The Spanish idiom in the works of non-Hispanic European composers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

Celia Las Heras de Mendez

San Jose State University
THE SPANISH IDIOM IN THE WORKS OF NON-HISPANIC EUROPEAN COMPOSERS OF THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of Music
San José State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

By
Celia Las Heras de Méndez
June 1988
APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

william meredith

Dr. William Meredith

Dr. Vernon Read

Dr. Daniel Wyman

APPROVED FOR THE UNIVERSITY

Richard E. Kady
TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acknowledgments</th>
<th>vi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Brief History of Spanish Music from Pre-Historic Times to the Fifteenth Century</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. General Musical Characteristics of Spanish Folk Music</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melodic Type</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meter and Rhythm</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmony</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instruments</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Local Characteristics</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Music of Andalusia</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Music of New and Old Castile</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Music of the Basque Provinces, Aragón and Catalonia</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The tonadilla escénica</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Historical Setting</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Birth and Evolution of the tonadilla escénica</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Subjects of the tonadillas</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Music of the tonadilla escénica</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song and Dances in the tonadillas: The Folklore Elements</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musical Accompaniment</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Travelers’ Accounts of the tonadillas</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The <strong>tonadilla escénica</strong> and the Foreign Conception of the Spanish Idiom</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The Spanish Idiom in the Works of Non-Hispanic European Composers of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries ...</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Glinka (1804-1857)</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas Rimsky-Korsakov (1844-1908)</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edouard Lalo (1823-1892)</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georges Bizet (1838-1875)</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emmanuel Chabrier (1841-1894)</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claude Debussy (1862-1918)</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurice Ravel (1875-1937)</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Conclusions</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works Cited</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I dedicate this work to my husband Horacio who understands so well my needs and my dreams, who has been my source of strength, "resource center," editor, advisor, and unfailing companion throughout the many years of my academic endeavors. I want also to express my appreciation for Professor Fernando Valenti’s encouragement and advice during the beginning stages of this project and my deep gratitude to Dr. William Meredith, caballero and scholar, whose knowledge and invaluable guidance made possible to give English form to my Spanish thoughts.
CHAPTER 1
Introduction

This thesis will investigate the nature of the "Spanish idiom" and its use in the music of non-Hispanic European composers. This work is organized in two main sections. The first part, comprising Chapters 2 to 6, explores the musical elements that define the "Spanish idiom": its historical roots and its folk and popular characteristics. The second section, Chapter 7, traces and analyzes the use of the "Spanish idiom" in the works of European non-Hispanic composers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The elements that define what for the sake of convenience has been called the musical "Spanish idiom" come from two main sources: the folk music of rural origin and the popular music of urban, street sources. The fusion of folk and popular elements that began in the sixteenth century with the birth of the lyric Spanish theatre culminated in the second half of the eighteenth and early twentieth centuries.

---

1 The concept of "folk music" in this thesis follows the definition given by the International Folk Music Council in the congress held in Sao Paulo in 1947. It stated that: "Folk music is the product of a musical tradition that has been evolved through the process of oral transmission." Klaus P. Wachsmann, "Folk music," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 6th ed., ed. Stanley Sadie (New York: Schirmer, 1978), II, 693.
part of the nineteenth centuries with the emergence of a distinctive "Spanish idiom" as represented by a unique Spanish genre: the tonadilla escénica.

Several factors have contributed to make the folk music of Spain one of the richest in the world. The influence of the various cultures that converged on the Iberian peninsula throughout its history (Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Visigoths, Moors) has been the fundamental source of its diversity; its historical circumstances and its geographical situation have determined its relative isolation from the rest of Europe; its topographical configuration has led to the development of regional divisions with unique cultural characteristics; and the preservation of folk material has been ensured by the important role played by traditional songs and dances in a cycle of annual festivities that have survived since early historical times.

According to Chase, 

The interplay of popular and artistic elements has nowhere been more significantly revealed than in Spanish music. From the Cantigas of Alfonso the Wise in the thirteenth century, through the splendid vocal and instrumental literature of the 'Golden Age,' and up to the music of Manuel de Falla in our day, the intimate interrelation remains unbroken. ¹²

The Spanish musicologist Felipe Pedrell is one of the foremost exponents of the idea that Spanish music is based

on the "symbiosis" of folk and "art" elements. Pedrell supports his position with the "inexhaustible documentation" found in the Cancioneros. Popular dances and diferencias (variations) based on popular themes appear in the works of

Felipe Pedrell, Cancionero Musical Popular Español, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Boileau, 1958). The title of Volume III of Pedrell's Cancionero Musical Español, reads: "El canto popular y la técnica de la escuela musical española constituyendo y afirmando la nacionalización del arte, merced a la tradición técnica constante y casi general de componer sobre la base del tema popular". ("Popular song and the technique of the Spanish musical school as contributor and supporter of the national art, due to the constant and almost general technical tradition of composing using popular themes.")

"The early corpus of the Galician-Portuguese school is represented by the Cantigas de Santa Maria, Cancionero del Vaticano, de Ajuda, and Colocci-Brancatti. From the fifteenth century on we find the Cancioneros and collections of the works of the musicians of the court such as the Cancionero de Palacio (published by Asensio Barbieri), which contains 460 songs composed by musicians and musician-poets such as Peñalosa, Anchieta, musicians of the Court of Queen Elizabeth the Catholic, Encina ("master in the art of assimilating popular song to his production"), Espinosa, Medina, and others less well known. Most of the songs are not in the madrigal style characteristic of the time but they are cantares o cantarcillos and villancicos using themes of popular tunes. The Cancionero de Sevilla, also called Cantinelas Vulgares, is also a Cancionero of court music composed also "following the tradition of the Spanish school, on popular motives." The Cancionero de Upsala shows examples of polyphonic music composed under the influence of popular music. It was published by Rafael Mitjana in 1556 with the title Villancicos de diversos cantores, a dos, a tres y a quatro, y a cinco bozes, agora nuevamente corregidos. More examples of polyphonic treatment of popular themes are found in the Odarum (quas) vulgo Madrigales avellamus diversis linguis decantatarum (catalán, castellano, italiano) compiled by Pedro Alberto Vila in 1559, in the Ensaladas de Flecha, compiled by Fray Mateo Flecha in 1581 and in De los madrigales del muy reverendo Juan Brudieu, maestro de la Santa Iglesia de la Seu de Urgel, published in 1585.
Luis Milán, Luis de Narváez, Alfonso Mudarra, Enrique de Valderrában, and Miguel de Fuenllana. The compositions for clavichord and organ, written by Antonio Cabezón (1510-1566)—whom Pedrell considers as the "inventor" of the diferencia—show examples of popular songs and dance rhythms "similar to the works of most of the classical organists that followed the traditions of the Spanish school."

In his De Musica libri septum (1557) and in the Liber V, Francisco Salinas (1515-1590) offers a precious documentation of popular music and provides valuable information on the manner in which old romances, canciones de cesta and de tabla, songs of segadores y espiqadores, and tornadas were recited and sung in his time. Pedrell also states that "to all these adaptations of the popular song to the vocal polyphony of the sixteenth century, should be added the adaptations of the popular genre to the monody accompanied by the vihuela."

Pedrell sums up his position by stating:

Draw a straight line from Juan del Encina, the double founder of our national music and our modern theatre, and without wavering for a moment, always latent although eclipsed by the exotic invasion, that line ends up, unfailingly, in the works of the national musician of today that feels worthy of composing and singing in the mode of the nation. I repeat that I can't see that constant practice and tradition in any other nation, whatever it may be, and because I can't see it, it seems to me that it is not easy and natural

---

Pedrell, I, 30.

Pedrell, I, 30.
that the traditional art and popular song be fused and transformed into a common substance; neither it seems to be easy and common our high aspiration of wanting to be ourselves in art, with our blood, with our genius and with our soul.7

More as a result of the Romantic's fascination with the exotic than as a product of a Spanish national movement, during the nineteenth century the music of Spain became known throughout the Western world through the works of non-Hispanic composers who found a source of inspiration in the peculiar characteristics of the "Spanish idiom." The following chapters will explore the elements which define the "Spanish idiom" and the use of those elements in the works of non-Hispanic composers.

7 Pedrell, I, 45.
CHAPTER 2
A Brief History Of Spanish Music
from Pre-Historic Times to the Fifteenth Century

Historical Influences

The people who have inhabited Spain since prehistoric times have been known as "Iberians" since the time of the ancient Greek and Roman writers (Strabo, Apian, Ptolomei, Pliny, Mela, Avieno). This term originally designated the people who lived near the river Hiberus (Ebro) and was later extended to include all the inhabitants of the Hispano-Lusitanian peninsula, although the locus of the Iberian civilization covered only the southeastern corner of that area. These Iberians, probably of North African origin (Hamitics), seemed to have settled in the Peninsula since the beginning of the third millennium before Christ. They expanded westward into the valleys of the Guadalquivir and Tagus and northwards up the eastern coast, "flourishing in the pleasant, warm climates of the East and South where for about two or three centuries their inherent talents, stimulated by foreign, Eastern influences, maintained a brilliant civilization."¹ The area defined by historians as

Iberian Spain covered the present regions of Andalusia, Valencia, lower Ebro and Catalonia (see Figure 1).


When the Phoenicians—the first colonizers of Spain—started to establish posts and colonies on the Iberian shores as early as the twelfth century B.C., they came in contact with the native state of Tartessos, located near the mouth of the Guadalquivir River. The name of Tartessos is mentioned by Herodotus as a trading-town located on the Spanish Atlantic shores "past the Pillars of Hercules." The
German archaeologist Adolf Schülten has been the main proponent of the theory that the Iberian Tartessos was the Tarsis (or Tarshish) of the Old Testament with whom the Phoenicians from Tyre traded silver, iron, tin and lead (Ezekiel xxvii.12). Modern archaeologists have failed to locate the mysterious Tarshish-Tarsis-Tartessos and Schülten had to acknowledge the lack of archaeological evidence to support his contention.

Literary and archaeological sources relate accounts of a series of tribes which spread throughout the Peninsula, designated with the names of turdetanos, bastetanos, oretanos, mastienos, deitanos, contestanos, edetanos, ausetanos, auseceretas, or berqistanos. These peoples are difficult to differentiate culturally and even geographically (see Figure 2). They seem to have been the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the Peninsula and strongly influenced by the culture of Tartessos. The turditans are considered to be the direct descendants of the tartessians.  

There are no concrete references to music in the numerous documents that refer to Tartessos and Turditania. Strabo praises the culture of the Turdetans who were "famous for being more educated than the Iberians, they have a

Figure 2. Pre-Iberian Tribes
- Greek Colonies
- Carthaginian (Punic) Colonies
- Celtic Tribes

(Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, *Historia de la Música Española: Desde los orígenes hasta el "ars nova."* Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1983)
system of writing, historical writings, poetry and \textit{neumes} in metrical form that they say are six thousand years old (or perhaps six thousand strophes long)."

Two main migrations affected the Iberian Peninsula after the settlement of the indigenous cultures and up to the times of the Arab invasion. These migrations and invasions gave a clearly defined local character to the cultures of the areas which they influenced:

1. The Southern and Eastern regions were colonized by Mediterranean peoples:
   a. Semitic races: Phoenicians (since 1100 B.C.) and Carthaginians (500 B.C.)
   b. Greeks (4th century B.C.)
   c. Romans (200 to 19 A.D.)

2. The Northern areas were invaded by Indoeuropean

\cite{Strabo} Strabo, \textit{Geographica}, iii.1.6. Cited in Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, p. 51. Regarding the character of the primitive inhabitants of the Peninsula, the Spanish historian Claudio Sánchez Albornoz has said that "the Greek and Roman historians have given us an astonishing and disturbing image of the Peninsular people. In Livy's words, 'Spain, unlike Italy, but like any part of the world is appropriate to make war again and again because of the nature of the country and its inhabitants.' Pompey said of Spaniards that 'their bodies are prepared for abstinence and fatigue and their souls ready for death and they prefer war to rest and when they have no foreign enemy they look for one at home. Pliny spoke of the \textit{vehementia cordis}, that is to say, the Peninsulars' passion ..., the image of Spain's millenary ancestors is reflected in their early history." Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, \textit{The Drama of the Formation of Spain and the Spaniards}, trans. Colette Joly Dees (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1979), pp. 14-15.
peoples which later expanded throughout the Central and Southern regions:

a. Indoeuropeans (ca. 1000 B.C.): Civilization of the "Campos de Urnas"

b. Celts of the Italo-Celtic group (4th century B.C.)

Literary accounts, based on Greek sources and Biblical quotes, indicate that Phoenician commerce was established in the Southern coast of the Peninsula as early as the twelfth century B.C. Traders from Tyre and Sidon arrived at the Hispanic coasts looking for raw materials. They founded Cádiz in 1104 B.C. and, although their main activity was commerce, "the arts of music were not foreign to them." It is possible to relate the influence of Sumer, Babylon and Egypt to the culture spread by the Phoenicians, and by extension suggest that the musical system developed by the Sumerians, Babylonians and Egyptians was practiced also by the Phoenicians. In the musical field it is known with certainty that Crete and the Aegean peoples received the Babylonian and Egyptian traditions from the Phoenicians. Thus, the Iberian Peninsula--where the Phoenician influence was present for almost a thousand years--could also be included as a possible recipient of those Eastern musical traditions.

During the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., Celtic

"Chase, p. 14."
Tribe entered Spain by crossing the Pyrenees and settled on the west and northwest regions (present Portugal and Galicia). In the extreme mountain areas, the earlier inhabitants managed to preserve their individuality despite the invasion. Some historians support the contention that the Basques—who maintained a language and customs of archaic origin—are the direct descendants of the paleolithic Cantabrian people that were the originators of the prehistoric "cave art." Strabo mentions in his Geography that the inhabitants of the mountain area "while drinking, dance at the sound of horns and aulos, jumping and falling on their knees." The Greek historian adds that "the Cantabrians have a crazy show of heroism: when they were being sacrificed as prisoners, they died singing hymns of victory." As the Celts spread inland they united with the Iberians to form the Celtiberian nation. According to Strabo the Celtiberians worshipped the moon and danced in front of their houses until dawn to celebrate the full moon. Celtic songs, dances and instruments were probably in use throughout the North. Silius Italicus describes the

---

Strabo, Geographica, iii.3.7. and iii.4.16. Cited in Fernández de la Cuesta, p. 60. Also in Ann Livermore's, A Short History of Spanish Music (London: Duckworth, 1972), p. 5.


Livermore, p. 2.
Galicians as noisy people that liked to howl "the rude songs of their native tongue stomping the ground and clashing their shields to the beat of the music." This kind of dance has been preserved up to this day.

There are many and important testimonies of Greek and Roman writers regarding the penetration and settlement of the Carthaginians in Spain, but from the musicological point of view there are very few elements of value, aside from certain data of general character related to the structures of the social and economic systems they established. The main areas of Carthaginian settlement were in the South (Gades=Cadiz), in the Eastern shore (Cartagena) and in the Balearic Islands (Ibiza). It could be speculated that music occupied an important place in the festivities, funeral rites and other moments of social and family life as it was practiced in the cultures which the Carthaginian emulated, that is that of the Greeks and Romans.

Strabo gives the following account of the trip of the Greek Eudoxos of Cicicos to Dicarqueya (Naples), Marseille and Cádiz around the year 146-7 A.D.:

He announced his enterprise everywhere with the sounds of the trumpets and after gathering money he sent a big ship and two smaller vessels similar to those of the pirates. He embarked many young women musicians, doctors and other technicians and sailed towards Indikê

---

*Silius Italicus, Punica, iii.346-349. Cited in Livermore, p. 5.*
This is the first extant reference to the Spanish young women musicians, perhaps instrumentalists or dancers, that were mentioned later by Marcial, Juvenal and Pliny the Younger.

Since the beginning of the Bronze Age, the Iberian Peninsula had become a center of attraction for the Aegean prospectors. Around the year 500 B.C., Ionian Greeks from Phocaea founded colonies in the southeastern seaboard (Rosas, Emporion or Ampurias and Málaga) and in the North, on the Cantabrian coast and in Galicia.¹⁰ There is no evidence that in Emporion or Rodas music was practiced as in the Greek polis. It could be assumed that there was a Greek lyric tradition transmitted orally and sung according to certain nómoi or certain fixed musical patterns which were repeated with different texts, accompanied by the zither, the lyre and the aulos. But there are no bases to conclude that the high level of refinement practiced in Greece was also transmitted to these areas of a purely commercial activity. It seems that the cultural influence of the Greeks in the Peninsula was quite limited and often overshadowed by that of the Phoenicians. Carthaginian influence intermingled with that of the Greeks until the

¹⁰ See Salazar, pp. 19-20 for multiple examples of Greek influence related to art.
third century B.C., when the Carthaginians were defeated by Roman legions in Numancia.

In the year 218 B.C., the invasion of Spain by Scipio started a long and bitter struggle against Roman dominance that ended in the year 19 A.D. when Augustus crushed the resistance of the Asturio-Cantabricans. The Romanization of Spain opened a new stage in the evolution of the culture in the Peninsula. Under Roman rule the Latin influence was superimposed over the native traditions already refined by contact with Carthaginians and Greeks. A "Golden Age" ensued which was marked by "security, a high and well diversified culture and a balanced and critical civilization." Spain became the cradle of important writers such as the Plynis, Martial, Juvenal, Lucan, Quintilian, Seneca, and Columella as well as the Emperors Marcus Aurelius, Trajan, and Hadrian. Artistic activities paralleled those of Rome. All the information that Quintilian (a Basque from Calahorra) gives in his Institutio Oratorio about the musical life of the Eternal City--mimes, singers, dancers, instrumentalists--is applicable to Romanized Spain. Martial payed homage in one of his

---

1. "When the Romans began their efforts to Latinize the land after the close of the Second Punic War (201 B.C.) they found not a Celtic civilization like that of Gaul but an Iberian culture of the general type which the Greeks had encountered and influenced before them." "Spain," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1964 ed.

