[41] Sutcliffe, *Keyboard Sonatas*, 141.
[42] Ibid., 109.
[43] "Como tantos otros elementos de la cultura catalana de esta época, la tensión entre lo regional, lo nacional y lo internacional, influía en cualquier manifestación de la cultura. También se ve esta tensión en la obra de Pedrell" (Hess, "Enric Granados," 51).

as a means towards modernity and internationalism. In the words of Francesc Bonastre, "[Pedrell's] historic venture draws from classical thought and emphasizes three fundamental figures: the Florentine Camerata, Glück, [Weber] and Wagner."[44] Pedrell owed an especially prominent musical debt to Wagner. Known as the "Wagner of Tortosa," Pedrell incorporated Wagnerian musical elements into many of his compositions; French critics Henri de Curzon, Henri Collet, and Camille Bellaigue even compared his opera *La Celestina* (1902) to Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* (1865).[45] Perhaps more importantly, Pedrell absorbed ideologies from Wagner's writings into his own thoughts on Spanish music with the hopes of removing Spain from the periphery. In other words, he sought to make contemporary Spanish music more relevant on the international—read European—cultural scene. Pedrell's intention can perhaps be summarized best by the following statement given by Hess: "Pedrell was moved by Wagner's epic quality; its potential for rejuvenating Spanish music meant progressing beyond *españolismo* towards Wagner's internationalist stature."[46]

Like Pedrell, Granados also aspired to create an international representation of Spain, and there is no doubt that Granados was heavily influenced by his mentor's ideology when it came to Spanish musical rejuvenation. Indeed, as a student of Pedrell between 1884 and 1891 (excepting 1887–89, when he studied in Paris), Granados always acknowledged his teacher as a fundamental influence on his artistic and philosophical development.[47] This influence suggests that the various contradictions

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[44] "L'excurs historic arrenca des del pensament classic i se centra damunt tres punts fonamentals: la Camerata fiorentina, Glück, [Weber] i Wagner." The square brackets around "Weber" are Bonastre's. Francesc Bonastre, "El nacionalisme musical de Felip Pedrell. Reflexions a l'entorn de *Por nuestra música* 20," *Recerca Musicològica* XI-XII (1991-1992): 17–26.

[45] Hess, "Enric Granados," 51.

[46] Hess, *Modernism*, 18.

[47] Clark, *Granados*; Hess, *Modernism*; Chase, *Spain*.

inherent in Pedrell's ideology—folk vs. art music, regionalism vs. nationalism, nationalism vs. internationalism—are also present throughout Granados' output. In fact, these dichotomies seem to have been fundamental factors in Granados career. His output includes compositions of recognizably national character; in *Danzas españolas* (1890), for instance, Granados draws upon a variety of Spanish dance rhythms, while *Seis piezas sobre cantos populares* makes use of typical Spanish melodic gestures. At the same time, however, Granados distanced himself from purely Spanish national forms, finding a large part of his inspiration from the harmonic and lyrical language of the great romantics: Chopin, Schumann and Liszt. A number of his works are similar to Schumann's (Granados' *Glückes genug*, 1888; *Kind im Einschlummern*,1888; or *Cuentos de la juventud* op. 1, nd.), while Granados' works titled *Mazurka* (1888), *Berçeuse* (1903), and *Impromptu* (1895) reveal his debt to Chopin.[48] According to Hess,

> Granados preferred a late and international romanticism. The greater part of his piano works, for example, *Allegro de Concierto* [1903], the *Valses poéticos* [ca. 1900], *Bocetos* [1912], and a large number of mazurkas, lean toward an obvious Europeanism.[49]

So influential were these European composers on Granados that critics nicknamed him "the last romantic," the "Spanish Grieg," and the "Spanish Chopin."[50]

If this national/international dichotomy holds for most of Granados' output, it become particularly relevant during the *Goyescas* period (1911–1916), and even more so when examining the *Goyescas* piano cycle, his most internationally acclaimed work.

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[48] He even uses the evocative term *Andante Spianato* in both *Escenas romanticas* and *Allegro de concierto*, a term used by few composers other than Chopin. See Maria Encina Cortizo, "Enrique Granados," *Diccionario de la Musica Española e Hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio (Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 2001), vol 5: 856.

[49] "Granados prefería un romanticismo tardío e internacional. La mayor parte de sus obras para piano, por ejemplo, *Allegro de concierto*, los *Valses poéticos*, *Bocetos*, y una cantidad de mazurkas se inclina hacia un evidente europeísmo" (Hess, "Enric Granados," 52).

[50] Cortizo, "Enrique Granados," 856.

We have seen that Granados built *Goyescas* on four signifiers of Spanish national identity—Goya, Cruz, Laserna, and Scarlatti—four pillars which represent Granados' personal approach to the regeneration of music in Spain. Although these figures are widely associated with Spanish nationalism, that nationalism does not mean that Granados failed to inscribe *Goyescas* (and a large part of his output for that matter) in a European context. According to Hess,

> ...even a large part of *Goyescas* can be compared with Fauré's style, with its dense textures and intricate harmonic language.[51]

Hess goes further, arguing that in Granados' music one can hardly hear the typical *rasgueado* figurations, Phrygian modes, or dance rhythms usually associated with Spanish music.[52] But this statement doesn't seem to hold for *Goyescas*, a piece filled with guitar imitations, dance rhythms, folk melodies and other Spanish sonorities. While Hess' statement perhaps underestimates the presence of Spanish musical tropes within *Goyescas*, it does allow us to view Granados' piano cycle in a new light. If Granados' post-Romantic musical language is heavily indebted to famous European figures such as Liszt, Chopin, Schumann, Wagner and Fauré, his music still retains key features of recognizably Spanish musical tropes. *Goyescas* becomes Granados' compromise between the European mainstream and Spanish national music.[53]

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[51] "…hasta gran parte de *Goyescas* pueden compararse con el estilo de Fauré, con sus densas texturas y un laberíntico lenguaje armónico" (Hess, "Enric Granados," 52).

[52] Ibid.

[53] Other than the combination of Spanish and European musical idioms, a few additional factors lead us to interpret *Goyescas* as a work that aspired to both national and international recognition. For one, two of the four figures upon which Granados built *Goyescas*, Goya and Scarlatti, enjoyed a solid reputation outside of Spain; Goya had long fascinated French artists such as Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) and Edouard Manet (1832–1883), inspiring Manet's *The Execution of Emperor Maximilian* (1867–1868) and *Olympia* (1863), while Scarlatti's keyboard sonatas remained a standard feature of the piano repertory.(Clark, *Granados*, 142.) It is no coincidence that Granados received the French Legion of Honour for his *Goyescas*; only a work of international stature could achieve such a high honour. For two, and somewhat paradoxically, Granados' internationalism can be measured by how poorly the operatic version of *Goyescas* was received in the United-States (1916). Closely modelled after the piano suite, the

Universalism and the Revival of the Past

A second dimension of Pedrell's ideology of musical regeneration profoundly influenced Spanish *fin-de-siècle* composers, shedding light on some deeper motivations behind Granados' eighteenth-century references in *Goyescas*. In a similar vein to his desire to internationalize Spanish music, Pedrell also hoped that by fusing both folklore and pre-nineteenth-century Spanish sacred music with European musical trends, the works of Spanish composers would become universal. He was inspired in this by Christian Krause (1781–1832), Emmanuel Kant (1724–1804), and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), three German philosophers who helped shape Spanish intellectual thought during the second half of the nineteenth century.[54] Krause's philosophy, known in Spain as *krausismo*, was particularly important for Pedrell and for the Generation of '98; among other things, *krausismo* emphasized scientific learning separate from the Church, it aspired to a "harmonious organization of humanity," and it held human beings to be the "incarnation and synthesis of the universe."[55] Adapting Krause's philosophy for a Spanish context, Spanish intellectuals in the second half of the nineteenth century transformed it into a source of cultural renewal:

> Krausism...was no abstract metaphysical system; it was rather a group of inspiring and self-sacrificing teachers who instilled in their students' minds the respect for truth and the

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opera disappointed American critics not only because of the weaknesses of the libretto, but also because they did not consider the score to be Spanish enough. (Hess, "Enric Granados," 52.) In other words, the local colour of Spanish musical stereotypes that Granados' American audience expected had been replaced by a more generally European post-Romantic—or international—musical language.

[54] Dochy Lichstensztajn, "El regeneracionismo y la dimensión educadora de la música en la obra de Felip Pedrell," *Recerca Musicològica* 14–15 (2004–2005), 304–5.

[55] Lichstensztajn summarizes *krausismo* through the three ideas: "1. Classification of the contents and methods of scientific knowledge. 2. Perception of the human as the incarnation and synthesis of the universe. 3. Aspiration to the harmonious organization of humanity" ("1. Definición de los contenidos y métodos del saber científico. 2. Percepción del ser humano como encarnación y síntesis del universo. 3. Aspiración a la organización armónica de la humanidad.") (López Morillas, *The Krausist Movement and Ideological Change in Spain* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 44 cited in Lichstensztajn, "El regeneracionismo," 305).