Epigrams to the grace of the dancers from Cádiz and their skill in the use of the *boetica crumata* (Andalucian castanets), an instrument similar to the *crotals*. These castanets must have been characteristic of the dances from Cádiz because the Neapolitan poet Estacio, at about the same time as Martial, wrote about "the symbols of Gades" in a synecdoche, to refer to the dancers. There are scarce references to the music performed at the religious ceremonies. The dances of the full moon were very common among the Galicians but they were forbidden by the Council II of Braga in 572. Direct information regarding music in Roman Spain is scarce; iconographic representations show numerous instruments associated with different occasions. Most instruments were of Roman origin (lyres, trumpets, horns, Phrygian aulos), but there are some local ones as well, such as castanets o tejoletas, and *crotals*.

As a province of Rome, the conversion of pagan Spain to Christianity followed the same pattern as in Rome. In all of its manifestations early Christian art represents the last stage of Roman influence. The third and fourth centuries of the Christian era witnessed the decline of the

---

13 These songs and dances were so lascivious that, according to Juvenal, not even the naked prostitutes dared to sing them. By extension the adjective *caditana* (from Cádiz) was used to designate obscene songs.

14 Despite the prohibition, these dances of the full moon survived in Galicia up to the beginning of the twentieth century.
Roman power. Barbarian Germanic tribes, the Vandals, the Suebi and the Alani, invaded Spain crossing the Pyrenees in successive waves beginning in 409. In turn, these Germanic tribes were conquered by the Visigoths, who by the year 467 were the absolute masters of the Iberian peninsula where they established a powerful monarchy with its capital in the city of Toledo. Although these invaders were politically weak and highly Romanized, they did not integrate themselves with the native population until their king Reccared adopted orthodox Christianity, abjuring his Arian faith, and the third Council of Toledo proclaimed the conversion of the whole kingdom in 589. The Romans considered the songs of the Goths "harsh and frightening," but after their conversion to Christianity the music of the Goths was gradually latinized.15

The process of establishing and developing Christianity in the Iberian peninsula seems to be closely related to the communities of Jews that had settled in Spain. This fact is very important for the musical tradition of Spanish music. As it is well known, the Christian liturgy was substantially derived from the Jewish rites. In time, the Christian liturgy developed its own independent forms and musical structures, but the basic elements of the liturgy—the singing and recitation of the psalms and the reading of the

15 Livermore, p. 7.
Bible—were retained as in the Jewish tradition. Regarding the settlement of the Jews in the Iberian peninsula, it is known that they were a part of the Spanish population since the times of the Phoenician colonization. The first concrete reference to the Jews appears in the canons of the Council of Iliberis at the beginning of the fourth century in the form of prohibitions and anathemas which referred to them. The Jewish influence penetrated indirectly through the early Christian music and directly through the use of typical Jewish instruments like the psalter or kinnor, the cymbala and the shofar. Salazar speculates that if the visit of Saint Paul to Spain (which Salazar considers more probable than the visit of St. James) occurred, it is easy to conjecture that the music sung in the Christian ceremonies was similar to that mentioned by St. Paul in the Epistles, that is, singing the Psalms with a tonalized tune (the sir) and reading the Sacred Books with a type of cantillatio or litany (the mizmor), as had been practiced in the synagogues and that was preserved by the Christians in the formulas of the hallel or aleluya. Some forms of melismatic chants which appear in folk music seem to have their sources not in Arabic music, but in the semitic, pre-Islamic tradition.\(^\text{16}\) On these same lines Ann Livermore traces the origin of the melismas of Spanish folk-singing

\(^{16}\) Salazar, p. 26.
"with its apparently instinctive obedience to certain rules for its flourishing on certain degrees of the scale, and that withdrawn, almost hieratic, ejaculatory manner of intoning the text" to the influence of early Christian, not Moslem tradition.  

Seville, Toledo and Saragossa were the great centers of musical culture in Visigothic Spain. Through the work of St. Leander the Byzantine liturgy influenced the Hispano-Gothic liturgy and chant. His brother St. Isidore--also scholar and musician--was one of the great intellectual figures of the early Middle Ages. In his encyclopedic Etymologies, St. Isidore codified the musical knowledge of the times, including an enumeration of musical instruments and "precious descriptions of contemporary musical taste."  

For two centuries he was regarded as the standard authority in music theory. The music of the Hispanic liturgy was enriched by the contributions of the three musical saints of Toledo: St. Eugene, St. Ildefonse and St. Julian. The importance of St. Eugene's work is comparable to that of St. Gregory in Rome to the point that the music of the Hispano-

---

17 Livermore, p. 14. The Hebrew influence in the popular music of Andalusia (cante hondo, saetas) has not been sufficiently proven. It is known that some Hebrew elements mingled with the Arabics and in this manner they have survived. The jaleo, or action of encouraging the singers and dancers with the rhythmic clapping of the hands, can be of Jewish origin. See Salazar, p. 44.

18 Livermore, p. 11.
Gothic Church is also called "Eugenian chant." Ironically, he is also credited with the composition of the first known Spanish secular music.

The Hispanic liturgy contains elements of the Syriac, Milanese and Roman rites and it represents the Spanish version of Gregorian chant. According to Chase the most characteristic traits of the Hispanic liturgical chant were dramatism—born of the participation of the people in the prayers and songs and intensified by the use of centonization—and the incorporation of popular elements. The melodies of the Hispanic liturgy were written in campo aperto in a neumatic notation which indicates relative pitches, but is not yet diastematic. These liturgical songs and the numerous popular Visigothic songs that have been preserved made Spain the possessor of the oldest musical notation in existence. The deciphering of the neumes remains a task yet to be accomplished. 19

The Hispano-Gothic chant reached its apogee from about 630 to 711, the year in which the Arabs invaded the Iberian peninsula. The Christian Spaniards that lived in the area occupied by the Arabs were called "Mozarabs" and the term "Mozarabic" is applied to their liturgy and chant and later by extension to the Hispanic liturgy. The abolition of the Hispanic rite, ordered by the Council of Burgos in 1079,

gave way to the establishment of the Roman liturgy in all of the Iberian Peninsula. By the thirteenth century, local liturgies complied with the mandates of the "Lex Romana."

The invasion of the Arabs in 711 brought a violent end to Romanized Spain and exerted a cultural influence that was to persist for eight centuries throughout the Iberian peninsula, except for a few centers in the North--the kingdoms of León, Navarra, Castile and Aragón--from which the Reconquest would come. The type of culture thus produced is called by Salazar "Andalusian" because it was born and developed in the land of the el-Andalus: the name that the Moslems gave to Spain meaning "land of the Vandals." El-Andalus was the Arabian Spain facing the Ishbaniya, the Catholic Spain. This Arabic culture as it developed in Spain was unique and, for a long time, represented the highest expression of medieval culture in Europe. Its brilliant artistic, scientific and literary centers were located in the cities of Córdoba, Granada and Seville.

The precepts of the Koran consider music a low form of art and musicians are labeled as impure and immoral. A gradual relaxation regarding these religious precepts, reflected in the acceptance of music, as well as of wine and

Despite the official suppression of the Hispanic or Mozarabic rite, it has persisted up to this day in Spain and South America.
the graphic representation of nature and the human figure, began to take place during the reign of Harun-al-Raschid in the ninth century. The fundamental characteristics of Arab music have not been altered since early times. It is purely monophonic and its melodic foundation lies in the use of small microtonal intervals. It has a predilection for plaintive chant and for a high, sustained "cry" that develops melismatically and often descends to the lowest possible singable tone. The instruments are used to sustain the rhythmic drive and to "encourage" and support the melody without curtailing its freedom.

In Moslem Spain the music of Damascus and Medina was adopted by the local emirs and caliphs. The most famous Moslem-Andalusian musician was Ziryab, "the Black Bird" (800-852), considered to be the founder of the Hispano-Arabic school of music. He is credited with the addition of a fifth string to the laúd (lute) and the invention of a plectrum as an eagle's wings to replace the old instrument. The most renowned music theoreticians were the philosopher-musicians Al-Farabi and Averroes in Cordoba and Avempace in Saragossa. Al-Farabi's treatise on music, Kitab-al-musiqui-al-kabir (The Grand Book of Music) has been called "the greatest work on music written up to his day."

---

21 Livermore gives a vivid account of the tremendous musical activity in Moslem Spain. See p. 29.

The natural cultural exchange that took place among the mixed populations that co-existed during the long Moslem occupation is revealed in the mixture of the Arab and Latin traditions (with Jewish influence) that evolved in the Andalusian verse forms of the zéjel and the muwashshah. These forms were set to music and represent the local expression of Arabian art.\textsuperscript{23,24}

The Spanish historian Claudio Sánchez Albornoz writes about the participation of Moors in the artistic activities of the Christian kingdoms in these words:

Moorish musicians performed in the courts, in public festivities and even in religious events. Christian poets wrote their verses to be sung with the style of the zéjel. The musical instruments received the Castilian form of Arab names: laúd, añafil, rabel, dulzaina, gaita, adufe, atambor.\textsuperscript{23,24}

The presence of Moorish-Arabian musicians in the Christian Spanish courts is attested to in the miniature illustrations of the Cantigas of Santa María of Alfonso the Wise of Castile which depict Moorish musicians playing a great variety of instruments (see Figure 3).

The Christian kingdoms resisting the Arabs (Oviedo, 1258–1291) A collection of jarchas discovered in 1948 at a Cairo synagogue is a valuable source for the analysis of this cultural cross-fertilization. The collection contains Mozarabic songs composed in the eleventh century written in Castilian romance with Hebrew or Arabic characters and resembling thematically the cantigas de amigo cultivated in Galicia and Portugal.\textsuperscript{23,24}

founded by the legendary Pelayo about 719; Navarre, created in 790; and Castile, 950) became centers of revived Christian culture. In these courts secular music also flourished. Galicia became the center of a lyrical movement that produced a notable body of troubadour poems collected in the Cancionero de Martin Codax and one of the most exceptional works of medieval vernacular literature and music, the Cantigas de Santa Maria. The Cantigas were composed under the guidance of Alfonso X, el Sabio (the Wise), king of Castile, during the thirteenth century.

Figure 3. Moor Musician in the Court of Alfonso X of Castile (Cantigas de Santa Maria, Miniature of Cantiga 120)
From 840, Santiago de Compostela became one of the most important sites of religious pilgrimage and, therefore, the route of cultural interchange with the rest of Europe. The texts and music of the Latin hymns sung by the pilgrims have been preserved in the *Codex Calixtinus*, one of the earliest sources of European polyphony (twelfth century). The *Llibre Vermell* kept in the Abbey of Monserrat contains dances and songs with Latin and Catalonian texts—both erudite and popular—written with fourteenth-century notation. These pilgrim songs seem to be original folk tunes to which the monks added sacred texts. According to Chase, these tunes have been so deeply rooted in the folk tradition that they have survived in the popular lore for many generations.\(^{25}\)

During the mid-fifteenth century, numerous groups of gypsies settled in the south of Spain; the original elements of their music, combined with the Arab and Byzantine elements, originated the *flamenco* style of the music of Andalusia. The question remains whether the gypsies brought with them a new musical tradition or whether they simply nourished their own tradition with the pre-existent synthesis. Some scholars believe that they brought the *flamenco* style from Hindustan, the region of their origin. Such arguments are substantiated by the strong affinity

\(^{25}\) According to Chase, these songs have survived up to the present day. A tune performed in Castile has been identified as being identical with one preserved in the *Llibre Vermell*. Chase, p. 32.
between the flamenco style and the "ragas" and by the common
nuances of the dance.\textsuperscript{26}

Regarding the character of the oriental influence in
the Iberian peninsula, Salvador de Madariaga writes:

The Peninsula acts as a sounding board for Oriental
races who usually give their richest sounds in it.
Thus, Spain brought to a high degree of excellence no
less than three Oriental races: the Arab, the Jewish
and the Gypsy. It was in Spain that Arab civilization
rose to its highest brilliance; Spanish Jews were the
greatest luminaries of Hebrew civilization since
Biblical times; and as for the Gypsies, the superiority
of the Spanish type over any other is not to be proved
by books, but by the observation of the living examples
which may be found in Andalusia.\textsuperscript{27}

The Spanish musicologist Felipe Pedrell states that the
persistence of musical orientalism in the Spanish popular
songs has its deep roots in the influence exerted by the
ancient Byzantine civilization. This influence was
reflected in the formulae peculiar to the rites of the
Church of Spain (Hispanic liturgy) from the time of the
conversion of Spain to Christianity until the eleventh
century when, under the pressure of the Papacy and the
influence of the Benedictine order at Cluny, the Roman
liturgy was implemented. The Byzantine influence is for
Pedrell the most important of all the ones that left their
imprints in the music of Spain. He goes as far as saying
that "the music, then, does not owe anything essential to

\textsuperscript{26} Israel J. Katz, "Flamenco", \textit{The New Grove}, VI, 626.

\textsuperscript{27} Madariaga, p. 18.
the Arabs or the Moors. It existed before they invaded the Iberian soil. They had no influence, I repeat, in anything essential. On the contrary, they were the influenced ones."  

With the conquest of Granada in 1492, the Christian Reconquest of the Iberian peninsula unified under Ferdinand and Isabel was completed. Spain would become one of the greatest powers in the world and would enter the mainstream of European culture with the contributions of its "Golden Age." By then, its unique musical idiom had already been defined by the historical forces just enumerated.  

---

88 Pedrell, I, 86.

89 Other influences acting upon the Spanish culture were that of the Franks, via Pyrenees; the Italians, via the Mediterranean; and the English and Germans, via the Cantabrian ports.
CHAPTER 3
General Musical Characteristics

In order to define the Spanish musical idiom, it is necessary to identify the elements which give Spanish music its peculiar character, differentiating the Spanish musical idiom from any other in the world. As was stated in the Introduction of this thesis, the music of Spain has its roots in the folklore of the land. Throughout the centuries the connection between "art" and folk music has remained constant, becoming a fundamental trait of its character. The historical influences enumerated in the preceding chapter, acting upon the different geographical areas of Spain, have created a body of music whose general and local characteristics will be the subject of the following two chapters.

In his Cancionero Musical Popular Español, Felipe Pedrell states that the fundamental, "constituent," elements that characterize Spanish music are:

1. The Greek modes in both their pure form and modified by the Ambrosian and Gregorian reforms, the most common modes being:

2 Pedrell, I, 34.
a. The Aeolian mode (First Ecclesiastical Mode: A to A) and the medieval variant with the raised sixth degree.

b. The Jastio (Seventh Ecclesiastical Mode: G to G).

c. The Frigio (Phrygian: D to D, normally called Hypo-Mixolydian).

2. The oriental modes (modos), still practiced, which have their origins in ancient Phoenician-Greek-Byzantine sources.

3. The Celtic modes and the musical influence received from the Northern European races.

4. The melodies of the troubadours which had incorporated during the Crusades oriental elements.

5. The Andalusian style, which is not of Moorish origin but has its roots in the primitive orientalism found in Spanish music.

A detailed analysis of the different parameters of Spanish folk music shows the following general characteristics:

Melody types

Pedrell comments that he has not found examples of the use of the pentatonic scale, so much used in the folk music of Scotland. On the other hand he has found that "in popular songs in Celtic dialects, Briton groups and Irish groups, Isle of Man and Scotland, there are great melodic affinities with our typical tunes for gaita (bagpipe) and even with some Galician alalás." Pedrell, I, 35.

The present enumeration has been taken from Martin Cunningham’s article “Folk Music,” Spain, in The New Grove, XVII, 793-95. The modal complexities in modern Spanish folksongs has been studied by García Matos in La canción popular española, (Hispanovox, HH 10107-10, 1944). The melodic shape of Spanish folk tunes has been treated extensively by E.M Torner in Ensayo de clasificación de las melodias antiguas y sus versos (Madrid, 1925).
The following melodic types can be classified:

1. Songs of limited range--built only on two, three or four notes--often based on the repetition of a short figure or on the alternation of two figures. More commonly they are rhythmically free, but there are also measured types. These songs are of ancient origin and they appear in all regions of the Peninsula.

2. Songs with melodic shapes and cadential figures that reveal their derivation from plainsong, ecclesiastical modes and Gregorian chant; they are more characteristic of northern Spain.

3. Modal songs ending on E (differing from the two types described above), constitute the most important class. They can be in turn classified in different sub-types:
   a. The ones that contain the interval of the augmented second characteristic of Arabian music. They are typical of Andalusia but they appear in areas not influenced by the Arabs, as far as Catalonia (see Example 1a.).
   b. The ones that have the third degree either natural or raised (see Example 1b.) and the melodic contour shows a terraced descent cadencing on E, the most characteristic feature of Andalusian music (see Example 2).
      The use of the natural third degree seems to indicate a typical Spanish fusion of the Arabic mode (a) with the diatonic mode on E (see Example 1c.).
   c. The ones that have the second degree natural or raised. They arose from the influence of modern tonal elements over the Andalusian E mode. They are found in the music of Andalusia, Castile, León and Extremadura (see Example 1d.).

4. Besides the types enumerated above, the Northern and Central regions have some hybrid types resulting from the combination of the E mode with elements of major and minor scales. Tonal ambiguity is another characteristic of the music of these regions.
5. The major and minor modes constitute the other salient melodic type. Major scales predominate in the North-East (Catalonia) and North-West (Galicia and Asturias). Some songs fluctuate between major and minor throughout the melody and more often between sections (see Example 3).