> desire for a totally new way of life and thus succeeded in renovating spiritual life in Spain for the first time in centuries.[56]

In addition to *krausismo*, Spanish intellectuals also combined neo-Kantian and Hegelian idealism. From Kant, they believed that the individuality of human beings and the particularity of races, as well as the existing conflicts between those groups, made world peace a logical necessity. Under Hegel's influence they thought that only the national spirit could integrate individual nations with a universal spirit and a universal history.[57] Together, these two ideologies—the individual and the universal—had a preponderant role in Spanish regeneration according to the Generation of '98. Not surprisingly, they also became central tenets of Pedrell's plan for musical rejuvenation in Spain as well as principal guiding forces behind a large part of his country's musical life at the turn of the century.

Pedrell's *Cancionero musical español*, perhaps his most famous work, best illustrates his multifaceted ideology. The first two volumes include an important collection of Spanish folk-songs transcribed from oral tradition—vehicles of the Herderian "national essence"—while the last two contain a selection of written Spanish polyphony, works of Spanish mysticism and universalism. By including these oral and written traditions in one collection, Pedrell connected popular song and polyphony, thereby merging the national spirit of the folk with the universality he accredited to Spanish sacred music.[58] It is precisely this recasting of national folk expression into

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[56] John W. Kronik, "Leopoldo Alas, Krausism, and the Plight of the Humanities in Spain," *Modern Language Studies* 3, no. 11 (1981): 3–15.

[57] Lichstensztajn, "El regeneracionismo," 305.

[58] Ibid., 312.

high art that led Pedrell to believe that these sacred works could be both universal and authentically Spanish.[59]

Following Pedrell, Spanish *fin-de-siècle* composers looked increasingly to both their nation's past folk and art music traditions as part of their strategy to transform their compositions into universal art. In Falla's own words,

> The Spanish lyric-drama, like all other forms of art which nobly aspire to represent us [the Spanish people] before universal art, must find its inspiration in both the strong and varied Spanish tradition and the admirable treasures we have inherited from our composers between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries.[60]

Such inspiration for Spanish composers was provided by Pedrell's *Cancionero* as well as by his *Hispaniae Schola Música Sacra*, two works which served as the source material to which they could turn in order to renew their national school. Falla, for one, adhered completely to Pedrell's ideology and referred on more than one occasion to the folk music and polyphonic works included in the *Cancionero*, a collection which played an active role in Falla's creative process; when composing *El retablo de maese Pedro*, for instance, Falla drew inspiration from a *tonada de romance* in the *Cancionero* after Pedrell suggested he do so.[61] Granados too, especially during his *Goyesque* years (1911–1916), turned to Pedrell's ideas. While he is not known to have borrowed from the *Cancionero* directly, many of his later works refer to Spain's pre-nineteenth-century

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[59] Robert Marshall's description of universality in Bach paints a striking similar picture: "transcends the cultural limitations of geography and history, of place and time, in order to create—once again—a 'universal' artwork."Robert Marshall, *The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach: The Sources, the Style, the Significance* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1989), 79.

[60] "...el drama lírico español, así como toda otra forma musical que aspire noblemente a representarnos ante el arte universal, debe inspirarse, tanto en la fuerte y varia tradición española, como en el tesoro admirable que nos legaron nuestros compositores de los siglos XVI al XVIII." (Yvan Nommick, "El influjo de Felip Pedrell en la obra y el pensamiento de Manuel de Falla," *Recerca Musicològica* XIV–XV (2004–2005): 291).

[61] The following works by Falla included references to the *Cancionero*: *El retablo de maese Pedro* (1919-1923), the *Harpsichord Concerto*, (1923-1926), *Atlántida* (1927-1946), incidental music for Federico García Lorca's *La niña que riega la albahaca y el príncipe preguntón* (1922), *Misterio de los Reyes Magos* (1922), Calderón de la Barca's *El gran teatro del mundo* (1927), and *La vuelta de Egipto* (1935). For more details on Falla's musical borrowings from Pedrell's *Cancionero* see Nommick, "El influjo de Felip Pedrell," 294.

folklore and high art music. His *tonadillas al estilo antiguo*, as we have seen, evoke Spain's eighteenth century, while the words to an number of his *Canciones amatorias* (1914–1915) draws from poetry by Luis de Góngora (1561–1627) and Lope de Vega (1562–1635), two Spanish authors from the Spanish Golden Age.[62] Each of these instances of drawing from the past reflects the widespread interest in Pedrell's ideology circulating amongst composers in *fin-de-siècle* Spain.

In *Goyescas*, recurring allusions to Spain's eighteenth-century past provide further evidence for Granados' adherence with Pedrell's beliefs. Here I would like to draw particular attention to *Goyescas*' Scarlattian idiom, the presence of which I have outlined in chapter 2. By re-appropriating Scarlatti into their national musical tradition, *fin-de-siècle* Spanish composers such a Granados showed that they understood him as an authentic Spaniard, a composer who had not only transcribed Spanish folklore as an outsider would, but rather, one that had incorporated these popular accents into high art music, much like Spain's Golden Age polyphonists had done.[63] The presence of a Scarlattian idiom in *Goyescas* is therefore no coincidence. I argue that in Granados' piano cycle, Scarlatti's keyboard practice represents both a national and universal Spain. What's more, I suggest that by including Scarlatti's eighteenth-century practice into *Goyescas*, Granados sought to fulfill Pedrell's ideology of musical *regeneración*, and hoped to incorporate his piano cycle into what he understood to be universal art.

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[62] Some of this songs include two with texts by Gongora (*Serranas de Cuenca*, *Lloraba la niña*) and one by Vega (*No lloréis, ojuelos*).

[63] See p. 79 above for a comment by Pedrell which reflects his belief in the influence of Spanish polyphonists on Scarlatti's keyboard style.

French Classicism and Falla's Harpsichord Concerto

French classicism, some aspects of which are closely related to Pedrell's conception of national identity in music, may help us gauge the importance of Scarlatti in Granados' articulation of a universal Spain. As we have already seen in chapter 1, French composers attempted to distance themselves from their Germanic contemporaries by striving to achieve musical ideals which they perceived to be antithetical to the German tradition: elegance, precision and clarity. Like their French counterparts, Spanish composers believed that this very same vocabulary of ideals pertained specifically to their own national school.[64] What's more, both nations connected these ideals to their respective keyboard traditions; like Debussy and Ravel, who looked to the eighteenth-century harpsichordists in order to establish an authentic national identity, Spanish composers such as Falla and Granados believed that Scarlatti's keyboard idiom symbolized the best qualities of Hispanic music. Gianfranco Vinay traces a very clear parallel between the French and Spanish recoveries of tradition, placing special importance on Scarlatti's practice:

> …If Dukas and Debussy naturally returned to Rameau, and Ravel to Couperin, it was Scarlatti who was for Manuel de Falla the symbol of a new asceticism.[65]

This is particularly true of the *Harpsichord Concerto*, a work that came to epitomize universality and authentic Spanish identity for Falla's audiences. Echoing the rhetoric of European neoclassicism, critics described the universalist *Concerto* as "the connecting link which unites in a definite manner modern Spanish art with the century

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[64] Messing notes that these terms are not apt descriptors of any specific musical tradition, even if they were used to create national music. With this in mind, it is striking that both the French and Spanish musical traditions articulated their nationalism in these similar terms.

[65] "…Se Dukas e Debussy ritornano con naturalezza a Rameau, e Ravel a Couperin, Scarlatti fu per Manuel de Falla il simbolo della nuova ascesi" (Vinay, "La lezione di Scarlatti," 180).

of Victoria and Cabezón."[66] Moreover, for Falla's contemporaries, the *Concerto* voiced a regenerated expression of Spanishness in which the local ingredients had undergone a process of "purification." In the words of the Spanish critic Adolfo Salazar (1890–1958),

> It is recognized that there is no better exercise to purify an idiom based on national or folkloric formulas than its repeated practice, under a principle of intensification that forces constant evolution. This, as it seems to me to have been the case with Stravinsky, has certainly been true with Falla… Accordingly, Falla purified the elements of his style, work after work, his language becoming more concentrated in expression, synthesizing its general characteristics and eliminating the accessory qualities of 'color' and *localismo* to gain in generality and in the capacity of universality…In the Harpsichord Concerto this aspiration appears realized.[67]

Paradoxically, despite Falla's avoidance of *localismo*, contemporary audiences still lauded the *Concerto* as a particularly authentic expression of Spanish identity. Indeed, Spanish critics described Falla's latest work as "Supremely Spanish."[68] Even non-Hispanic observers argued for the strong national character of the *Concerto*; for the Hispanist John B. Trend, "the less superficially 'Spanish' Falla appears, the more intimately Spanish his music becomes."[69] Critics had therefore reconciled the seemingly contradictory ideals of a universal aesthetic and authentic Spanish identity.[70] Through this process, Scarlatti emerged as the classic Spanish composer who allowed Falla's

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[66] Vinay, "La lezione di Scarlatti," 244.

[67] Hess, *Modernism*, 252.