In all the melodic types, ornamentation plays a very important role in performance, particularly in solo singing and in non-metrical songs (see examples 4a., 4b. and 10).

In his insightful analysis of the folk-songs of Spain, Julien Tiersot mentions other two characteristics that differentiate Spanish folk songs from the rest of the folk tunes of Europe. In the first place, Tiersot finds that unlike the folk-songs of the rest of Europe--Spanish folk tunes deny "the principle of the intimate union between music and poetry," the latter being subordinated to the first. He says:

It is not that poetry, the basis of lyricism, is disdained. Spanish songs use short verses, short strophes, on which the voice knits rhytmical songs or slow melodies, and the words have a profound meaning worthy of the richest poetic forms: frequently they are simple couplets, sometimes quatrains (Coplas, Soleas), which constitute in themselves a whole poem. The music has a life of its own in the songs. It has a color, an accent, and an inner warmth that differentiates it from all the other popular melodies of the rest of the world.\footnote{Julien Tiersot, "The Chanson Populaire," Encyclopédie de la Musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire (Paris: Librairie Delagrave, 1930), p. 2906.}

\footnote{It is important to note that the time signatures used in these examples are the transcriber's own versions of the approximate rhythms and meters of these folk songs. It seems obvious that these songs are not strictly measured.}
Example 1. E mode types

Example 2. Cadential terraced descent (F. Olmeda, Cancionero Popular de Burgos, Seville, 1903)

Example 3. Fluctuation between major and minor modes (Felipe Pedrell, "Canto de ciego vendedor de romances," Cancionero Musical Popular Español, Barcelona, 1958, No. 190)
Example 4b. Ornamentation in a Castilian song (Encyclopédie de la Musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire, X, 2913)
The other characteristic trait pointed out by Tiersot is the fact that Spanish folk songs demand the accompaniment of the guitar. Tiersot states that

The guitar and the Spanish folk song are two inseparable entities. This instrument is not only destined to accompany the dances; it sustains the voice, or more exactly, the voice is superimposed over its chords, forming with them a harmonic aggregate, alternating in a manner whose equivalent can only be found in the songs of the far East.

Tiersot ends by saying that as it happens in the folk songs of Spain, "when the soul of the people manifests itself spontaneously through songs which are the voice of the collective genius, we must conclude that such a nation has a beautiful and noble place among the creators of universal art." 

Meter and Rhythm

Regarding their meters two main categories of songs and dances can be differentiated:

1. Non-metrical (unmeasured) songs: they comprise a large body of songs. They often have asymmetrical phrase lengths, are usually solo pieces and lend themselves to profuse ornamentation (see Examples 4a. and 4b.).

2. Measured songs: they are commonly in duple or triple meter. 5/8 meter is used in two dances, the Basque zortzico and the Castilian rueda. In the zortzico the unequal rhythm is due to the design of the dance: a jump with pirouette to the left and a simple jump, followed by a jump with pirouette to the left and a simple jump (Examples 5a. and 5b.).
Some particular cases should be mentioned because of their special characteristics. Music intended to accompany walking such as serenades (pasacalle: literally "to pass the street") and processions, are in duple meter. They have a section ad-libitum at the end which functions as an interlude before the Da Capo (see Example 6a). Some pasacalles alternate binary and ternary meters (see Example 6b). Of particular interest is the rhythm of the pasacalle performed while escorting a wedding party: different rhythmic sequences are assigned to the different members of the family. livermore finds that it is interesting to compare the rhythmic patterns of the drummers with the ones given by Al-Farabi and Avicenna. She thinks that:

Like their systems, these drum-beats are strongly accentuated. But whence have descended the highly ornamented melodies played by the pipes over these drum-beats? Although as long as 1322 Valladolid authorities disapproved of Muslims taking part in the music of Saint's Vigils, it is not surprising to find possible traces such as these rhythmic patterns in the pasacalle and alborada used in processions. Basically, the melodic patterns piped over them coincide with characteristics found in Mozarabic chants when Cardinal Cisneros organized the search of Mozarabic liturgy in those Toledan churches in which it had been permitted to continue. Although it has not yet been possible to compare Cisneros Missal of 1500 with its Visigothic forerunners, nevertheless, the solo chants exhibit characteristics similar to these instrumental pasacalles and alboradas as played in rural church processionals . . . These characteristics include arabesques, short scale runs, gruppetti in threes, fours, fives and sixes repeated in varying juxtapositions, contrasting tessitura, diatonic tonality, rhythmic

---

* See Livermore, p. 173.
vitality and high pitch.  

Although the dances of southern Spain are rarely in duple meter, the songs of Galicia are in 6/8 time. Some songs in triple meter make use of hemiola either by alternating 3/4 and 6/8 or by the insertion of a 3/2 bar that creates a syncopation with the accompaniment in 3/4.

Two or more meters are frequently mixed, often the result of shortening or lengthening the notes during performance. This irregularity is typical of dance-songs when they are performed only as songs, as happens in the sequidillas from Castile.

According to Livermore, the Basque aurresku is much more complicated with its measures of 3/4 2/4; 3/4 2/4 3/4 3/4 2/4; "repeating these bars four times, with a similar modulation of the first with the fourth, the second with third."  

In Andalusian dances, the rhythmic accompaniment involves a polyrhythmic interplay between the dancer's castanets and stamping, and the clapping of the performers or the bystanders. Also of interest is the 2/4 rhythm that forms the basic pattern of two very popular dances, the habanera and the tango, both of which although originated in Spain (a Cancionero of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

9 Livermore, p. 173.

10 Livermore, p. 152.
Example 5a. Rhythmic patterns of the 5/8 zortzico meter

\[ \frac{3}{8} + \frac{2}{8} \]

Example 5b. Zortzico dance (Encyclopédie de la musique, X, 2911)
Example 6a. Pasacalle with "ad libitum" section (Pedrell, No. 175)
Example 6b. **Pasacalle** ("Pasacalle para cuando se va y se sale de misa." **Pasacalle** for going and coming from Mass. Livermore, p. 174)
has examples of habaneras) were developed and enriched with the contribution of South-American original elements (see Example 7). The bolero, perhaps the most well known Spanish dance in the world, has a characteristic rhythmic pattern in moderate triple time (see Examples 8a and 8b).  

Example 7. Rhythmic patterns of the habanera.

Example 8a. Rhythmic patterns of the bolero

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Early rhythms</th>
<th>Later rhythms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \frac{2}{4} )</td>
<td>( \frac{3}{4} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \frac{3}{4} )</td>
<td>( \frac{3}{4} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^3^ The invention of the bolero has been credited to Sebastián Cerezo, a famous dancer from Cádiz, about 1780. The dance became very popular in Paris in the early nineteenth century probably due to the writings of Théophile Gautier who had been captivated by the dance during his travels in Spain.
Example 8b. Bolero (Encyclopédie de la musique, X, 2909)

Castagnettes et Guitares

Un letrero que dice Viva Se-

vi-

lla un letrero que dice: Viva Se-

vi-

lla!
Harmony

Unaccompanied folk songs and instrumental music (the latter because of the nature of instrumental ensembles composed of winds and percussion) are basically monophonic. Naturally, the exceptions are those compositions in which the guitar plays a part either as soloist or as the accompanying instrument, with a repertoire of chords prescribed by each particular genre. Some folksongs of religious character in Northern Spain make use of parallel thirds.

The Catalonian cobla of more recent origin (nineteenth century) has a more complex harmony and uses chromaticism. Vocal harmonization of songs is a common feature in festival performances.\(^\text{12}\)

Instruments

Among the concussive struck idiophones the most common are the castañuelas (castanets).\(^\text{13}\) They have a variety of types and sizes. Besides the regular idiophones either shaken, like the cascabeles (small bells), carraca (cog rattle), matraca (clapper or castanet on a handle),


sonajeros (rattles) or rubbed such as the carracaña (a notched piece of wood rubbed with a stick), güiros (gourd-like variety of Cuban origin) and conchas (shells), percussion instruments are frequently improvised with household objects like almirez (mortar), sartén (frying pan), cucharás (spoons), rallador (grater) and tools such as hammers and anvils.

The pandereta (small tambourine) is the most important membranophone. The generic name of the drums is tambor; they cover a great variety of sizes (tamboril, tamboret, caja, timbales). A peculiar type of drum is the zambomba, a friction drum.\textsuperscript{14}

The most typical instrument of the wind family is the gaita (bagpipe) typical of Galicia. It is this instrument's drone on which the most characteristic Galician music is based "as the mueñeiras express this people's humor, for this is a land of humor as well as of the wailing Ai la la." \textsuperscript{15}

The most important chordophone is the guitar, an

\textsuperscript{14} Julien Tiersot points out that Spanish folk music also includes as a percussive instrument "the simplest of them all, the one that does not need any intermediary to sound: the hands." As indicated before, many Spanish songs and dances are accompanied by the clapping of the hands accentuating the rhythmic pulse, making rhythmic variations, syncopations and polyrhythmic interplay.

\textsuperscript{15} Livermore, p. 159. Livermore adds, " The moodiness of celtic strains is heard not only in these but in the setting of some songs against a background of dark clouds passing across the moon's face."
instrument common to all the Iberian peninsula and covering a wide variety of sizes that go from the *guitarro* with twelve strings to the *requinto* and the *quinto* with only a few strings which are only strummed or slightly pressed on. The *laúd* (lute) and the *bandurria* (a large instrument of the mandolin family) are plucked with a plectrum.16

Among all the instruments of the Iberian peninsula the Spanish guitar is indisputably the instrument that par excellence gives voice to the music of the Spanish people. There are two main theories regarding the origin of the Spanish guitar: one argues that it was introduced in Spain by the Arabs; the other hypothesizes that it was brought by the Romans and derives from the Roman *chitara*. Through medieval texts and illuminated manuscripts we know of the existence of two types since early times: the *guitarra morisca* (Moorish guitar) with the rounded shape

16 Two instruments of the Hispano-Arabic world entered into the European stock: the lute, coming from the Arabic *al’ud*, tuned in the Pythagorean scale, and the *rebec*, evolved from the Arabic *rabâb*. "The center of the instrument industry was Seville and it is to Al-Shaqandi (d. 1231) who lived there that we are indebted for the following list of those in use there as transcribed by Ribera: the *jayal*, el *carrizo*, el *laúd*, la *rota*, el *rabel*, el *canún*—and medio *canón* it may be assumed—el *munis*, la *quenira* (kind of *cithara*), la *guitarra*, el *zolami* (oboe), la *xocra* y la *nura* (two flutes, the first of baritone range, the second of treble tone) and el *albogue*. He adds that these instruments were to be found in other regions but nowhere in such abundance as in Seville itself. 'If these instruments are in use in North Africa it is because they bring them from Spain'." Livermore, pp. 34-35.
century instrumentalists were probably "the first to add a harmonic accompaniment (with chords) to the vocal or instrumental melody. And let it be clear that we do not refer to the Moorish-Andalusian music, but to the Castilian; we should not mistake the Moorish guitar for the Latin."\textsuperscript{19}

The Spaniards used the term \textit{vihuela} (etymologically akin to the French \textit{vielle}, the Italian \textit{viola} and the German \textit{fiedele}) to designate all the string instruments, adding a qualifying adjective to identify the different kinds. Thus, the guitar being played with the fingers was called \textit{vihuela de mana}. The \textit{laúd} (lute) was referred to as the \textit{vihuela de Flandes} and it was, until the advent and popularization of the keyboard instruments, the vehicle for the performance of the "art" music of Europe.

Gilbert Chase makes the following observation:

It is a curious fact that during the Renaissance Spain should have rejected the lute, which figured so largely in instrumental music, in favor of the guitar, which then had no artistic status outside the Iberian peninsula. Perhaps the Spaniards felt a subconscious resentment towards an instrument which had been introduced by the Moslems and which, therefore, symbolized a hated subjugation. It is more likely that they found the guitar handier and a more practical instrument than the delicate and costly lute. Certain it is that they never wavered in their fidelity to the guitar, which they regarded as the king of instruments.\textsuperscript{19}


\textsuperscript{19} Chase, p. 53.
The six-stringed guitar (vihuela) seems to have been the outcome of the need to emulate the polyphonic possibilities of the lute. The four-stringed guitar remained the favorite of the people, "a basis of tonality for their songs and dances." 

The accompanied monody was born within the medium of the lute and the vihuela. The lute gave way to the advance of the keyboard instruments (teclas) and the vihuela of six strings and the guitar of four found—through the work of Vicente Espinel—a compromise that gave birth to the five-stringed instrument known since the seventeenth century as the Spanish guitar.

According to Falla,

The use of the guitar made by the people represents two clearly determined musical values: the rhythmic value, external and immediately perceptible, and the purely tonal one. The first of these, together with some cadential phrases of easy assimilation, was the only one to be used over a long period by more or less artistic music, whereas the importance of the second, the purely tonal-harmonic value, was hardly recognized until relatively recently: the only exception being Domenico Scarlatti. 

Salazar thinks that there is not much difference between the vihuela and the guitar other than the number of strings (vihuela six, guitar four). Bermudo gives rules to change one into the other by adding or taking strings, but the art of performance was quite different: the guitar was the vernacular instrument, the proper medium to accompany the singing voice, hence its popularity; the vihuela on the other hand, having the same number of strings and the same tuning as the lute, took its place as the instrument for the "cultured" repertoire. See Salazar, pp. 24-25.

Falla, p. 110.
Falla thinks that the harmonic effects obtained by the Spanish guitarists (in particular those who cultivate the \textit{cante hondo}) are "one of the marvels of natural art."

The atmosphere of a Spanish musical gathering in which folk dances and songs are performed has been vividly described by Julien Tiersot in these words:

Around the dance floor whose center had been reserved for the dancers, the spectators sit with the guitar players; they [the spectators] participate in the choreographic action by clapping the hands rhythmically and adding their shouts to the animation of the songs and dances. Then comes the clacking of the castanets expertly handled by the dancers, making all sorts of rhythmic variations over the isochronal movement of the guitars and the clapping hands. The song, usually not measured, hovers over the fundamental rhythm without contradicting it. Sometimes it is announced by a solo voice as if coming from afar; at times it is answered by a chorus, in unison. Sometimes the singing comes from the dancers themselves. If there are two dancers, sometimes one stops in order to sing the verses while the other continues the dance, and thus, a form of dialogue between dance and song ensues. The spectacle is infinitely animated and foreign travellers of all times had admired its picturesque quality while the natives have found in it an unending source of joy.

In order to have a more complete idea of the character of Spanish folk music, the musical elements enumerated above (melodic, harmonic, rhythmic and instrumental) should be placed in the context of the local musical forms and styles of the Iberian Peninsula. The analysis of those regional characteristics will be the subject of the next chapter.

\footnote{Falla, p. 110.}
\footnote{Tiersot, p. 2907.}
CHAPTER 4

Local Characteristics

The topographical configuration of the Iberian peninsula has fostered the development of regional divisions with unique cultural characteristics. Three main geographical areas with their own corresponding cultural idiosyncracies can be differentiated: the Southern area of Andalusia, the Central zone of New and Old Castile and the North-Eastern region which covers the Basque Provinces, Aragón and Catalonia.

The Music of Andalusia

The particular style of the music of Andalusia, which resulted from a synthesis of various influences, sets it apart from other local styles of Spanish music. More than any other local Spanish style, the Andalusian style (the music of southern Spain), seems to be the one that has exerted the strongest attraction for most non-Hispanic composers and the one that "predominates in the foreign conception of the Spanish idiom."¹

In his "Analysis of the Musical Elements of the Cante Hondo," Manuel de Falla examined the three factors that he

¹ Chase, p. 223.
considered to be the most influential for Spanish culture in
general and for Andalusian music in particular: Byzantine
culture (Byzantine chant for music), the Arab invasion (700
to 1200 A.D.) and the settlement of numerous groups of
gypsies in southern Spain (mid-fifteenth century). Some
scholars add Hebrew influences to this list.

According to Falla, the characteristics of the
Andalusian cante hondo (deep song) that reflect Oriental
influence are:

1. The use of enharmonic intervals as a modulating
   procedure, the meaning of modulation referring not
to a change of keys, but to the division of the
   intervals into microtones, responding to the
   expressive demands of the song. A vocal portamento
   is executed by sliding the voice from one note to
   another in infinitesimal gradations.

2. The use of a narrow tessitura not exceeding a
   sixth. The number of sounds becomes increased to
   more than nine semiitones by the use of enharmonic
   intervals.

3. The repeated, even obsessive, use of one note,
   frequently accompanied by an upper or lower
   appoggiatura. In certain songs like the seguiriya
   this device prevents the feeling of metrical
   rhythm, "and thus gives the impression of sung

---


4 Those historians who uphold the theory of the Jewish
   origin of the cante hondo think that the term derives from
   the Hebrew word Jom Tov, meaning feast day. One of the most
   important supporters of this theory was the Spanish
   historian Medina Azara.

5 Falla says, "in summarizing this, we can affirm that
   in the cante jondo, as well as in the primitive Eastern
   songs, the musical scale is a direct consequence of what we
   could call the oral scale." p. 104.
prose, although the text is in verse.""

4. The ornamental features which have the character of expressive elements induced by the pathos of the words and which should be regarded as extensive vocal inflections rather than as ornamental turns."

5. The custom of encouraging (jaleο) the cantaores (singers) and bailaores (dancers) is of Oriental origin.

It should be clarified that the term cante hondo or cante iondo is the generic name given to the oldest Andalusian songs, the genuine representative of which is the seguiriya gitana, a term that is a corruption of the Castilian word seguiddilla. From this form have derived other types: the polo, the martinete and the soleares.