[68] Vinay, "La lezione di Scarlatti," 236.

[69] Trend, "Falla," 147. Even Stravinsky approved of Falla's new aesthetic: "In my opinion, [*El Retablo* and the *Concerto*] give proof of incontestable progress in the development of his great talent. He has, in them, deliberately emancipated himself from the folklorist influence under which he was in the danger of stultifying himself." Christoforidis, "Folksong," 211.

[70] This alliance between nationalism and internationalism notwithstanding, Hess notes that, in order to cast Falla's *Concerto* as quintessentially Spanish, critics needed to downplay the influence of European neoclassicism on Falla's output by ignoring the fact that neoclassical rhetoric permeated their own language when they spoke of the *Concerto*. For instance, Salazar asserted that "the classical idiom used in this piece is only distantly related to the theory now in vogue throughout Europe, that of a 'return' to that classical idiom of the eighteenth-century." The *Concerto*, he maintained, "has nothing to do with the real classics, external appearances notwithstanding" (Hess, *Modernism*, 254). This desire for self-determination can potentially explain why the Spanish *neoclasicismo* appeared infrequently in Spanish musical discourse during the 1920s and 1930s, although Spanish artistic values were clearly inspired by neoclassicism. See Hess, *Sacred Passions*, 137. In sum, Falla's concerto had somehow remained free from foreign influences, yet had kept all the hallmarks of universal art.

neoclassical style to be transformed into a universal, yet authentically national, expression of Spain.

Although Granados, who composed his *Goyescas* more than ten years before Falla's *Harpsichord Concerto*, is clearly not a neoclassical composer, his persistent references to Spain's eighteenth-century past suggest that he likely shared a common inspiration with Falla. For instance, there exist numerous parallels between their careers: they both studied composition with Pedrell, they both adopted his principles of national *regeneración*, and they both left Spain to perfect their art in Paris. Furthermore—and this is the central point yet to be acknowledged in the current scholarly literature on Granados—they both considered Scarlatti to be an authentic Spanish musician who would regenerate and universalize the Spanish musical tradition. With this in mind, the following comment by Clark comes into sharper relief:

> [Granados'] fascination with the eighteenth century and utilization of musical elements from that period prefigured the neoclassicism of Manuel de Falla. Though his [Granados'] musical language was rooted in late-Romantic practice, the *Goyescas* works form a proto-neoclassical literature that provided inspiration for Spanish neo-classicists after his death.[71]

By positing the *Goyescas* as "proto-neoclassical literature," Clark has drawn our attention to a common thread connecting *Goyescas* with Falla's *Harpsichord Concerto*—Scarlatti's eighteenth-century keyboard practice.

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We have observed in this chapter a gradual connection between 1) Granados' idealized eighteenth-century Spain, 2) Falla's own neoclassical references to the nation's

[71] Clark, *Granados*, 174. Clark continues, commenting on Falla's choice of pieces in a concert: "The selection of these three pieces give us a clue as to how Falla in particular might have viewed Granados' *Goyescas*, which appears to form a link between the classicism of Beethoven's early piano sonatas and the neoclassicism of Falla's puppet-theater opera. He may well have viewed Granados' Goya-inspired works as important precursors to his own neoclassical compositions of the years between Granados' death and this ceremony" (ibid., 240).

musical past, and 3) Pedrell's ideology of musical universalism. Throughout this thesis, I have argued that *fin-de-siècle* Spanish composers accomplished this connection through Domenico Scarlatti, an Italian composer who introduced popular sonorities into a Spanish court previously dominated by Italian music. As their interest in Scarlatti's sonatas increased, these composers did not hesitate to re-appropriate him into their national tradition and to introduce his characteristic keyboard practice into their own compositions. Following Pedrell's lead, Granados and Falla adopted Scarlatti's mixed style as a compromise between the various contradictions embedded within their mentor's nationalist discourse, particularly nationalism vs. internationalism, and nationalism vs. universalism. While Falla's later neoclassical style has made the association between his works and universal aspirations obvious, I have argued throughout this thesis that, like Falla, Granados—particularly in his *Goyescas* and despite his claims that his music had nothing to do with politics—also sought to rejuvenate the Spanish musical tradition according to the ideology of cultural universalism circulating at the time. In *Goyescas*, he accomplished this by referring to Spain's eighteenth-century past, and more particularly, by infusing his virtuosic piano figurations with Scarlatti's eighteenth-century keyboard practice.