In the authoritative words of Manuel de Falla:

It must not be thought, however, that the seguiriya and its derivatives are simply songs that have been imported from the East. At the most, it is a grafting or rather, a case of the coincidence of origins that certainly did not reveal itself at one particular moment, but that is the result, as we have already pointed out, of an accumulation of historical facts taking place through many centuries in our peninsula. That is why the kind of song peculiar to Andalusia, although it coincides in its essential elements with those developed in countries so far away from ours, shows so typical, so national a character, that it becomes unmistakable."

The term flamenco is applied to the more modern songs and

"Falla, p. 105.

Falla says that "although gipsy melody is rich in ornamental features, these are used only at certain moments, as they are in primitive Oriental songs, to express states of relaxation or of rapture, suggested by the emotional force of the text." p. 105.

Falla, p. 105.
dances, their general tone being more vivacious and lively." Among this category we find the *granadinas*, *malagueñas*, *peteneras*, *rondeñas*, *sevillanas*, *alegrías*, *bulerías* and *fandango*. Most of them are danced as well as sung and, due to their great popularity, they have helped to make the Spanish idiom known outside the Iberian peninsula."

Popular gatherings have always been characteristic of the Spanish musical life; for example, the gypsy *zambra* (from the Arabic *sama* festival) originated in the all-night soirees popular in Moslem Spain. The *juerga* (spree) was originally a rather licentious festivity. It was initially very badly regarded by Spanish society, but at a later date the spectacle assumed a commercial role in the *cafés cantantes* held in more intimate or closed settings. The *café cantante* was also the cradle of the famous *cuadro flamenco* in which a group of performers (singers, dancers, guitarists) sit in a semicircle on a raised platform, the

---

9 The etymology of the word *flamenco* is the subject of an unsettled controversy. Some theories support the contention that the word refers to the style and customs of the Flemish immigrants or the gypsies arriving to Spain by the way of Flanders; for others it refers to the thievish practices of the Flemish in the Spanish courts, or to be descriptive of a "flamboyant" style, etc.

9 The dances of Spain are customarily divided in two main groups, the classic and the *flamenco*. The most important classic dances are the bolero, the *sevillanas* and the *jota*. Among the most characteristic *flamenco* dances are the *tango*, the *farruca* and the *garrotín*. To these two classes a third one could be added, comprising the communal dances such as the *sardana* of Catalonia and the *danza prima* of Asturias.
tablao. In this setting, flamenco dancing is, in the words of Havelock Ellis, "the visible embodiment of an emotion in which every spectator takes an active and helpful part; it is a vision evoked by the spectators themselves, and upborne on the continuous waves of rhythmical sound which they generate."\textsuperscript{10}

The music of Andalusia is full of energy and intensity; the complexity of the rhythmic accompaniment becomes one of its more exhilarating features and, although the guitar provides the basic rhythm, a great variety of cross-rhythms is supplied by the zapateado (footwork), the pito (finger snapping) and the taconeo (stomping with the heels of the shoes) of the performers and the jaleo of the spectators. The guitar is both a solo and an accompanying instrument providing in these capacities three basic functions: rasgueado (strumming), paseo (melodic passage work) and falsetas (improvised interludes). Castanets are not used in pure flamenco dances.

The Music of New and Old Castile

At the very heart of Spain lies New Castile with its famous region of La Mancha. Don Quixote and the popular seguidillas manchegas are its best known representatives.

\textsuperscript{10} Quoted in Chase, p. 250. Chase adds, "The Gypsy dances for himself and not for an audience. He has no use for a passive audience, but he needs a group of active spectators who provide the proper atmosphere for his art. This he gets in the cuadro flamenco."
Sequidillas are played in a moderately fast triple meter and use a major tonality. Some of their most characteristic features are the use of a guitar prelude (usually four strummed introductory chords), melodic phrases beginning on the second or fourth eighth note of a 3/4 bar, and melismas often sung to a weak syllable at the end of phrases (see Example 9).

Old Castile extends northwards up to the Bay of Biscay. Its songs reflect the influence of plainchant in their modal tendencies and lack of conformity to isometric patterns. The melodic phrases and periods of the majority of Castilian folk songs are seldom symmetrical. The songs tend to end on the fifth degree of the scale, producing a half-cadential effect characteristic of Spanish music. Many songs based on semi-religious texts seem "to stem directly from the Cantigas de Santa Maria." 11,12

An important category of Castilian songs are the serenades called cancionones de ronda; when the serenaders go from house to house, the songs are called pasacalles (see Chapter 3, Examples 6a. and 6b.). The rondas sung at dawn are called alboradas (albaes, albas in other regions). These songs are usually unaccompanied, but in some instances

11 Chase, p. 230.

12 Chase finds also that "many songs are also strongly reminiscent of the villancicos found in the cancioneros of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries". Chase, p. 230.
the gaita, tambor and guitarra are used.

One of the most salient characteristics of these (and other Castilian songs) is the grito viril (viril cry, or shout), a sharp vocal emission somewhat like a cascading forced laugh whose origin seems to be Celtic. The grito viril is also used in the Basque provinces and in some Latin-American countries (Argentina among them).

Of exceptional interest are the baladas and work songs, whose melismatic flourishes show a strong kinship with Andalusian music, indicating a probable common Byzantine-Arabic influence. In general these work songs are in free-rhythms, and they are sung while ploughing, sowing, weeding, reaping, threshing, picking olives and fruits, etc. Their texts, however, are amatory, not related to the tasks at hand (see Example 10).

Among the dance-songs of Old Castile, the most characteristic is the rueda commonly notated in 5/8 (although there are some in 2/4 and 3/8 time). The rueda is performed with the accompaniment of the pandereta. Other songs common in the area are the bolero (see Chapter 3, Examples 8a. and 8b.), the seguidilla (see Example 9), the fandango (see Example 11) and the jota (see Example 12). The bolero--one of the dances that has most contributed to the fame of the Spanish music--is performed by one or two dancers who alternatively show off their competitive skills.

Two distinctive features of the bolero, and also of a great
Example 9. *Sequidilla* (Encyclopédie de la Musique, X, 2908)

Allegro

Guitare

Voy à cantar las coplas Que me han mandado

Chant

Què me han mandado Voy a cantar las coplas Que me han man

da _ o Que no quierque di _ gan Malo y ro_

gargo.
Example 10. Ornamentation and free rhythm in a working song. "Canción de podar." (Pruning Song. Pedrell, No. 121)

Lento y triste.

Sa co mare'n da sa mo

i jo no l'hi de ma na va

pe ro tant la de sit

ja va pe ro tant la de sit

ja va com la co lo ma el fal co

com la co lo ma el fal co.
Example 11. Fandango (Encyclopédie de la Musique, X, 2919)

La Hue-ve-ra es buena mo-za-

Ni tan po-co da-me

Quel pa-ja-rí-to en la

Sa-le pronto y viene tar-de!

Pour la guitare après la dernière cadence du chant

Reprises successives par la guitare et par la voix.

Conclusion
number of Spanish dances, are the paseo (introductory promenade) and the bien parado (sudden stop), which concludes a section or the dance. The bolero has a middle section where the individual technique and creativity of the dancer has to be demonstrated; this part contains many brilliant and intricate steps such as the cuarta that is similar to the entrechat-quatre of classical ballet. The dance is accompanied by the castanets, which have to sustain a constant and strong rhythmic pulse.

The Music of the Basque Provinces, Aragón and Catalonia

Ethnically and politically, the Basques are divided between northern-eastern Spain and southern France. They have maintained their cultural traits (language, dance, theatre, music) through oral transmission.

Major and minor modes are very common but the influence of the modes of plainsong is also present (Aeolian, Dorian and Mixolydian modes principally). The cadential formula A - G sharp - E and a leap of a fourth after a descent to the tonic are typical of Basque features. Their folk songs are primarily syllabic, closely reflecting the effect of the Basque language on the music. "The charm of these songs lives in the simplicity which such habits express." Some use short melismas and embellishments.

The principal Basque dance is the aurresku, a masculine

15 Livermore, p. 151.
communal dance that contains eight sections (each corresponding to a different dance): entra, atzescu, zortzico, pasamano, desafio, fandango, gaiop and arin-arin. Of all these dances, the zortzico is the most popular. It is characterized by 5/8 time (see Chapter 3, Example 5). The fandango is a variation of the Aragonese iota without the castanets. The fast arin-arin, in lively duple meter, closes the aurresku.

Aragón, located between the Basque Provinces and Catalonia, has its most famous representative in the iota.\textsuperscript{14} Although it is also common to other regions of Spain, the iota aragonesa is the most popular of all the local versions (see Example 12). The iota is invariably in rapid triple time with a four-bar phrase alternating tonic and dominant harmony. It has a second section of lyrical character, usually of the nature of a serenade. The accompanying instruments are guitars and bandurrias (mandolin-like), which provide rhythmic support with the rasqueado (strumming). Chase says that "in combination of strong movement, with speed and grace, there does not exist in the world a dance form to excel the iota de Aragón."\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{14} For a detailed analysis on the style and origin of the iota, see Livermore, pp. 148-9.

\textsuperscript{15} Chase, pp. 252-253.
Example 12. Jota aragonesa (Encyclopédie de la Musique, X, 2909)

Catalonia sets itself apart from the rest of Spain because of its linguistic and cultural differences: the Catalán language is closer to Provençal than to Castilian, and the Moslem influence was not as powerful there as it was in the other regions. Catalonia is very poor in lyrical forms, but ballads and religious songs are numerous. Major tonality predominates and there are frequent instances of extensive chromaticism.

Ritual dances, like the moixiganga (an acrobatic pantomime) and the jota foqueada, are common. The most
popular dance is the sardana, a communal dance derived from
the medieval ball-rodó, that has become the symbol of
Catalán identity. It is accompanied by the cobla, a group
of up to ten musicians. In contrast with the iota, the
sardana "does not involve a display of virtuosity, or
spectacular action, but expresses the satisfaction of
communal participation in a traditional pastime."\textsuperscript{16}

This repertoire of local folk songs and dances was used
(in symphonic and operatic forms) not only by Spanish
composers to whom it was a natural musical language, but
more importantly, it was treated by non-Hispanic musicians
who found some of this local songs and dances fascinating
subjects for their creative endeavors.

\textsuperscript{16} Chase, p. 253.
CHAPTER 5
The tonadilla escénica

During the span of the eighteenth century Spanish art music fell into a period of decline; this does not mean, however, that all elements of Spanish music became stagnant. On the contrary, the strong folk elements that had nourished the art forms of Spanish music since the earliest times came to the fore in a new musical dramatic form peculiar to the eighteenth century: the tonadilla escénica.

The tonadillas were of the utmost importance as national utterances. Mary Neal Hamilton thinks that the tonadillas "waved the national banner in the faces of foreign intruders," and that they were "a definite, vicious and outspoken protest against foreign models in music and literature." The spirit of the times was captured in these lines of a tonadilla:

Ella tendrá en italiano
un rondón o cavatina
y en nuestra lengua española
buenas seguidillas.

She will have in Italian
A rondo or a cavatina
And in our Spanish language
Some very good seguidillas.

---


2 Adolfo Salazar, La Música de España; desde el siglo XVI hasta Manuel de Falla (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1982), p. 119.
In the words of Adolfo Salazar:

The atmosphere was saturated, infected, if you wish, with a predominant Italianism . . . The national spirit took refuge in the minor genres, true survivors, in the midst of the Italian tide, of the Spanish musical sentiments whose accents can be traced to the remote times of our history: the thread of the popular can be found in the presence more or less evident of the "non-learned" popular collaboration, in the monodies of the Cantigas, serranas and villancicos, in the extension of the forms with dialogue that were the seeds of our theatre. The introjection on the early little pieces, of episodes that were to be called entremeses, was fertile because that which was merely circumstantial soon claimed its "citizenship’s rights," and not only in Spain.

For Hamilton the importance of the tonadilla resides in the creation of a form in which the relationship of music and text with the subject matter was simple, natural and un-artificial: “an achievement reached probably unconsciously.” The subject matter of the tonadilla had to do “with the feelings, thoughts and emotions of simple human beings and the tonadilleros strived to express those feelings in an unaffected, appropriate music”.

In any examination of the Spanish idiom and its adoption by foreign composers, the tonadilla is of foremost importance. First, the tonadilla represents the culmination of the process of assimilation of folk, popular and art music elements in a unique Spanish form. Second, it was

³ Salazar, p. 119.

⁴ Hamilton, p. 59.
from the more accessible and conventionalized idiom of the *tonadillas* that most foreign composers drew their conception of the Spanish musical idiom.

The Historical Setting

With the ascendance to the throne of Spain of Philip V (1700-1746) Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV, and his influential Italian queen Elizabeth Farnese, started the process of neglect of the national Spanish art that was to characterize the ruling of the Spanish Bourbons. The struggle between the Spanish arts and foreign influences was particularly evident in the lyric theatre. The Italian musical invasion began with the Italian opera company brought by Philip V from Milan, known to the Spaniards as the company of the *trufaldines*. The *trufaldines* not only took over the excellent theatre of the Buen Retiro, but also founded two other theatres in Madrid on the sites known as Alcalá and Caños del Peral (the later is the present Teatro Real). The struggle for survival of the Spanish lyric theatre, which occupied the first two decades of the eighteenth century, ended with a definite deathblow for the national art with the appearance of Farinelli. King Philip and his successor Ferdinand VI (who reigned 1746-1759) gave to the renowned castrato singer a power and influence that was to dominate a full quarter of a century of Spanish music.
The ascension to the throne of Charles III in 1759 brought abrupt changes to the musical scene. Farinelli was dismissed and returned to Bologna where he died in 1782, soon after the death of his dearest friend Metastasio. Farinelli’s position in court as dominant figure of the musical scene was filled by Luigi Boccherini who arrived in 1768 and remained at the service of the Spanish sovereigns, Charles III and Charles IV, until his death in 1805.

All forms of national art were subject to the adaptation of foreign styles and aesthetic principles. The writings of Lope de Vega and Calderón de la Barca were considered barbarous works which had to be adjusted by men of letters trained in the pseudo-classic drama and its Aristotelian tenets. "The 'barbarous' vernacular opera was forced to retreat, but before surrendering it attempted to stave off the invader by emulating its style."[1]

In spite of the overwhelming trend towards the establishment of an Italian musical style, Spanish composers fought "italianism" with all their creative abilities. They composed incidental music for Spanish tragedies and plays, fiestas of music, music for loas and for the great yearly festivals of Corpus Christi, the national sacred plays or autos sacramentales. On every possible occasion, popular songs, tonadas, folias, or some other national forms

---

were interpolated in the so-called "Spanish operas." Short zarzuelas caseras appeared in great numbers, written expressly for the purpose of presentation in salons or at private houses, making small demands as to scenery or size of cast. Mary Neal Hamilton says that:

Several Spanish composers should be mentioned and given honor for their dogged persistence and loyal adherence to Spanish musical tradition during the mid-century period [Joaquín Martínez de la Roca and Juan Sisi y Mestre in particular]. None of them geniuses, they carried on the national forms, refusing to allow this national 'Sahara desert', as many despairing Spanish have called the period, to be entirely barren of Spanish fruit." ^

As Lang reflected,

Against such splendor [of the Italian lyric theater], the native genius was helpless, but it could fall back on the impregnable defenses of the music of the people. Thus, history again repeated itself: the Spanish musician's opposition to Italian opera and to the castrato singer resulted in a protest akin to that

^ Hamilton, p. 35. José de Nebra, a prolific and versatile composer, made a valiant effort to introduce Spanish local color into the various productions for which he composed the music but he lacked the creative genius to accomplish his intentions successfully. One of his operas should be mentioned because it presents a very interesting case of a parody of the Italian mannerisms. In the opera Aquiles en Troya (1747), he employed the unheard-of device of introducing a Spanish seguidilla into the story. Two comic characters, one a follower of Achilles and the other an attendant of the captive, Briseida, propose dancing a Spanish seguidilla under the walls of Troy: "Seguidillas in opera?" exclaims one. "And why not?", says the lady, Mademusela; "Let us try it and see if others will follow our example." The glaring anachronism must have utterly shocked the Madrid public, for no one else followed Nebra's example. [Translated from an excerpt printed by Mitjana in the Encyclopédie de la musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire, Espagne et Portugal, quoted by Hamilton, pp. 36-37].
expressed in the ballad opera, the opéra comique, and the Singspiel."

The Birth and Evolution of the tonadilla escénica

The reaction against the influence of the Italian lyrical style assumed two forms. The first was prepared by literati who had become aware (as had Addison and Rousseau) of the futility of "naturalizing" the Italian opera; this movement was represented by the zarzuelas of Don Ramón de la Cruz and his collaborator Don Antonio Rodríguez de Hita. The second was the outcome of an upsurge of national popular music and developed into the tonadilla.

From the earliest times it was customary on the Spanish stage to have a variety of entremeses (short pieces spoken or sung as entr'actes). Such were the jácaras, bailes de bajo, tonos, and tonadas a solo. As opening pieces there were cuatros de empezar (four-part songs in madrigal style) and loas (prologues) often partly sung. Concluding the play there were often fin de fiestas with a tonada (song) or a baile (dance) or both. Out of these various forms grew the tonadilla.

Etymologically the word "tonadilla" is the diminutive of "tonada," the Spanish word for tune or song. Musically the term stands for a large and complex form that developed from the original idea of a simple solo song, a "little

~ Lang, p. 676.
song," sung with guitar accompaniment and appended to one of the minor theatrical forms such as the entremés and the gainete (burlesque). As described in this copla:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{Yo me acuerdo señores,} & \text{I remember, gentlemen,} \\
& \text{Cuando cantaba} & \text{When I used to sing} \\
& \text{Tonadillas a solo} & \text{Solo tonadillas} \\
& \text{Con mi guitarra.} & \text{With my guitar.}
\end{align*}
\]

The immediate ancestor of the tonadilla was the topical song, or tonada, one of which was a specialty of an actor-singer, José de Molina, who came to Madrid about 1745. Molina composed and sang his own songs to the accompaniment of his guitar, his act proving to be one of the best attractions seen on the Madrid stage in many years. From such songs of a personal nature, or of a vivid interest to Madrid, grew the new form of the tonadilla.

The first composer to use the word tonadilla for the tonadas was Antonio Guerrero (1751). When tonadillas began to be sung by two characters in dialogue, "they already contained the seeds of an independent dramatic form. Gradually they broke away from the interludes or sketches to which they originally were appended and assumed a separate existence."\(^{1}\) The addition of characters, orchestral accompaniment and action to suit the situation transformed the genre into a sort of miniature comic opera. To this new theatrical form, Don José Subirá, the most respected

\(^{1}\) Chase, p. 128.

\(^{2}\) Chase, p. 128.
researcher of the genre, applied the term tonadilla escénica.

Subirá divided the main stages of the evolution of the tonadilla as follows:

1. **Birth and beginning (1751-1757).** The tonadilla, completely different from the sung entremés of the seventeenth century, became related to the sainete, entremés or baile, always as a final piece. Its principal exponent was Antonio Guerrero who, in 1751, began calling his tonadas tonadillas (literally "little tonadas").

2. **Growth and youth (1757-1770).** The tonadilla became independent from the sainete and assumed its own life, finding inspiration in everyday life events and characters. Luis Misón combined several little tonadas with a slight thread of plot and action involving several characters in a tonadilla composed in 1757; for this reason he has been credited with the invention of the form, but Chase considers that the form was the result of a gradual process of development which began to take definite shape about 1750, antedating Misón's works. It is undeniable, though, that Misón gave to the form its greatest impetus as well as its independence and character. During this period, as the music became more important, small orchestras gradually replaced the original guitar accompaniments.

3. **Maturity and apogee (1771-1790).** The tonadilla escénica became fully developed and rose as the most popular theatrical genre. The composers Pablo Esteve and Blas de Laserna worked for the two Spanish theatrical companies of Madrid in numerous productions. Two thousand manuscripts, probably

10 Other important contributors to the genre were: Antonio Guerrero, Pedro Aranaz, José y Antonio Palomino, Antonio Rosales, Manuel Plá, Jacinto Valledor, Pablo Esteve, Juan Marcolini, Ventura Galván and José Castel.

11 To their works it should be added those of Rosales, Valledor, Marcolini, Antonio Palomino, Galván, Castel, Fernadiere, Presas, Laporta, Ferrer y Bustos. The names of these composers are mentioned in Moreno, p. 406. The first names are not given and I have been unable to found them.
only a part of the total output, have survived from this period. According to Salazar, during this period the tonadilla swells like the toad of the fable, it gives itself importance, and takes the shape of a short opera buffa 'a la italiana' and although Jovellanos have warned of the need of returning to its previous naturalness and modest countenance, the maladie that was afflicting it was quite serious because as said by Laserna 'the national gracefulness was not estimated anymore.'

4. Hypertrophy and decay (1791-1810). From 1787, with the official establishment of Italian opera in the Theatre of Caños del Peral, the Italian influence began to operate in the style and popular characteristics of the tonadilla escénica denaturalizing its marked national character. The librettists gradually abandoned popular subjects and used topics of the bourgeois, of allegorical and moralizing character so that their function as preserver of national music was eventually completely obliterated. They became longer, had more characters, and were almost like burlesque operettas. The most important composers of the period were Pablo del Moral, Laserna, Acero, León and Manuel García and the Italians Remessi, Bruzoni and Francesconi.

5. Decline and oblivion (1811-1850). The end of the first decade of the nineteenth century saw the decline of the tonadilla. By the middle of the nineteenth century the tonadilla gave way to the zarzuela which became the maximum exponent of the Spanish lyric theatre.

mentioned in any other available source.

A great number of tonadillas by Laserna are preserved in the National Library at Madrid. Some of these are included in Subira's La Tonadilla Escénica published in Madrid in 1928 and following years. Examples are also given in Pedrell's Teatro lirico español anterior al siglo XIX. According to Hamilton, so few tonadillas have been published that a musician must spend hours copying in "a musty library, and then rearrange, transpose into modern clefs, fill in harmonies to suit the modern need."

Zalazar, p. 119.
The Subjects of the tonadillas

The topics of the tonadillas have been called "little mirrors of life"; they are satirical or picaresque depictions of typical phases of popular life. The style was "sometimes sentimental, rarely pathetic, usually burlesque, satirical or comic." They portrayed all sorts of professions, social and ethnic types common to Madrid: majos, majas and usias (your lordship or ladyship), barbers, innkeepers, shopkeepers, French hair-dressers, operistas, servants, abbés, petimetres, cortejos (suitors), fashionable ladies of society, gardeners, officers of the army, the guardia civil (police), lawyers, city officials, musicians, painters, singers, contrabandists, bandoleros (highway-robbers), toreros, Indians, Creoles and Moors. The majos and majas--immortalized in the paintings of Goya--became so much a part of the tonadillas that in time they were also satirized as another convention. The tonadillas parodied foreign customs and attacked themes such as the "graces of our century," "the ordinance of the mode," "the monster of public taste," "costumes," "the critic of the theater," and

\[1\] Joaquín Nin, Prelude to Quatorze airs anciens d'compositeurs espagnoles. Cited in Hamilton, p. 54.

"the tribunal of dramatic poetry.". Composers and librettists were quick to seize upon all possible current topics of popular interest.¹⁶

The essence of the tonadilla, according to Chase, was "a continuous effervescence of wit and satire against everything that tended to crystallize in conventional patterns, be it the fashions of foreign opera or the effusions of local color."¹⁷

The Music of the tonadilla escénica

The first tonadillas escénicas were tentative efforts to introduce Spanish musical forms. At first the composers, fearing the reaction of the public, were hesitant to use musical elements drawn from folk and popular sources. But the immediate and outstanding success of the first productions and the enthusiasm shown by the audiences, allowed composers and librettists to pursue their intentions with the utmost freedom. As expressed by Hamilton, "soon

¹⁶ One of the most successful tonadillas was The exalted life and death of General Malbrú composed by an obscure músico, Jacinto Valledor y la Calle in 1785. The tonadilla used the well-known French folk tune " Malboro s'en va t’en guerre, Mirontón, mirontón, mirontaine" and ridiculed the Duke of Marlborough (Lord John Churchill, 1650-1722) who had taken part in the War of the Spanish Succession as general of all the English and Dutch armies. Besides the inclusion of the French-tune, the music was quite Spanish with its seguidillas and its burlesque character, and attracted Spanish audiences who filled the theatre for weeks to hear Valledor's work.

¹⁷ Chase, p. 130.
they were using every folk song and peasant dance and popular refrain they could lay their hands on, moreover, using the music as an integral and natural part of the expression."  

Music and verse were intimately united as they related to the subject expressed. There was some declamation in the tonadillas but they were presented in such a way that it was almost impossible to say where declamation ended and music began "so cleverly were the spoken words merged into the musical expression."  

Songs and Dances in the tonadillas: The Folklore Elements

The most valuable characteristic of the tonadillas as keepers of the Spanish musical idiom was the use of folk songs and dances. These folk elements can be easily identified in all the tonadillas since the native songs and dances of Spain constituted one of the most characteristic traits of this unique eighteenth-century Spanish musical form.

"La Canción del Muletero" ("Song of the Muleteer") from Luis Guerrero's tonadilla escénica La Pescadora Inocente (The Innocent Fisherwoman), written in 1760, contains one of the earliest notated examples of the phrase ending broken by a triplet characteristic of the folklore music of Andalusia. Another Andalusian element is revealed by the song ending on

18 Hamilton, p. 59.
19 Hamilton, p. 59.
the third instead of the usual tonic (see Example 13).

The use of the Myxolydian mode is exemplified in Laserna’s tonadilla *La vida en la ciudad y en el campo* ("City and country life"). In this type of melody the lowered seventh degree is not used as a grace note but is given the full note value. Another example of its use appears in Laserna’s tonadilla *Los corderos perdidos* (The lost lambs) written in 1781.

The *tonadillas* were also the receptacle of the great national dances of Spain: the *fandango*, the *seguidilla* with their regional variations (the *sevillanas*, *malaqueñas*, *murcianas* and *rondeñas*) and in the latter part of the century (perhaps after 1780), the *bolero*. Other regional dances and songs incorporated in the *tonadillas* were the *jotas*, *soleares*, *polos*, *muñéiras*, *alalás*, *zortzicos* and *tiranías* as well as ancient Spanish dances such as the *zarabandas*, the *folias*, pastorales and bits of *jácaras* (ancient *entremeses*). In addition they introduced all sorts of song-forms such as the *caballo*, *villancico*, *canción de cuna* and *zorongo*.

According to Walter Starkie the first *jota* was notated in 1779 in the tonadilla *Los Pasajes de Verano* by Luis Esteve (see Example 14).

---

80 Example in Hamilton, p. 69.
81 Pedrell, IV, 115.
Example 13. Examples of triplets in the "Canción del muletero" (Song of the Muleteer) from the tonadilla La Pescadora Inocente (The Innocent Fisherwoman) by Guerrero (Mary Neal Hamilton, p. 169)


The finales of the tonadillas were closed by seguidillas in triple meter with a refrain at the beginning and ending, or by the tirana, a dance which had a vogue amounting to a furor between 1780 and 1790. Usually in 6/8 time, syncopated and faster than the seguidilla, it was danced by two persons; it had a clear and distinctive rhythm, characterized by different motions to the one side or other of the body, "the woman raising and waving her
apron, the man flourishing his hat or handkerchief with motions similar to those in dances of ancient Cadiz.\footnote{2} The tirana also became licentious and was forbidden at the saraos (evening parties), but music and verses survived and were sung to the accompaniment of the guitar far into the nineteenth century (see Examples 15a., 15b. and 15c.).

It was also through the medium of the tonadilla escénica that gypsy dances and songs were introduced in the theatre. From Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and from South America, Florida and New Orleans, negro, Creole, Cuban and Brazilian tunes and dances that had been creeping into Spanish popular music from the early days of the Conquistadores found their way into the tonadilla. Moorish dances and songs were also used. One dance in particular, the zalamela, gave exotic color to a tonadilla called La gitanilla. In this tonadilla the little gypsy dances also the cumbé from Guinea, a dance which appeared on the stage at this epoch.\footnote{3}

In addition to dances and songs of native and foreign origin, peasant as well as aristocratic, composers utilized combinations of the modes of plain chant, strains with Arabian or Moorish intervals, four-part songs in madrigal style, and measures in \( \frac{5}{4} \) or \( \frac{5}{8} \) time (Basque zortzico and

\begin{footnotesize}
\footnote{2}{Hamilton, p. 68.}
\footnote{3}{Jose Subirá, \textit{La tonadilla escénica}, II, 408-409. See references to this work in Hamilton.}
\end{footnotesize}
Example 15. Themes and rhythms of tiranas

a. Tirana de Tripili, composer unknown (Mary Hamilton Neal, p. 63)

b. Tirana from the tonadilla El Desvalido (The Helpless One) by Pablo Esteve (Mary Hamilton Neal, p. 63)

c. Tirana de Tripili by Blas de Laserna. Copla and refrain. (Chase, p. 131)
Balearic rhythm respectively).24

Musical Accompaniment

The characteristic accompanying instrument of the tonadillas was the guitar. The first accompanying instrumental ensembles were very simple, almost primitive: a violin and bass, or a guitar, with the músico of the company filling in on the harpsichord. Only on very special occasions were orchestras used as an addition to the play.

Before 1765 the tonadillas were written for the purpose of assisting in the autos sacramentales, and then a small orchestra consisting of two violins, two flutes, horn, bass-viol and clave was provided. After 1765, when the autos were abolished by royal decree, orchestras were used in the daily performances of plays and then it became the custom to sing two tonadillas at each representation. At first the orchestra sat behind the scenery, but the Count of Aranda, patron and reformer of the theater, had the orchestra placed in front of the stage, as is done today.25

24 See Hamilton, p. 66.

25 The Count of Aranda was also responsible for the replacement of the old paños and cortinas (draperies of tapestry or cloth) by painted wings, decorated with perspectives of a forest, a city square, a street, or an interior. These improvements were paid for by taxing the holders of second-story boxes two reales extra for each individual, a situation that was later "equalized" by requiring the payment of the tax from other sections of the theater.
Accounts of travelers of the period attest to the important place that the tonadillas occupied in the musical life of Spain. While few mention the zarzuela, nearly all have something to say about the tonadilla. The evaluation of these foreign visitors regarding the musical character of the tonadillas has to be taken with a grain of salt since most of the travelers, at least the English travelers in Spain during the course of the eighteenth century, belonged to the higher social classes and reflected the ideas of the Spanish nobility. As Hamilton says, "probably they were told everywhere that native Spanish music had in it nothing but the banal and vulgar, only folk tunes and gypsy dances." 126

Some foreign travelers who listened to tonadillas during the entr'acte of a play or tragedy in Madrid occasionally complained of their vulgarity amounting almost to licentiousness; some disliked Spanish voices in general, and considered the actress-singers either vulgar and of "bold manners, free gestures and affronting tone," or as downright indecent, constantly soliciting favor and applause; some travelers labeled the tonadillas as insipid, or scandalous, as Laborde said, "with their trivial maxims of gallantry, little jokes, little intrigues, little

126 Hamilton, p. 73.
nothings of the lower classes of society."  

Nevertheless, most travelers attested to the national character of the tonadillas and expressed the impact of the Spanish spirit through the medium of the music of the tonadillas. Laborde writes on the "vivacity of the action and of the expression, the sharp digs with which the tonadilla is seasoned, making its principal merit." Jean François Bourgoanne in his Travels in Spain commented that manners, dress, adventures, music, all are national . . . these little pieces bring out the majos and the maja s, the gitanos and gitanas. After a short residence in Spain it is easy to conceive the attraction which the sainetes and tonadillas may have for the people of the country.  

Marmontel, writing in 1765 to his friend the Conte de Creuta, said that  

These tonadillas please infinitely, for their original character. They are short scenes, sung with much grace and expression. The music, entirely Spanish, is charming; it presents, with rapidity, varied and strongly etched tableaux; it is all that is possible of the most singular and most interesting.

Joseph Baretti reported that traveling from Madrid to Barcelona he met the Italian singer Cornaccini, who had been
singing for four years in Farinelli’s companies at the theatre of the Buen Retiro. Cornaccini took a guitar from the hands of a bystander and sang a Spanish tonadilla with all the pose and expression that the tonadilla required.⁴⁰

The tonadilla escénica and the Foreign Conception of the Spanish Idiom

In the course of the eighteenth century, the tonadilla escénica became the depository of the musical tradition of Spain; during the nineteenth it was the source from which foreign composers drew most of their material for the portrayal of the "Spanish idiom." The Italian composer Mercadante used the popular theme of Blas de Laserna’s Tirana de Tripili in the overture of his opera I due Figaro (1835), making it known in all Europe (see Example 15c).

The subject of the Spanish idiom in George Bizet’s Carmen will be treated in the next chapter. It should be noted here that Bizet’s immensely successful exploitation of a Spanish atmosphere in Carmen is partly derived from the tonadillas of Manuel Garcia. Manuel Garcia was a gifted musician: a singer with a vibrant and thrilling voice, a guitarist of tremendous power and ability and an inspired composer who carried on the Spanish traditions of Misén, de Hita, Esteve and Laserna. He used the distinctive rhythms

and songs of his native Andalusia taking Spanish music with him to Milan, Rome, and Naples, and made it the rage of Paris. He and Isabel Colbrán, the famous singer who married Rossini, were reared in the school of the tonadilla. Both were undoubtedly influential in Rossini's musical depiction of the Spanish atmosphere in The Barber of Seville, since García and Madame Colbrán sang tonadillas, boleros and sevillanas for him, and Rosinni wrote the roles of Elizabeth and Almaviva for them.

The song El contrabandista ("The smuggler") from a monodrama by García called El poeta calculista (The calculating poet) was used by Rossini in the first scene of The Barber of Seville as a motif for strings in the introduction, as well as a duet-finale. The opera also treats other Spanish musical forms: the first act of the chorus, "Mille grazie," is a bolero atiranado (a mixture of

---

31 García is linked to the musical world in other ways also: he became leading tenor in grand opera in Paris, Naples, and Turin, singing the tenor roles in Don Juan, Otello and The Barber of Seville; as impresario in New York he introduced Italian operas to American audiences; he and his opera company spent some months in Mexico where he composed, translated librettos, sang, and produced operas. He was the father of two famous singers: Maria (Madame Malibrán), one of the greatest contralto singers of the early nineteenth century and Pauline Viardot. His son Manuel Garcia II, was also a well-known singer.
bolero-tirana) and sevillanas are sung in the last act of The Barber as part of the variations on Figaro's theme, "Di si felice inesto."

From the standpoint of Spanish music, the tonadilla represents a treasure of popular and peasant folk tunes and dances incorporated into a form that maintains a truly Spanish character. During the eighteenth century, the tonadillas became the depository of all the musical lore of Spain; they continued the unbroken line of folk and popular elements always present in Spanish music that is one of its most unique characteristics. They were the amalgamating force that made folk and popular elements coalesce into a distinct musical language: the "Spanish idiom." While the subject matter has gone out of fashion, since its vivid current interest quickly disappeared, the music is universal and as immortal as any eighteenth century music can be. It has color, life; it stirs the pulse, the rhythmic sense; it has that quality for which Esteve pleaded, "the specific and notorious vivacity of the Spanish race".312

For countless Spanish composers of later years it has been source material for zarzuelas, operettas, incidental

312 Hamilton, p. 74.
For composers outside the Iberian Peninsula, the tonadillas were one of the main sources from which they nourished their conceptions of the "Spanish idiom."