By uncovering under-explored aspects of influence which permeate the music of Granados and his contemporaries in nineteenth-century Spain, we become aware of an important aspect of Spanish culture which was not isolated as its exoticized image might lead us to believe. Rather, Granados and his contemporaries existed amidst a wealth of interrelationships and influences that compel us to acknowledge their inseparability from the rest of nineteenth-century Europe. In Granados' post-romantic evocations of eighteenth-century Spain, these interrelationships become realized: in them we discover

the Generation of ’98’s hopes to rebuild a nation in crisis; we find Pedrell’s desire to instil in the next generation of composers the philosophical principles that would ensure the nation’s musical regeneration; and we recognize the influence of German philosophy and French classicism. Together, these traces of *fin-de-siècle* Spain speak of their need for a cultural reconciliation: to acknowledge the necessity of their national individuality without sacrificing their place in universal art.

Appendix A

Titles of each movement in Goyescas, given with approximate translations. Each movement was dedicated to a famous contemporary pianist, with the exception of *la maja y el ruiseñor*, which is dedicated to his wife.

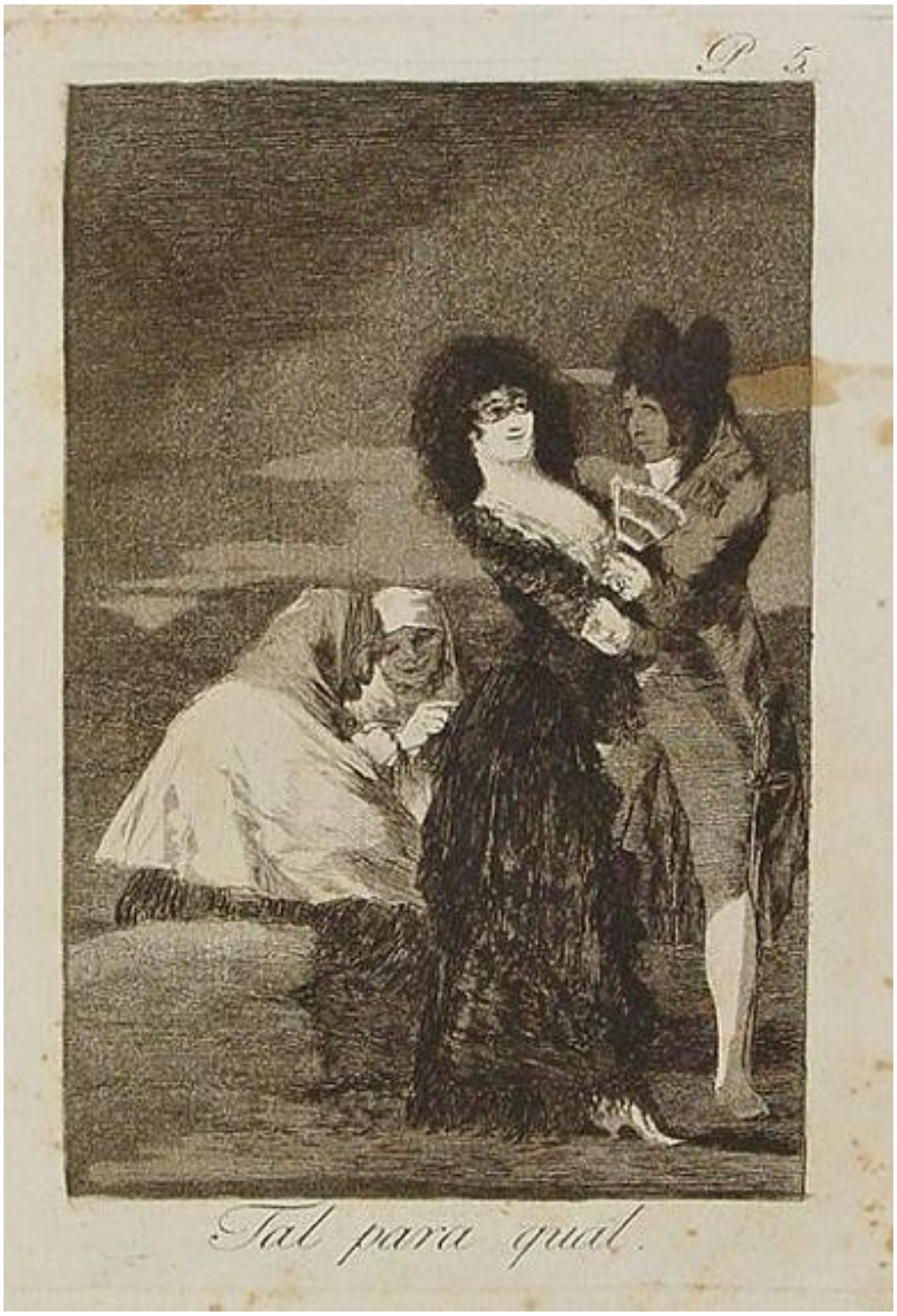
Volume 1 (1909–1910)