---

Enrique Granados (1867-1916) revived the form in his Colección de tonadillas, escritas en estilo antiguo (Collection of tonadillas written in ancient style).
CHAPTER 6

The "Spanish Idiom" in the Works of non-Hispanic European Composers of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

According to Gilbert Chase "Spanish national music, in spite of its widespread popularity from the beginning of the nineteenth century, was slow to take its place in the standard symphonic and operatic repertoire because of the lack of orchestral technique of its composers." Thus, paradoxically, it was through the works of non-Hispanic composers that the "Spanish idiom" entered the international musical scene in symphonic and operatic forms. It is not surprising that the first non-Hispanic composers to cultivate the Spanish idiom in a large form, Michael Glinka and Nicholas Rimsky-Korsakov, were Russians. Igor Stravinsky said:

It is very natural that we want to be inspired by, and if I may say so, to take with us a bit of Spain. The question is, what can be transported? Certain wines must be consumed where they are made. Others, those which can stand the trip, we bring with us.

Affinities and resemblances can be remarked between Spanish music, especially that of Andalusia, and the music of Russia, no doubt through their common Oriental origins. Certain Andalusian songs remind me of Russian ones, and I enjoy these atavistic memories. Musically speaking, the Andalusians are not at all Latin, their

---

1 Chase, p. 209.
rhythms being of Oriental inheritance.\textsuperscript{2}

The other non-Hispanic European composers whose use of the Spanish idiom will be analyzed in this chapter are French. Edouard Lalo, Georges Bizet, Emmanuel Chabrier, Claude Debussy and Maurice Ravel, each one within the musical style defined by their individual geniuses and with different degrees of approximation to the authentic Spanish sources, made use of elements of the Spanish idiom in works that have become an important contribution to the literature of music.

Michael Ivanovitch Glinka (1804-1857)

Glinka, founder of the Russian national musical school, went to Spain in 1845 and stayed there for two years visiting Valladolid, Madrid, Seville and Granada. As he expressed in a letter to his mother, that trip represented the fulfillment of an "old dream, a dream of my boyhood."\textsuperscript{3} He had prepared himself for that experience by studying Spanish and becoming acquainted with the history and literature of Spain.

Spain grabbed his imagination . . . The composer's notes, his letters, a Spanish album and a notebook with writings of Spanish folk melodies, tell about his great attention to everything that helped him understand more deeply the Spanish people and their life . . . Spain astonished him


\textsuperscript{3} Cherepanova, Foreword to the score of Michael Glinka's, \textit{Jota Aragonesa} (Moscow: State Music Publishers, 1962).
at every step. Granada marvelled him with its chains of colorful mountains. Murcia with its wonderful gardens. Madrid with its theaters and museums. But more than anything else, the composer was enjoying the art of the Spanish people, their songs and dances. He was listening to them and saw in them the best samples of folk music."

In the chapter "Glinka in Spain" of his Cancionero Musical Español, Felipe Predell testifies to the fascination exerted by the Spanish folk music on the Russian composer with these words:

What did he look for there, wandering about by himself in the quarter of Lavapiés or along the street of the Sierpes? The same thing he looked for in the Albaicín at Granada, when he was captivated by the guitar playing of the famous Francisco Rodríguez Murciano, an artist of a musical imagination both ardent and inexhaustibly inventive. Glinka eagerly sought his acquaintance and they soon became friends. One of the greatest pleasures for the great Russian composer was to sit down for hours and hours, listening to Rodriguez Murciano while the player improvised variants to the accompaniments of rondesñas, fandangos, jotas aragonesas, etc. and writing his inventions down carefully, in order to transcribe them for the piano or the orchestra. But Glinka’s attempts were of no avail; fascinated, he turned towards his friend, listening to the sounds he produced: a torrent of rhythms, of local melodies, of rebellious arpeggios that resisted every attempt at transcription.

At the time of his visit to Spain, Glinka intended to dedicate himself to the composition of what he termed fantasías pittoresques which, "employing perfect instruments and perfect performing technique," would "communicate

\[\text{Cherepanova.}\] Glinka’s notebooks from Spain are kept in the manuscript section of the Leningrad Public Library.

\[\text{Pedrell, Cancionero Musical Español, II, 88.}\]
equally with connoisseurs and ordinary public."

While staying in Valladolid in the summer of 1845, Glinka heard the *jota aragonesa* with variations performed by the guitarist Félix Castilla and used the theme for the first of his *fantasies pittoresques*, the *Capriccio Brillante para gran orchestra sobre el tema de la Jota Aragonesa*, later renamed *First Spanish Overture*. The work was completed in Madrid where he intended to perform it in a concert of his own works, a project which failed. The work was premiered in Warsaw in 1848 and the first Russian performance was conducted by M. Maurier in Saint Petersburg on March 15th, 1850.

The *First Spanish Overture* is written in sonata form with both subjects generated from a traditional *jota aragonesa* with variations. A slow introduction functions as a prelude that announces a bright scene of folk dance celebration. The sound of a fanfare, reminiscent of the opening of a bullfight, is answered with "bright sounds of wood and copper instruments, like a fountain with bright lights. The dance begins." The Allegro section contains two themes. The first theme is the *Jota*, light and bright, played by harp and first violin spiccato assai. Like the typical *jota aragonesa*, it is written in rapid triple time,

\[ \text{David Brown, "Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka," The New Grove, VII, 439.} \]

\[ \text{Cherenannova, Foreword to the score of *Jota Aragonesa*.} \]
the harmony alternates between dominant and tonic, usually four measures each, and it has two sections of eight measures each (see Examples 16a. and 16b.). The second theme is of a softer character, close to the Spanish serenades (see Example 16c.). A comparison of Glinka’s first theme with a traditional theme of a traditional **jota aragonesa** shows how close the Russian composer stood to the original Spanish source (see Example 16d.). The characteristic Spanish appoggiatura-like ornamentation consisting of one, two or three notes makes its ubiquitous appearance from the very first note and becomes a consistent feature of the composition. The orchestration is brilliant and reproduces the sound of the guitar by using castanets, harp and pizzicato strings. Cymbals and tympani complete the atmosphere of a bright Spanish dance and song celebration.

Example 16. Michael Glinka, **Jota Aragonesa** or Spanish Overture No. 1

a. Theme 1. **Jota** (First Section)
b. Jota (Second Section)

c. Theme 2. Serenade

d. Traditional theme of the Jota Aragonesa (Encyclopédie de la musique, X, 2909)
In December Glinka went to Granada, where—as Pedrell commented—the Russian composer immersed himself in the study of local Spanish music and the customs of the country. He returned to Madrid in March 1846, went to Seville during the winter and returned to Russia, via Paris, in 1847.

In 1849 he composed an orchestral piece, Recuerdos de Castilla, based on four Spanish themes. Glinka expanded this composition in 1851 into Souvenir d’une nuit d’été à Madrid also known as the Second Spanish Overture. This piece has a free form. The sections based on Spanish tunes—among them a seguidilla manchega taken from the folklore of Castile—are juxtaposed, each being built mostly by simple variation procedures.  

Pedrell—like Stravinsky—points out the analogy between the Russian and the Spanish "orientalism." The Spanish musicologist thinks that Glinka found that common musical bond alive in Spain, "suggesting to him notes of orchestral color, rhythms and new characteristic melodies which inspired the two Spanish ouvertures, Jota aragonesa and Souvenirs d’une nuit d’été à Madrid."  

It is natural to assume that the exposure to the native

---

2 Glinka toyed with the idea of writing an opera on Spanish themes and attempted to compose an orchestral piece on Andalusian themes.

> Pedrell, II, 90.
music of Spain and the wealth of possibilities that it provided stimulated and strengthened Glinka's inclination towards the treatment of national themes which he already had successfully used in his opera *A Life for the Czar.*  

Falla thinks that Andalusian music exerted a strong influence on most of the members of "The Five," the direct heirs of Glinka. He writes:

> The affinity existing between the *cante jondo* and an equally important group of Russian folk songs being strong, the comprehension and assimilation of our songs by these composers must have been most natural and spontaneous. Our art aroused in those musicians a great appreciation of the charms and rhythms of their own, the sequel of which was the forming of an intention to incorporate into artistic music the blending of the characteristic elements of both groups of songs and rhythms. The result was that unmistakable style which is one of the highest values of Russian music at the end of the last century. We are sure that all those who know the output of Rimsky-Korsakov, of Borodin and of Balakirev, to name only some of the most illustrious, will agree with us.  

It seems natural therefore, that another Russian composer—Nicholas Rimsky-Korsakov, one of "The Five"—would continue the path of treating the Spanish idiom in orchestral composition.

---

10 Shortly after his return from Spain, Glinka wrote his famous orchestral fantasy *Kamarinskaya* which became the model for all later essays in the symphonic handling of Russian folk material.

11 Falla, pp. 107-108. Rimsky-Korsakov wrote the well known *Spanish Capriccio*, Balakireff an *Overture on a theme from a Spanish March* and Borodin *Serenata Espagnole*. 
Nicholas Rimsky-Korsakov (1844-1908)

Although Rimsky-Korsakov stayed in Spain (Cádiz) only three days while cruising as a naval cadet in 1864-65, he felt sufficiently familiarized with the music of Spain to produce one of his most brilliant pieces of orchestration, the Spanish Capriccio, written in 1887.

He had great admiration for Glinka’s Jota Aragonesa, a composition that “dazzled” him more than Beethoven’s symphonies and Mendelsohn’s Midsummer Night’s Dream. The Capriccio shows Glinka’s influence, especially in the Fandango de Asturias, the section of the work closest to the original Spanish themes.

The intention and character of the Capriccio were expressed by the composer himself in these terms:

The Spanish themes of dance character furnished me with rich material for putting in use multiform orchestral effects. All in all the Capriccio is a purely external piece, but vividly brilliant for all that.12

The Capriccio was meant, also in the words of the composer, to “glitter with dazzling orchestral color.” The piece is indeed, a remarkable tour de force of virtuoso orchestration.


The composition consists of five parts: Alborada, Variazioni, Alborada, Scena e canto gitano and Fandango de Asturias. In order to convey the Spanish flavor to the work, Rimsky Korsakov uses a combination of short melodic, harmonic and rhythmic patterns which characterize Spanish music. For example, the Alborada is based on the repetition and elaboration of a period consisting of fourteen measures which can easily be broken down and analyzed in its constituent parts, all showing distinctive Spanish musical elements:

1. Measures 1-4: a melodic pattern consisting of four notes with a short repeated figure, which shows the typical terraced descent to the dominant based on the harmonic progression Tonic to Dominant.

2. Measures 4-6: a broken chord repeated figure which alternates Dominant and Tonic harmony and ends the antecedent phrase.

3. Measures 6-9: an ascending, sequential, chordal pattern which alternates Tonic and Sub-Dominant harmony.

4. Measures 10-14: the characteristic repeated note figure (on the Dominant) over a repeated rhythmic figure.

The Spanish flavor is enhanced by a rhythmic accompaniment of triangles, tambourines, cymbals and castanets (see Example 17a., measures 1 to 14).

Julien Tiersot has found a close relationship between the opening movement of the Capriccio and an "air of musette" dictated to the French designer Vierge, of Basque ancestry, by an Spanish shepherd (see Example 17b.).
Tiersot says that a long time after he had notated this
melody he "recognized its charming line, not without
surprise, in the Fantaisie espagnole of Rimsky-Korsakov,
where it makes its joyful appearance in the very first notes
of the brilliant symphony."  

The Variazioni do not offer any authentic Spanish
element other than the ubiquitous appoggiatura-like
ornamentation at the end of phrases and the alternation of
major and minor modes (see Example 18).

The Scena e canto gitano opens with a "quasi cadenza"
given to the horns, trombones and tambourines, which
recreates the opening fanfare of the bullfights (see Example
19a.). It continues with a solo violin cadenza with a
strong oriental flavor reminiscent of the solo violin
section of Scherazade. To convey the Spanish mood, it
relies on a strong rhythmic pulse given by the timpani,
drums, cymbals, strings arco and pizzicatto, and a
syncopated melody in charge of the winds (see Example 19b.).
This figure alternates with the characteristic Spanish
melodic pattern based on scale runs and descent of repeated
seconds to the dominant (see Example 19c.).

The Fandango Asturiano (which is different from the
fandango of Andalusia) is a dance closely related to the
jota aragonesa. As Glinka had done in the Jota, Rimsky

17 Tiersot, p. 2914.
Korsakov uses two themes, in keeping with the form of the Spanish dance. The first theme is the dance proper, divided in two sections (see Example 20a.) and the second theme is a Spanish serenade (see Example 20b.) The rhythmic pulse is enhanced by the ornamental accent on the downbeats which corresponds with the stressed figures (jumps) of the dance. The characteristic melodic pattern of ascending scale runs and descending repeated seconds reappears in the middle of the section.

The Coda calls forth the theme of the Alborada and increases the tempo to Presto. The dynamic level, which had been gradually rising with the addition of timbres, culminates with the massive sound of all the instruments recreating the frantic rhythm and the feeling of boundless joy and energy characteristic of the finales of most Spanish dances.
Example 17a. Nicholas Rimsky-Korsakov, Capriccio Espagnol, "Alborada." Opening bars
Example 17a. (cont.)

Example 17b. Original Spanish "Air of musette"
(Encyclopédie de la musique, X, 2914)

a. Opening bars

b. Elaboration of ornamentation (measures 22-25)
Example 19. Rimsky-Korsakov, Capriccio Espagnol, IV, "Scena e canto gitano"

a. Opening bars

b. Opening bars of "a tempo" section
Example 19. (cont.)
c. Melodic figure of repeated seconds descending to the dominant

Example 20. Rimsky-Korsakov, Capriccio Espagnol, V, "Fandango Asturiano"
a. Theme 1: Fandango. Measures 5-14
Example 20b. Theme 2: Serenade. Measures 38-41
Edouard Lalo (1823-1892)

Rimsky Korsakov had originally intended for his \textit{Capriccio} to be a fantasy for violin and orchestra. That idea was carried through by the French composer Edouard Lalo, whose most famous work, the \textit{Symphonie Espagnole}, is a violin concerto in five movements. The work was premiered by the Spanish violin virtuoso Pablo de Sarasate at the Concerts Populaires in Paris, on February 7, 1875.

Although Lalo was of Spanish descent and Sarasate was a knowledgeable advisor in Spanish music, the musical language of the \textit{Symphonie Espagnole} is not Spanish but, as defined by Falla, à \textit{l'espagnole}. Lalo's Hispanism, writes Gilbert Chase, "is conventional in form and substance."^{14}

In order to give to the composition its Spanish character, Lalo relied on two main elements typical of Spanish music:

1. The rhythmic and melodic figure with triplets, found ubiquitously throughout the work, to the point of excess.

2. The use of the melodic augmented second, characteristic of Andalusian music.

These formulae appear from the very beginning of the composition (see Example 21).

^{14} Chase, p. 292.
On the matter of pseudo-Hispanicism in music, or "music à l’espagnole," Falla states that many French composers who tackled Spanish themes were contended with the often false lead offered to them by this or that collection of songs and dances, the national authenticity of which was only granted by their author’s having a Spanish name. And since that name was not always, alas, that of a true artist, the document frequently lacked every value.15

Among the composers whose musical intentions "did not go further than to make music à l’espagnole," Falla includes Bizet, who "in his admirable Carmen does not seem to have set himself any other aim."16

Georges Bizet (1838-1875)

On March 3, 1875, less than a month after the first performance of Lalo’s Symphonie Espagnole, Georges Bizet’s opera Carmen was performed at the Opéra Comique. This work which seems to represent the prototype of Spanish opera for the majority of the audiences is, from the point of view of its Hispanic characteristics, quite inauthentic. The libretto was written by two Parisians, Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halevy, after a novel by Prosper Merimée. There is no evidence that Bizet ever set foot in Spain and when he decided to compose a Spanish opera, he requested a list of the collections of Spanish songs catalogued in the Library

15 Falla, p. 108.
16 Falla, p. 108.
of the Paris Conservatoire. Judging from the content of the exhaustive catalogue that Bizet made of his music library, he consulted *Echos d'Espagne: Chansons et danses populaires recueillies et trascrites par Lacome et Puig Asubido*, a collection of seguidillas, boleros, tiranas, habaneras, malaqueñas, a jota aragonesa and a polo, all anonymous except for the last one written by Manuel García for the theatrical tonadilla, *El Criado Fingido*.

The subject of the Spanish sources of Bizet's *Carmen* has been exhaustively researched by modern scholars. Dean Winton, in *Georges Bizet: His Life and Work*, says that,

> On the Spanish element much unnecessary ink has been spilt. One critic [he refers to Raoul Laparra who concluded that *Carmen* would have been a better opera had Bizet lived among gypsies] has devoted a whole book to the question of how much of *Carmen* is genuinely Spanish and how much better the rest would be if it attained an equal level of Hispanicism. . . . It is not the business of a composer whose scene is set in a foreign country to imitate the music of that country. This could only result in pastiche, for the native can obviously do it better than the foreigner.17

These are some of the most important findings regarding the Spanish sources of *Carmen*:

1. The famous Habanera of the first act is an adaptation of a song called *El arreglito ou la Promesse du mariage* written by the Spanish-American composer Sebastián Yradier (author of the famous song *La Paloma*). Bizet acknowledged this source in a note in the first edition of the piano and voice reduction of the score and the same recognition

---

appears in other editions (see note at bottom of Example 22a). Bizet kept the basic scheme: verse in D minor, refrain in D major, and used the same melodic line (see Example 22b.).

2. The prelude to Act III contains the opening bars of a Canción de cuna (Lullaby) reproduced in Felipe Pedrell's Cancionero Musical Español (see Examples 23a. and 23b.).