1.	Los Requiebros (The Flirtations)	Emil Sauer
2.	Coloquio en la reja (Conversation at the lattice-window)	Eduard Risler
3.	El fandango de candil (The Fandango de Candil)	Ricardo Viñes
4.	Quejas o la maja y el ruiseñor (Laments or the Maiden and the Nightingale)	Amparo

Volume 2 (1913–1914)

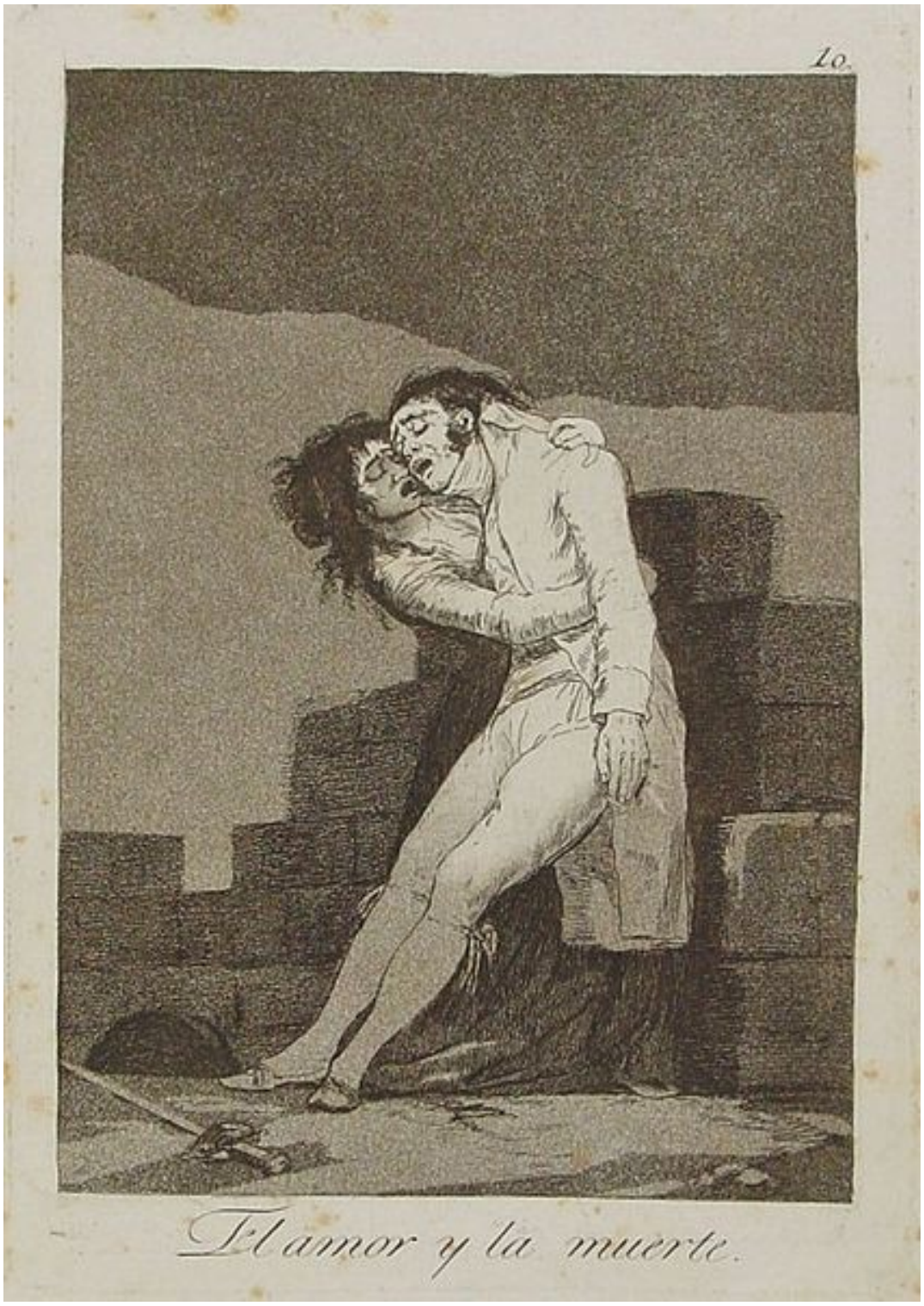
5.	El Amor y la muerte (Love and Death)	Harold Bauer
6.	Epílogo: Serenata del espectro (Epilogue: Serenade of the Spectre)	Alfred Cortot

Appendix B



Fransisco Goya
Capricho no. 5. Tal para cual.
Prado Museum, Madrid

Appendix C



Fransisco Goya
Capricho no. 10, El amor y la muerte.
Prado Museum, Madrid.

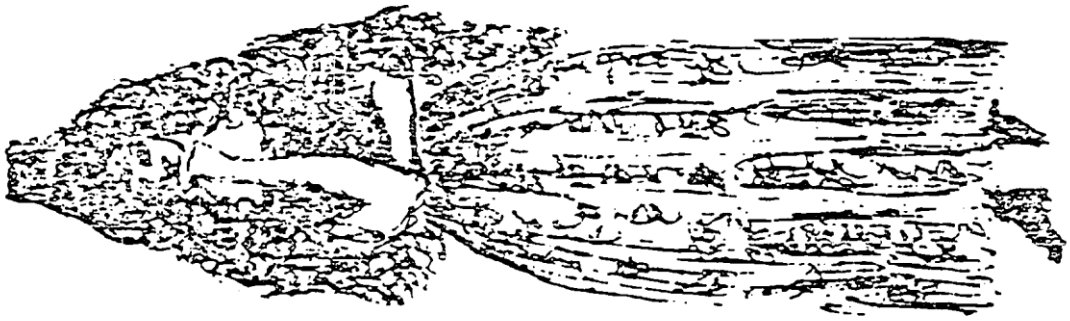
Appendix D

Fransisco Goya
El Pelele
Prado Museum, Madrid

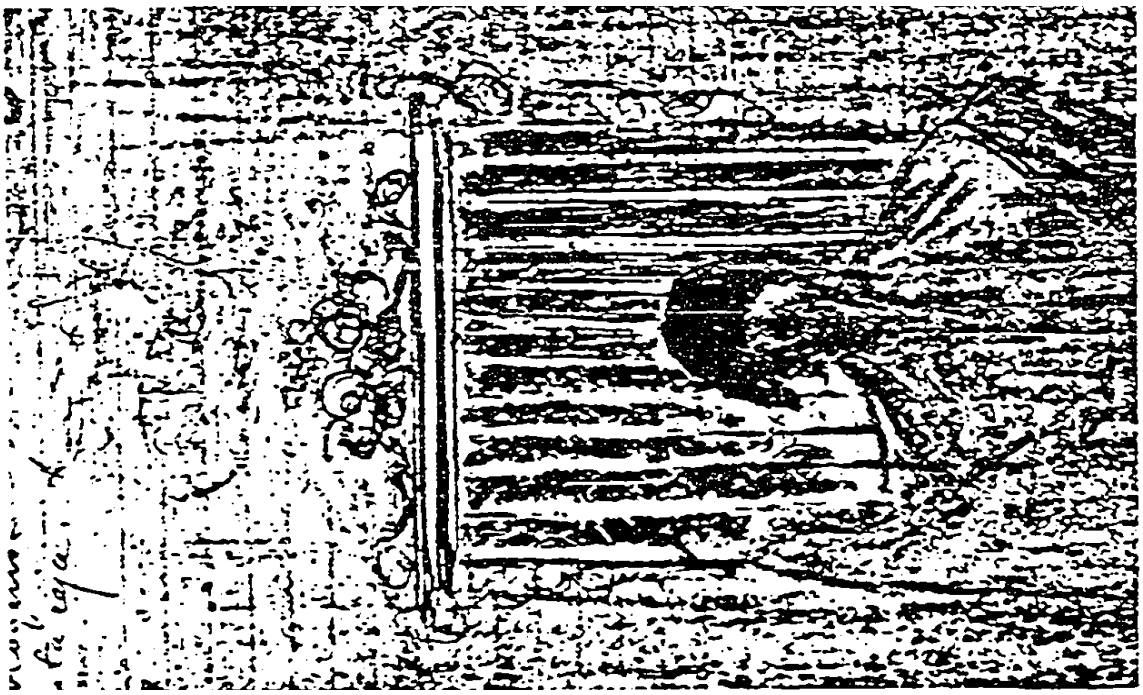
Appendix E

Fransisco Goya
Disparates Plate 1. Disparate Feminino
Prado Museum, Madrid

Appendix F



1. Sketch of a Maja



2. Sketch of Coloquio en la reja

Enrique Granados
Apuntes y tema para mis obras
Family of Enrique Granados Collection, Barcelona.
(Taken from Salvador "The Piano Suite Goyescas," 138)

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