3. The melody of the "ditty" Coupe moi, brute moi that Carmen sings in Act I is a genuine folk song from Ciudad Real, south of Madrid. Bizet changed the rhythm from 3/4 to 6/8. Dean Winton thinks that this is possibly the tune that Pablo de Sarasate, a colleague of Bizet at the Conservatoire, is supposed to have contributed (see Examples 24a. and 24b.).

4. The Entr'acte to Act IV, as indicated previously, is based on a polo from a tonadilla of Manuel García. Bizet uses the same tonality (D minor), the same key signature (3/8), the same essential notes of the melody and the same number of measures as García's song, introducing certain rhythmic modifications. The vocalization on the melismatic "ay" is transcribed by Bizet giving it to the instruments in the high register; he keeps the descent to the dominant changing only its chromatic inflection. Tiersot also points out the similarities between the Entr'acte's music and García's polo. Tiersot says that "the theme has been amplified but the original spirit has remained intact and the descent towards the dominant is identical to the one used in so many authentic Spanish melodies." This termination on the dominant is one of the most characteristic features of the cante jondo, and Chase thinks that it is in these cadences above all that Bizet seems to lean most heavily upon the work of García. Chase says that "any musician can write a cadence on the dominant; only an Andalusian can do it as though it were in his blood. García's ghostly hand guided

---

18 Bizet's clarification of the sources was prompted by the protest of the publishing firm Heugel of Paris who was the publishing company of Yradier's collection of songs.

19 Tiersot, p. 2910.
Bizet infallibly here\textsuperscript{290} (see Examples 25a, 25b, and 25c).

5. The theme associated with Carmen also derives from Garcíá’s music. The theme is characterized by the use of the interval of the augmented second which gives to Andalusian music its oriental flavor. It is written in the key of D minor, the melodic phrases show a descent to the dominant and its five notes are the outline of the first part of the already mentioned polo (see Example 26).

Bizet was aware of the harmonic and rhythmic characteristics of the flamenco guitar style, as shown by the accompaniment of the Chanson Bohème in Act II. Bizet’s notes in his personal score indicate that he was also aware of the triple meter of most Spanish dances and songs. Bizet interpreted the Spanish idiom with a “Parisian view.” Don José’s aria, \textit{La fleur que tu m’as jetée}, belongs more in a Parisian salon that in Andalusian quarters; Micaela’s music does not convey any particular affinity with Spanish music (or character) and the famous “Toreador Song” does not have any relation with any particular type of Spanish song. The closest Bizet came in reproducing original Spanish themes was in the Seguidillas in Act I, \textit{Par des ramparts de Séville}. The most vital and authentic Spanish elements in Carmen appear in the already mentioned Entr’acte to Act IV, where the spirit of cante jondo is truly reflected.

Gilbert Chase affirms that “the real soul of Carmen as a character and Carmen as an opera, in turn, springs

\textsuperscript{290} Chase, p. 296.
Example 22a. G. Bizet, Carmen. Act I, "Habanera"

N° 5. Habanera.*

Carmen. Allegretto, quasi Andantino.

Sopranos I & II. (Cigarette-girls).

Tenors. (Young men).

Basses. (Workingmen).

Piano.

L'amour

It is free as the wayward breeze, it can be shy, it can be bold. Love can

Est un oiseau rebelle que nul ne peut apprivoiser. Et c'est

Fait, menace ou prière, l'un parle bien, l'autre se tait; Et c'est

*Imitated from a Spanish song.
Example 23a. Georges Bizet, *Carmen*, Prelude to Act III

**Entr'acte.**

Andantino, quasi Allegretto. ($J = 88.$)

Piano.


Aidea de brameros, de las montañas medio occidentales de Asturias.

Comunicada por D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal

Que lla Virxenmasgala - naYelaquehayen

es ti pue - blu, Pies lla losgüe - yinos

*Allegretto molto moderato. (d=78.)*

*Carmen* (singing)

Example 24b. Folk Song from Ciudad Real (Dean Winton, 1965, p. 230)

a. First Period

Then comes this:

b. Vocalization on the melismatic "Ay"

G. Bizet, Carmen, Entr'acte to Act IV
straight from Andalusia via the polo of Manuel Garcia . . . who has been aptly called 'the grandfather of Carmen'.”

Chase adds that to recognize Bizet’s indebtedness to Garcia is “not to detract from Bizet’s achievement. To borrow like this is to create. It is genius.” Thus, in essence, Carmen is “pure Bizet and thoroughly French.”

Example 26. Georges Bizet, Carmen. Carmen’s Theme

---

\[p. 297.\]

\[p. 297.\]
Emmanuel Chabrier (1841-1894)

Chabrier visited Spain in 1882, three years after he had made the decision to resign his government post and respond to his musical calling, dedicating himself exclusively to musical composition. Until then, he had been an obscure musician, although regarded in the artistic circles as a very gifted amateur. The visit to Spain was a turning point in his musical career. Chabrier fell under the spell of Andalusian music and tried to capture the sometimes elusive folk songs and dances in the copious notes that he wrote during his travels. His letters reveal the impact that the people and music of Spain exerted upon him. The flamenco dances, particularly, impressed him deeply. He described the atmosphere created in one of those festive occasions in these words:

Those eyes, those flowers in the lovely hair, those shawls knotted around the figure, those feet that strike infinitely varied rhythms, those arms that ripple along the length of a body ever in movement, those undulations of the hand, those flashing smiles, and those admirable Sevillian haunches that turn in every direction while the rest of the body seems to remain motionless, and all this to the cries of Olé, olé, anda la Maria! Eso es! Baile la Carmen! anda! anda! anda! shouted by other women and by the public!  

With a fresh and keen perception, free of scholastic prejudices and limitations, Chabrier took note of the unconventional melodies and rhythms of soleares, zapateados, peteneras, tancos, and was particularly interested with the

---

Chase, pp. 297-298.
malagueñas and the jota aragonesa, both of which he used as the main themes of the orchestral composition that he wrote at his return, the suite España. This work was premiered at a Lamoreaux Concerts on November 4, 1883, was an instant success and made Chabrier famous.

All the themes but one (Theme 7) are authentically Spanish (see Example 27). The piece was the most thoroughly Spanish orchestral work written up to that time and, in its special genre, it has not yet been surpassed. Manuel de Falla confirms this appreciation of the purely Spanish character of España with these words:

Referring to this model of our folklore [the jota], I venture to say that no Spaniard has succeeded as Chabrier in giving us, with such authenticity and genius, the version of a jota as it is "shouted" by the peasants of Aragón dancing in rounds at night.  

Claude Debussy (1862-1918)

Although Claude Debussy was in Spain for only a few hours when attending a bullfight in San Sebastián, his own creative instincts seem to have been in line with the true spirit of Hispanic music as he revealed in works not only specifically hispanic in subject like Iberia, La Soirée dans Grenade, and La Puerta del Vino, but also in other compositions such as the Sérénade Interrompue, Fantoches, Mandoline, Masques, Danse Profane, and the second movement of the String Quartet which, according to Falla,
Example 27. E. Chabrier, España. Main Themes

* Trombones
could pass, from its very sound, as one of the most beautiful Andalusian dances ever written . . . and yet, as I asked the master about this, he declared he had no intention to give that scherzo a Spanish character. Debussy, who did not actually know Spain, spontaneously, I dare to say, unconsciously, created such Spanish music as was to arouse the envy of many who know her too well."

Debussy's knowledge of Spain came from books and paintings and his acquaintance with Andalusian music was developed by frequently attending the sessions of cante and baile jondo performed in Paris by Andalusian cantaores, tocaores and bailaores on the occasion of the World Fair of 1889-90. Debussy undoubtedly heard and was influenced by the compositions of his Spanish friend Manuel de Falla (La vida breve, El Amor Brujo and Nights in the Gardens of Spain). Debussy also was familiar with Albéniz's masterpiece Iberia and was closely acquainted with the Spanish pianist Ricardo Viñes, who premiered several of Debussy's compositions and to whom Debussy dedicated Poissons d'or. According to Falla Debussy's treatment of the Spanish idiom is not "à l'espaçole but in Spanish or rather, in Andalusian." Falla thinks that influence of the cante jondo in "its most authentic form," is evident not only in the pieces of Spanish character but also shows up in certain musical values that are present in other pieces, not composed with that intention. He refers to "the frequent

\[\text{\textsuperscript{175}}\text{ Falla, p. 41.}\]
use of certain modes, cadences, unions between chords, rhythms and even melodic phrases, which show an evident kinship to our natural music." In the hands of the French composer the idiosyncrasies of Spanish folk music were "raised to the category of the highest art." 

Chase specifies the following elements of Spanish folk music which attracted Debussy because of a natural musical kinship:

1. The liturgically based character of the popular song
2. The survival of the medieval modes
3. The shifting and conflicting rhythms
4. The lack of isometric regularity in the melodies
5. The unorthodox harmonization with its frequent recourse to consecutive fourths and fifths
6. The strong contrast of moods.

Falla has pointed out that, Debussy has taken to new lengths our knowledge of the modal possibilities in our music already revealed by our teacher Felipe Pedrell. But while the Spanish composer to a large extent uses in his music the authentic popular material, the French master avoids them and creates a music of his own, following only the essence of its fundamental elements. This working method, always praiseworthy among native composers (unless the precise documentary use is justified) acquires still greater value when practiced by those

---

26 Falla, p. 109.
27 Chase, p. 299.
28 Chase, p. 299.
who write music which is, as it were, alien.\textsuperscript{29}

Debussy's first work in the Spanish idiom was \textit{Lindajara} (1901), a composition for two pianos in which the French composer used a modified habanera rhythm accompanied by simulated strums of the guitar and a theme suggestive of \textit{cante jondo}, rhythmically complex in imitation of the rubato of the vocal style of the \textit{cante} and with a repetitious bass line and pedal notes in the right hand, resembling guitar pedals. Virginia Raad finds "an allusion to the Spanish cadence la-sol-fa-mi in the terminating la-fa-mi-re." She thinks that "despite the obvious difficulties of notation, the development theme with its chromaticisms is also an early example of a \textit{cante jondo}".\textsuperscript{30}

Debussy's piano works reflect this preoccupation with the resources of the guitar, whose touch and sounds he tried to translate to the keyboard. Referring to the musical values (rhythmic and tonal-harmonic) of the guitar and their recognition in the works of musicians, Falla writes:

The Russian composers we have mentioned before [Rimsky Korsakov, Glinka] were the first, after the admirable Neapolitan musician [Scarlatti], to take note of it; but, as the only one of them to know directly the way of playing peculiar to the Andalusian people was Glinka, the artistic application of it was inevitably small. Glinka himself paid more attention to the ornamental forms and to some cadential phrases than to the internal harmonic phenomena that take place

\textsuperscript{29} Falla, p. 45.

in what we could call the toque jondo ("jondo touch"). It was Claude Debussy who incorporated those values in artistic music. His harmonic writing, his texture, prove it in many cases. Debussy's example had immediate and brilliant consequences; one of the best of them is the admirable Iberia of our Isaac Albéniz.31

La Soirée dans Grenade (1903), the second piece of Estampes, begins with a "Mouvement de Habanera" which resembles an old tango or variation of a zarabanda, followed by a cante jondo theme written in the Hispano-Arabic mode, Asbu-'ayn:

\[
\begin{align*}
D & \quad E_b & \quad F# & \quad G & \quad A & \quad Bb & \quad C# & \quad D & \quad E & \quad F
\end{align*}
\]

This mode is found in the music of the Moors and their ancestors in Southern Spain and North Africa.32 The melody shows the typical sustained notes followed by melismas, augmented seconds and embellishments, over an habanera rhythm (see Example 28a.). The composition ends with the appearance of the initial theme over a guitar-like arpeggio, unmistakably Spanish when "strummed" as a major ninth. This movement is preceded by a passage which evokes a guitar serenade with plucked chords in sequential patterns (see Example 28b.).

Other Spanish-type melodies are also present in the composition. There is one melody revolving around one or two notes, with inner pedal tones which are chromatically

31 Falla, p. 110.
two notes, with inner pedal tones which are chromatically altered. It ends with the Andalusian cadence accentuated with the strumming of a guitar (see Example 28c.). Raad finds that Debussy uses an "Spanish formula" which consists of a mixture of almost parallel triadic chords with one rhythm superimposed over another (see Example 28b.)

Example 28. C. Debussy, "La Soirée dans Grenade," Estampes

a. Habanera rhythm and Hispanic-Arabic mode Asbu'-ain (Cante jondo song)
Example 28 (cont.)

b. Guitar Serenade (measures 116-121) and initial theme over guitar-like arpeggios (measures 122-129)

c. Cadential point of a melodic sequence (measures 47-50)
Debussy's success in recreating the Spanish atmosphere is expressed by Falla in the following terms:

The intense feeling of Spain crystallized in *Soirée dans Grenade* is something of a miracle if one considers that it was written by a foreigner, led only by a brilliant intuition. We are far away from those *Serenades, Madrileñas*, and *Boleros* which the manufacturers of Spanish music used to give us. Here we are actually given Andalusia, the truth without the authenticity, as it were, although not a single measure is taken from Spanish folklore, the whole piece, down to its smallest details, brings Spain to us... In *Soirée dans Grenade* everything is directed towards one aim: the creating of atmosphere. We could say that this music—bearing in mind what has inspired it—acts in a similar way to the images reflected by moonlight on the limpid waters of Alhambra's many pools.33

Among Debussy's Preludes (1909-1913) we find some of the most successful evocations of Spain. One of the best examples of Debussy's recreation of the Spanish idiom is *La serenade interrompue* (Book 1). This composition begins with six plucked notes marked *quasi guitarra* and through the piece this instrument is reproduced by the use of portamento and staccato touches, crisp arpeggios, accents, repeated rhythmic and harmonic patterns, pedal tones, parallel fifths and endings of phrases with rapid arpeggios which imitate the strums of the guitar.

Debussy uses what resembles two Hispano-Arabic modes in transposition:

33 Falla, pp. 42-43.
a) The Ajam Usayran (see Example 29a.):

\[ \text{A} \quad \text{Bb} \quad \text{C} \quad \text{D} \quad \text{E} \quad \text{F} \quad \text{G} \quad \text{A} \quad \text{Bb} \quad \text{C} \quad \text{D} \]

b) The Muhayir Sikah (see Example 29b.):

\[ \text{D} \quad \text{Eb} \quad \text{F}^\# \quad \text{G} \quad \text{A} \quad \text{Bb} \quad \text{C} \quad \text{D} \quad \text{Eb} \quad \text{F}^\# \quad \text{G} \]

Debussy also employs the characteristic elements of the cante jondo with its insistence on one or two notes (see Example 29c.), sequential melodic line with augmented seconds and repetitions (see Example 29d.) and dance rhythms (see Example 29e.).

La Puerta del Vino (Preludes, Book II) is said to have been inspired by a postcard depicting the famous gate located in the Alhambra, which was sent to him by Manuel de Falla. The peculiar rhythm of the habanera and the melodic line of the cante jondo combine to recreate the Spanish-Andalusian flavor. Debussy uses the Hispano-Arabic mode Rasdu-dh-Dhil 9 (see Example 30a.):

\[ \text{C} \quad \text{D} \quad \text{Eb} \quad \text{F}^\# \quad \text{G} \quad \text{A} \quad \text{Bb} \quad \text{C} \quad \text{D} \]
Example 29. C. Debussy, "La sérénade interrompue."

_Preludes, Book 1_

a. Guitar prelude (measures 1-2) and Hispanic-Arabic mode *Ajam Usayran* (measures 5-12)

b. Hispanic mode *Muhayir Sikah* (measures 54-59)
Example 29. (cont.)

c. *Cante jondo* theme (measures 37-41)

d. Sequential melodic line with apoggiatura-like ornamentation and augmented seconds (measures 75-79)

e. Dance rhythms (measures 80-84)
30. C. Debussy, "La Puerta del Vino," Preludes (Book One)

a. Cante jondo theme and Hispanic-Arabic mode Rasdu-dh-Dhil

b. Guitar-like passage, six-tone scale, habanera pedal and rubato fragment of melody in Phrygian mode
The guitar passage which follows mixes the six-tone scale, the habanera pedal and a rubato fragment of the melody in the Phrygian mode (see Example 30b.). The Spanish atmosphere evoked by the composition is maintained up to the end with the gradual fading away of the music, "an imitation of the way a Spaniard's song and dance will gradually fade away." 34

The orchestral suite Iberia (1906), the second in the group entitled Images, is the largest and most important of Debussy's compositions with Hispanic character. On the occasion of the premiere of the work, Debussy declared that he had not intended to write Spanish music but rather to translate into music his image of Spain. "Let us say at once," writes Falla, "that he [Debussy] achieved this most magnificently." 35

The suite consists of three sections played without interruption: Par les rues et per les chemins, Les Parfums de la Nuit and Le Matin d'un Jour de Fête. These sections are contrasting in mood as indicated by the titles. The generating theme is a kind of sevillana, which brings "echoes of the villages" and "seem to float over a clear atmosphere of glinting light" 36 (see Example 31a.). The

34 Raad, p. 15.
35 Falla, p. 44.
36 Falla, p. 44.
use of castanets and tambourines and the recreation of the sounds of the guitar, specifically indicated in the score, enhance and complete the recreation of the Andalusian atmosphere (see Examples 31b., 31c. and 31d.). All the musical resources combine to create the intoxicating spell of the nights of Andalusia, "the joy of the villagers who move forward, dancing to the sound of guitars and bandurria band, all this sparkles in the air, approaches, moves away, and our incessantly active imagination is captivated by a music intensely expressive and rich in nuances."

Example 31. C. Debussy, Iberia
a. Sevillana theme (measures 8-16)

\[\text{\textcopyright Falla, p. 44.}\]
Example 31 (cont.)

b. "Par les rues et par les chemins." Rhythmic patterns (opening bars)
Example 31. (cont.)

c. Repeated notes pattern, measures 58-60

d. Imitation of the guitar, measures 64-66
Maurice Ravel (1875-1937)

The treatment of the "Spanish idiom" in the works of Maurice Ravel shows that "truth without the authenticity" that Falla found in the compositions with Spanish character of Claude Debussy. In Ravel’s case it was a close affinity with Spain: he was born in the French-Basque city of Cibourne in the area of the Pyrenees near the Spanish order, his mother was Spanish and both parents were very much attached to Spain where they had met, married and lived for many years. The family moved to Paris shortly after Maurice’s birth.

Regarding the "Spanishness" of Ravel, Falla writes:

But how was I to account for the subtly genuine Spanishness of Ravel, knowing, because he had told me so, that the only link he had with my country was to have been born near the border! The mystery was soon explained: Ravel’s was a Spain he had felt in an idealized way through his mother. She was a lady of exquisite conversation. She spoke fluent Spanish, which I enjoyed so much when she evoked the years of her youth, spent in Madrid. . . . Then I understood with what fascination her son must have listened to these memories that were undoubtedly intensified by the additional force all reminiscence gets from the song or dance theme inseparably connected with it. This explains not only the attraction exerted on Ravel, since his childhood, by a country he so frequently dreamt of, but also later, when he wanted to characterize Spain musically, he showed a predilection for the habanera, the song most in vogue when his mother lived in Madrid.¹

¹ Falla, p. 94-95. Falla adds: "This was the same time that Pauline Viardot-Garcia, famous and well acquainted with the best composers in Paris, spread the habanera among
The French writer André Suarès confirms Falla’s idea in these words:

Parisian to his fingertips, he is even so the most Spanish of artists. He answers better than no other, to one’s idea of a great musician in the Spanish cast; he has something of Goya and the picaresque... And let no one think that it was by chance that he made his entrance into music by way of Spain... I recognize Spain in every part of Ravel, in what he is and in what he does... his art, still more decidedly, is of the French tongue touched with a Spanish accent.\(^\text{1}\)

The composer himself attested to his Hispanism by saying:

"I am a Basque, and Basques feel very deeply but seldom show it, and then, only to a very few."\(^\text{2}\)

Ravel’s early associations with Spanish musicians while he was a student at the Paris Conservatory are revealed in the following lines written by Roland-Manuel, Ravel’s pupil, friend and biographer:

In 1891, armed with a medal, the first class for piano-playing, the young Ravel was promoted to Charles de Bériot’s class. There he made friends with another pupil, Ricardo Viñes, who was to become, and to remain, the most devoted, faithful and admirable interpreter of the composer’s piano works. Ravel felt at home in the class, where his best friend was a Catalan from Lérida, and where his master also had connections with Spain—and romantic Spain at that—through Malibran and Manuel García. Sixteen years later, the composer of the *Rapsodie espagnole* was to dedicate the work to "his

\(^\text{1}\) Quoted by Chase, p. 301.

It is interesting to note that Ravel's first and last compositions (Habanera and Don Quichotte à Dulcinée) treat Spanish themes. The Habanera was written originally for two pianos as a part of Sites auriculaires (1806-7) and later transcribed for orchestra and included as the third movement of the Rapsodie espagnole. Ravel said that "This work, with its ostinato pedal point and its chords with multiple appoggiaturas, contains the germ of several elements which were to predominate in later compositions." Ravel was most probably referring to his interest in Spanish dance rhythms and his fascination with exotic elements that he was to cultivate in later works.

The Sonata for Violin and Piano (1897) resembles the beginning of the Trio in melodic contour, in mood and in the treatment of the theme. Since Ravel said that the opening of the Trio was "Basque in color," it seems appropriate to apply the same character to the opening of the Sonata (See Example 32).

Roland Manuel, however, thinks that the theme is a primitive fandango from Castile. He writes:

"Ravel was so attracted to Spain that he sometimes took to composing in the Spanish manner during the


Example 32. Maurice Ravel, Sonata for Violin and Piano and Trio in A minor for Piano (Arbie Orenstein, Ravel: Man and Musician, p. 144)
course of a page of pure music when his subject did not
demand it; for instance, in the pantoum of his Trio.
The first movement of this Trio is a curious example of
his carefree disposition. The composer admits, in his
own words, that the first theme of the piece has
a "Basque flavour." But neither the style nor the mode
of this theme justifies the assertion. And when in all
good faith he thinks he is expressing himself in the
Basque idiom, then pure Castillian appears.

The lost Cancionero of Olmeda (Federico Olmeda,
Folklore de Burgos, Burgos, 1902) provides a curious
specimen of baile a lo llano which is analogous with
Ravel's theme. For the baile a lo llano is the
primitive form of the Castillian fandango which could
have been heard by Ravel in the market-place of Saint-
Jean-de-Luz; a curious local melody which has crossed
the mountains.  

The piano piece Alborada del Gracioso? (number 4 of
Miroirs), later arranged for orchestra, marks the onset of
Ravel's "Spanish years." He seemed to follow the technic of
Domenico Scarlatti in the treatment of the staccato repeated
notes and "glissandi." As Ravel had done before in his
first composition, the Habanera, he uses the device of
"clashing" a single note against the combined semitones on
either side of it (for example F sharp against F natural and
G) to imitate the sound of the guitar. The alternating 6/8
and 9/8 meters and the flashing arpeggios accentuate the
Spanish flavor of the composition (see Example 33).

The Vocalise-Etude en form de Habanera for voice and
piano, composed in 1907 is the least important of Ravel's


? Alborada: a song of the morning; gracioso: jester; thus, the morning song of the jester.
Example 33. Maurice Ravel, "Alborada del Gracioso," Miroirs

a. Imitation of the guitar (measures 1-8)

\[ \text{Assez vif, } \frac{d}{4} = 92 \]

\[ \text{PIANO} \]

mf sec les arpèges très serrés

b. Repeated notes and glissandi (measures 46-48)
Spanish works. The piece was commissioned by a professor of voice at the Paris Conservatoire and calls for some display of vocal virtuosity sustained by an insistent habanera rhythm. The work appears to be an obiter scriptum derived from the finale of the first act of L'Heure Espagnole which Ravel was writing at that time.

Referring to his one act opera-buffa L'Heure Espagnole, premiered at the Opéra Comique in 1911, Ravel said: "A whole lot of things attracted me--the mixture of familiar conversation and intentionally absurd lyricism . . . also the opportunities for making use of the picturesque rhythms of Spain."\(^\text{11}\) Roland-Manuel points out that Ravel's use of the flamenco style enlivens the habaneras, malaqueñas, and boleros which crown his works, and especially the best pages of L'Heure Espagnole: for instance Gonzalve's arietta, in the form of malaqueña, and, even more, the final quintet, which is a bravura habanera, with passages enlivened by trills and staccato arpeggios. In this brilliant work, the singers are alternately opposed and identified with an orchestra of soloists, who at their most brilliant retain enough clarity never to drown the voices, and enough preciseness to allow a 6/8 to run with impunity alongside the imperturbable 2/4 of the habanera.\(^\text{9}\)

In 1907 Ravel composed the famous Rapsodie Espagnole. The work consists of four sections: Prélude à la nuit, Malaqueña, Habanera and Feria (Fête). The Prélude is built on a simple motive of four descending notes. This motive is

---

\(^{11}\) Myers, p. 193.

\(^{12}\) Roland-Manuel, p. 36.
"omnipresent" throughout the piece and, combined with other elements establishes the Spanish atmosphere of the composition (see Examples 34a. and 34b.). Roland-Manuel says that

It was not chance which led Ravel to introduce the Habanera of 1895 without modification into his Rapsodie. It is so much more appropriate there that it seems to have given something of its spirit to the other sections of this fantasy in the Spanish manner. In the Prelude à la Nuit, the imitative Malagueña or the vehement final Feria, stereotyped Andalusian formulae are boldly introduced into the subtle symphonic texture. "Elements which are more or less objective," writes Alberto Mantelli, "a realistic rhythmical cadence and a decisive Spanish melody, give a texture to the work, which is quite different from the exquisite ambiguities of Debussy."  

The Concerto for Piano and Orchestra in G major shows traces of Basque music. The first theme of the first movement has been identified as a Basque folk melody, the Zaspiak-Bat.

The composition of the famous Boléro responded to a request by Madame Ida Rubinstein to orchestrate some numbers of Albéniz's Iberia for a Spanish ballet she wanted to produce. When Ravel started the work, he found out that another musician--Fernández Arbós--had the exclusive rights to orchestrate Albéniz's compositions. Therefore, he decided to write an original piece. In a letter to Joaquin Nin, Ravel commented that he was working on a piece "without

---

10 Roland-Manuel, p. 48.

11 Ravel found out too late that Fernández Arbós would gladly have conceded the rights to him.
Example 34. Maurice Ravel, *Rapsodie Espagnole*

a. Main Theme

b. Habanera Theme
actual form or development and with scarcely any modulation (a theme genre Padilla) only rhythm and orchestra." In another occasion Ravel clarified his position regarding the intentions of the piece. He said:

I am particularly desirous that there should be no misunderstanding about this work. It constitutes an experiment in a very special and limited direction . . . consisting wholly of orchestral tissue without music . . . The themes are altogether impersonal . . . folk tunes of the usual Spanish Arabian kind, and (whatever may have been said to the contrary) the orchestral writing is simple and straightforward throughout. I have carried out exactly what I intended, and it is for the listener to take or leave it. 129

The listeners and the music world "took it" and although the Boléro does not conform to the traditional melodic and harmonic Spanish idiom, its rhythmic pattern gives a very convincing impression of Hispanism (see Example 35).

Example 35. M Ravel, Boléro. Rhythmic pattern.

---


129 Orenstein, p. 200
Ravel's last work, *Don Quichotte à Dulcinée*, a set of three songs for baritone and orchestra or piano, was composed responding to the request of a movie company that intended to produce a film based on the literary theme of *Don Quijote*, with Feodor Chaliapin in the title role (the movie was never made). The first song of the set, *Chanson Romanesque*, is written in alternating 6/8 and 3/4 meters, following the rhythmic patterns of the Spanish dance *guajira*. The second song, *Chanson épique*, has the 5/4 rhythm of the Basque *zortzico*. The third one, *Chanson à boire*, is based upon the lively triple meter of the *jota*. The composition ends with the words "Je bois à la joie" (see Example 36). It was perhaps symbolic that Ravel "bade farewell to his art with an homage to the Spain of his fantasy, concluding with an exhuberant toast to the joy of living." 

In his analysis of Ravel's style, Roland-Manuel finds that Ravel's use of melody "most frequently falls into the Dorian and Phrygian modes with a marked preference for the first." He adds,

> The first mode is medieval par excellence. Ravel found many examples in old French folk-songs, and even more in Chabrier . . . and the Russian Moussorgsky. It is also interesting to note that, according to Father Donostia, this mode is characteristic of Basque music.

---

1" Goss, pp. 4-5.
"Example 36. M. Ravel, Don Quichote à Dulcinée, "Chanson à boire."

a. Opening bars

b. Closing bars
a peculiarity which distinguishes it from the rest of Spanish music. The Phrygian mode, typical of ancient music, is also essentially characteristic of the Spanish provincial songs, and particularly of the Andalusian Cante Flamenco. From the moment his muse travels tras los montes [over the mountains] Ravel’s music instinctively adopts this mode. L’Heure Espanole can provide many more examples of borrowing from this mode in Ravel’s music under Spanish influence. 15

Determining the favorite themes which dominate in Ravel’s works, Roland-Manuel states: “Spain first, and then the Dance, the former so often bound up in the latter.” He adds,

The composer confessed himself to be attracted to a certain type of Spanish music shamelessly derived from the Italian, a tradition which lasted throughout the nineteenth century to emerge as the zarzuela. Amused and delighted by what he himself called “the Louis-Philippe habaneras,” he abandoned a false Andalusia to conquer a Spain which, though not genuine, seems to be more convincing than the real Spain, because its creator has known how to give it the semblance of the natural and necessary: “Nature is free as air,” says Chesterton somewhere, “but art is forced to give the semblance of probability.” Thus, the French Ravel created a virtue out of flamencuisme, which according to his friend Manuel de Falla, is the vice common to Spanish composers.16

The Valencian musicologist Eduardo Lopez Chavarri states that,

the art of Gypsy music has inspired moderns such as Stravinsky, Debussy and Ravel who, when they write works of Spanish character, do not claim to make music in the Spanish style, like Bizet, but in the Spanish


16 Roland-Manuel, p. 114.
tongue or, more correctly, in the tongue of Andalusia."

Responding to López Chavarri's idea, Roland-Manuel says that

In Ravel's case the assertion cannot be denied. It does not need mentioning in connection with a Basque for whom Spain is another homeland, and for whom the Pyrenees do not exist. Let us say straight away that in the Spanish hostelries and watchmakers' shops Ravel found much more than he brought with him. What is more, with amused complacence he has given the finest possible ear to every "sound of the Caleta"--and to every so-called Spanish refrain. And he has made us share his delight and enjoyment of the flavour of the true through the spiciness of the fictitious."

The analysis of the Spanish elements in the works of Glinka, Rimsky-Korsakov, Lalo, Bizet, Chabrier, Debussy, and Ravel, examined in this chapter, shows distinctive approaches in the manner in which these composers conceived and treated the "Spanish idiom." The enumeration of the main characteristics assumed by the use of the "Spanish idiom" in the music of these non-Hispanic composers, as well as of the main factors which influenced their conceptions of the Spanish musical language, will be the subject of the following chapter.

---


18 Roland-Manuel, p. 122.
It may be concluded that the use of the Spanish idiom in the works of the non-Hispanic European composers analyzed in the previous chapter assumes two main characters:

1. A pseudo-Hispanicism or music à l’espagnole which is characterized by the use of some isolated elements typical of the Spanish idiom (such as triplets, augmented seconds, appoggiatura-like ornamentation, and/or typical rhythmic patterns), as exemplified by Georges Bizet’s Carmen and Edouard Lalo’s Symphonie Espagnole.

2. An authentic recreation of the Spanish musical language, the "authenticity without the truth," which is characterized by the consistent use of the musical elements of the Spanish idiom in all its parameters (melodic, harmonic, rhythmic, and instrumental). This authentic recreation of the Spanish idiom is the outcome of different factors:

a. A natural affinity with the character of Spanish folk music, based on a common background (Oriental, Byzantine). Such is the case of the Russian composers, Glinka and Rimsky-Korsakov.
b. A familiarity with the Spanish folklore, as represented by Emmanuel Chabrier.

c. A natural musical kinship with the elements of the Spanish idiom, such as Debussy's works.

d. A cultural (ethnic) tie with the music of Spain which expresses itself in a variety of ways, such as the use of Spanish musical elements in the music of the "Basque" Ravel.

In De Musica, Saint Augustine expounded the idea that,

Music, making her way forth from some most intimate core of being, has left her footprints, both on our senses and on the objects of our sensations. We should follow these footprints to arrive at that most intimate core, for that is the only way, and to do so, we must neglect the longer intervals of time, and confine ourselves to those which are shorter, of lengths that occur in performance of song and dance.¹

This seems to be the conception that the Spaniards have of the musical art. By cultivating the lesser forms of dance and song as expressions of that "intimate core of being" they seem to have preserved intact their vital sense of joy. This vital, essential, almost "organic" musical sense has never ceased to be intensely alive, although externally it may have ceased to be "formally impressive."² Even during the periods in which Spanish music seemed to experience stagnation and decline, it proved its richness, strength and vitality by providing nourishment to the music of other countries.

¹ Livermore, p. 2.
² Chase, p. 17.
The long list of composers who utilized the music idiom of Spain and the excellence of their works attest to both the richness of the source from which they sprung and the musical genius which could reproduce the "truth without the authenticity" or recreate "the flavour of the true through the spiciness of the fictitious." Those non-Hispanic composers made the Spanish musical language resound throughout the world, creating a beautiful and unique "body of music which owes its existence to the everlasting fascination of Spain."³

³ Chase, p. 304.
APPENDIX

There is a long list of composers that could be included under the subject analyzed in this thesis. Their treatment of the Spanish idiom is of the genre à l’espagnole rather than an expression of authentic Hispanicism.

There are examples of the use of Spanish themes in the works of Wolfgang A. Mozart (who borrowed from Martin y Soler a theme from the opera Una cosa rara for the second finale of Don Giovanni), Giusseppe Mercadante (who used the theme of Blas de Laserna’s Tirana de Tripili in the overture of his opera I due Figaro) and Luigi Boccherini (Spanish Ballet, the zarzuela Clementina and the Quintet for Strings and Guitar). The name of Ludwig van Beethoven is associated with one of the earliest examples of the bolero in art music (Bolero a solo for piano, violin, cello and untexted voice). The bolero was also used in the operas of Carl Maria von Weber (Preciosa and Der Freischütz), Méhul (Les deux aveugles de Tolède) and Daniel Auber (Massanielo or La muette de Portici and Le domino noir). In 1809, Louis Spohr wrote a Rondo on "genuine Spanish melodies" in his Violin Concerto in G minor, Op.28. One of Franz Schubert’s earliest vocal works
was a three part romance, *Don Gayseros*, which displays pronounced Spanish coloring. The Allegro of the F sharp minor Sonata for piano written by Robert Schumann, originally bore the title of *Fandango*.

Other nineteenth and early twentieth century non-Hispanic European composers who produced works using Spanish themes are:

WORKS CITED


Fernández de la Cuesta, Ismael. *Historia de la música española. Desde los orígenes hasta el "ars nova."


